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The Contribution of Adult Education to Economic Development

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Dedicated to all those who never give up

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If my humble efforts contribute, in any degree, to the scientific discourse, I will be more than grateful. Notwithstanding all the support and assistance, I have been grateful to receive, any errors and omissions are entirely my own.

Panagiota Chatzimichailidou

Η Συμβολή της Εκπαίδευσης Ενηλίκων στην Οικονομική Ανάπτυξη

Σημαντικοί όροι: Εκπαίδευση Ενηλίκων, Οικονομική Ανάπτυξη, Διεθνής Πολιτική Οικονομία, Κονστρουκτιβισμός, Θεωρία Μετασχηματίζουσας Μάθησης, Ενοποίηση

Περίληψη

Η παρούσα μελέτη διερευνά τον ρόλο της εκπαίδευσης ενηλίκων στην οικονομική ανάπτυξη στο πλαίσιο της Διεθνούς Πολιτικής Οικονομίας. Για το σκοπό αυτό πραγματοποιήθηκε μελέτη περίπτωσης στην Ε.Ε. προκειμένου να διερευνηθεί ο ρόλος των τριών θεσμικών ρυθμίσεων, δηλ. του κράτους, της αγοράς και της κοινωνίας των πολιτών τόσο στη διαμόρφωση της πολιτικής για την εκπαίδευση ενηλίκων, όσο και στη διαδικασία μετασχηματισμού των νοητικών σχημάτων και των νοητικών θεωρήσεων των ενήλικων εκπαιδευομένων, η οποία ανοίγει το δρόμο για μια βαθύτερη κατανόηση της αλληλεπίδρασης μεταξύ του ατόμου και της κοινωνικής δράσης προς την οικονομική ανάπτυξη. Η τελευταία ταυτίζεται με την ευφορία, που σημαίνει βελτίωση των συνθηκών διαβίωσης των κατοίκων που ζουν εντός της επικράτειας ή με άλλα λόγια ότι η ζωή τους βελτιώνεται. Η προσέγγιση του Κονστρουκτιβισμού και η Θεωρία της Μετασχηματίζουσας Μάθησης είναι η προτεινόμενη θεωρητική βάση για την εξήγηση του τρόπου με τον οποίο η εκπαίδευση ενηλίκων συσχετίζεται με την οικονομική ανάπτυξη μέσω της συμμετοχής ενηλίκων εκπαιδευομένων. Η οικονομική ανάπτυξη μπορεί να έχει θετικό αντίκτυπο στην ενοποίηση της Ευρώπης, μια ιδέα που υποστηρίζεται από αυτή τη μελέτη, η οποία περιλαμβάνει οικονομικές, πολιτικές και πολιτιστικές συνιστώσες.

The Contribution of Adult Education to Economic Development

Keywords: Adult Education, Economic Development, International Political Economy, Constructivism, Transformative Learning Theory, Unification

Abstract

This study explores the role of adult education in economic development within the framework of International Political Economy. A case study in the EU has been carried out for this purpose to explore the role of the three institutional arrangements ie. the state, the market, and the civil society both in the adult education policy formulation, and in the mental transformational process of the individual learners, which opens the path to a deeper understanding of the interaction between the individual and the social action towards economic development. The latter is identical to *euphoria*, which means a rise in the conditions of living for the residents who live within the territory, or in other words that their life is getting better. The approach of Constructivism and the transformative learning theory is the proposed theoretical basis for explaining the way adult education is correlated to economic development through the involvement of adult learners. Economic development can have a positive impact on the unification of Europe, an idea endorsed by this study, which encompasses economic, political, and cultural components.

ΥΠΕΥΘΥΝΗ ΔΗΛΩΣΗ

1. Δηλώνω ρητά και ανεπιφύλακτα ότι η διδακτορική διατριβή που σας καταθέτω αποτελεί προϊόν δικής μου πνευματικής προσπάθειας, δεν παραβιάζει τα δικαιώματα τρίτων μερών και ακολουθεί τα διεθνώς αναγνωρισμένα πρότυπα επιστημονικής συγγραφής, τηρώντας πιστά την ακαδημαϊκή δεοντολογία.

2. Οι απόψεις που εκφράζονται αποτελούν αποκλειστικά ευθύνη της συγγραφέως και ο επιβλέπων, οι εξεταστές, το Τμήμα και το Πανεπιστήμιο Πελοποννήσου δεν υιοθετούν κατ' ανάγκη τις εκφραζόμενες απόψεις ούτε φέρουν οποιαδήποτε ευθύνη για τυχόν λάθη και παραλείψεις

Η δηλούσα

Χατζημιχαηλίδου Παναγιώτα

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Abbreviations

AES……..…….Adult Education Survey

BREXIT…….…..British exit from EU

EAEA…… European Association for the Education of Adults

EAFRD…….…….European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development

ECSC……European Coal and Steel Community

EESC…….. the European Economic and Social Committee

ESM……..European Social Fund

ERDF……..European Regional Development Fund

EC……European Commission

EU……..European Union

GDP……...Gross Domestic Product

GNP……Gross National Product

HCT…….…….Human Capital Theory

ICAE……..……International Council for Adult Education

IPE……International Political Economy

LFS…….…….Labour Force Survey

PPS……Purchasing Power Standard

SDG…….Sustainable Development Goal

VET……..……Vocational Education and Training

WWII……..The Second World War

UNIT 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The role of adult education in economic development: an introduction

The subject of this study is to explore the nexus between adult education and economic development, and how this works within the EU. The upgrading of adult education standards is seen as essential to the delivery of economic development. To demonstrate the potential of adult education and its suitability for economic development, I have reviewed all relevant studies, which present the theoretical background without any experimental data so far. This was another motivation behind the present study, as it addresses this issue too. Focusing on the relationship between adult education and economic development within the EU documents I hardly found anything, almost all of them connect economic development with vocational education and not to adult education. In this paper an alternative perspective on the benefits of adult education is emerging, removed from the dominant neoclassical approach framework of the Human Capital Theory and neoclassical economics, and relocated it in the methodological framework of the International Political Economy. The latter serves as a tool of perceiving and understanding the existent complex context of political, economic, and socio-cultural realities in European level, coupled with the historical evolution of both the issues under review. I have always believed that the need for learning comes from the real life, and also that it is somehow inherited from the environment we were raised. Adult education in not a consumption good, an idea pretty much close to the neoliberal ideology, it rather has a philosophical and cultural dimension. The philosopher Brameld Theodore (Conrad, 2003) conceived education serving two major roles: to transmit culture and to modify culture. This is pretty much what I also believe for adult education. That is why it fits with all sciences! I still recall a few years ago when I was interviewed from a university committee for the position of an assistant researcher, the question I was asked: what adult education has to do with economic development? The worlds came out of my mouth fluently, despite my weak knowledge and the lack of a concrete context at that time. Of course, my answer had probably been convinced enough, as I had successfully passed the interview. Almost 13 years later, I am still in

the same position to explain what adult education has to do with economic development, however which a much more concrete context.

The field of development is elusive, mainly because its implementation means involving many factors and agents of the political, social, economic, historical, educational and ecological realms. Although, there is a consensus in literature that the origins of development date back to Second World War in Europe when extensive references closely linked to the developing countries appeared, only a few people would agree what really development is, what the causes and the proposed solutions are. Besides efforts to promote economic development, post war period Europe was marked by the intensive domestic efforts for reconstruction and economic recovery. This led to a 'growth hunt' in Europe being unleased on all aspects of social and economic realities. In was in the early 60s that the context of the interest starts to change as the negative effects of the continuous efforts for economic growth became more and more striking. It was the time for the change in thoughts, the attention had gone to developmental issues. Although usually confused with economic growth, economic development has much more to say about its content, which points out its potential to improve peoples' everyday life, their satisfaction, security, equality, access to infrastructure, and culture, besides its obvious effect on economy. Its potential to both individuals and the society is also undeniable. Generally employed to describe poverty reduction, modernization, and a process towards the betterment of human life, it engages qualitative as well as quantitative components, compared to the economic growth which is generally employed to describe the increases in a nation's wealth, namely GDP. Hess and Ross (1997), comment on this division "It is possible to have growth without much development […]. It is unlikely, however, that significant economic development will occur without, at least, moderate growth". Despite representing different principles, economic development and economic growth have something in common, which this study endorses, that economic growth -at least moderate- is a precondition for economic development to be achieved. Ravenhill (2021) highlights how powerful the word development is, as it refers to a situation in which all, or almost all, can conformably, and in some cases warmly, declare that they are in favor of. As a topic of interest, it is at the very top on the international agenda as being one of the most important issues discussed globally. It is, therefore, obvious why it has always been a major challenge for national governments and in supra-national level too. A considerable amount of

literature has been published on this topic, but this study introduces a new dimension, although not innovative, but literally an emerging, as it has its roots in ancient Greek philosophy. Economic development is seen here as the state where people achieve *euphoria*, identical to living well and faring well. Hence, this could be construed as a state in which people wish to stay for more.

For adult education the story differs. Besides being a theme of international interest, it remains of national concern. Adult education has a particular role in history which has been seen as a struggle for knowledge and a struggle for power (Cervero, Wilson, & Associates 2001, 12). Although its meaning has undergone through several changes, it provides a platform for raising all these issues notably relating to social change, personal development, progressivism, equality, human rights, political participation, and economic development. Despite the incipient terms' confusion, the discussion about adult education is specific and refers to non-typical education, mainly for adults in the age-span between 25-64 years old. However, this discussion gets blurred when the terms vocational education, training, and lifelong learning are considered. Of course, this is only the beginning as other terms follow like adult learning, recurrent education, second education, job-related adult education, and general adult education. There is also a great deal of talk about the differences between adult education and vocational education and training, but we will not dwell on this debate at this moment. Starting from the basic idea, which lies in education's heart, that learners are provided with the knowledge that will improve their life, this study acknowledges also the significant literature observations: that through adult education learners will be equipped with the cognitive tools to develop critical review and understanding of major contemporary problems of their lives, to reassess and interpret their experiences, and through their renewal ideas and new patterns they will take action in order to deal with these matters. In fact, adult education is seen as a means that helps adult learners move from awareness to making decisions. This study proposes another aspect, partly neglected until recently: adult education can bolster economic development, which will in turn contribute to strengthening the process of unification of Europe. Thus, economic development is considered as an extra pillar to the above edifice. This topic is actually incorporated in a wider discussion about the political economy of adult education and economic development. In this light it is important to remember that these two issues will have to be tackled hand to hand.

Introduced as a theme by Frank Youngman in the study "The political economy of adult education and development" in 2000, this study intended to clarify the historical-structural constraints in the choices about adult education policies and programmes in the South. This first attempt received enough attention for its uniqueness, but it also raised some criticism for its Marxist background. Later in 2006 Kjell Rubenson and Judith Walker used the political-economy paradigm to indicate how it transformed the conditions for adult learning in Canada. Based on Rubenson and Judith's proposals, Richard Desjardins from the University of California, in 2017 had proposed the introduction of a wider social science approach: the political economy of adult education, whose focus will remain on economic-related thinking involving adult education in alliance with economic development. Emphasis is on social theory, institutional aspects, norms and socio-political positions, and the critical approach to research. With an increasing number of studies looking critically at the neoclassical framework and the effects of neoliberal capitalism on adult education, the above topic is becoming more and more of interest. Ján Figeľ in his study *Knowledge: The Foundation for a Stronger Europe* (2009, 43-47) observed that the objective of the transition to a competitive, dynamic economy based on knowledge has tended to overshadow socio-cultural and civic goals. After stressing the importance of the knowledge and skills of European citizens in fostering the wealth and strength of Europe and having noticed the importance to meet the goals of Lisbon Strategy for more jobs and growth, Figeľ demonstrated the necessity not to neglect inclusion, equality and active citizenship, which are just as fundamental for the cohesion, success and wellbeing of European member states. Despite the priority placed on knowledge and learning, Figeľ admitted that education has a relatively low status both as a field of social priority and a field of scholarship among social sciences, and he urged policy makers in the EU to address a key question: how can the traditional strengths of European education and training systems be reframed to meet both economic and socio-cultural challenges? The humanistic aspect of the Union has frequently been quoted in the European Commission's documents too, elevating the idea of a thriving and sustainable model of practice instead of a simply legalistic one. Shore and Black (1996, 275) emphasize that these two concepts -*Europe for Citizens* and *People's Europe*- represent the need for a Europe close to its well-informed citizens, who will accordingly act as prime movers for change, actively demanding their rights and advancing the vision. Being a union of member states, the EU faces another challenge. As Smith

(1997, 24) reveals there is an inherent difficulty in the idea of too strong a European identity, as the notion is that the state comes first and Europe second. There is, of course, a most extreme opposite version of denial apparent to us, revealing that some politicians themselves paint the EU as a 'lame duck'. As Alesina and Giavazzi (2006, 119) reveal "Many European politicians believe that to be the answer to the European decline in the EU". Opinions like this mainly followed the rejection of the proposed constitution for Europe by France and the Netherlands, which had brought out the differences of opinion between European citizens and their leaders.

UNIT 2

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

2.1 An introduction

Economic development is a very interesting, although in some cases, a contested field. Having progressed from the early post-WWII years, it has always served more as a practical subject in the hands of policymakers, rather than a theoretical field of interest. As a result, there has been no consensus on one definition of the term, as it lacks a concrete theoretical background. On the contrary, there are many definitions which are subject to two main preconditions in the process of shaping the notion: firstly, they approach it in a wider context, where political, social, and economic conditions at the reference time seem to matter a lot. Secondly, the ideological reference of each person involved also plays a vital role. For example, the funs of neoclassical economics equalize economic development with economic growth, while the political economists insist on the need to use each term separately. Notwithstanding how many difficulties I encountered in this process, I realized that the best way to approach the essence of the term "economic development" is to examine it within the wider context in which it is incorporated, rather that alone, exploring at the same time the political, social, and economic conditions that occur every time and seem to shape its meaning. Despite these difficulties, there is luckily a consensus on the origin of the term, which is merely 'Eurocentric'. Reviewing policy papers to find the definition that better depicts the European sense of the term as documented by the EU's main institutions, has also

proved to be a jigsaw puzzle far from completion. Many different thoughts appear, presenting either economic development as synonym to economic growth, or very often it represents the wider discussion about the causes of economic underdevelopment, it very often expresses economic changes in a quantitative or qualitative way, while less often it refers to rural development in the post enlargement phase. For these reasons, I decided to approach economic development through the historical evolution of the term is presented from a European perspective, also exploring the conditions which have shaped its meaning from 1945 onwards, unravelling its components and perspectives at each point in time. Moreover, in order to be as precise as possible, I separated those definitions in two main categories in the light of the two predominant theoretical and ideological backgrounds, namely neoclassical economics, and international political economy. The discussion also involves the notions of development and economic growth, which are inseparably linked with economic development and allow us to increase our understanding.

Prior to any discussion, I have proceeded with a literature review to explore what does development means. I found that the spotlight in literature merely falls on the economic aspect of development, which historically is linked to the increase of the national incomes, although early enough distinguished economists have warned that this perspective is misleading. Particular attention in this study has also been given to sustainable development and the 2030 Agenda, which lays at the very heart of the EU. Although sustainable development and economic development represent different principles, they have a close link. Thus, following to what has been said so far, economic development relates to both sustainable development and economic growth, and this relationship is becoming even more closely interwoven. To illustrate this relationship, we could say that economic growth is a precondition for economic development, while economic development cannot be decoupled from the sustainability challenge. Another view is also gaining prominence lately in the EU documents, which represents a shift of economic development to the “green path” and gives an impetus to a newer principle: the sustainable economic development. One could suppose that the birth of this term contributes to bridging the gap between economic and sustainable development.

Moving to adult education, we will meet an interesting and particularly distinct field of research. It could be described as vital, as humanity lies in its core, defines its content,

explains its past, and shapes its future. It could be seen as 'a living organism', as it interacts closely with involved people's everyday lives, their experiences, and perspectives, and notably with their attitudes and lifestyles. The discussion of the role and impact of adult education to every human raises fundamental ideals like democracy, justice, and equality. As presented in the preamble of the Consolidated Version of the Treaty of European Union, it is recognized that the EU draws "inspiration from the cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe, from which have developed the universal values of the inviolable and inalienable rights of the human person, freedom, democracy, equality and the rule of law" (Official Journal of the European Union, 2008a). Adult education then seems to fit perfectly in the above logic. Moreover, it has a crucial role to play in the process towards the implementation of the 17 goals and 169 targets represented in the Agenda 2030, although mentioned only indirectly. When it comes to the discussion about what adult education represents compared to lifelong learning and vocational education, and how do they interact, this will certainly turn into a modern version of the myth of Sisyphus, condemned forever to find which is the most acceptable reading within a prescriptive ideological framework. However, one thing is for sure: the romantic period for adult education is over. But those of us who are particularly interested in the field, we are convinced that we are at the dawn of a new era, when adult education may respond to many realities faced by the EU since its creation, economic development among others. As being dedicated to serve many noble values, it must be treated with respect, gentleness and understanding, while every trial to measure its impact within only the neoliberal philosophy is doomed to fail. Of course, one cannot deny that adult education does not respond to economic transformations. However, focusing only on the economic perspectives, means that its substantive meaning will be obscured, and crucial aspects regarding the intellectual context of the notion will be totally neglected. Afterall, one thing is for sure: adult education can flourish when people get involved with their hearts open to new experiences that serve as drivers to understand the seeds of life. In this chapter, I intend to bring experts in the field together who discuss the conceptual meaning of adult education, to explain its role and content albeit many other factors arguably contributing to the broader understanding of the notion obviously exist, and, unfortunately, this study will fail to present them.

All these issues will be discussed in detail in this chapter, which is organized as follows: In the subchapter 2.2 we will review the general landscape Europe presents in the aftermath of the war and the "growth-hunting" in which governments were committed. In subchapter 2.3 the various aspects of the notion of economic development are presented, In subchapter 2.4 we approach economic development through the World Bank Reports (1978-2019), an important asset to our understanding of both the context and the contribution of economic development to individuals and the society. The results are presented right after. The 2.5 subchapter proceeds with adult education by introducing the historical evolution of adult education in Europe from the second half of the 19th century until today. The definition issue is discussed in subchapter 2.6. The wider benefits of adult education, though a thematic analysis, are offered in subsection 2.7. The subchapter 2.8 analyzes the economic factor in adult education. The methodological framework of IPE is presented in subchapter 2.9. The alternative perspectives of IPE: A focus on constructivism is presented in 2.10. Finally, in 2.11 we proceed with analyzing the role of Constructivism in education.

2.2 Europe in the aftermath of the Second World War

The starting point in my analysis is decolonization after WWII, which is considered the most important catalyst of the concept of development. Following a historical evolution, the route we take is from the first thoughts of development after WWII, then to the intensive efforts for the economic reconstruction of Europe when promoting economic growth had been the governments' priority, until the early 1960s and the first discussions about the negative repercussions of the continuous accumulation of wealth, which stimulated an active debate on development at the level of institutions and scholars. Besides these efforts to bring about a sustained economic and social progress in the continent, the dream for a united Europe always remains alive. Since the first attempts from the Roman Empire, through Jean Monnet's, Winston Churchill's, Charles de Gaulle's and of other European personalities inspiring words and actions, the dream for a more unified Europe always remains alive. This study fully embraces this dream and consequently will present some policy recommendations in this direction.

The post-WWII Europe presents a simple picture of forfeiture. The continent was caught in a condition of chaos, ruined, destitute, exhausted and finally divided into two

rival political and military blocs (Sampson, 1968: Davies, 2009: Young, 2002). An inversion in the values and foundations of Europe's ascendancy had occurred due to a number of reasons such as human losses, the material destruction, the decline of production, the monetary collapse, even the moral crisis which arose from the carnage of the war and the genocide (Berstein, & Milza, 1997, 165). This climate, a "frozen topography" as depicted by Tony Judt (2005, 1), increased the need for cooperation in political, economic, and military fields. Security, safety, rivalry, prosperity, poverty elimination, and power, all were considered to be subjects that could be bolstered up by the economy. Woolf (1941, 374) delivers a clear picture of what Europe wished for doing this period: "the problem is summed up in the blessed words which are already on the lips of many, *economic reconstruction*". The same period concerned many scholars. Louis Emmerij (1997) notes that in the 1960s economic growth "was both necessary and sufficient to settle a host of other problems, including such social questions as employment and poverty". Although the strong need for security was not satisfied even with Europe's major sacrifices in the war, it still had nations' attention, while at the same time economic growth was gradually becoming the governments' primary goal. As Abramovitz (1959, 11) notes "to ensure their independence and safety, they concluded they must grow; if ahead, stay ahead; if behind, catch up". In another view, the division of Europe was perceived as a contributing factor towards strengthening Europeanism, a concept rather not new in Europe. Davies (2009, 1189) proposes that it was seeded prior to the war and later developed all over Western Europe. Indeed, a long history of attempts for some kind of a united Europe exists from the Roman Empire through Charlemagne, Napoleon and Hitler (Sampson, 1968, 3). But in the late forties and early fifties, hopes and attempts for the unification of Europe gained a catholicity in Europe. "The uniting of Europe neither started from scratch nor was its future course foreseen" Schäfer (2003) adds, whereas Chollet and Goldgeier (2005, 8) propose that there was "a vision of a united Europe that would do for that continent what the creation of the United States had done for North America". Indeed, innumerable schemes have been examined for the unification of Europe over the past centuries, but the most known are those of Duc de Sully, William Penn, the Abbé De Saint-Pierre, Rousseau, Bentham, Kant, Count Coudenhove-Kalergi, Herriot, and Briant (Schuman, 1951). However, the best-known proposal to the general public is that of Winston Churchill in 1946. Having become one of the first European leading political personalities who sensed the direction Europe was taking, Churchill supported

the idea of a United States of Europe in the two inspiring lectures he delivered in 1946, which were meant to be prophetic. He spoke for a kind of United States of Europe, although he admitted that the birth of the idea dates much earlier (Davies, 2009, 1201). In his speech in the University of Zurich on September 19, 1946, Churchill observes the following:

> *"We must build a kind of United States of Europe. In this way only will hundreds of millions of toilers be able to regain the simple joys and hopes which make life worth living […]. But I must give you warning. Time may be short. At present there is a breathing-space. The cannons have ceased firing. The fighting has stopped; but the dangers have not stopped. If we are to form the United States of Europe or whatever name or form it may take, we must begin now".*
>
> [Churchill, 1946]

One of the pioneers of this idea, being actually the principal and most persistent advocate in his time, was the Austrian politician Count R. Coudenhove-Kalergi, who supported the idea both in his book 'Pan-Europa' in 1923 and through the *Pan-European Union*, a private association for the dissemination of the idea (D.K.M.K., 1947). Churchill in his speech in Zurich had cited Coudenhove-Kalergi as the principal supporter of Pan-Europe, while it is said that he was Churchill's advisor in his recent campaign. Based largely on the fear of a Russian invasion of Europe, Coudenhove-Kalergi proposed the following "History gives Europe the following alternative: either to overcome all national hostilities and consolidate in a federal union, or sooner or later to succumb to a Russian conquest" (D.K.M.K., 1947). Eduard Herriot, who served as the Prime Minister of France for three times, was the first European statesman in office who supported this idea. Gustav Ernst Stresemann, the German Minister of Foreign Affairs was also an advocate of the idea. But the first proposals aiming at implementing the idea, or the first official *baptisma*, are owed to Aristide Briand, with the so-called Briand Plan (S.A.H., 1930). Briant in his speech at the Tenth Assembly of the League of Nations in 1929 declared the following:

> *"I think that among the peoples constituting geographical groups, like the peoples of Europe, there should be some kind of federal bond. It should be possible for them to get into touch at any time, to confer about their interests, to agree on joint resolutions and to establish among themselves a bond of solidarity which will*

enable them, if need be, to meet any grave emergency that may arise. That is the link I want to forge".

[S.A.H., 1930]

Of course, there were distinguished politicians those days rather skeptical about the idea of the United States of Europe, like the English politician and one of the architects of the League of the Nations, Robert Cecil, 1st Viscount Cecil of Chelwood. Although having recognized that the European nations should work together to promote their interests, Robert Cecil noted "I will not say a United States of Europe, but something in the nature of a loose federation of Europe, growing more and more, as it has already begun to grow, under the auspices of the League" (Cecil, 1929). Since then, the plans for the unification of Europe, today commonly referred as the *Integration of Europe*, are still present, although the motives and the methods used differ from times to times. This is obviously a very interesting topic for future research. However, this study has dwelled on this topic, for another reason besides our knowledge: The idea of the unification, or integration of Europe -this study advocates the first term- has also much to be taught by Greek Philosophy. But we will come back again on this point later in this study. Undoubtedly, probably the most tireless and fervent supporter of the European project has been Jean Monnet, in whose speech delivered in the National Press Club, Washington, on April 30, 1952, many people saw the big step that breathed life into this noble idea:

"A unified Europe has a meaning for civilization that is deeper than security and peace. Europe was the source of the cultural achievements from which we all benefit and Europeans are now, as they have always been, capable of enriching the world by the creative effort that has been Europe's historic constitution. Yet, to release the full strength of this effort, we must bring our institutions and our economies into harmony with our modern times. To achieve this is the premise that unification holds".

[Monnet, 1952]

The restoration of peace in Europe was followed by a two-decade period of unrestrained pursuit of economic growth (Zolotas, 1981, 1: Davies, 2009: Young, 2002: Pollard, 1997), an aberration from the stagnation and gloominess of the previous years. So impressive, unexpected and spectacular was economic performance in Western Europe

after 1948, that historians do not agree both on the reasons that motivated it (Davies, 2009, 1221), and whether this success was natural, accidental, or man-made (Boltho, 1982, 3). So remarkable the economic performance was, that both scholars and stakeholders were paying tributes to this performance, and many studies were carried out. Shopping centers, supermarkets, skyscrapers, motorways, television towers composed the main framework of the period. "It was the kind of fantasy that post-war children had dreamt of or glimpsed in Hollywood films" Sampson notes (1968, viii). One thing was for sure, that both the speed and scale of economic recovery were without precedent in Europe nor in the rest of the world, if Japan excluded (Bessel, 1996: Davies, 2009: Young, 2002). Boltho (1982, 1-2) offers a clearer picture of this favorable scene: the GDP of the European OECD area rose 3½ (or according to some 4¼ per cent per annum) between 1950 and 1979. Pre-war established industrial tradition, well-educated population and developed communications were essential to spurring hopes for quick recovery, once Europe was restored after the ravages of the war (Young, 2002, 21). Consequently, real incomes in Western Europe rose substantially in the two decades between the 1950s and 1960s. Economic growth had gradually become a primary goal of national policies in the continent and the rest of the world, given the obvious impetus from WWII (Victor, 2008: Abramovitz, 1959). Expenditure on what previously had been considered luxuries (private motor vehicles, washing machines, holidays, and tourism) increased for the lower classes, whereas the proportion of incomes spent on basics (in particular food) declined (Bessel, 1996, 239). The average volume of the national product per capita in Western Europe during the period 1948-1957 was far exceeded than in the United States, which represented a yearly rate of growth of 4½ per cent for the former, against one of 2 per cent for the latter (Holtrop, 1960, 1). It seems that by 1950 most affected countries had reached income levels well above those of pre-war, and others were rapidly approaching those (Pollard, 1997, 4). Although the composition of the goods and services Europeans consumed were different, the GNP per capita showed a clear advance over the 1930s in total. Of course, the Marshall Plan gave an added impetus to the economic recovery of Europe, but it seems rather difficult to evaluate its actual overall ramifications. The great bulk of the funds went to defense support and not for development assistance. Higgins (1959, 605-610) comments, also, on whether Marshall Plan has fostered or retarded economic growth. In the fiscal year 1952, total expenditures of the USA under the International Cooperation Administration's program spent in Europe amounted to 1.65 billion

dollars, as compared to $830 million in the fiscal year 1954 and only $279 million in the fiscal year 1956 in the total of $ 1, 63 billion dollars, most of them for defense support. Chollet and Goldgeier (2005, 7) claim that there is convergence in the views of the plan's critics view that the financial assistance only marginally fostered the economic growth already taking place on the continent. Similarly, Pollard argues (1997, 91) that "claims made at the time that it was responsible to a significant degree for the remarkable economic recovery of Europe after the war would nowadays be widely discounted". Viner (1984) supports the idea that foreign aid has fostered the efforts at postwar reconstruction, along with some economic planning and cooperation. Europe's paradigm had generated optimism for the task of economic development in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, Viner adds.

In the early '60s the scene underwent a significant change, when several publications appeared documenting the adverse repercussions of the continuing accumulation of a nation's wealth in social welfare, in happiness, in human development, in the distribution of income, in the sustainable use of natural resources, and the environment, among others. It was the starting point which has opened up new horizons for development. A prevailing anti-materialist "counter-culture", an anti-growth environmentalism appears in the early 1970s, as Offer (2000) describes it. The discussion has now been shifted to developmental issues. Bombach (1985) informs us about three questions which were in the center of a 1973 symposium: (1) Is continued growth possible? (2) Is continued growth necessary? (3) Is continued growth desirable? Despite sharing these worries, Bombach favors growth as a prerequisite for a better quality of life as if "people are not prepared to lower their living standards, quality of life can mean more growth instead of less" (Bombach, 1985). Seers illustrates this need to divide economic development from growth "We have all been aware that development consists of much else besides economic growth" (Seers, 1969). Scholars and stakeholders' attention in developmental issues was gradually rising, along with their appetite for scrutinizing their own indices about measuring societal progress in every country, going beyond conventional economic tools that measure growth such as GDP and GNP per capita. Economic growth now enters in competition with important queries: does economic growth improve wellbeing? What is the correlation between economic growth and social welfare? Which are the effects of the continuous accumulation of wealth in the environment? Do people live in better conditions? Are

they happier? More educated? Do they make better decisions? And many other important queries. A growing number of studies appear doing that period, documenting these effects, while at the same time the need for new tools was stressed to measure the progress of a nation. One of the most famous studies of the period is that of Richard Easterlin (1974) titled "Does Economic Growth Improve Human Lot? Some Empirical Evidence", who proceeds with presenting the results of thirty surveys aimed to investigate the correlation between income and happiness. These were conducted from 1946 to 1970 in 19 developed and less-developed countries, including 11 countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It appears from the aforementioned surveys that within countries there is a noticeable positive association between income and happiness, and that people in the highest status group were happier, on average, than those in the lowest status group. However, for national comparisons among countries and over time the association of income and happiness is much weaker, if it exists at all, as one might expect. Economic considerations are very important to people; however, this is not the only matter of concern. Another important finding that Easterlin suggests is that there is a positive association between economic conditions and social norms. As for economic growth, Easterlin suggests that it does not raise a society to a state of plenty, on the contrary it leads to ever-growing wants (Easterlin, 1974, 121). Xenofon Zolotas' (1981) essay titled "Economic Growth and Declining Social Welfare" is in the same wavelength. The classical concept for constantly high rates of economic growth was embodied in the New Frontier Ideology at a time when its unfavorable effects were relatively insignificant compared to the social benefits obtained, as Zolotas admits. Classical economists were actually aware that this concept for constantly growing material wealth suffers from some serious limitations, as they actually 'had predicted with deep concern that economic growth would cease altogether' and that adverse results would follow.

The positive effects of economic growth through successive increases in the material production were understandable during the stage of primary accumulation when it seemed possible that the above process would confine the universal state of poverty. But when the society reaches or is approaches the stage of affluence, only then the adverse repercussions of the mere continuation of the accumulation process would be visible. This process "tends to make a radical change in the one-to-one correspondence that existed in the previous stages between economic growth and social wellbeing"

(Zolotas, 1981, 6). Consistent with the findings by Easterlin, Xenophon Zolotas comments on the negative effects of the rapid growth to social welfare and warns that when economic growth is used as a proxy for social welfare, it becomes restrictive and may also be a misleading indicator of it, as least as far as the advanced industrial economies are concerned. He also predicts an "evolution of expectations" which will lead to ever growing human wants, after people meet their basic needs for food, clothing, shelter and recreation. Zolotas proposed a logistic curve model which depicts the total social welfare as a function of GNP. The relationship between income and welfare in a society passes through three phases: of privation, of steady improvements and finally of declining improvements. In the phase of the society of privation and after the shock of primary accumulation, every increment in the in the national product is translated into a larger percentage of increase in social welfare. In the phase of steady improvements and enjoyments, increases in national product are accompanied by equal percentage of increases in social welfare. After this phase, the rate of increase in social welfare with respect to income growth diminishes, reaching zero. Thus, this means that in highly developed industrial economies the social benefit of economic growth tends to equal its effective social cost. As Zolotas advises, after this point any effort to maintain the growth standards of the past may simply lead to negative rates of change in social welfare (Zolotas, 1981, 10). Following the above recommendations, Avner Offer (2000) in his study "Economic Welfare Measurements and Human Well-Being" and based on previous findings, suggests a historical circle of two periods where a curvilinear relationship between economic welfare and human welfare exists. During the first period, economic growth provides high welfare payoffs, as basic deprivations are remedied, and basic needs are satisfied. Following the second phase, GDP goods provide diminishing, steady or even negative returns. Going beyond GDP, Offer proposes three approaches to the 'alternative' measurement of welfare: The first one involves 'extending' the national accounts, in order to incorporate non-market goods and services, and to eliminate detrimental components, as well. The second approach identifies social norms and evaluates their provision using a set of social indicators. Finally, the third approach targets mental states directly, by means of survey data on reported subjective wellbeing, and by research on the dynamics of hedonic experience (Offer, 2000).

The correlation between economic growth and social wellbeing is another important query that starts to occupy scholars and politicians during that period: could constant process of economic growth bring about a commensurate improvement of societal welfare or not? "Growth has approached the status of a religion. But even in our religious fervor, we must ask, Can it last?", Lamm (2006, 269) wonders. Nordhaus and Tobin (1972, 1) in their study titled "Is Growth Obsolete?", they present a few parameters that seem to be neglected by growth advocates, criticizing at the same time the blind obedience to aggregate material "progress", which distorts national priorities, worsens the distribution of income, and irreparably damages the environment, as Nordhaus and Tobin highlight. They also field three queries that would put in question the desirability and possibility of future growth: (a) How good are the measures of output currently used for evaluating the growth of economic welfare? (b) Does the growth process inevitably waste our natural resources? (c) How does the rate of population growth affect economic welfare? Following the first query, Nordhaus and Tobin insist that GNP is not a measure of economic welfare despite the fact that "Economists all know that, and yet their everyday use of GNP as the standard measure of economic performance apparently conveys the impression that they are evangelistic worshipers of GNP" (Nordhaus and Tobin, 1972, 4). Moreover, they propose that GNP is an index of production, not consumption, which is after all the goal of economic activity. Having this in mind, and after noticing that economics have been slow to develop a measure of economic performance oriented to consumption, either conceptually or statistically, Nordhaus and Tobin (1972, 4) have proceeded with proposing a welfare measure, the so called "measure of economic welfare" (MEW). With reference now to the second query, they admit that at present there is no reason to arrest general economic growth to conserve natural resources, although they acknowledge that "there is good reason to provide proper economic incentives to conserve resources which currently cost their users less than true social cost" (Nordhaus and Tobin, 1972, 24). In reference to the third query about whether the rate of population growth affects economic welfare, Nordhaus and Tobin admit that the slowdown of the population growth in USA will significantly increase sustainable per capita consumption, but technological process cannot be shut off even with zero population growth (ibid, 24). In conclusion, in the main question whether growth is obsolete the answer is negative, and despite identifying the measures of GNP as "imperfect measures of welfare", Nordhaus and Tobin agree on their dominance (ibid,

24). The inequalities caused by the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few people, along with the impact of the reforms of the educational systems aiming at serving only the labor markets, have been two issues of interest in Viviane Forrester's (1999) book titled "The Economic Horror". Eventually, this quest for growth could be summarized in the words of Negt "it gives the impression that human happiness and misery hang by a silken thread from the economy" (Negt, 2008, 746). That was the interest for economic growth possibilities that Robert Lucas admitted that "Once one starts to think about them, it is hard to think about anything else" (Lucas, 1988). That's all for the story of economic growth in Europe, now we pass the baton to economic development.

2.3 Unfolding the notion of economic development

It is far from obvious that the economic performance of Europe in the post-WWII period has been one of the most discussed issues in the literature. Many studies explore the economic performance in Europe, so it took a long and detailed research to unfold the notion. As discussion about the negative effects of economic growth was intensified, considerable scepticism as to whether GDP was appropriate to measure a nation's progress, its wellbeing and welfare was also gaining momentum. Three main study categories could be distinguished in approaching the notion of economic development: the first refers to those studies which explore economic development only with quantitative data, the second refers to those with only qualitative, and the third to those studies that include both. A few notes are presented right below.

The relevance of the tools used to measure economic development has led to substantial debate by international institutions and scientists. The prevailing discourse emphasizes the importance of the careful use of instruments that measure both a nation's wealth and its wellbeing and the need to proceed with the development of new indices. GDP is a widely used measure by economists, although it is not a panacea in measuring wellbeing and social progress and should not be the only driver to the development of new strategies. It is very interesting to note that Simon Kuznets, the architect of GDP/GNP, has delivered a warning in his very first report to the US Congress on 4th January 1934, at the same time the tool was introduced to the public:

> *"[…] the welfare of a nation can scarcely be inferred from a measure of national income. If the GDP is up, why is America down? Distinctions must be kept in mind between quantity and quality of growth, between costs and returns, and between the*

short and long run. Goals for more growth should specify more growth of what and for what".

[Kuznets, 1934]

The foregoing statement is of fundamental significance, because it sums up the *raison d'être* of the statistical indicator GDP, as being a tool to help us measure economic performance and not our wellbeing. While Kuznets's comments were very cautious and carefully measured on this issue, the extensive use and sometimes misuse of GDP by his descendants, casts doubt on the validity of the produced outcomes. These concerns are reflected in the following words by Victor (2008, 9) "As economic growth became virtually synonymous with progress, increases in GDP became our main measure of progress. If we understand progress to mean an improvement in wellbeing, then GDP is a poor measure". Jan Drewnowski (1972) explains that economic variables were used to measure social conditions, because of the lack of tools to measure social conditions. In the same spirit, Seers (1972) admits "Development is inevitably a normative concept, almost a synonym for improvement. To pretend otherwise is just to hide one's value judgements". Stiglitz (2006, 45-50) also notices "GDP is a handy measure of economic growth, but it is not the bean and end-all of development […]. Focus on GDP results in too-narrow a focus on development strategies". Along similar lines, Viner (1984) agrees that even though per capita wealth, income and production all increase, the population might still increase substantially. McClelland (1961) is also skeptical about development, by urging people to think the differences in people's lives. As governments have always struggled to measure the progress of each country with GDP, the then-US Presidential candidate Robert F. Kennedy in an inspiring speech he gave at the University of Kansas, on March 18, 1968, suggested the following:

"Yet the gross national product does not allow for the health of our children, the quality of their education or the joy of their play. It does not include the beauty of our poetry or the strength of our marriages, the intelligence of our public debate or the integrity of our public officials. It measures neither our wit nor our courage, neither our wisdom nor our learning, neither our compassion nor our devotion to our country, it measures everything in short, except that which makes life worthwhile".

[Kennedy, 1968]

Going beyond the conventional economic measures such as GDP per capita, a remarkable gesture towards introducing measurement tools of societal progress has been the Istanbul Declaration, signed on 30 June 2007 in Istanbul by the European Commission, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the United Nations, the United Nations Development Programme and the World Bank (Istanbul Declaration, 2007). The Istanbul Declaration demonstrates the strong commitment of the above partners to measuring and fostering the progress of societies in all of their dimensions and to supporting initiatives at the country level. The ex-president of the European Commission, José Manuel Barroso, in his speech in the 2007 Beyond GDP Conference that was held from 19 to 20 November 2007 by the European Commission, the European Parliament, the Club of Rome, the OECD and the WWF (The Beyond GDP Conference, 2007). The "Beyond GDP" initiative advocates the need to develop indicators that are as clear and appealing as GDP, but more inclusive of environmental and social aspects of progress. GDP measures growth, this is something we all should agree. Mr. Barroso stressed how important it is to go beyond GDP and to develop new indicators for the 21st century:

> *"GDP is an indicator of economic market activity. It was not intended to be an accurate measure of wellbeing. Even Simon Kuznets, [...] one of the main originators of GDP, said: 'the welfare of a nation can scarcely be inferred from a measure of national income".*
>
> [The Beyond GDP conference 2007]

In response to the above claims about the need to measure the wellbeing of a nation, economic development might be the proper answer. As a matter of fact, we hear all too often about economic development in parliamentary chambers, in the press, in academic circles, in the everyday talk. What is economic development, why it differs from economic growth and why it is proposed to be the key answer to the above question about the alternative measures of wellbeing is the second key issue in which this study intends to contribute. The discussion will begin with the term "development" and then it will concentrate to its economic aspect, namely this of economic development. In several points in this study comments are found about the differences between economic growth and economic development, and there are also enough reasons that justify the fact this study has chosen the term economic development.

Moreover, as all the other issues in this study, development will be put into historical perspective to explore its full potential and here follows a detailed analysis. The first serious discussions about development begun after WWII and since then the term has gone through a reconstruction process both in its meaning and application; it gradually incorporated a qualitative dimension, which remarkably differentiates this term from the term 'growth' in which the quantitative dimension prevails. Literature review offers many interesting explanations and perspectives of the term development. All of these examine different aspects, highlighting different elements every time, either focusing on the historical evolution of the term, its geographical origin, or the needs it serves, as well as the measurement tools in use. However, there seems to be a consensus on how little consensus there actually is about the complex processes of economic development, and despite the process that has been done, we still have some way to go before we reach agreement, if we do so. Phillips (2011) admits "The global development agenda remains in a state of disarray with few unequivocal advances on its core card".

We shall begin our journey with a rather unique idea by the economic historian Robert Heilbroner who contends that economic development in its broader sense has an age-old relationship with the world history, being "the first act of world history" (Goulet, 2002, 12). To my knowledge this opinion is specific in itself. Easterly approaches the notion of development by the time it has triggered the scientists' interest and by its geographical origination. In this way, two simultaneous historical events have influenced the first generation of the development experts: The Great Depression and the industrialization of the Soviet Union through forced saving and investment. "Suddenly after World War II, we policy experts, having ignored poor countries for centuries, now called for attention to their 'urgent problems" (Easterly, 2001, 30). At the same period, the breakup of the colonial empires in Asia and Africa raised the interest of politicians and economists -especially those being experts in development economics- to respond to the needs of advising prior colonies -that soon emerging as nations- on what could and should be done to allow their countries to escape from chronic poverty (Easterly, 2001, 30: Meier, & Seers, 1984, 4-6). For Regmi, the post-war development project that stemmed from the European notion of trusteeship has been handed over the global financial market (Regmi, 2021, 239). Ardnt (1984) states that the term economic development was rarely used before the 1940s and agrees with

the idea that the term was largely used to denote economic growth in per capita real income. The geographical determination of economic development within Europe is an idea regularly encountered in literature. The possibility of lack of supply of raw materials originating from the countries of the Third World, along with the rising price of petrol, are two other issues of non-negligible interest. Having already established close interdependence with the Third World, the developed countries expressed serious concerns about the possible damage the above issues could do to their economies (Thirlwal, 2001, 4). Cowen and Shenton (1996) also comment on the European origin of economic development, calling it "Necessarily Eurocentric" depicting hopes to provide the constructivist means to compensate for the results of capitalism. Easterly and Levine (2016) in their study "The European origins of Economic Development" examine whether the European share of the population during colonization is associated with economic development today. The results show that former colonies with larger colonial European settlements have much higher levels of economic development today than former colonies that had a smaller proportion of Europeans during the colonial period. Thus, the proportion of the Europeans during colonization, is strongly and positively associated with the level of economic development today. Hettne (1990) advises that European development strategies are situated in the horizontal axis between the two antipoles socialism versus capitalism. Maddison (1997) distinguished five major phases of development since 1820, as follows:

- 1st phase: 1820 - 1870
- 2nd phase: 1870 - 1913
- 3rd phase: 1913 - 1950
- 4th phase: 1950 - 1973

The challenges in defining the notion are already obvious. Baster (1972) points out that amongst economists, development tends to be subsumed under economic development. Despite the truth of this matter, the following analysis will offer many answers to this question. The quantitative aspect of development so far predominates at the expense of the qualitative one. Literature agrees with this finding. An interesting study back to 1961 by Irma Adelman (1961) that economic development consists of two sets of indicators: the economic variables and the socio-cultural variables, presented below:

Economic variables

- The proportion of the labor force engaged in primary activities
- The ratio of foreign trade to the gross domestic product
- The share of value added in manufacturing
- The capita-labor ratio in manufacturing
- The percentage of investment

Socio-economic variables

- Literacy index
- Urbanization index
- Crude birth rate
- Crude death rate
- Infant mortality rates
- Life expectancy at birth

Indeed, as Regmi (2021) notes economic development was expected to be achieved through the redistribution of wealth within and across different societies and communities. Gilpin (1987) recommends that "the most important factor affecting economic development is the efficient organization of the domestic economy itself". The Nobel Prize winner Robert Lucas (1988) in his study "On the mechanics of economic development" offers a narrow definition for economic development which includes measuring rates of growth of per capita income across countries and across times. However, Lucas admits that a successful theory of economic development needs mechanics that are consistent with sustained growth, and sustained diversity in income levels, and makes it clear that there cannot be one pattern suitable for all economies. In views like this -which are quite numerous, we realize that the notion of economic development is used to highlight the developmental outcomes in terms of wealth and growth. Notwithstanding this reality, many scholars and politicians have approached the massive investments on growth with criticism, and quite a number of them emphasize that development should be considered as growth plus change in values and institutions (Meier, & Seers, 1984, 6). The reasons for considering the need to move beyond quantitative measurement of economic development are highlighted in many studies. Sotiropoulos, Huliaras, Roussos and Sklias (2005, 28) suggest that approaching development only from an economic perception means that other crucial parameters will be excluded. For example, by borrowing large sums of money or by exporting a single product whose control belongs to a financial oligarchy, an economy will be

enlarged although other sectors might be in deep crisis, like social level growing poverty, periodic hunger threat, degradation of the natural environment, ethnic conflicts and illiteracy (Sotiropoulos et al., 2005, 28). This is an illustrative example of the purposes of development, which include reducing poverty, reducing inequality and unemployment, except from the so well accepted idea of the income increase. Easterly for example has criticized the supposedly miraculous growth and aid policies of the past and reminds that the ultimate goal of growth research is raising living standards (Wacziarg, 2002). A simple question arises shortly thereafter: is there a best path to take? Griffin (Goulet, 2002, 19) admits that "there is no best path to development". Indeed, the variety of the opinions expressed in this subject are living proof of this. So, what could be the most appropriate path to development? The following paragraphs give some food for thought.

Dudley Seers places the whole debate on a new footing, answering, at the same time, the main question whether development should be defined in terms of material economic progress or not. "We have all been aware that development consists of much else besides economic growth". For Seers, if poverty, inequality and unemployment have declined from high levels, then this has been a period of development for a country, whereas "If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result development, even if per capita income doubled" (Seers, 1969, 1-5). In this vein, Van Nieuwenhuijze (1987, 114) argues that development is best defined in terms of economic improvement, incorporating also value judgements with far-reaching social implications while measuring material progress. Similarly, Goulet (2002, 12) clarifies that "development does not deliver economic wellbeing to all nations and people: in its distribution of benefits, it is not just". Victor (2008, 8) also comments that development refers to a broader set of institutional changes as a precondition for ongoing increases in economic output, whereas growth indicates increases in economic output within a given institutional structure. Thomas and Reader (O'Brien & Williams, 2011) propose another quite broader definition, but very targeted: the term development refers to a multidimensional process that involves the transition from a less desirable to a more desirable societal situation. Amartya Sen (1999) in his inspiring study "Development as Freedom" presents a radical idea about the notion of development: that it is a process of expanding real freedoms that people enjoy. Freedoms depend on many influences

like social and economic arrangements, political and civil rights, also depict the need to remove the major forces that cause unfreedom. As Sen suggests political freedoms - in the form of free speech and elections, help to promote economic security and social opportunities in the form of education and health facilities, facilitate economic participation in the form of opportunities for participation in trade and production, promote personal abundance and direct public resources to social facilities. Positive freedoms of thought, cultural expression, and the enjoyment of leisure also contribute to development according to Sen (1999, 174). Some other factors like industrialization, wealth, urbanization or technological process or social modernization can play their part on development, as they substantially expand human freedoms. This list goes on as Sen also proposes that development requires the removal of unfreedom factors like poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or overactivity of repressive states. Of course, Sen recognizes the importance of the growth of GNP or of individual incomes as means of expanding the freedoms enjoyed by the members of the society and makes clear that development should be seen away from a narrow context. Sen's ideas were really welcomed in the public discussion. Nafziger (2005, 1) comments on Sen's ideas, supplementing that the development involves also reducing deprivation or broadening choice as well. Deprivation represents a multidimensional view of poverty that includes hunger, illiteracy, illness and poor health, powerlessness, voicelessness, insecurity, humiliation, and a lack of access to basic infrastructure. This study hosts many ideas in the same wavelength. Adam and Dercon admit that many of the deep issues associated with development are "firmly rooted in the narrower economic challenge of promoting and sustaining high and inclusive economic growth". Thus, individuals and societies can enjoy and afford the freedoms that Sen describes due to the growth of income (Adam, & Dercon, 2009).

Another important idea that lies in the heart of economic development is that of Todaro and Smith (2012, 775) who declare that development is the process of improving the quality of all human lives and capabilities by raising people's standards of living, self-esteem, and freedom. Goulet (2002, 22), admits that development, as pursued by the dominant economy, means maximum economic growth, but he warns that qualitative human betterment should be pursued too. Thirlwall identifies Goulet's work in broadening the notion of development to include economic and social objectives and

values that every society strives for and highlights another significant Goulet's contribution: distinguishing three basic components or values of development: Life-sustenance, self-esteem, and freedom (Thirlwall, 2001, 20). An important meaning of development considers the notion through its historical evolution defined both by the historical and the modern aspect. As McGillivray (2008, 21-23) notices development as an historical process refers to the unfolding of human history over a long period of time, in a manner that is thought to be progressive. This aspect is very much linked to the Western European experience from the late eighteenth century, who saw the emergence of more materially affluent societies, better communication and transportation, greater human freedom, and higher education levels. According to Lerner (1972, 386) the development agenda should be approached in the of the modernization theory, where development is understood as "a process of social change whereby less developed societies acquire characteristics to more developed societies". McGillivray (2008, 21-23) notes that modernization refers to a process whereby traditional societies with a reliance on the agricultural sector developed, through a fundamental, complete structural transition, into advanced, modern societies with an increasingly large proportion of an economy's output coming from industrial activities. The ultimate objective according to Lipset, is citizens to "develop the self-restraint necessary to avoid succumbing to the appeals of irresponsible demagogues" (ibid.). Arat (1988) draws on Lipset's proposals and explains that economic development is a necessary but not a sufficient condition of democratic development. The causal effect culture has on economic development is another interesting issue, rather less known to many of us. These are important findings as it turns out that since the birth of the word development it continues to be geared towards the very same objective: this of changing the society. Granato, Inglehart and Leblang (1996) in their study examine if culture can change and how this can affect economic development in terms of growth. As they found out, it is rather difficult to change the entire culture, but if one specific dimension changes, in this case the achievement motivation, this can generate effects on economic development too.

From the side of the developing countries or the 'backward counties' as often called, development experts examined the reasons for the underdevelopment of these countries and proposed new parameters to be evaluated. The planning of economic development was widely connected with their attempt to allocate or reallocate rationally their scarce

resources to bring high rates of growth (Sanders and Barth, 1968, 214). From another perspective economic development is seen from the political economy perspective. Adam and Dercon (2009) in their study "The political economy of development: As assessment" elevate the idea that the understanding of economic development engages questions of political economy and, in particular, with how political choices, institutional structures, and forms of governance influence the economic choices made by governments and citizens. The ultimate concern, as the above scholars note, is how these choices shape patterns of economic development, as the above structures reflect deeper forces, such as the patterns of colonial settlement and conflict, physical geography and natural resources endowments, the disease ecology of societies, and ethnic diversity, as well as some cultural factors. The study of political economy has forced economists to engage with much more closely to other disciplines like economic history, politics and political science, decision theory, geography, and psychology. However, Adam and Dercon express their concern about the influence made by pioneering economists who put focus on long-run economic growth, decision making, mechanism design, and trade that have an obvious effect on the future of political economy. "Pioneering economists are radically altering the discipline and re-building the theoretical basis on which modern political economy rests". This new political economy, as Adam and Dercon express, has two defining characteristics. The first relating to the use of economic theory and the second to empirical validation.

Another issue addressed in the literature is whether development is a process or a state, and whether it indicates an achieved condition or an evolving process. O'Brien and Williams (2011) state that development is both a process and a state. By the same token, C.A.O. Van Nieuwenhuijze (1987, 10-11) declares that the word development derives either from the transitive or the intransitive sense of the verb 'to develop', and it denotes in the former sense an act or effort and in the latter a process. In contrary to the above, Van Nieuwenhuijze states that development cannot be regarded in any circumstances as an achieved condition. The role of development in the process of changing a society is another important issue pointed out in the literature. This idea is not innovative, as it is rooted back in the 1940s and implies "the idea that deliberate action can be undertaken to change society in chosen directions considered desirable" (Youngman, 2000, 240). Development is considered also to be a social issue itself and has drawn the attention of many social scientists. In this view, change involves structural

transformation which implies cultural, political, social and economic changes (Hettne, 1990, 1-3). A very interesting study associating economic development with democracy is this of Lipset (1959), who perceives that a democratic political system has two structural characteristics: economic development and legitimacy. Economic development comprises industrialisation, wealth, urbanisation, and education, and those factors are closely interrelated as to form one common factor. All of these factors carry the political correlation of democracy. In this view, economic development is associated to democracy in philosophical terms. Hence, a wealthy society offers the means to its citizens to intelligently participate in politics, and this is how a sustainable democracy is established. If the number of citizens living in real poverty is high, then the democracy is seriously jeopardized (ibid.).

2.4 Approaching economic development through the World Bank Reports

Particularly worthy of notice are the annual World Bank Reports on economic development which have a relatively large contribution to the understanding on its context. The Reports were notably in favor of the quantitative perspective of economic development from the first one in 1978 until 1999, when other aspects of economic development enriched the discussion. More details on this will be provided in the following paragraphs. The World Bank Report, an annual report published since 1978, provides an in-depth analysis of a specific aspect of economic development. Looking back the 1978 Report deals with major fundamental problems. Some of the major findings include declines in fertility associated with economic development, and betterment of health. Better nutrition and health have raised life expectancy, and infant mortality had decreased (World Development Report, 1978). The twin objectives of development are to accelerate economic growth and to reduce poverty. The 1979 Report (World Development Report, 1979) draws on the objective of modern economic development to transform essentially rural, agricultural societies into more urban, industrialized nations. The 1980 Report “Poverty and Human Development” (World Development Report, 1980) takes the view that a few strategies, closely linked to growth, aim at overcoming poverty, namely: increasing employment, meeting basic needs, reducing inequalities in income and wealth, and raising the productivity of the poor. And it integrates them, with a related theoretical part on human development, to

emphasize that this is an end as well as a means of economic progress. The main theme in the 1981 Report deals with promoting sustainable economic growth. The adjustment problem examined in this Report emphasizes the gap between the low- and high-income countries in strengthening the main foundations of economic development – infrastructure, human capital, commercial networks, and effective administrative capacity at all levels- (World Development Report, 1981). The 1982 Report concentrates on the nexus between agriculture, which remains the main source of income for the developing countries and economic development to address poverty (World Development Report, 1982). The 1983 Report reviews recent trends in the international economy with a special focus on the management and institutional aspects of development. It draws on country experience to identify ways of making state-owned enterprises and project management more efficient, and therefore to improve the performance of bureaucracy (World Development Report, 1983). The focus of the 1984 Report is on the links between population growth and economic development to serve the main target of the reduction of poverty. Understanding those links requires consideration of education, health, employment, income, culture, and personal beliefs, aspects of everyday life that explain why parents choose to have a particular number of children (World Development Report, 1984). The contribution of the international capital to economic development is the main issue the 1985 Report tackles (World Development Report, 1985). Attaining sustainable growth by a country demands reforms in domestic institutions accompanied by an effort towards freer trade, as suggested in the 1986 Report. Freer trade should be a high priority for international action in agriculture too (World Development Report, 1986). The 1987 Report places emphasis on policies which affect both the efficiency and sustainability of industrial transformation, especially in the sphere of foreign trade (World Development Report, 1987). The following Report of 1988 explores how public finance policies are best designed and implemented and these can boost economic development (World Development Report, 1988). The 1989 Report explores the role of the financial systems in Development. Relying more on the private sector is a challenge for a country as this implies less government control in the allocation of credit, determination of interest rates, and the daily decision making of financial intermediation. Countries are striving to adjust their economies to these challenges (World Development Report, 1989). With the 1990 Report the World Bank focuses on the eradication of poverty. Reducing poverty is the fundamental objective of economic development, an idea approached by

the World Bank. In this Report the term poverty gets broader to include literacy, nutrition, and health, as well as income (World Development Report, 1990).

The 1991 Report develops a more systematic approach towards understanding the sense of economic development. While reviewing all the Reports one can see that the main idea all of them endorse is that economic development is mainly depicted through the increase of national income, the reduction of poverty, and the decrease of unemployment. Beginning with the statement that "The processes driving economic development are by no means fully understood", this Report intents to explore in depth all the other possible requirements of economic development which go beyond growth in per capita incomes. The weakness of income growth as an indicator for economic development, is that it may mask the real changes in welfare, despite the traditional economists' consideration that an increase in per capita income is a good proxy for other attributes of development. Thus, we need to take the necessary time to look in detail at what these components can contribute to our debate. It is a fact that thinking of economic development has sifted since WWII. Once-popular views have been called into question or at least have been revised, new evidence has appeared since then offering multiple paths to economic development. According to this Report, the challenge of economic development is to improve the quality of life. This challenge incorporates noneconomic components like progress in education, health and nutrition, greater equity, the protection of the environment, more equality of opportunity, greater individual freedom, and a richer cultural life. All of these cannot be captured by statistics on income growth, as the Report contends. Investing in people is another key requirement which provides long lasting development. Greater productivity brought about by technological progress also drives development. Productivity is, moreover, linked to investments in physical and human capital, and also with trade. These are also considered as the means through which the technology is diffused. Market distortion is another issue this Report examines. A relatively undistorted price system better serves the need for growth than a heavily distorted one. Political and civil liberties are no more inconsistence with economic growth. The role of the government and interventions is called also into question. The Report proposes three cases where government intervention can be helpful to development, which voices the need for the combination of a sound policy climate and a friendly-market intervention:

- Intervene reluctantly and let the markets work, except from several actions that involve public goods.
- Apply checks and balances. The interventions should always be put always to the discipline of the international and domestic markets.
- Intervene openly. Interventions should be simple, transparent and subject to rules.

Following the above, the Report calls for a reappraisal of the respective roles for the market and the State. Investing in people is one of the four aspects of the relationship between governments and markets. The others are enabling the climate for the enterprises to flourish, the integration of countries with the global economy, and finally a stable macroeconomic foundation which is essential to sustained progress. Other important attributes are equality of opportunity, political freedoms, and civil liberties – such as free press and the free flow of information- those seem to be associated with health and education in large groups of countries. Focusing on education, the Report notes that its relation to development is complex, as it is for technology and openness, as they enable economies to respond not only to price signals but also to new ideas. The contribution of education to growth was measured through literacy rates, or through primary school's enrollment ratios in past studies. As a matter of fact, the Report suggests that increasing the average amount of education of the labor force by one year, it leads to a raise in the GDP by 9 percent. This occurs for the first three years, as a result GDP goes up by 27 percent. Thereafter, every year of schooling diminishes the GDP about 4 percent a year, or a total of 12 percent the three years. Better policies and more education contribute to growth. Moreover, they seem to interact, thus their effect is greater when both exist (World Development Report, 1991). The 1992 Report explores the nexus between economic development and the environment. The main discourse is whether environmental constraints will limit development and whether development will cause serious environmental damage (World Development Report, 1992). The interplay between human health, health policy and economic development is the issue the 1993 Report addresses. Remarkable improvements have been made in the previous forty years in the field of health, in part because of growing incomes and increasing education, and in part because of governments' efforts to expand health services, which have been enriched by technological progress (World Development Report, 1993). The 1994 Report explores the link between infrastructure and

development. The quality more than the quantity of infrastructure service is vital for economic development (World Development Report, 1994). The eighteenth annual Report of 1995 assesses what a more market-driven and integrated world means for workers and asks which development strategies best address workers' needs (World Development Report, 1995). The 1996 Report examines the transition of countries with alternatives systems of centrally planned economy back to a market orientation (World Development Report, 1996). The Report of 1997 approaches one of the major development issues: the role and effectiveness of the State. An effective state –not a minimal one- is central to economic, social, and sustainable development, but more as partner and facilitator than a director. Equity remains a central concern of the state, as the Report recommends. Appropriately designed policies in basic education and health care can reduce poverty and increase equity while promoting economic growth. States should work to complement markets, not replace them. Issues of inequality and insecurity cannot or should not addressed only by the state, as well as problems revealed by market failures. Governments' role should be deciding whether and how to respond. As the Report proposes, the state's unique strengths are its powers to tax, in order to finance the provision for public goods, also to prohibit to protect personal safety and property rights. The Report refers to the public investments in education, which yield high returns to the society, closely linked to economic development (World Development Report, 1997).

The 1998/1999 Report acknowledges that knowledge, not capital, is the key to sustained economic growth and improvements in human wellbeing. The Report considers two sorts of knowledge: technical knowledge (for example, about farming, health, or accounting) and knowledge about attributes (the quality of a product, the credibility of a borrower, or the diligence of a worker) (World Development Report, 1998/1999). The 1999/2000 Report (World Development Report, 1999/2000) focuses on two forces of change in the advent of the 21st Century: the integration of the world economy and the increasing demand for self-government, as the key responses to crucial issues like poverty reduction, climate change, and water scarcity. The progressive integration of the world's economies, resulting from globalization, requires national governments to move towards a cooperation with international partners as the best way to manage changes affecting trade, financial flows, and the global environment. Governments, on the other side, have responded to the demands of increased self-government by sharing

power with and devolving authority to lower tiers of government. The role of the state in sustaining a dynamic equilibrium with international and subnational partners is also examined, recognizing that it should complement the market. The Report claims that there is a shift in development thinking, which is summarized in four propositions:

i. Sustainable development has many objectives beyond raising per capita income. These objectives involve improving quality of life, among them are better health services and educational opportunities, greater participation in public life, a clean environment, intergenerational equity.
ii. Development policies are interdependent. Integrated policy packages and institutional environments have a contribution to make in rewarding good outcomes, minimizing preserve incentives, encouraging initiative, and facilitating participation.
iii. Governments play a vital role in development, but there is no simple set of rules that tells them what to do. It depends on capacity, capabilities, the country's level of development, the country's level of development, external conditions among others.
iv. Processes as just as important as policies.

[World Development Report, 1999/2000]

The 2000/2001 Report explores the nature, and evolution of poverty as well as, and its causes to present a framework for action. The Report introduces several international development goals, most of them for 2015, as presented below:

- Reduce the proportion of people living in extreme poverty by half between 1990 and 2015
- Enroll all of children in primary school by 2015
- Make progress toward gender equality and empowering women by eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005
- Reduce infant and child mortality rates by two-thirds between 1990 and 2015
- Reduce maternal mortality ratios by three-quarters between 1990 and 2015
- Provide access for all who need reproductive health services by 2015
- Implement national strategies for sustainable development by 2005 so as to reverse the loss of environmental resources by 2015

These goals should be viewed together, as they are mutually reinforcing. Each of them addresses an aspect of poverty. National economic development is central to succeed a reduction in poverty, although it is not the only prerequisite. Economic, social, and political processes interact with each other and can worsen or ease the deprivation poor people face every day. The modern economic development perceives that growth could significantly improve the living standards of poor people and everyone else (World Development Report, 2000/2001). The 2002 Report is about building market institutions that promote growth and reduce poverty. Markets are central to the lives of poor people, and institutions play an important role in how markets affect people's standards of living and help protect their rights (World Development Report, 2002). The 2003 Report examines the relationship between competing policy objectives of reducing poverty, maintaining growth, improving social cohesion, and protecting the environment. The 2004 Reports builds an analytical and practical framework for using resources, whether internal or external, more effectively by making services work for poor people (World Development Report, 2004). The 2005 Report explores what are the key features of a good investment climate, and how do they influence growth and poverty. Moreover, it argues that improving the investment climate of the society should be a top priority for governments (World Development Report, 2005). The 2006 Report looks at the role of equity in the development process. The main message of the Report is that in the long run the pursuit of equity and the pursuit for economic prosperity are complementary (World Development Report, 2006). The 2007 Report focused on crucial capabilities and transitions in a young people's life and work, like learning for life and work, staying healthy, working, forming families, and exercising citizenship. The main debate focuses on how people between the ages 12 to 24 years can be supported to their transition to adulthood to be productive towards development (World Development Report, 2007). The 2008 Report seeks to assess where, when, and how agriculture can be an effective instrument for economic development (World Development Report, 2008). The 2009 Report addresses how the three dimensions density, distance and division are essential for development and should be encouraged. These three geographic dimensions can describe the transformation of economies as they develop and the conditions that shape future policies. Although these three words are easy metaphors that summon images of human, physical, and political geography, they can be measured (World Development Report, 2009). The question of how to make development more resilient to climate change, as it is to pursue growth and prosperity

without causing "dangerous" climate change concerns the 2010 Report (World Development Report, 2010). The 2011 Report looks across disciplines and experiences drawn from around the world to offer some ideas and practical recommendations on how to move beyond conflict and fragility and secure development (World Development Report, 2011).

The 2012 Report looks at the gender equality issues and their role towards development. Greater gender equality is smart economics, enhancing productivity and improving other development outcomes (World Development Report, 2012). The 2013 Report is about jobs. Economic development is about improvements in living standards supported by productivity growth. It also involves social change associated with urbanization, integration in the world economy, and the drive toward gender equality. All these transformations are related to jobs, as the Report states (World Development Report, 2013). As the world changes, lots of opportunities arise constantly. Many countries have embarked on a path of international integration, economic reform, technological modernization, and democratic participation. At the same time, old and new risks appear. The 2014 Report contends that the solution is not to reject change to avoid risk, but to prepare for the opportunities and risks that change entails (World Development Report, 2014). The 2015 Report highlights recent progress in understanding the role that mental models play in economic development. It also argues that a more realistic account of decision-making and behavior will make development policy more effective (World Development Report, 2015). According to the 2016 Report countries should work on the "analog complements", namely strengthening regulations that ensure competition among business, adapting workers' skills to the demands of the new economy, and ensuring that the institutions are accountable to get the most out of digital revolution. The triple complements are also considered to be the foundation of economic development. In the Report emphasis is put on the importance of upgrading workers' skills to strengthen employability and productivity, and to reduce inequalities. Education and is also seen as a means to prepare people for the jobs of the future in the private sector, in labour markets, and the public sector (World Development Report, 2016). The 2017 Report addresses fundamental questions which lie at the heart of development, concerning the efficiency of the public policies and how to ensure their effective returns. The Report also argues that while many proximate factors are crucial for development, the adoption and implementation of pre-

development policies often depend on deeper underlying determinants, which requires rethinking of the process by which state and non-state actors interact to design and implement policies (World Development Report, 2017).

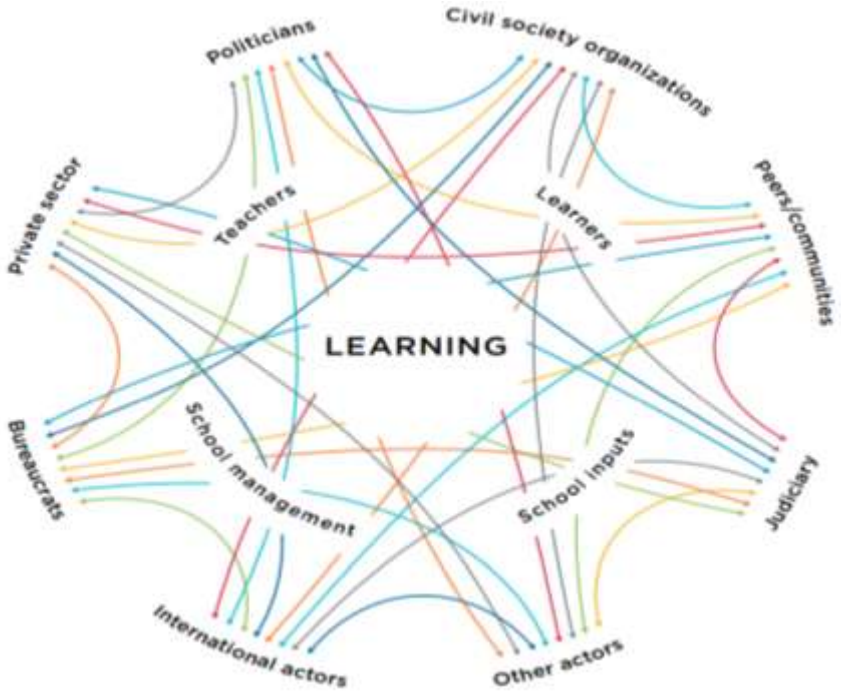
The 2018 Report titled 'Learning to Realize Education's Promise' (World Development Report, 2018) takes on a topic of central importance to global development: education. This is the first ever Report devoted entirely to education, and the most popular of all. The main idea this Report endorses is that learning really matters and is the means to realize education's promise. Countries are urged to improve learning through schools in conjunction with the following guidelines:

- Assess learning – to make it a serious goal
- Act on evidence – to make schools work for all learners
- Align actors – to make the whole system work for learning

The learning framework is a system where several parameters interact. People act in reaction to the choices of others throughout the system, which is illustrated in figure 2.1 that follows.

Figure 2.1

The learning framework



Source: World Development Report, 2018

Economies with higher skills grow faster than those with schooling but mediocre skills. Thus, economic development, being the result of the rise of national income –the main idea of all Reports- interacts closely with education. Education improves social outcomes in many spheres of life beyond being a basic -done- human right. More precisely, for individuals and families, education boosts human capital, improves economic opportunities, promotes health, and expands the ability to make effective choices. For societies, education expands economic opportunities, promotes social mobility, spurs innovation, and strengthens institutions. The Report also supports that national income can positively affect the learning outcomes at lower levels of development, as while families escape from poverty, education takes advantage of better facilities, more materials, and better trained teachers. So better outcomes should follow. But higher incomes do not invariably lead to better learning outcomes. Besides this main idea, experience has shown that the quality of educational systems and policy making committed to learning can also have a positive effect on learning outcomes. Education that encourages learning has also many benefits: it restores the faith to government and society to those who have positive schooling experience, young people have skills which meet the needs of the market, and the more qualified teachers the better for the outcomes. The 2018 Report proceeds by giving the relevant data for the individuals and families. More schooling is systematically associated with higher wages, thus each additional year of schooling typically raises an individual's earnings by 8-10 per cent. However, the Report clarifies that learning –not just schooling- matters in how education affects earnings. Women enjoy larger increases in their earnings. Education also reduces the likelihood of unemployment. The more educated the workers are, the less likely they are to lose their job. The Report highlights the strong links between education and better health outcomes, and longer lives. Educated people have more control over their lives also, thus higher life satisfaction, and greater happiness. The positive effects between education and the reduction of crimes committed by adults are also important. Fertility is another important issue examined, as education reduces teen pregnancy and increases the control women have over the number of children. There is also an intergenerational effect of education, as better-educated mothers raise healthier and more educated children. Education's benefits are apparent in technology also, as people with stronger skills can take better advantage of new technologies and adapt to changing working environments. Moving forward to

education's benefits to the society, the Report highlights that human capital can boost economic growth in two ways: first, improving the capacity to absorb and adapt new technology, will have a positive impact on short to medium term growth. Second, by catalyzing the technological advances that have a positive impact on sustained long-term growth. Besides the statistical evidence, education strengthens the political development of the nations, by increasing the awareness and understanding of political issues, fosters the socialization needed for effective political activity, and finally increases civic skills. Education also increases tolerance, trust, civic agency, makes institutions work better, and improves public services. The 2019 Report focuses on how the nature of work is changing because of advances in technology (World Development Report, 2019).

2.5 The history of adult education from a European perspective

Adult education traces its roots all the way back to the 18th century in Europe, or according to some scholars back to Plato. In *Statesman*, one of Plato's most significant and difficult dialogues, the education of citizens, *paideia*, is considered as the task of the legislator. So important the value of *paideia* was, and still is, for the city, that Castoriadis notes "Individuals are made by the *paideia* of the city" (Castoriadis, 2002). According to Knowles (Peterson, & Ray, 2013), the earliest thinking about the nature of learning concerned learning for adults, as in the ancient times all the great teachers were teachers of adults and not children. Namely, in ancient China Confucius and Lao Tse, the Hebrew prophets and Jesus, the ancient Greek philosophers -Socrates, Plato, Aristotle-, as well as in ancient Rome -Cicero, Quintilian and Euclid- were all teachers of adults. This chapter focuses on the history of adult education in Europe. The contribution of several thinkers and pedagogues like Jan Amos Comenius and Nikolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig, or subsequently of Peter Jarvis, Stephen Brookfield, Jane Thompson and many others of European descent have been particularly remarkable for the development of adult education in Europe and of course across borders. Besides its European origin, adult education has been enormously and remarkably developed around the world, and many famous adult educators have left their mark on the field, like John Dewey, Jack Mezirow, Paulo Freire, Patricia Cross, Chris Argyris, Donald Schon, Carl Rogers, Merriam Caffarella and many more subsequent scholars. As a practice, adult education has appeared with many other terms in its lifetime, a theme

which will be further analyzed in the next chapter. The practice of educating adults is well-known in Europe and has a long history, which this chapter will address. Since the first state provisions for educational programs for adults in the 18th century until today, a very interesting journey in the history of adult education in Europe begins right afterwards.

First state provisions promoting adult education were accomplished in Norway during the first half of the 18th century (Federighi, 1999, 5). United Kingdom itself has a long history of attempts serving at the education of adults. The first historical studies on adult education appeared at the end of the first half of the 19th century in the UK, a practice which had already been exported overseas well before the independence of America, where a legislative transfer came into effect towards the end of the Elizabethan era (Federighi, 1999, 5). Indeed, from a historical point of view there has been an interaction of adult education with the social context it occurs. Fenwick and Tennant (2004, 55) explain that the context of a person's life is not a static container, but an active and dynamic one, which along with its unique cultural, political, physical and social dynamics influences what learning experiences are encountered and how they are engaged. An eloquent example of how important the context within learning occurs is the following. In the *Christian Guardian and Church of England Magazine* it is cited that in the year 1812 a school was established in Bristol for the purpose of teaching the poor labourers to help them read the Holy Scriptures. The fame of that adult school, also known as "The poor man's friend", resulted in the creation of forty schools until 1821, which gave classes every Sunday afternoon. The beneficiaries were estimated to be 7.530 adults, 2.094 of which became able to read in the New Testament. Besides these benefits the effects were transferred to the local society, causing the moral improvement of children through their parents' improved knowledge due to attending these schools. Hence, a major concern was expressed by clergymen that neglecting adult education would work to the detriment of the moral improvement of the society, along with a return to the state of ignorance. "The deplorable neglect of adult education has been a fruitful source of evil" said the clergymen (The Christian Guardian and Church of England Magazine, 1821, 343-345). Besides these first efforts, the field of adult education was developed and had gained momentum in UK in the 1870s, when the two old universities, Oxford and Cambridge provided programs to extend liberal studies to working-class people (Houle, 1992, 15). However, the first school occupied

exclusively with the instruction of adults in the UK was established in 1811 in the village Bala in Merionethshire, as indicated in the *History of Adult Education*, the first book in the English language about adult education by J.H. Hudson (1851) published in 1851. In this book it is mentioned that Rev. T. Charles, Minister of the place, and an insightful man, introduced these schools in 1811 as he saw an aversion in the participation of adults compared to children in their schools. The 20th century saw a multitude of actions in the field of adult education. Stuart is one of the English scholars who investigated the history of adult education in depth in his country. Although many dignitaries believe that adult education in the land was distinctive and significant, in reality it did not enjoy any particular prestige as Stuart (2000) mentions. It took a hundred years for the Education Department to become interested in adult education in the 1890s, which resulted in more comprehensive provisions for the adults. Stuart notices that for most of the 20th century adult education was "very much an administrative oddity", also adding that "Adults as such do not figure anywhere in the English law of education. If they have crept in, it has been as "other persons" (Stuart, 2000, 23).

From the first decades of the 19th century adult education became a contested terrain. Linked to social movements, adult education mainly intended to teach the working class to secure their political rights, to ensure better circumstances for their families, and to improve their working conditions. Often joined by the trade union movement adult education gradually became the most powerful force for social change around the world. In some way it still serves those values. For Raymond Williams, an influential figure within the left culture in UK, adult education was seen as the ballast of the working class (Mcllroy, & Westwood, 1993, 13-17). Coming from the working class himself, Williams had a lifelong commitment to values and institutions of adult education, its collective democracy, its solidarity and its potential for making a better society. Prompted by the desire to examine the social response in the '30s and '40s and having realized the necessity for a radical kind of society able to nurture true community or appreciating the need for political action to achieve it, Williams was involved both in teaching and writing. Adult education was directly related to the collective emancipation of the working class, and Williams supported that it could provide workers with emancipatory knowledge for the extension of their democracy and the best of working-class culture (Mcllroy, & Westwood, 1993, 13-17). The gap between

the educational desires of workers from both employers and middle-class liberals, had a strong impact on the role of adult education, as employers wanted their workers to be educated in order to become more productive and efficient. This battleground ended up to the detriment of the workers, as education was reduced to knowledge and skills linked directly to work (Krašovec, 2010, 176). This development has a long history until today. British workers also resisted the middle-class's efforts to provide them with "useful knowledge", promoting their preference for "free inquiry", offered by workingmen's societies and socialist clubs (Boughton, Taksa, & Welton, 2004, 133). Titmus (1989, 3) advises that most adult education began as a response to a perceived practical need, and not as ideas looking for application. Some scholars insist that adult education became a necessity with the advent of industrial society (Kokkos, 2008, 59; Prokou, 2008, 123; Federighi, 1999, 5), which itself bolstered up the modernization and constant improvement of non-formal (Rogers, 2005) and informal systems learning (La Belle, 1982, 159-175).

Looking back in detail to that period, we see that during 1880-1914 several European governments proceeded with the establishment of compulsory and free primary education – previously a traditional field of church's sovereignty - as a means of strengthening social coherence. The industrialized countries have invested larger volumes of national resources for this purpose, in contrast to the countries of the south and east Europe. In 1911, in Germany the investments for the national education have reached the level of 12% of the total public expenditure, whereas in Great Britain the average was 10%, in France 8% and in Spain only 1.5% (Gaganakis, 1999, 275). According to another view, the emerging social and economic systems in the 19th century required a certain minimum standard of general education and training in the masses in order to satisfy basic technical demands of modern industry. In this view, the roots of modern education in Europe prepared, or in a certain sense formed, the bedrock of the Industrial Revolution (Berend 2013, 102). However, the prevailing view is that Science and its direct applications, especially technology achievements, had gained such a great reputation after the Second World War, that Europe experienced a services' revolution which encouraged the creation of a new category by millions of educated workers, those of the White Collar (Berend, 2009, 335). These rapid changes in the everyday life introduced another discourse about the need to safeguard citizen's rights to equal education, which lasts until today. Besides the experiences with the liberal

adult education, the need for rapid re-training of adults that served in the armed forces or in key industries in the post-World War period, had renewed interest in adult education (Field, 2001, 6). Desjardins (2009) also considers the same period as being decisive to the fate of adult education, which begun to have a considerable role in economic and social policy, a concept embedded in a Keynesian political economic framework. However, since the 1970s the political economic context has endorsed the main ideas of the neoliberal framework in most industrialized countries and the developing world too. "This coincides with a transnationalization of education, which has altered the landscape of education policy making processes" (ibid.). At the same time experts from international agencies were invited by politicians to offer advice on educational reforms and on how to borrow and invest money in education in order to achieve social and economic development.

A general overview of adult education practices in the EU will produce notable, distinct paradigms that took place in many countries. However, this discussion is not in the objects of this study, which focuses on the EU's contribution to reinforce adult education and also on a few remarkable examples offered by international organizations like UNESCO, the United Nations and the OECD. Indeed, international institutions had very much sensed the necessity to involve in the reconstruction of Europe soon after WWII through the promotion of adult education and lifelong learning, both by carrying out unique educational practices and by producing several landmark publications. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the UN General Assembly, on 10 December 1948, clearly declares the right of everyone to education (The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948). The principles set forth in Article 26, advocate that everyone has the right to education and to participate freely in cultural, artistic and scientific life. Moreover, it recognizes that education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. A similar approach is supported in the Article 2 of Protocol No. 1 of the European Convention on Human Rights, on 20 March 1952 in Paris (The European Convention on Human Rights, 1952), as "No person shall be denied the right to education". Along similar lines, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, on 16 December 1966 (International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966), in Article 13 pays considerable attention to the notable

education's ability to reinforce the full development of the human personality, the sense of his dignity, and the strength of respect to the human rights and fundamental freedoms. Another important point is that education develops peoples' opportunity to participate effectively in a free society, to promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic or religious groups and to the maintenance of peace. The Recommendation on the Development of Adult Education while meeting developed in Nairobi from 26 October to 30 November 1976, becomes more specific to issues of adult education. It declares adult education as an integral part of life-long education that can contribute decisively to economic and cultural development, social progress of the entire community and world peace (Recommendation on the Development of Adult education, 1976). Furthermore, the Recommendation illustrates the contribution of adult education in the development of a critical understanding of major contemporary problems and social changes, and this can therefore furnish the person with the ability to play an active part in the progress of society with a view of strengthening social justice.

Besides all these legal provisions which have given an obvious support to adult education., the important contribution of international organizations in the global discourse for education responded to the need for world peace and social development (Karatzia-Stavlioti, Lambropoulos, 2009, 633). Of course, there is much talk about the practices those organizations have put on, however, to take just one example, we should agree that the UNESCO has been leading on promoting adult education during the post-war period. Despite the unknown impact on EU policy development of adult education -which could be the starting point for another research- UNESCO has come a long way since then. Leafing through the pages of the *UNESCO Courier* during the reference period, we come across a remarkable example of adult education programs, the "Télé-Clubs". Carried out in rural France in the 1950s, the "Télé-Clubs" represent one of the early formations of collective television reception and discussion in Europe, and through the available technology it contributed to the development of popular culture and adult education (UNESCO Courier, 1956, 4-6). The aim was to provide programmes dealing with one of France's most serious national problems, the modernization of agriculture and the raising of rural living standard. Another innovation carried out by UNESCO in the same period in many countries around the world, Sweden among them, offered workshops in public libraries for professional

librarians, especially interested in adult education (UNESCO Courier, 1950, 4). The publication of an international list of selected films of universal interest in the field, coupled with the efforts to promote theatre for educational purposes are also practices of great significance. Such a practice took place in Western Germany, where the Ruhr Theatre Festival under the auspices of UNESCO and the Federation of German Trade Unions for Western Germany, presented plays such as Shakespeare, that aimed to bring to the workers an understanding of European culture in its widest sense (UNESCO Courier, 1950, 4). The Co-operative Society or Movement, in 1950, was a group of men who worked together as a team to produce and later sell their own made products. These men found it more efficiently to work this way, while they enjoyed their independency. Through teamwork the older men used to train the younger ones, and so on. Those actions had an obvious educative 34effect on these people, and a positive impact on their living standards (UNESCO Courier, 1950a, 3). Likewise, another UNESCO's innovation was the publication of the 'Guide Books', which were textbooks for adults written in many languages, especially for Africa and Asia (UNESCO Courier, 1950a, 3). Those textbooks aimed at helping people to improve their lives through the study of several daily issues as crafts, hygiene, agriculture, nutrition and vocational subjects. UNESCO had considerable contribution on adult education through its legal provision and its practical application.

2.6 Approaching adult education: the definition and the orientation issues

Since its origin, adult education differs in many aspects: organizational structures, rates of participation, behavior patterns, teaching methods, and policy commitments. A fundamental question is the definition issue, compared to familiar and similar terms like vocational training, continuing education, second chance education, and lifelong learning. The rise of new terminology like adult learning in the place of adult education should not go unnoticed too, since it marks a step away from the social character of adult education, previously a State provision, towards more personal practices in line with the neoliberal paradigm. But the most decisive question is the orientation adult education takes especially nowadays with the challenges it faces under the watchword of the knowledge economy and the all promising commitment to vocational training. Promoting educational programs to enforce the professional status of people has been

a governments' priority around the world in an attempt to meet the needs of the labour market. This development is witnessed at a European level too, followed by policy commitments which promote retraining and reskilling. There is a commonly held view that this development is due to neoliberal ideologies which have speeded up the shift from education to training in the so-called knowledge society. This is particularly worrying because adult education is almost fighting to prevent the risk of losing its values and priorities. On the other side, many scholars agree that adult education enjoys a renewed interest precisely because of the opportunities offered by the need for retraining and reskilling. Despite the obvious concern, which also indicates a general consideration upon the future of adult education, there is no denying that adult education raises all these issues notably relating to social change, personal development, progressivism, equality, human rights, and political participation, among others. I should, *a priori,* clarify that this study is deeply influenced by John Dewey's vision about education. In his inspiring book "Democracy and Education" Dewey (2001) points out two main issues we shall keep in mind: i) the educational process has no end; and that ii) the educational process is one of continual reorganizing, reconstructing, transforming.

In the 21st century adult education's role faces a gradual shift towards meeting the needs of the labor market. Besides the crucial challenges it faces, adult education has its particular role in history, which has been seen as a struggle for knowledge and struggle for power, and both struggles are seen as the engines that drive and define adult education (Cervero, Wilson, & Associates 2001, 12). Indeed, this idea is particularly applicable in this broad discourse about the role it has in the modern era. However, it is rather dubious, no matter how much we get involved in this discourse, whether we would reach the right answer. The historical analysis offers evidence that political and economic changes have always played an important role in shaping the meaning of adult education (Jesson, & Newman, 2004, 252: Walters, Borg, Mayo, & Foley, 2004). A first consideration should be whether adult education is an academic discipline, like pedagogy, or not. The analysis here shows that adult education is more of a field or a movement, rather than a discipline. Entwistle (1989, 35) presents the most significant views in this topic. Adult education is seen as a worldwide movement which carries the weight of many ideologies. This idea has found many supporters especially those supporting the radical approach of adult education. From another view, originating from

the developing countries, adult education is a technical process through which people can acquire basic skills and knowledge useful to improve their economic position. On this ground, ideological enquiries are 'luxuries' to be considered at a later time. In Muslim, socialist, or some Western countries there is little debate on this topic, while in Western Europe and North America an ideological debate on the notion of liberal and recurrent education exceeds any other discussions (Entwistle, 1989, 35). Adult education is a continuous process of transformation, which engages many disciplines mainly philosophy, phycology, political economy, sociology, anthropology, and economics. Before we engage ourselves in this discussion, we should see the development of the concept of adult education through Martínez de Morentin de Goñi's classification into three periods in the modern era:

- 1946 – 1958: The first period represents two major features: the need to reconstruct the educational structures affected by WWII and the interest to promote free, obligatory and universal education through complete educational programmes.
- 1960 - 1976: This period signals the beginning of a more explicit discourse about defining and unifying the term lifelong education, which is used for the first time at the beginning of this period, with the term adult education. With the introduction of this term, adult education incorporated in lifelong education.
- 1980 - …: The third period is framed under the 1976 Recommendation, during which the term lifelong education gains a catholicity as it is expanded with two significant additions: the first in 1983 with the addition "for all" and the second in 1995 with the addition "learning without frontiers".

[Martínez de Morentin de Goñi, 2006, 12-16]

Philosophical and value-related interests play an important role in adult education which is rigidly connected to them. The understanding of this relationship presupposes the study of the contribution of philosophers of education like Aristotle, Plato, Augustine, John Locke, John Dewey, John Stuart Mill, Emile Durkheim, Jeremy Bentham, and Paul Goodman, whose thoughts serve as the touchstone for subsequent scholarly efforts to further enrich the field and have a strong continuous interest among the younger generations. Adult education key philosophical perspectives have arisen from particular political, historical and social circumstances. Bowl (2017, 7) proposes

that the main philosophical traditions identified in the field of adult education derive from the frameworks proposed by Apps, Heimstra, Zinn and Elias and Merriam. Set out by Elias and Merriam almost forty years ago (Elias, & Merriam, 1980) the five philosophical traditions of liberalism, behaviorism, progressivism, humanism and radicalism were presented in their book titled "Philosophical foundations of adult education" and remain very influential today, although the subsequent edition of 1995 incorporated a sixth orientation, that of philosophical analysis (Merriam and Brockett, 2007, 31). In this study the philosophy of progressivism is considered the best option, also known as Deweyan progressivism from its main influencer John Dewey. The progressive movement coincided with the development of adult education in the 1930s, and has influenced many distinguished scholars like Eduard Lindeman, Ruth Kotinsky, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, Alain Locke, Malcolm Knowles, and Cyril Houle (ibid.). Progressivism, also pragmatism promotes learner-centred teaching, and learning through a practical, problem-solving approach, aiming at the development of knowledge and skills that contribute to social development and democracy (Bowl, 2017, 101). Elias and Merriam (1995, 5-9) admit that even an attempt to define the connotation of adult education, presupposes philosophical questions. Those questions do not refer to *what* to teach, or *how* to organize a program, but rather concern the *why* of education and the logical analysis of the various elements of the educational process. Philosophies of education are interpretative theories, not applicatory theories, originate within particular historical and socio-cultural contexts and include the following: the definition of adult education, the place of the needs and interests of adults, contrasting views of methods and content, the concept and relevance of adult development, programs and objectives, the teaching-learning process, and education for social change (Elias, & Merriam, 1995, 8-11). The philosophical foundations of adult education can be traced from six philosophies:

- Liberal adult education, the predominant philosophy of education from the ancient Greeks, and their rich and dynamic activity to the rise of modern science in the 18th and 19th centuries.
- Progressive adult education became a predominant philosophical position of adult educators in the United States with the rise of modern science and modern philosophy. Major theorists of the field are Knowles, Rogers, Dewey, Houle, Tyler, Lindeman, and Freire. Dewey (2001) sees the role of progressive

education as mainly taking part "in correcting unfair privilege and unfair deprivation, not to penetrate them", while for Lindeman it should include both self-improvement and social order change (Borrás, 2016, 21).

- Humanistic adult education is related to the first phase of progressive education. The foremost contemporary proponent of this theory is Carl Rogers. As progressive educators, humanistic adult educators are also optimistic in personal and social change, and are concerned with the development of the whole person with a special emphasis upon the emotional and affective dimension of personality.
- Behavorist adult education, also indebted to progressive thought like scientific observation, problem-solving, hypothesis testing, and control. Behaviorist education emphasizes the acquisition of job skills to ensure survival.
- Radical adult education lays strong emphasis on social and political change, which can be traced back to progressive thought too. Education is seen as a possible legitimate vehicle for reshaping society. A major theorist in this field in Paulo Freire. Speaking for the notion of 'radical' and 'radical adult education' Foley (2001, 72) suggests that the first has a sense of fundamental or extreme, of the root, foundational, root and branch. Radical adult education means critical and emancipatory education. Jesson and Newman (2004, 251) advice that the history and culture of radical education has largely been an oral one, learned through stories of activists. Holst (2009, 321) advises that in radical tradition the words education and training are used in numerous examples interchangeably to refer to a democratic and participatory form of education, which is at the core of the historical transition of the field of adult education.
- Analytic philosophy of education is the most recent approach which emphasizes the need for clarifying concepts, arguments, and policy statements used in adult education. It traces its roots in logical positivism, scientific positivism, and British analytic philosophy.

[Elias and Merriam, 1995, 9-11, 203-205]

For Merriam, & Brockett, philosophizing, along with critical examination and analysis, are the means of searching for meaning, which is the desire to make sense of our world and our experiences (Merriam, & Brockett, 2007, 27). John White (2013, 295) also underlines that philosophers' inclination forwards the linkage between education and

some wider, ethical and political philosophical questions about the kind of life it is good for a human being and coexistence in a political community. Based on the philosophical assumptions, Paul Bergevin establishes the following purposes of adult education:

- To help the learner achieve a degree of happiness and meaning in life.
- To help the learner understand himself, his talents and limitations, and his relationships with other persons.
- To help adults recognize and understand the need for life-long learning.
- To provide conditions and opportunities to help the adult advance in the maturation process spiritually, culturally, physically, politically, and vocationally.
- To provide, where needed, education for survival, in literacy, vocational skills, and health measures.

[Apps, 1973, 36]

Literature also proposes a close link of adult education to culture. Guy (1999, 5-13), has studied in detail the role of culture in adult education processes, and proposes that culture is an essential means for those learners from marginalized cultural backgrounds who learn to take control of their lives and improve their social conditions. It has a crucial role in shaping criteria for success or failure, and a strong impact on personal and social transformation, as learners' group-based identity can turn from one that is negative to one that is positive (Guy, 1999, 13). In the same spirit, Martínez de Morentin de Goñi (2006, 6) underlines that both expressions adult education and education by themselves indicate their goal "the appropriation of a spirit capable of transforming minds in any place and time". Adult education may be "a conduit for increases in status" (Feinstein, Hammond, Preston, & Bynner, 2003). Those changes can be of two kinds: structural and cultural. A structural change represents changes in the material components of one's networks or position. On the other side, a cultural change refers to changes in attitudes or behaviors, which are used as markers of distinction between individuals. Of course, these are only a few evidence about this study presents, but to those of us involved in research we could agree that adult education seems to progressively lose its cultural nature, an unfavorable development this study intents to highlight. Indeed, the neglect of the socio-cultural nature in the study and performance of adult education weakens its value, a discourse very much concerned with the next day of adult education. Barr (2016) explores the impact the museums can have on the

education of adults. This is an interesting addition to the above discussion. Based on the premises of Claire Bishop who proposes that we should look the role of the museums beyond the narrow focus of a storehouse of treasures, and re-imagine them as an "archive of the commons" (ibid., p.27), Barr takes the view that museums can be regarded as archives, where spectators are not solely focused on contemplating individual works, but he will be presented with arguments and positions, opened to different readings and contestations. Fragmenting, diversifying and expanding, adult education does challenge those involved to look for opportunities in the changes (Foley, 2004, 4).

Moving over to the core of the discourse about the definition of adult education in the modern era, we notice that the development of organized adult education is followed by a contestation over its goals, content, role, and pedagogy (Bowl, 2017: Krašovec, 2010). Adult education belongs to non-formal education. Established in 1973 by Coombs and Ahmed, non-formal education refers to any organized educational activity that takes place outside the formal educational system (Rogers, 2005, 78). It occurs when people see a need for some sort of systematic instruction in a one-off or sporadic way (Foley, 2004, 4). Livingstone (2001) comments on the notion of non-formal education by focusing both on the learners' option to acquire further knowledge or skill by studying voluntarily, and the teacher's ability to assist learners' self-determined interests by using an organized curriculum. For EAEA, non-formal education is a continuous and dynamic process that does not necessarily stop after one passes the traditional years of learning (EAEA, 2018, 5). Ever since 1926 Alfred Lawrence Hall-Quest (1926) commented on the difficulty in defining the term, as its definition depends, in part, on accepted meanings of both adult and education. The broadness of the term has also been emphasized by Malcolm Knowles (1980, 25) who proposes three different meanings: in the broadest sense it describes a self-development process, both alone and with others. In this case adult education is considered as an educational process often set in combination with production processes, political processes, or service processes. In its more technical sense adult education encompasses organized activities by a wide range of institutions. Finally, a third meaning promotes the idea of the coalition of all involved in adult education into the idea of a movement or field in social practice. The religious and moral imperative in learning in order to read the Bible, forced people in older ages, especially the agrarian population, into adult education

programs. Learning in adulthood can be understood, to a large extent, through the examination of the conditions that are shaping the learning needs in the social context they occur (Merriam, Caffarella, & Baumgartner, 2007, 6-7). Alan Rogers (1998, 53-60) elevates this issue too, commenting that adult education may refer to a few interpretations, such as the following: a stage in the human's life cycle, his social status, the acceptance by the society that the person has completed the compulsory education and is fully incorporated into the society or it may refer to a social subset -as adults are a distinct category from children- or finally it may include a set of ideals and values. All these issues very much refer to adulthood. It is oriented at any age within adulthood and spotlights the ability of every adult to freely involve in educational processes. Adult education is perceived as a new venture "because adulthood, maturity, defines its limits" (Lindeman, 1926, 6), and is needed by urban societies in order to develop and purify themselves (Houle, 1992, 61).

Considerable variations in the content of 'adult education' can be traced back from the literature, indicating the difficulties in defining that term (Hall-Quest, 1926: Rogers, 1998: Malcolm, 1980). However, what else could have been more ambitious that the *Manifesto for Adult Learning in the 21st Century: The Power and Joy of Learning* (EAEA, 2019) which outlines that "Adult education is a common and public good and transform lives and societies". The contribution of EAEA in the promotion of adult education in EU will widely expressed in this study. A few memorable actions undertaken by EAEA deserve our further attention. What could be more damning than the *Manifesto for Adult Learning in the 21st Century: The Power and Joy of Learning* (EAEA, 2019) which identifies the challenges where adult education can play a key role, its transformative possibilities and the power and joy of learning. The Manifesto outlines nine European Challenges which adult education helps to solve:

- Active citizenship and democracy
- Health and well-being
- Life skills for individuals
- Social cohesion, equity and equality
- Employment and work
- Digitalization

- Migration and demographic change
- Sustainability
- Adult education and European and International Policies

According to the Recommendation on the Development of Adult Education the term denotes:

> "[…] *the entire body of organized educational processes, whatever the content, level and method, whether formal or otherwise, whether they prolong or replace initial education in schools, colleges and universities as well as in apprenticeship, whereby persons regarded as adult by the society to which they belong develop their abilities, enrich their knowledge improve their technical or professional qualifications or turn them in a new direction and bring about changes in their attitudes or behavior in twofold perspective of full personal development and participation in balanced and independent social, economic and cultural development. Adult education, however, must not be considered as an entity in itself, it is a sub-division, and an integral part of, a global scheme for life-long education and learning".*
>
> [UNESCO, 1976]

Adult education, according to UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS), is an education targeting adult individuals (i.e. those regarded as adults by the society they belong) to improve their technical or professional qualifications, further develop their abilities and enrich their knowledge. It includes what may be referred as 'continuing education', 'recurrent education', or 'second chance education' and purposes at:

- Completing a level of formal education
- Acquiring new knowledge, skills, competences in a new area
- Refreshing or updating knowledge in a particular field

[UIS, 2011]

Focusing on those people who for whatever reason have lost access to education, it is often called as a second chance education (Bowl, 2017). The EU Council (CEU, 2009) under "Strategic objective 3: Promoting equity, social cohesion and active citizenship" refers to second chance education as follows:

"Education and training systems should aim to ensure that all learners including those from disadvantaged backgrounds, those with special needs and migrants — complete their education, including, where appropriate, through second-chance education and the provision of more personalized learning".

[CEU, 2009, 4]

In the terminology database of EU –IATE- the available definition for term adult education is that of UNESCO, as follows:

"[Adult education is] education targeted at individuals who are regarded as adults by their society to improve their technical or professional qualifications, further develop their abilities, enrich their knowledge with a purpose to complete a level of formal education, or to acquire, refresh or update their knowledge, skills and competencies in a particular field (IATE ID: 1690203). An additional note informs that the above term includes what may be referred to as 'continued education', 'recurred education' or 'second chance education'".

[IATE ID: 1403994]

Following the idea that adult education is a struggle for knowledge, we could notice that the acquisition of knowledge and its impact is a discourse very much involved in defining the process of learning. However, the answers exceed the limits of the field of adult education to engage the disciplines of philosophy and psychology. Jarvis (2004, 6) comments on how important it is to understand the way both our conceptions of knowledge and knowledge itself have changed in order to understand the nature of social change and its effects on education. In his study *The Practitioner Researcher*, Jarvis distinguishes between knowledge and information, and suggests four types of knowledge: data, information, knowledge, and wisdom (Jarvis, 2004, 10). Habermas has investigated extensively the concept of knowledge in his study *Knowledge and human interests* (1972), which explored the configuration of knowledge and interest. A few notes about knowledge in Habermas' work are presented just below:

- Knowledge equally serves as an instrument and transcends mere self-preservation.
- Knowledge-constitutive interests take form in the medium of work, language, and power.

- In the power of self-reflection, knowledge and interest are one.
- The unity of knowledge and interest proves itself in a dialectic that takes the historical traces of suppressed dialogue and reconstructs what has been suppressed.

Habermas has also identified three types of knowledge: analytical, hermeneutic and critical. In terms of theorizing education, Terry (1997, 271) has seen these types a key to examining educational structures. Analytical knowledge comprises the content of education (the curriculum), hermeneutics inform educational methodologies (the praxis) and final the critical type of knowledge is brought to bear upon questions of policy. Freire also had been concerned with the notion of knowledge and the way this can be succeeded. "Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other" (Freire, 2005a, 72). For Glass, knowledge is central in the work of ethical and political formation, as a *way of being* which reflects the deepest human capacities for producing culture and history (Glass, 2001, 19). Dewey elevates the humanistic value of knowledge, claiming that it is "humanistic in quality not because it is about human products in the past, but because of what is does in liberating human intelligence and human sympathy" (Jarvis, 2004, 41). Figueira (1999, 3) advises that knowledge has the characteristics of a public good, which means that once it is available it can also be made available to many users at relatively little extra cost. Adult education (Feinstein, et al., 2003) is a conduit which increases the status. Two main categories of changes in the status are proposed: individuals increase their proximity towards the center of influential social networks. Cultural changes in status could be changes in attitudes or behaviors. Analyzing the role and purposes of adult education in policy-making several rationales emerge according to Torres (1996, 195): i) a legalistic perspective, ii) a perspective concerned with the investment in human capital, iii) a perspective concerned with the political socialization of the citizenship, iv) a perspective concerned with the symbolic value of adult education for political participation, v) a perspective concerned with adult education meeting basic international standards, vi) a perspective that considers adult education as part and parcels of social movements. This set of rationales basically provides a snapshot of the conceptual framework of adult education which will be further depicted in the following paragraphs.

Through the analysis so far, it becomes clearer that adult education differs from vocational education and training. However, it could be quite difficult to understand what the differences of adult education and adult learning are, although they do exist. The next paragraphs will offer the relevant food for thought. Adult education, as discussed earlier, has a philosophical, human-oriented sense, rather than a severe market-oriented one, as vocational education and training actually has. It aims at satisfying the needs of personal development and social service, although in some cases the first one predominates and in others the second. It is commonly accepted that adult education covers the lifespan after the cessation of formal education, and there is evidence that it serves both as a means of personal betterment and economic development too (Sklias, Chatzimichailidou, 2016). Adult education cannot be mainly seen as a means of increasing the productivity and of achieving progression of the labour market, without of course excluding its contribution to reskilling and retraining. But this is not the core of adult education. Moreover, it would be inappropriate to suggest whether adult education is as beneficial, as conventional learning is. As a matter of fact, we should approach its role as complementary to formal learning, vocational education and training, lifelong learning and adult learning. While we are on the vocational training theme, we should open this discussion which is of great interest. The relationship between adult education and training concerns many scholars. Although many differences between these two terms have been discussed among these studies, the distinction is still blurred to many people. For example, in many studies both of these terms are used in this way "education and training programs for adults" or "adult education and training programs". Merriam and Brockett (2007) in their book *The Profession and Practice of Adult Education: An introduction* cite that "while some adult educators embrace the notion of training as a part of their identity, others have eschewed it". For what reason this happens? The word training is mainly connected to the skills needed for someone to be productive in the work arena, whereas education has a more philosophical dimension, as stated before in this study. Merriam, Caffarella and Baumgartner (2007) also explore the different uses of the word training which refer to the workplace. According to Holst (2009, 321) in the radical tradition both of the terms "training" and "education" are used interchangeably to refer to a democratic and participatory form of education. "It is problematic, insufficient and dependent on numerous circumstances", as Krašovec admits (2010, 172) for this distinction, which is clearly stated even since 1956, when Jacob Bronowski (1956, 22) provided an prime

example which identifies this distinction: a historian learns Medieval Latin in order to read documents and this is an example of education "for a very specific purpose, and since this purpose often helps us to earn our living, I think of it as vocational education". Additionally, he declares that a school-master who had just retired from teaching mathematics, and then learned Italian in order to read Dante, it is obvious that he learned Italian for a specific purpose, thus this shouldn't be considered as vocational education. As a matter of fact "The learner was fitting himself to derive from the work of Dante a larger, deeper sense of the many-sidedness of human life than had reached him in translation. At sixty-five, he was fitting himself not to make a living but to live" (Bronowski, 1956, 22). Bronowski's inspired paradigm is the one this study embraces. Jarvis (2004, 41) proposes that adult education in an institutionalized learning process, could be seen as the way in which societies respond to the basic learning need in the humankind.

Focusing on the differences between education and learning, two key points can be noticed: the term education is older than that of learning, and that a gradual shift of the former to the latter is observed both in policy papers in EU and in many studies too, often under the influence of neoliberalism. Learning refers to "the entire range of formal, non-formal and informal learning activities which are undertaken by adults after a break since leaving initial education and training, and which results in the acquisition of new knowledge and skills" (European Commission, 2015). Adult education belongs to non-formal education, as we said before. Jarvis draws much attention on the philosophical aspect of the notion of education, compared to that of learning, highlighting that not all learning is educational. "Few people would deny that indoctrination is a learning process, but they would almost certainly deny that it is an educational one" (Jarvis, 2004, 41). Fenwick and Tennant (2004, 52-68) propose four different lenses for viewing learning processes: i) The *learning as acquisition* lens which understands knowledge as a substantive thing, that an individual obtains through learning experiences, ii) The *learning as reflection* which presupposes that learners are active constructors of knowledge who create meanings and realities rather than ingesting pre-existing knowledge, iii) The *practice-based community learning* is a lens that elevates people's ability in participating meaningfully in everyday activities within particular communities, iv) The *learning as embodied co-emergent process* is a lens that challenges people-centered notions to portray learning as emerging in the

relationships that develop among all people and everything in a particular situation. This development also addresses two main concerns: whether this shift means a deduction in the philosophical-cultural notion of education, and whether this predicts a less rosy future for adult education. Hodkinson (2011, 86) advises that the use of the term non-formal learning grew out of the older term non-formal education, whose essence was a central desire for empowerment through democratization. Of course, we do not diminish the importance of the learning process to understand adult education, but only what it means for us to replace the term "adult education" with that of "adult learning". In the same way learning is important as a process, the theories of learning have a central place in the field. The most popular classification is this proposed by Merriam and Cafarella (1991) into four main categories: behaviourist, cognitive, humanist and social. This classification constituted a milestone in the discourse about adult education. However, despite being widely recognized and valued, this classification has some serious limitations. As Jarvis notes (2004) these theories are not discrete, a considerable overlap exists between the two of them, while the latter two have many common points. This is another important topic for future research.

Adult education and lifelong learning must also not be equated, as the first is incorporated in the latter. Peter Jarvis (1999, 22) states that in the United Kingdom the term "lifelong learning" has entered recently the British educational library and is used "rather loosely to cover all forms of post-compulsory education including family education, community education, traditional adult education, further and higher education and continuing professional development". He also comments that lifelong learning is not a technical or legal term with precisely defined meaning, but rather a cultural term "denoting a new paradigm" (Jarvis, 1999). According to Sutton and Kogan (Kokkos, 2005), the term lifelong learning denotes the infinite and eternal nature of learning, which covers the lifespan and incorporates all forms of learning, both those provided by educational institutions and all forms of informal learning. Lifelong learning was brought into our lives in the 1960s and 1970s as a result of the current global economic changes. Stemming from adult education in response to the above changes (Mohorčič Špolar, & Holford, 2014, 45), lifelong learning covers the lifespan and is connected to formal, non-formal and informal education. With changes of the global economy, lifelong learning narrowed its scope as it "has gradually come to be appropriated more and more within the narrower instrumentalist discourse of further

training and professional development" (Mohorčič Špolar, & Holford, 2014, 37). According to Field (2001, 3) in the 1960s and 1970s lifelong learning was a humanistic and even radical concept, but since the 1990s it has become economistic and conservative in its implications. Besides its unequivocal popularity, lifelong learning has not been without its critics. Many scholars saw an aberration of its initial objective. Krašovec (2010, 177) highlights the change in the understanding of this notion to the exact opposite of its original meaning, while Orlović Lovren and Popović (2018, 7) admit that "the promise was not kept". Lifelong learning has encompassed all life stages, giving at the same time prioritization to children and youth education, while insisting on individuals has diminished the responsibility of the state -most notably the financial one-, it has also weakened educational structures and institutional support, and is focused more on the educational outcomes. "Still lifelong learning continuous to pop up as a convenient, elastic term, whose flexibility and plasticity enabled using, adapting, and twisting it depending on the context and purpose" (ibid.). UNESCO's (2014) final report *Shaping the future we want: UN Decade of education for sustainable development* considers lifelong learning as:

> *"The continual acquisition of knowledge and skills throughout somebody's life. Lifelong learning has to do with formal, non-formal and informal ways of learning and occurs in preparation for, and in response to, the different roles, situations, and environments that somebody will encounter in the course of the lifetime".*
>
> [UNESCO, 2014]

The continuous demand for job-related skills to meet the needs of the market, has made vocational education and training very popular among policy makers around the world, the EU among them. It is not exaggeration to say that training is on everyone's lips. Taking the European example, we do not argue that the emphasis on policy commitments for the promotion of vocational education and training today is wrong, but only that those policies should not work to the detriment of adult education. This paper restricts itself to adult education, as while studying the European affairs one can come to the conclusion that it has always been pushed down to the agenda of the EU's priorities. Focusing on the European paradigm, we see that adult education has emerged within national contexts, and it remains an issue of national interest, despite its recognized benefits in global level. Milana & Holford (2014, 1-2) see some evidence

of outward-looking orientation only recently in the region, resulting from the EU's attempt to build an unprecedented supranational polity. The European Commission has encouraged member-states to share and exchange knowledge about their national systems in peer-to-peer activities, working groups and networks and therefore, all member states are now involved in debates – domestic and international – on the status and development of adult education (Milana & Holford, 2014, 1-2). It is rather disputable if this attempt has been fruitful. The difficulty remains when a cross-country comparison is attempted, due to lack of such evidence. Further reviewing EU policy papers, the definition issue becomes further confused, as the documents usually do not refer to adult education as a distinct term, rather supplementary to the terms vocational training, lifelong learning and adult learning. European Association for the Education of Adults (EAEA) has paid much effort to establish the conditions which would make it possible for all the involved parties to talk the same language, starting from the drawing up of a common glossary for all the EU member states in the early nineties. However, much concern has been expressed since then, probably revealing that this glossary has not met its main task. Indeed, some studies use the term "lifelong learning", while others use the terms "vocational education and training", and others "adult education" (Sklias, Chatzimichailidou, 2016). This common glossary titled "Glossary of Adult Learning in Europe" (Federighi, 1999), held by (EAEA) and UNESCO Institute for Education (UIE), consists of the most significant terms used by many nationalities around Europe, accompanied by the main historical, political and social developments in the above field. The terminologies proposed by EU institutions, used also as reference point in this study, to my knowledge differ from the terminologies used in the glossary, although the latter was supported by many significant scholars around Europe. Having regard to the growing attention paid in a great volume of studies to the terms' issue, one should admit that these are not destined to be outside of the context of the discussion and accept them to be the impetus to move further on. For example, one could pause to consider the very same title of the above study by EAEA, which revives the debate on the differences between adult education and adult learning.

What follows from the above could be summarized in the following statement by Krašovec in an attempt to warn that adult education progressively loses its luminescence and radiance: "We are currently killing the enlightening influence of

general adult education" (Krašovec, 2010, 177). At the same time vocational education and training, along with lifelong learning, are gaining more and more attention by the EU bureaucrats. Of course, other terms were also present in the EU papers, like popular education, adult learning, older adult education, recurrent education, and continuing education. This discussion is getting worse when the EU member states' policies are compared, as the development of adult education is traditionally under the control of the national states. All of these terms are treated as either synonymous or distinctive, which frequently results to conceptual tensions that affect the very object of academic enquiry, and its investigation (Milana, Webb, Holford, Waller, & Jarvis, 2018, 1). "All these terms have been used loosely in a variety historical and ideological contexts" (Findsen, & Formosa, 2011, 21). No matter the reason, we should be clear that each term has much more to say.

2.7 Thematic analysis of the wider benefits of adult education

The current debate about the wider benefits of adult education is particularly important and very substantial in size. Moreover, when examining literature on this subject, three main issues arise thereafter. The first refers to the notion 'wider benefits', while the second is whether the benefits are limited to the individual adult learners or will be diffused in society. Finally, a third issue concerns the period between the educational intervention and the benefits' display. To facilitate our discussion, the benefits are classified into nine categories in this chapter.

Literature suggests that wider benefits mainly refer to monetary and non-monetary benefits, classified in further categories based either on the kind of changes the intervention will produce, or to one's ideological perspective. Schuller and Desjardins (2011) classify benefits into four categories: cognitive or effective, psychological or behavioral, job or leisure related, expected or unexpected. Wider benefits, according to the above scholars, usually refer to a mix of external, public and non-monetary benefits. Focusing on the ideological perspective and specifically to neoliberalism, the benefits of adult education are mainly material. The behaviorists and humanists, on the other side, would contend that the main task of adult education is to create knowledge (Krašovec, 2010). With regard to the second issue, the benefits concern both the individuals and the society in general. Desjardins and Schuller (2011) insist that the changes expected through the intervention are not limited to the individual learners,

who can initiate changes in the wider sense by affecting the home/family, work and community context they are engaged in. In this case we should take in mind Krašovec's notice that the public benefits of education are not merely a sum of the private benefits (Krašovec, 2010). Finally, regarding the third issue about the period between the educational intervention and the benefits display the Report of *Forschungsinstitut für Bildungs- und Sozialökonomie* and *Deutsches Institut für Erwachsenenbildung* (2013) proposes that the returns on adult education arrive much faster than those by the initial education. Of course, we should keep in mind that the benefits may also depend on adult education's financier – i.e. individual, state, employer, others- as we should expect different kinds of benefits to be realized. For example, if an educational course is financed by a private actor, we should expect the benefits to be realized sooner. This study does not restrict itself in an acceptable time length, as the outcomes depend directly on the kind of desirable expected changes. If these depict changes in attitudes and behaviors, we should expect them to be realized in the long-term period. In the light of monetary effects, their measurement would be an easier task as these will be discernible, compared to the non-monetary whose measurement will be a challenge. This, of course, does not imply any devaluation of the non-monetary benefits of adult education. Some examples of monetary and nonmonetary benefits are presented in Table 2.1 derived from the 2018 World Development Report.

Table 2.1

Examples of monetary and nonmonetary benefits of education

	Individual/Family	**Community/society**
Monetary	Higher probability of employment Greater productivity Higher earnings Reduced poverty	Higher productivity More rapid economic growth Poverty reduction Long-run development
Nonmonetary	Better health Improved education and health of children/family Greater resilience and adaptability More engaged citizenship Better choices Greater life satisfaction	Increased social mobility Better-functioning institutions / service delivery Higher levels of civic engagement Greater social cohesion Reduced negative externalities

Source: World Development Report, 2018

In the following paragraphs the wider benefits of adult education are classified in nine categories.

Adult education, political action and civic engagement

The popularity of this theme is so remarkable, that one could understand that its length overcomes the needs of this study. However, the most significant findings will be presented in this paragraph. There is an agreement in literature on the benefits of adult education on political action. The most significant scholar on this subject is Paulo Freire, whose studies about personal transformation are very popular. Freire's philosophy is summarized in the term *conscientização*, appeared in his study Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Referring to learning in order to perceive social, political and economic contradictions, Freire explains that *conscientização* will furnish people with the equipment to take action against the progressive elements of the reality (Freire, 2005a). The transformation of a society is a complex undertaking which requires open-minded people to take action (Freire, 1997, 61). Freire's philosophy of transformative learning is the best sociocultural approach, as Merriam, Caffarella and Baumgartner (2007, 140) underline. Along similar lines, Torres (1996, 198) perceives adult education as an exercise of political socialization and fundamentally as compensatory legitimation, interacting together with other state strategies for planning, participation, and the ultimate reliance on the judicial system in the reconstitution of a social order affected by legitimation crisis. Despite social change, much discussion occurs about the personal change brought about by adult education and learning.

The political empowerment of women is another issue which attracts the interest in this field. Srivastava and Patel (2006) present some interesting findings of the literacy campaigns focused on the political empowerment of women, organized by the Government in India. These findings support that these women after the educational action appeared to be more self-confident to deal with government officials and functionaries, and more willing to contest elections in the local governance system. This was a considerable step forward for those women who had never before enjoyed much access to recourses to get elected, in fact they faced many difficulties in sustaining their political participation due to the lack of further support beyond the initial efforts for capacity building. Lauglo and Øia (2008) try to investigate the discussions on the

"Enlightenment Hypothesis", based upon the wide belief of the 18th and 19th centuries that education enlightens, liberates and empowers people. Less desirable would be the effect Feinstein, Hammond, Preston and Bynner (2003) propose in their study conducted for the Centre for Research on the Wider Benefit of Adult Learning. They have located a link between adult education and political cynicism, which is the extent to which individuals believe in the ability of the political system to respond to the needs of the electorate rather than their ability to influence political events. The findings were the 70% of the sample increased their level of political cynicism between the ages of 33 and 42. Unlike political cynicism, the above study found that adult education has brought an increase in political interest of nearly 20% (excluding those who already had an interest at the highest level at age 33) (Feinstein et al., 2003).

Adult education, citizenship, and social change

The role of education in reforming the society is very old and almost a synonym to famous philosophers and thinkers. John Dewey, like Addams, had a deep faith in education and its direct impact on people's lives (Zilversmit, 2003, 42). In his inspiring study My Pedagogic Creed, in 1897, Dewey noted "I believe that all education proceeds by the participation of the individual in the social consciousness of the race" (Dewey, 1897). An important step towards this social action is the interaction between people. Dennis proposes that educational and social reconstruction must develop together (Dennis, 2003, 292). Lindeman (Nixon-Ponder, 1995) also believed that adult education was a force for constructive social action. The view that non-formal education can be a contributor to social progress, depends on the consistent and continuous reinforcements the individual learners perceive by the institutions they are involved (La Belle, 1982). From another perspective, the role the socio-cultural context plays in learning is another very important issue in adult education, which involves other disciplines like sociology, psychology, and philosophy. Constructivists have been involved closely with the subject of how the social interaction affects the learning process. Vygotsky, Dewey and Bruner view knowledge as constructed by learners thought the process of social interaction (Huang, 2002). Vygotsky, in particular, places more emphasis on how the socio-cultural context in which the learning takes place, along with the interaction of other people affects the cognitive development process.

As stressed on the 5th Conference on adult education in Hamburg in 1997 "Adult education must involve people as actors who decide for themselves in the societal process of change and give them the knowledge they require for this purpose, together with the skill to apply this knowledge responsibly". Indeed, democracies need people who are more than able to think, but also knowledgeable about the areas of social and political parts of life they participate. A democratic society, as Jarvis (2004) notices can be achieved only by having a thinking and educated populace, even "if the ideal of democracy is only an ideal, it is still a goal to strive towards". The European Commission in the Communication "Making a European Area of Lifelong Learning a Reality" (European Commission, 2001a) specifies four aims of lifelong learning: Active citizenship, personal fulfilment, social inclusion and employment-related aspects. Atkinson (Boughton, Taksa, & Welton, 2004, 135) stressed the role of political education in obviating the cultivation of "class hatred", a disqualification for "true citizenship". Phyllis M. Cunningham (1993) in her study "Let's Get Real: A Critical Look at the Practice of Adult Education", signals very clearly the most significant criticism to the role of adult education, proposing reasons for the myths and suggesting solutions. The first myth is about the humanistic goals of adult education which have little to do with the so-called self-actualization and building a better society. Learning for earning is the goal most people seek to achieve, as the ideal of the full development of the personal and social personality is an opportunity for 'leisure', in the robust sense, that most people have little time for. The second myth is about narrowing the gap between the most educated and those least educated. Cunningham declares that in reality those people attending adult educational programs are the most educated, which she calls "widening the gap".

Adult education and social justice

The idea that adult education contributes to social justice is very popular among scholars. Justice, social change and political action, come together very often in literature. Eduard C. Lindeman (1926, 6), notable for his pioneering contributions in adult education, shared with his colleague and friend John Dewey a deep concern for the role of adult education in social justice and accordingly to human action. The role of educators is very crucial in promoting dialogue, which accordingly contributes to the strengthening of justice. Bartlett (2005), also inspired by Freire's allegations, comments on the role of educators in encouraging conversation with the learners. Conversation

incites in the student the sense of having something worthy to say, while it encourages people to express themselves, an action that increases their confidence. On the other side, justice is impaired when silence exceeds dialogue and prevents people from expressing their experiences. In this way, silence could be considered as a political obstacle (ibid.). Torres (2013, 61-62) addresses the role of adult education as a means of social justice in challenging the principles of neoliberalism. Here are a few worthy findings:

- It explores, analyzes, and criticizes the inequalities that exist among people.
- It questions the possessive individualism proposed by neoliberal globalization.
- It seeks to give power to the people through knowledge.
- It resists that notion of educational mercantilization and defends the principle of citizenship.

In the same spirit with Torres, Krašovec (2010) supports the role of adult education in ensuring social justice, as it acts as a protective shield from further neoliberal acquisition. The virtue of justice should be the main objective of education according to Negt (2008, 754), who also warns that inequalities and injustice cannot be overcome merely by acquiring the skill of being aware of them though the education.

Adult education and parenthood

The role of adult education in bonding the relations between the generations is another issue highlighted in many studies. John Stuart Mill brought a unique understanding to the study of education and the parenthood, by emphasizing the necessity of compulsory education and the obligation every parent has to facilitate the education of his children, as well as the role of the state in fostering this process. For John Stuart Mill "To bring a child into existence without a fair prospect of being able, not only to provide food for its body, but instruction and training for its mind, is a moral crime, both against the unfortunate offspring and against society" (Xiem, 2018). Emile Durkheim (Goldstein, 1976), having been influenced by John Stuart Mill, stresses the role of adults in instilling in the child an understanding of how the society works and also in encouraging his/her gradual socialization in the society. In his words:

> *"Education is the influence exercised by adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life. Its object is to arouse and to develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him by both*

the political society as a whole and the special milieu for which he is specifically destined".

[Goldstein, 1976, 291]

From another perspective, the parents enjoy the benefits of education also themselves, besides their children. Jarvis sees children as the adults' successors and pays tributes to the role of education in this development. "[Education] is the culture which each generation purposely gives to those who are to be their successors" (Jarvis, 2004, 38). Thus, education brings parents closer to culture, which is their legacy to future generations. Education's wider benefits both to parents and their children are examined in a biographical study titled "Learning, Continuity and Change in Adult Life" by Schuller, Brassett-Grundy, Green, Hammond, and Preston (2002). The main findings of this study are presented right here. Benefits from education concern especially the mothers, as through the educational process they become able to maintain or recover their sense of identity thanks to the opportunities they enjoy by changing their daily routine at home and company. Education also enhances parent's strength to focus more precisely on their goals, whether long –or short- term, and furnishes them with confidence, skills and opportunities to access knowledge relevant to new situations occasioned by parenting. The relationships between parents and children, between parents themselves, and between parents and grandparents are also getting strengthened through education as the above study stresses. After all, we can assume that skills acquired through education may directly enable parents to improve their parenting, to meet their personal needs, and to understand better the developmental patterns of their children and therefore to manage their behavior in a more effective way. On the contrary, the reduction of the time parents spend with their children could be considered as the negative or double-edged effect of education.

Adult education and health

Literature reveals many studies linking adult education with beneficial psychological and mental outcomes, and rather fewer counting benefits of physical origin. The discussion on the ageing population and the utility of adult education courses is also extremely popular in the last decades. In this paragraph we will see a few of these findings. Schuller et al. (2002) confirms that since the early 2000s just a few studies were available measuring the impact education has on physical health -except from the

older adults-, compared to mental health effects which were very clear in many studies. In contrast to recent years, Desjardins and Schuller (2011) note that our knowledge has been increased in this topic, as new findings suggest the significant relationship between education and health outcomes with sizeable differences in health status for those with different levels of education. However, these studies are still lagging behind in terms of interest compared to the other topics discussed earlier in this chapter. Bartlett (2005) comments on the positive outcomes to an individual's life the discussions for medical issues can have, like the use of medicinal plants for common illnesses, when these take place within the educational environment. Feinstein, Hammond, Preston and Bynner (2003) adopt the same spirit, noticing that most of the inquiries in the field are qualitative, and the majority of them links adult education with beneficial psychological outcomes, like self-efficacy. In their interesting study conducted in more than 140 one-to-one interviews with adult learners, the above scholars support that the participation in adult learning brings changes to several health behaviors. The first one is the indicator of giving up smoking. They found that 28% of those who were smoking at age 33 had given up by the age of 42. The second outcome is a positive link between adult education and exercise, as the research has shown that 41% of the sample increased the level of exercise over the period. Besides some evidence that education has a protective effect upon the onset and progression of depression, Feinstein, Hammond, Preston and Bynner admit that it is unclear to what extent this happens. However, those who experienced depression at age 33, the 41% has noticed that they were no longer depressed at age 42. In the same vein, Torres highlights that adult education expands the diffusion of useful knowledge to all individuals with concrete results in health care, especially when they are seen from the perspective of modernization and human capital theories (Torres, 2013, 16). Another interesting study elevates the sharp increase of old people's homes around Europe and the importance of adult education courses held in these houses for people in the third age. As Borg and Mayo (2008, 713) comment the urgent need to develop general adult education programs along with the relevant preparation of adult educators for the residents of these homes is vital and important to improve the quality of their lives, and therefore to achieve longevity growth. Indeed, a great number of studies support the idea that adult education has a positive impact on older learners that this study fails to present due to the lack of space.

Adult education and the educators

Adult educators carry a heavy apparatus on their backs. They are presented as inspirers, learning facilitators, constructivists, social activists among others. Having a crucial role in helping adults to learn and transform their ideas and lives has been spotting in many studies, as educators play an active role in promoting and reinforcing the values of adult education. Cervero, Wilson and Associates (2001, 1-5) perceive adult educators as social activists, regardless their particular vision of society, who have the higher professional and moral principle to involve learners in identifying their needs, as by helping adults to learn they improve their lives. Furthermore to "hearing their voice, which has often been silenced, or giving them access to learning opportunities that historically have been denied" (Cervero, et al., 2001, 1-5). Adult educators should put a great deal of empathy into understanding the ways learners think. As Nesbit, Leach, & Foley (2004, 82) believe this will enable educators to help students develop learning strategies, ways of understanding and acting on their learning. Brookfield (Houle, 1992, 65) comments on the role of adult educators in what he calls critical thinking, which refers to the habit of examining experiences reflectively to assess their truth or value so as to transform ideas and beliefs. Foley (2004, 8-9) has paid much effort on exploring the ways adult educators can be more effective at their role. He expressed his concerns on the necessity to spend time to rethink their concepts and theoretical frameworks, and therefore on the need to identify and allow for their stereotypes and prejudices. Similarly, Cunningham (1993) declared that adult educators are commodified, unable to critique what they do and serve industries by delivering them with compliant workers, which accordingly means that the practice is reduced to techniques. In an overall perspective, adult education's future is based on educators' ability to advocate for education's role in advancing ideals like equality, social justice and democracy (Bowl, 2017, 4). Fenwick and Tennant (2004, 55) point out that learning should begin with educators' self-reflection upon their influence in the learner's context and their biased perception on what is happening. Freire's philosophy also highlights the crucial role the relationship between teachers and students plays. Freire promoted a "problem-posing" method of education in which teachers and students learn together through dialogue, instead of a "banking model" of education, which perceives that the teacher "owns" knowledge and "deposits" it in students. The banking approach of adult education, according to Freire (2005a, 74) does not propose students to critically consider reality. Dialogue, for Freire represents the dialectical process of moving from

thesis to antithesis to synthesis (Barlett, 2005, 345-346). “Through dialogue, the teacher-of-the-students and the students-of-the-teacher cease to exist and a new term emerges: teacher-student with students-teachers” (Freire, 2005a, 80).

Educators can differ widely in the outcomes that they desire for the learners, as some of them concern for the learner’s achievement and satisfaction and other for his empowerment (Rosenblum, 1985, 23). Commenting on the number of people who see themselves as adult educators, even those whose primary work role involve the education of adults, is decreased. Instead, most of them see themselves as “human resource developers” or “literacy teachers” or “nurse educators” among others (Foley, 2001, 72). For experiential learning activities to be effective, Caffarella and Barnett (1994, 29) recommend to the adult educators for recognition of the characteristics and needs of adult learners, the most popular are: adult’s need for acknowledgement and use of their experiences and prior knowledge, the different ways they go about learning, their desire to be actively involved in the learning process versus being passive recipients of knowledge, and the affiliation needs of learners to be addressed as a legitimate and vital component of the learning process in adulthood. Ethical issues involved in the discussion about what influence adult educators, who support personal or social transformation, have on the learners are underlined by Merriam, Caffarella and Baumgartner (2007, 154-156). Certain crucial questions remain to be answered like, whether adult educators have the wright to tamper with the worldview (mental set, perspective, paradigm, or state of consciousness) of the learner, whether it is invasive to study adults in the process of transformation, or how is determined the goal of educational intervention, is it social or personal change or something else, and finally what the responsibility of adult educator for the action component of praxis is. The authors insist that there are many unresolved issues as ethical and professional considerations pervade the transformative process of learning, a process that most adult educators are little prepared to handle. The process of understanding the biographical and sociocultural context of the individual learner, presupposes considering other equally if not more powerful ways of knowing than pure rationality. “It is clear that questions of context, rationality and affect, the role of relationships in the transformative learning process, social action and implementation are not as discrete as presented” (ibid., 2007, 154-156). Cunningham (1993) proposes a myth which has to do with adult educators who are presented as learner-centered and focusing on

empowering learners. Adult educators, according to Cunningham are often domesticate, not educate participants. Empowering learners to enroll in adult educational programs in order to enhance or increase life choices is another myth Cunningham intends to reveal. Life choices are not relevant to adult education, as people have the same choices on the completion of the program, they had prior to this. A final myth is about educational activities embracing equality between people. The nature of society embraces race, gender and social class, sources of inequality it shelves (Cunningham,1993).

Adult education and critical thinking

When it comes to critical thinking and personal development, two of the most interesting subjects in adult education, Jack Mezirow prevails in each discussion. Mezirow's interest about adult learning begins in childhood and covers the lifespan. Childhood is a period when cultural and physiological assumptions are uncritically assimilated and brought into consciousness in a later stage in adult life to be critically examined for their validity. Mezirow believes that as learners become more critically reflective upon their everyday life, they will realize that private problems become more and more issues of public interest, which accordingly will raise the desire to act towards changing institutions which support the old ways of thinking (Mezirow, 1989, 196). Since the publication of Mezirow's theory, many scholars critiqued and elaborated on the theory, leading to theoretical development in a variety of new lenses (Taylor, 2007, 174). Dirkx suggests four different lenses that have arisen from examining transformative learning theory: Daloz's developmental approach, Freire's emancipatory approach, Boyd's extrarational approach, and Mezirow's rational approach (Kucukaydin & Cranton, 2012, 44). Cunningham (1993) commented on Mezirow's choice to separate personal transformation, which he sees as the definition of adult learning, from social transformation, which is a political act at the discretion of the learner. One cannot work without the other, according to Cunningham, as when someone is being critically reflective about his environment and the social relationship that it produces, it is important to recognize the dialectical relationships between personal and social transformation. Transformative learning theory has not been without its critics, who see Mezirow as neglecting the social change perspective from his theory. Those critics suggest that social reform needs to precede individual transformation (Cranton, 2011, 55). The formative learning occurs in childhood both

through socialization and schooling, which in adulthood becomes transformative learning as adults discover a need to acquire new perspectives in order to gain a more complete understanding of changing events and a higher degree of control of their lives. They learn to negotiate meanings, purposes, and values critically, reflectively, and rationally instead of passively accepting the social realities defined by others (Mezirow, 1991, 1-3). Meaning is an interpretation, and to make meaning is to construe or interpret experience. Sets of habits of expectation, or meaning perspectives play a central role in the learning process, as they serve as collective codes governing perception and comprehension. Those meaning perspectives refer to a structure of assumptions within which one's past experience assimilates and transforms new experience (Mezirow, 1991, 42-43). Mezirow comments on the crucial role of dialogue to consensually validate one's particular interpretation, as people may coordinate their actions in pursuing their perspective aims (Mezirow, 1991, 61-68). According to the Encyclopedia of the Sciences of Learning (Simsek, 2012), transformational learning is the process of deep, constructive, and meaningful learning that goes beyond simple knowledge acquisition and supports critical ways in which learners consciously make meaning of their lives. Along similar lines Dirkx (1998) identifies transformative learning as an ongoing, continuous process of re-constructing the meaning of our experience, "taken as narrative, this story reveals a sense of transformative learning as a heroic journey undertaken by a rational ego in pursuit of consciousness and enlightenment".

Brookfield describes critical thinking as the habit of examining experiences reflectively to assess their truth or value to transform ideas and beliefs (Houle, 1922, 65). Brookfield is "the most prominent adult educator writing about critical thinking", for Merriam, Caffarella and Baumgartner (2007, 146). Critical consciousness facilitates analysis of the problems in order to transform one's reality rather than merely understand it or adapt to it (Cunningham, 1993). According to Branson (2003, 295) critical thinking refers to all those intellectual skills essential for citizens to exercise their rights and discharge their responsibilities, namely the citizenship. In this perspective, critical thinking is also linked to citizenship. Bartlett (2005, 345) highlights the three complicated challenges critical educators face while teaching: to understand the meaning of dialogue, to transform traditional teaching-student relationship, and to incorporate local knowledge into the classroom. Paulo Freire (2005b, 33), one of the most distinguished educators in critical thinking, in his book "Education for critical

consciousness", published in 1973, sees education as "an act of love, and thus an act of courage". Education is not the transference of knowledge, according to Freire, but the encounter of subjects for dialogue and then the search of the significance of the object as a process of knowing and thinking (Freire, 2005b, 126). Lindeman (1926, 6) commented on those who want to be learners, by assuming that these personalities seem to want, among other things, intelligence, power, self-expression, freedom, creativity, appreciation, enjoyment, fellowship, good life, beauty and joy. Illeris (2003a, 405) notes that adults select and decide consciously or less consciously what to learn and not to learn. All these characteristics define a person in a community of fellowship, who wants to get improved and to change social orders. Of course, this is further strengthened by the very same notion of education as "bringing forward" or "flowering" (Guthrie, 2003, vii). The latter will serve as a new environment in which vital personalities may express properly their aspirations (Lindeman, 1926, 14). All these educational interventions in cognitive abilities depict changes of the behavior through "a deeper interrogation of one's own values and attitudes" (Feinstein, et al, 2003, 8). Since now it is clear that personal development is very much linked to social change, and who else can express this in a better way than John Stuart Mill:

> *"Whatever it teaches, it [education] should teach as penetrated by a sense of duty: it should present all knowledge as chiefly a means of worthiness of life, given for the double purpose of making each of us practically useful to his fellow creatures, and of elevating the character of the species itself, exalting and dignifying our nature".*
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> [Finley, 2017, 504]

Adult education and the role of experiences

The role of experience is widely investigated in adult education. Dewey commented on the value of the experience in the educational process, a thought particularly influential and inspirational in the field. It is only through experience that man learns about the world and only by the use of his experience that he can maintain and better himself in the world (Soltis, 2003, 579). Although these thoughts were expressed almost a century ago, Dewey is a constant source of inspiration that is why he has a particular honor in this study. Lindeman's ideas about the self-directed learning and the role of experiences on the learning process of adults are also very popular. "Experiences is the adult learner's living textbook", and discussion is the means for relaying and sharing the

learners' knowledge (Nixon-Ponder, 1995). Research has shown that adults learn best when they are actively engaged in learning experiences and when their curriculum builds on their life experiences and interests (Nesbit et al., 2004, 81). Caffarella commented on the role of experiences in the learning process while examining the concept of self-directed learning. The learning becomes practical and pragmatic when the learner and the learner's experience involve in the learning process from the perspective of progressivism (Caffarella, 1993). Caffarella is inspired by Malcolm Knowles who explored the impact of self-directed learning as a "process in which individuals take the initiative, without the help of others in planning, carrying out, and evaluating their own experiences" (TEAL Center, 2011). Illeris (2006, 24) also comments on how important it is for the learner to be aware that his experiences are important in the learning process and that they can be used as a starting point to learn more. This, according to Illeris, will increase the learner's engagement in the learning activities. Loeng (2018) challenges Lindeman's views from a Norwegian perspective upon the role of experiences and self-directed learning. According to Loeng many adults do not fit into the expectations of andragogy; thus, self-directed learning should give way to the appropriate initiatives by the teachers. "The assertion that adults are competent by virtue of their experiences and that self-direction is natural and necessary for adult learners is not convenient for all adults" (ibid).

Adult education, psychology, and empowerment

Beyond philosophy, adult education can be seen also in the light of psychology, especially in issues like understanding the nature of adult learning and the learner as an individual unit. In fact, psychology is very much linked to adult education. According to Groom, Cognitive psychology studies the way the brain processes information, offering an insight into the mental processes involved in acquiring and making use of the knowledge and experience gained from our senses, and those involved in planning action. Learning is one the main processes involved in the cognition, along with perception, memory storage, retrieval and thinking (Groom, 2016). Many psychologists investigated adult learning processes. Gestalt psychologists in Germany first investigated the mental processes in order to achieve a proper understanding of human cognition, emphasized the way the components of perceptual input became grouped and integrated into patterns and whole figures, against the behaviorists who used to reject any consideration of inner mental processes (Groom, 2014, 7). The behaviorist

perspective, under whose auspices much of the research on adult learning was conducted, proposes that human actions are the result of prior conditioning and the way in which a person's external environment is arranged (Merriam, Brockett, 2007, 38). Edward Thorndike, a pioneer behaviorist psychologist in his two studies *Adult Learning* in 1928 and *Adult Interests* in 1935 showed evidence that both the ability to learn and the interest in learning something new and valuable were evidence which justified that adult education could be considered as a means of enabling people to keep pace with their changing world (Woodworth, 1952). The German psychologist Hermann Ebbinghaus, pioneer for his research on memory and learning, discovered that learning is more effective when it is spaced out over rather than massed together (Seel, 2012), another major finding of great notice. Many research studies in psychology refer to the direct link between learning and the testing effect, confirming that learning is far more effective if it involves retrieval practice and learning (Groom, & Law, 2014). Empowerment is a further extremely important aspect involved in the process of learning, which has received all the attention that it requires from scholars in adult education.

The way in which the empowerment is fostered in learners, is also applied in psychology. Chris Argyris (1998), a significant psychologist famous also amongst adult educators for his work, in his study "Empowerment: The Emperor's New Clothes" explains in an eloquent way the development of empowerment using the example of employees in an organization. The more the employees are internally committed to a particular project, person or program based on their own reasons or motivations, the more the empowerment is fostered. This could be applied to learning also, as the more participants are internally committed to the targets of an educational program, the more empowered they become to take action on the issues that affect them. Empowerment presupposes the building of confidence and self-esteem of people who were previous excluded from the decision-making processes that affect their lives and has its ultimate aim the challenging of discrimination and inequality through the fostering of community development (Tett, 2005, 126). In another view, the participation in the planning process of an educational program can serve as a means of empowering employers to make changes in their job situations, as highlighted by Rosenblum (1985, 22). Empowerment is also one of the expected prospects of the neo-socialist or egalitarian perspective of lifelong learning along with democratization and social

inclusion, compared to the neoliberal perspective which centers on obtaining skills both for personal material benefits and for a more competitive market economy (Krašovec, 2010, 179). Rubenson (Cunningham, 2004, 228-229) also talks about the psychological domination of adult education. By making a special reference to North America, Rubenson argues that adult education has been transformed from a field historically centered in civil society, through citizen actions, and on the edge of social movements to the analysis of the individual. Cunningham herself is in agreement with Rubenson, thinking of the individual as a biography who intersects and interacts with social structures. Thinking for a person as biography that reveals Cunningham's wish to see both the individual and the structures in a dialectical relationship (Cunningham, 2004). Jesson and Newman (2004, 253) state that adult education courses for individual intellectual stimulation or personal enrichment have a widespread resonance since the 1960s. Offered through liberal adult education, those courses aim at individual personal growth, in contrast to learning radical action which is about collective learning. In direct contrast, Pogson and Tennant (2000, 33) agree that relevant research on the nature of adult learning, on adult intelligence, and on the nature of adulthood itself conducted in the psychology and sociology departments of universities do not necessarily contribute to the knowledge of adult education practitioners.

Adult education and adults' participation

Numerous studies explain why adults participate in adult education and explore the barriers to participation. In general, we could say that the motives include economic benefits, inner incentives, lifelong learning, or incentives relating to communication with other people. For Jim Crowther (2000) the discussion about the participation goes around four rules: (1) participation is a good thing; (2) participation equals formal learning; (3) learners are not socialized, individuals but learners and (4) there are barriers to participation, not resistance. Fulfilling personal goals instead of an inner drive or interest is the main reason the majority of adults are involved in adult education programs according to Knud Illeris (2003b, 13). Their reluctance to acquire new knowledge should not be underestimated as "they typically develop a variety of psychological defense strategies to avoid learning that challenges their identity and personal ways of thinking, reacting and behaving" (Illeris, 2003b, 13). Boeren, Nicaise and Baert (2010) classify the factors that determine the decision to participate into three levels: the individual, the educational provisions and the socio-economic context,

including regulating authorities. Lawrence (Figueira, 1999, 388) spotlights the level of schooling as the single most influential factor in participation. Houtkoop and Kamp (Figueira, 1999, 388) also consider educational background as the most powerful predictor of participation, as it "contributes to individual's self-confidence and success during initial education and motivates adults for further learning". Moreover, they underline the financial aspects to influence adult education participation, such as personal income and training costs. Patricia Cross (1979, 17) advises that increased competition in labor market is expected to increase participation in adult education, while at the same time people may think twice about leaving their jobs for education. It seems the most effective option is to keep the job and study part time. Age was not found to have a significant role in participation, according to Cervero (Figueira, 1999, 388), although the younger professionals are more willing to participate than the older. A survey conducted by Boudard and Rubenson (2003, 265) suggests that educational attainment remains the most important factor predicting participation in adult education and training. In this vein, Patricia Cross (1979, 20) suggests that a high school graduate is three times as likely as an elementary school graduate to participate in adult education, while a college graduate is twice as likely as a high school graduate to be engaged. The rising educational attainment of the nation will, according to Patricia Cross, certainly result in increasing learning opportunities and increased participation "given the addictive nature of education" (ibid., 20).

Isaac (2011, 1101) includes inner and social incentives for the participation. In the former case, are included love for learning, to be fulfilled or escape boredom, while in the latter social contact, interaction with others, to pursue new interests or hobbies, and enhancement of communication skills. Offering the right environment where the action is taking place, could be another reason for participation besides the above. This is in line with the question, how well do adult educators and researchers involved in planning educational programs understand older adults, a key point to secure the program's outcomes. Planning programs for adults might sound simple, but it is not. It is a complex process which demands high intellectual and management skills of those involved. A review and critique of the portrayal of older adult learners in adult education journals from 1980 to 2006, was conducted by Chen, Kim, Moon and Merriam (2008, 3). These findings are of great importance especially for those involved in program planning and policy making. Having reviewed 93 articles in five adult education journals, Chen and

the others have concluded to three themes calling at the same time for greater attention: First, older adults have been portrayed as a homogeneous group in terms of age, gender, race, class, ethnicity, and able-bodiedness. Second, older adults have been viewed as capable and motivated learners with few cognitive and physical limitations. Third, adult education programming has been driven by the life context of older adulthood (ibid., 3). All these assumptions demand that more attention be paid to the diversity found in the older adult population prior to planning an educational program for them. Further disappointed to observe that little has been written regarding the physical, psychological, and social dimensions of the learning environment were Merriam and Brockett (2007, 149-150). Physical environment refers to the actual place in which the learning process takes place, as the room size, acoustics, technology etc. Psychological environment refers to the means that create a climate in which both learners and teachers are able to engage in genuine exchange. Finally, social environment centers on the culture of the teaching-learning process (Merriam and Brockett, 2007, 149-150). As we have seen before, the participation in the planning process of an educational program has a direct impact in reinforcing empowerment (Rosenblum, 1985, 22). Learner's psychological situation prior to attending an educational program defines the outcome of the process, although forming the right environment conditions for ameliorating the learner's psychological situation during the process both from the small amenities and to issues of high humanistic concern is of a paramount importance. Paying attention to small details, as providing some services like a coffee or a snack to an adult who has no time to eat dinner after his or her full-time job and before attending a program is very important according to Kilgore. "I am not proposing to roll out a red carpet and leave the lights on all night long, but adequate services should be available to students when and where they need them" (Kilgore, 2003, 81).

Adult education and the role of the paradigms

Paradigms, emerged from the work of Thomas Kuhn in his book The Structures of Scientific Revolutions in 1970, were quickly adopted by social scientists. Kuhn (1996, 10) defines that the term "paradigm" relates closely to "normal science". As Foley (2004, 12) state a particular conceptual framework or paradigm is dominant in any science, in any era. Normal Science defines how knowledge is constructed and how scientists think about scientific problems. As Torres (2013) notices paradigms in adult education reflect the logic of organizations of adult educational services by

governments and/or institutions of civil society. In his study titled "Political Sociology of Adult Education" Torres explains that the history of adult education is pretty much reflected in terms of its contributions to development and social transformation. The power and relations of authority in education and the political underpinnings of implications of educational policies contribute to our understanding. Various factors among them religion, kinship relations, social classes, interest groups and the political culture, all form the bedrock upon which Torres perceives the political sociology of adult education. Based on this idea, he classifies four models of adult education that have emerged over the years, the two first related to development, namely incrementalism (Modernization –Human Capital and Pragmatic Idealism) versus structuralism (Pedagogy of the Oppressed-Popular Education and Social Engineering-Corporatism), and the other two related to social transformation, namely active political participation versus controlled political participation. A few notes are delivered by Torres as follows:

- Modernization –Human Capital

Adult education, and in particular literacy training, is considered as a key variable in the process of economic growth and modernization of traditional societies.

- Pragmatic idealism

Adult education, based on the premises of John Dewey, should be intimate related to democracy through the formation of moral education as the pivot of development. Learner's experience plays a vital role in the process, which should also provide an intimate satisfaction and practical external outcome.

- Pedagogy of the Oppressed-Popular Education

Adult education projects are considered as mechanisms for the political and pedagogical empowerment of subordinate social actors. Inspired by popular education, adult education programs begin with an analysis of the social and living conditions of the people and the problems they face, and helps them reach a level of individual and collective consciousness of these problems.

- Social Engineering-Corporatism

Adult education is primarily considered as an exercise of social engineering in a post-industrial society. In this context, a prevailing bureaucratic rationality will make all

social distinctions and differences (particular related to social class) to disappear or become irrelevant for social practices.

[Torres, 2013]

2.8 The economic factor in adult education

The involvement of economists in education is not new. It is synonymous with the birth of Economics of Education around 1960, reaching a peak in the middle 1970s when economists became popular in policy making, based on the belief that education has a quantitative contribution to economic growth. As Blaug notes (1985) "No self-respecting Minister of Education would have dreamed of making educational decisions without an economist sitting at his right hand". Almost all these issues are addressed by neoclassical economists who endeavor, mainly, to convince governments on the importance of investing on education. These studies use HCT and invest the role of education in raising employment and productivity, and in reducing unemployment. They got along quite well, and many interesting studies were conducted since then. However, the benefits of education go far beyond what can be measured by labor market earnings and economic growth. Societal and other personal outcomes, for example personal fulfilment cannot be excluded. HCT cannot address such issues as is purely instrumental and represents mainly neoliberal ideas. Dedicated to serve many noble values, adult education, like all other types of education, should not be examined only in the light of neoliberalism exploring only their monetary benefits. This chapter will focus on these issues.

There is also a significant number of studies measuring the returns of typical education or schooling, especially in secondary school and tertiary education. All these studies lay on the Human Capital Theory, measuring the quantitative returns of education and they are classified in the Economics of Education. According to the above findings, there is a significant positive association between educational attainments and economic growth. According to George Psacharopoulos (1996, 339) emphasis is put in this field on documenting the unit cost of education at different schooling levels and curriculum types, along with the learning and earning outcomes of education. Furthermore, the same research agenda involves efficiency assessment, i.e. cost-effectiveness analysis and cost-benefit analysis and equity assessment, i.e. costs

incidence and benefits incidence (Psacharopoulos, 1996, 340). Consequently, cognitive skills are relevant to individual earnings, distribution of income and economic growth (Hanushek, 2013, 205), although many scholars admit that increasing educational attainment does not guarantee the amelioration of economic earnings. This is the clue of these studies. Many scholars were concerned with this theme earlier in the 1960s, almost all of them were focused on the monetary dimension of education. The Nobel Prize winner Arhtur Lewis examines the role of education and skills in economic development in the developing countries in many studies. Lewis indicates that supplying more educated people than the market can absorb does not accelerate economic development. "An oversupply of educated people creates great frustrations, stimulates excessive migrations to the towns, and results in political turbulence" (Lewis, 1965). In his previous article Lewis distinguishes two types of education: investment education and consumption education. From the standpoint of economic development, the former has a high priority (Lewis, 1961). Sanders and Barth (1968) generally agree that the association between education and economic development does not identify causation due to serious measurements and data problems. Despite the lack of convincing evidence, at that time, that education is a necessary condition for economic development, Sanders and Barth explain that causation logically may work both ways: higher levels of education may be expected to increase rates of economic development, and at the same time increasing levels of income may provide better educational services to the population. Vaizey (1968) has spent much time investigating the complex interrelationships between education, productivity, economy and society. It was the time economists had reached their peak in the public discussion, but those who were involved in education too had a long way to go. "In economics (as elsewhere) to assume the mantle of educator is to lose caste in some circles". Like the above scholars, Vaizey agrees on the lack of evidence which proves a causation between education and economic growth. However, he seems to be pretty sure that education equips people with general and particular skills, affects their social relationships, and also their outlook of life. The combination of the three components, namely skills, social relationships and outlooks, along with the managerial structure, the government and the physical capital, all together shape the rate of growth. Another representative study in this field is that of Robert Barro (2013) "Education and Economic Growth".

The main discourse around the above studies centers on the use of HCT. In fact, it has proved to be a very useful tool, which has also aroused controversy over its strengths and weaknesses. Unlike the above studies, many economists, neoclassical among them, believe that we should overcome the perception that the returns on investment of education is the most important indicator of its productivity. Focusing on Human Capital Theory, a dominant neoclassical theory introduced by Theodore Schultz (1972a), it is mainly applicable to training for work related purposes. Emrullah Tan (2014) admits that it is a comprehensive approach to analyze a wide spectrum of human affairs in light of a particular mindset, however it has serious limitations in its analytic framework by which the neoclassical model attempts to explain social and economic phenomena. In the 1950s and 1960s, the concept of human capital was perceived as demeaning due to a widespread idea that "it treated people as machines" (Becker, 1992). Unfeeling and extremely narrowed was also alleged to be the approach of schooling as investment rather than a cultural experience. It took some years and Mincer's empirical study of investments in human capital to give a major boost to HCT. This has its origins in the theoretical framing of applications which can be problematic, as many scholars advise. Robert Gilpin (2002, 55) for example has commented on several limitations neoclassical economics have in their framework, especially with regard to matters pertaining to social reality, besides, honestly, being used by the majority of the economists. OECD makes it clear that social outcomes are neither currently well understood nor systematically measured (OECD, 2007). This discussion on the social parameter has actually bothered Schultz too, who considered some social implications in his theory deeply related to the human being. In his study "Investment in human capital" Schultz (1961) opposes the main idea economists endeavored at that time, that equalizing human beings to capital goods implies that man is reduced to a mere material component, similar to property, as is in the case of slavery. This is an idea derived from deep-seated moral and philosophical issues economists embrace, as Schultz admits. "And for man to look upon himself as a capital good, even if it did not impair his freedom, may seem to debase him" (ibid., 2). Later in 1972 in his study "Human Capital: Policy issues and Research Opportunities", Schultz (1972b) admits that several important social goals were excluded from national economic accounting. "I am convinced […] that in national economic accounting it is possible to evaluate and include the cost and returns associated with several important social goals that are presently not taken into account" (ibid.).

Literature review revealed a few studies measuring the returns of lifelong learning and vocational education, almost all of them based on neoclassical economics. These studies attempt to analyze if future incomes of individuals are related to their past investments. The study "Costs and Benefits of Vocational Education and Training" by Kathrin Hoeckel (2008), under the auspices of OECD, counts many costs and benefits to different stakeholders. The study "Economic Benefits of Lifelong Learning" (Dorsett, Lui, & Weale, 2010) also measures the effect of lifelong learning on earnings and unemployment. Rees (2013, 200) has investigated the relevance of HCT to lifelong learning, providing evidence of its high influence in understanding the role of adult learning in the wider economic development. "It also provides a means of addressing the determinants of individual behavior in relation to participation in adult learning, in terms of individuals" capacities to make 'rational' calculations as to the instrumental benefits that will accrue to human capital formation" (ibid.). In the field of adult education, the vast literature mainly includes the study of the humanistic aspect and its impact on personal development and the society, issues very popular to those involved in the field. Introducing the economic factor, by exploring the economic impact adult education has on individuals and the society, reflects an implicit bias: its noble past is at risk, and its civic and humanistic values will be directly compromised. At the same time, introducing the economic realm would probably mean equalizing adult education to vocational education and training. We can agree on the substantial added value the approach of HCT brings in understanding the measurable objective of education in the labor market -which has been actually endorsed by most of the governments around the world, the EU among them. We should also agree that adult education should not be approached from this aspect, as it identifies itself mainly as means of transformation, either personal or societal, serving humanistic values. Thus, its benefits cannot be only monetary. Of course, one cannot deny that adult education does not respond to economic transformations, however focusing only on the economic perspectives from the neoclassical point of view, means that its substantive meaning will be obscured and crucial aspects regarding the intellectual, historical, and social aspects of the notion will be neglected. So, how should we explore the economic impact of adult education without falling into this debate? The relevance of human capital framework with adult education is also considered in this study, contributing by this way in a wider discussion that takes place lastly, this of thinking about adult education away from the narrow approaches embedded in the neoclassical framework, which mainly reflect the

importance of monetary-related thinking. The key answer is to approach it from another point of view, from another methodological framework which will permit more than the financial aspect to flourish. This study proposes the approach of International Political Economy. Of course, other researchers could work upon other, probably more appropriate, and useful frameworks in this direction. This study also involves in the discussion about the political economy of adult education, a thematic still in a nascent phase, where the economic substance is considered but placed into a wider social spectrum, where politics, economy, and history interact with one another. Literature on the political economy of adult education requires theoretical, descriptive statistics, correlational research, and much qualitative work to cover the advanced and developing countries. It is clear that we must approach these subjects sensibly, without any preconceived ideas, intended both in contributing to the broader scientific discussion, as well as to offer useful material to policy makers to reach decisions that will better reflect citizens' needs.

With an increasing number of studies looking critically at the neoclassical framework, the political economy perspective is gaining momentum in the field of adult education only recently. The pioneer who explored the nexus between adult education and economic development was Frank Youngman back in 2000 in his study titled "The political economy of adult education and development" (2000). This study seeks to clarify the historical-structural constraints in the choices about adult education policies and programmes in the South within the spectrum of Marxism. This study attracted the attention of those involved in the field, despite its critics. To my knowledge there was no other attempt in this subject until 2010, which the study of Professor Gareth Rees (2010), and his study "The political economy of Adult Education" and later with the Professor Richard Desjardins of UCLA who wrote an article urging the need to explore adult education away from the neoclassical perspective, elevating International Political Economy. Since then, a few other scholars have engaged in the subject, but much work still has to be done. In the following chapters we will explore this issue more closely. Engaging in adult education serves more than a purpose of stirring impressions and applause as its benefits relate to both the individuals and the society, both to developing and developed countries. It elevates values that every person strives for, like personal development, wellbeing, equal opportunities, and justice. Therefore, it deserves our greatest attention. Exploring the economic aspect of adult education within the

framework of International Political Economy offers the opportunity to engage in it for a multidimensional package of purposes all devoted to improving the quality of life. Going beyond the economic valuation of development, which is without any doubt very important not only academically but also for policymaking, this study investigates the possible impact of adult education on economic development, from another spectrum not financial-centered, but closely related to economics. Sustainable development is also explored, along with the ways it is evaluated within the Agenda 2030, contributing to our broader understanding. This is a plea for adult education, to be provided with the wherewithal for living up to its potential.

2.9 The methodological framework of IPE

For those dealing with IPE, they would expect to deal mainly with international trade systems, the global financial and monetary order, international institutions, environmental protection, multinational corporations and international competition among others. All these factors compose a complex nexus of interdependence in the contemporary international economic system. They also give an indication of how crucial the role of the governments is in coping with all these crucial issues. The history of IPE is presented here, along with some points indicating how to explore economic development within this framework. A comparison with the neoclassical economics is also attempted in this study and much-needed conclusions have been produced here in light of the doubts arising in connection with the utility of further economic growth. Afterall, we could agree with Hettne's (1990) comment that "Most of the pioneers (in development economics) held that neoclassical theory due to its preoccupation with microeconomics had little to offer the theory of development". Moving to IPE, we should start with the premise expressed by Benjamin Cohen that IPE is very old and very young at the same time. It is very old because the connections between economics and politics in international relations have long been recognized, and very young because it lacks, so far, the status of a formal, established academic discipline (Cohen, 2019).

Before engaging in the debate about what is IPE, it is appropriate to clarify the relationship between the terms Global Political Economy and International Political Economy. According to O'Brien and Williams (2011, 22) the term "Global Political Economy" refers to the environment from the last quarter of the 20th century until today.

This is a period when states, companies and citizens are struggling to put their surroundings in order, in a world characterized by intensified globalization. Compared to the term “International Political Economy” which is either used to refer to previous eras or to refer to the academic study area which investigates the interaction of economic and political phenomena across national borders. For the needs of this study, we will use the term International Political Economy. While attempting to simplify the history of IPE, starting from its birth and onwards, we will meet two dominant views. From one side are those scholars indicating that IPE originated the mid nineteen seventies, and on the other side those supporting that modern IPE originates from classical political economy emerged in the second half of the eighteenth century. This is by no means to say that this debate is of minor value, nor it is to discount this at all, but insisting on this it will profoundly lead as into the trap of a historiographical debate. Another issue, as presented by Ravenhill (2011) points out the diversity in ontology, epistemology, and methodology in IPE. The term epistemology refers to those issues addressing what knowledge is and how it is acquired. Ontology seeks to answer the question of what the essential features of an object are. Finally, methodology refers to a procedure or a set of procedures used to study a subject matter (Ravenhill, 2011, 25). David Lake regrets the fact much attention has been focused on these issues, “I often wish that scholars would stop contemplating how to do research and simply get on with the business of explaining, understanding, and possibly improving the world we inhabit and, in part, create” (Lake, 2009). Similarly, Germann notes that these debates “may detract from the substantive issues it ought to help us better understand” (Germann, 2011). In the meanwhile, there is another point of view, which I suggest we should keep in mind “Many scholars find this rich mix of theories and methodologies a cause for celebration rather than concern” (Ravenhill, 2011, 25).

The scientific approach of IPE appeared in the mid nineteen seventies, resulting from the economic reality formed after the oil crisis of 1974 and the collapse of the financial system of Bretton Woods (Andrianos 2008, 81; Hancock & Vivoda, 2014, 207). There is a widespread view that today's field of IPE can be traced back to 1971, when the British Susan Strange followed up her own call to action by forming an organized research network, the International Political Economy Group (IPEG). Benjamin Cohen (2007, 10) notes that IPE was born in 1970, when Susan Strange published a seminal article entitled “International Economics and International Relations: A Case of Mutual

Neglect". The key to the institutionalization of IPE, by attracting funders, researchers, initiating graduate programmes and creating ubiquitous undergraduate courses, was probably the 1973 October War in the Middle East with its first deployment of the oil weapon and the long recession that followed (Murphy & Nelson, 2001, 394). However, as Cohen notes, IPE has its precursors back to the 17th and 18th Centuries to the liberal Enlightenment, however since the late 1960s it was "an invisible college" (Cohen, 2019). In Wikipedia we find a well-known idea that IPE is an interdisciplinary field, which draws on many distinct academic schools, most notably political economy, political science and economics, sociology, history, and cultural studies (Wikipedia, 2015). This idea presents an important opportunity to use theoretical tools from other disciplines. In literature IPE is either presented as a subfield of International Relations (IR) (Hancock & Vivoda, 2014; Ravenhill, 2017; Lake 2009), an agenda supported by the American school of IPE (Cohen, 2007, 7). On the other hand, for other scholars IR is considered as a sub-discipline of IPE, an idea supported by the British school of IPE (Cohen, 2007, 10). Amanda Dickins (2006, 479) suggests that IPE emerged as the international economy developed apace in the 1960s, sparking interest in the politics of the international economy and drew upon diverse sources, including economics and history as well as international relations. The early development of the IPE incorporates two scholar types, from which one predominates in the United States, the rationalist species, *Ratiosaurus rex,* and the other in the United Kingdom and Canada, the diverse critical species, *Querimonia* (Dickins, 2006, 480). Cohen (2007, 1) claims that beyond an interest in marrying international economics and IR, there is no consensus at all on what, precisely, because once born the field proceeded to develop along separate paths followed by quite different clusters of scholars. This opinion is consistent also with the findings of this study. A few comments are presented here on the two schools of IPE on both sides of the Atlantic: The American school or International Organization (IO) and the British school (Murphy & Nelson, 2001, 395). Cohen (2007, 1) advocates that the dominant -the hegemonic- globally version of IPE is developed by the American school or 'orthodox', where "Analysis is based on the twin principles of positivism and empiricism, which hold that knowledge is best accumulated through an appeal to objective observation and systematic testing". Among the pioneers of the field are Robert Keohane, and Robert Gilpin. On the contrary, the British style of IPE, also called 'heterodox' or 'radical', is less wedded to scientific method and more to normative issues, also its supporting scholars are more receptive to links with other academic

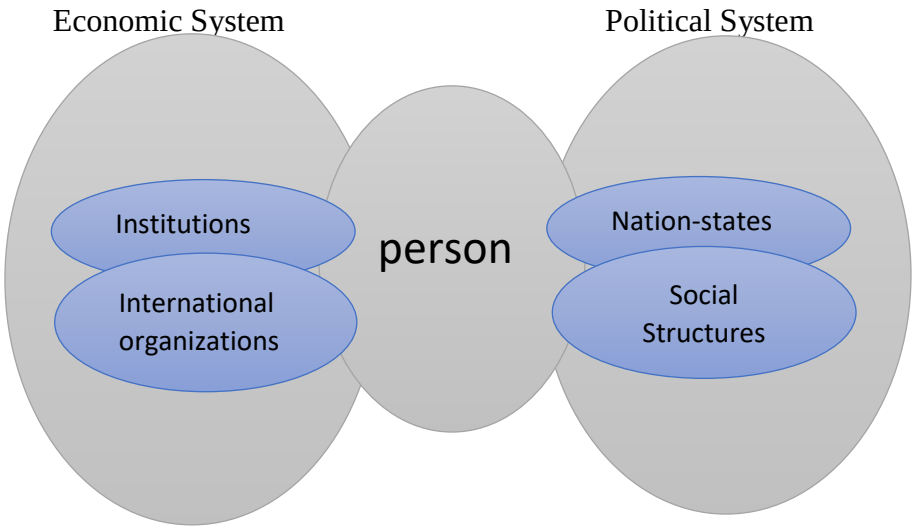
disciplines, beyond mainstream economics and political science (Cohen, 2007, 2). The British School of IPE has been dominated by the influence of the British Susan Strange, "The patron saint of the British School" (Cohen, 2019), and the Canadian Robert Cox. Unlike to the best pioneers of IPE in USA, who were political scientists, Strange studied economics and Cox history, Cohen adds. Indeed, Cox (1995, 32) defines political economy as the study of the historical constituted frameworks or structures in exploring the political and economic activities. This school offers a broader field of study, concerned with all manner of social and ethical issues, identifying injustice, promoting social development, while its driving ambition is to make the world a better place (Cohen, 2007, 3). Whereas, in the American school the core object of study is limited to questions of state behavior and system governance, its driving ambition is to explore possible solutions to challenges within the existing system and finally restricts itself mainly to mid-level theorizing-highlighting key relationships with larger stable structures (ibid.).

Following Cohen's thoughts about the origin of IPE, Hobson (2013) highlights its origin back to the second half of the eighteenth century when classical political economy emerged. Commenting on the division of the two schools, Hobson highlights a common point of reference: the vast majority of IPE, modern or classical, is embedded in different variants of Eurocentrism and both British and American schools are joint by a "Eurocentric *metanarrival* tunnel that joins them deep beneath the intellectual seabed" (Hobson, 2013). Regmi (2020) notes that the discourse in international political economy has been shaped by two theoretical positions: Keynesianism and neoliberalism. Keynesianism promotes the idea of a strong state for regulating the market so every country through state-controlled resource distribution and planning can solve socioeconomic problems. On the other side, neoliberalism, from Hayek's perspective, aims to provide more freedom to the market forces so that individual countries can achieve high rates of economic growth. The civil society has become the third force which aims at striking a balance between the state and the market (ibid.). According to Murphy & Nelson (2001, 393) IPE focuses on how to resuscitate the fixed exchange-rate system. Sklias, Roukanas and Maris (2012, 18) claim that IPE is a renowned intellectual and methodological tool suitable for the diachronic study of social, economic and political issues (Figure 2.2). Despite the different views, opinions and approaches of IPE, researchers converge onto one point: there is an integration of

economy and politics, also of domestic and international within IPE. In other words, it seems that those demarcation lines between both economy and politics, and "internal" and "external" do not exist anymore (Sklias, Roukanas and Maris, 2012).

Figure 2.2

World Economic Governance Structure



Source: Adopted from Sklias, Roukanas, and Maris 2012

For Robert Gilpin (2002, 84), one of the most recognized scholars in the field, IPE depends on the theory and the knowledge that arises from neoclassical economics. Nonetheless, IPE and neoclassical economics impose different questions, as both of them use different analysis framework. Cohen comments on Gilpin's idea about IPE, which mainly depicts the American view, which is though as "The reciprocal and dynamic interaction in international relations of the pursuit of wealth and the pursuit of power". The pursuit of wealth is the role of markets and other allocative mechanisms and the challenges of providing for material welfare. By pursuit power, Gilpin meant the role of the state and other political actors and the challenges of effective governance. By international relations he meant actions and outcomes that extend across national frontiers. By reciprocal Gilpin implies that neither economics nor politics takes the precedence, as one influences another. Finally, by dynamic he meant that things change, and nothing can be taken for granted (Cohen, 2019). Gilpin's typology of the three schools of thought, frequently also referred as perspectives or paradigms all drawn from traditional IR theory – liberalism, Marxism, and realism (Gilpin, 1987; Gilpin, 2002;

Cohen, 2019) are very much identified with the American school of IPE and they still gaining much popularity. Cohen admitted that Gilpin has facilitated the construction of an organic construction of a new field of study on familiar foundations, which were provided by the political science (Cohen, 2019).

According to O'Brien and Williams (2011), the study of International Political Economy presupposes the contribution of six basic key factors:

1. The inextricable link between economics and politics.
2. A sensibility to historical changes. It is important to explore the evolution of various concepts in specific historical periods.
3. A structuralist view of the controversy over structure and action.
4. The adoption of constructivist elements.
5. The recognition of the importance of institutions and institutional change in the analysis of IPE.
6. The recognition of the close relationship between changes in social classes and structures of international order with IPE.

Having in mind the difficulties arising while reviewing the field of IPE, I cannot say that this was an obstacle, rather than an interesting debate to involve. The main conclusions we could summarize at this point are the following:

- International Political Economy is an interdisciplinary field which draws on many distinct academic schools, most notably political economy, political science and economics, sociology, history, and cultural studies.
- Two main schools -the American and the British- explore the knowledge, facts and valid explanations of International Political Economy,
- According to the British School International Relations is a sub-discipline of International Political Economy.
- For the American School, International Political Economy is a subfield of International Relations.
- Global Political Economy refers to the environment from the last quarter of the 20th century until today, compared to the term "International Political Economy" which is either used to refer to previous eras or to refer to the academic study

area which investigates the interaction of economic and political phenomena across national borders.

- One basic requirement while studying International Political Economy is to retrace history to explore key historical junctures, useful to make notices
- International Political Economy offers many options to explore a variable from a financial and a qualitative perspective too.

The study of political economy has forced economists to engage with much more closely to other disciplines like economic history, politics and political science, decision theory, geography, and psychology. Adam & Dercon (2009) in their study "The political economy of development: As assessment" elevate the idea that the understanding of economic development engages questions of political economy in particular, with how political choices, institutional structures, and forms of governance influence the economic choices made by governments and citizens. The ultimate concern, as the above scholars note, is how these choices shape patterns of economic development, as the above structures reflect deeper forces, such as the patterns of colonial settlement and conflict, physical geography and natural resources endowments, the disease ecology of societies, and ethnic diversity, as well as some cultural factors. However, Adam and Dercon express their concern about the influence made by pioneering economists who put focus on long-run economic growth, decision making, mechanism design, and trade that have an obvious effect on the future of political economy. "Pioneering economists are radically altering the discipline and re-building the theoretical basis on which modern political economy rests". This new political economy, as Adam and Dercon express, has two defining characteristics. The first relating to the use of economic theory and the second to empirical validation.

I consider IPE the most relevant framework to approach adult education. The motivation behind this choice is the philosophical nature of adult education, which presupposes that several disciplines are involved while examining educational problems. Apps (1973, 2) proposes to include in IPE information from life sciences, of biology, political science, economics and information from educational history, religion and morals, because when it comes to the economy, the ideational and the social seem difficult to be understood within the contexts of the real -the material- world. This is a very important notice, thinking of the reasons this study proposes to overcome the

narrow approaches of the neoclassical economics while studying the role of adult education in economic development. IPE Seems to be, so far, the most relevant methodological framework to explore the main question this study wants to answer, despite the difficulties in defining the field and the debates that have been taking place all these years. Afterall, it is my firm belief that no one can present tangible arguments able to diminish the value of IPE.

2.10 The alternative perspectives of IPE: A focus on constructivism

Gilpin's trichotomy -liberalism, Marxism, and realism- introduced in 1975, ended up being a useful formula for those studying IPE and actually a starting point in IPE's infancy, given this conception which supports that IPE was born in the 1970s. Since then, diverse alternative perspectives emerged, which do not fit accurately into any one of Gilpin's three models, but they, undoubtably, make a great contribution to understanding the today's complex context of IPE. Thanks to these perspectives, IPE has gained the title of "an interdisciplinary field" where anyone can find a place to fit in. This chapter speaks about constructivism, a theoretical approach which traces its roots back to the 18th century but has come into prominence the last three decades and is mainly identified within the post-Cold-War period. Constructivism which is the proposed theoretical basis for explaining the way adult education is correlated to economic development.

This paragraph gets to the crux of the matter, what constructivism talks about? It is rather interesting at this point to mention a few thoughts of one of the pioneers in the field, Paul Watzlawick (1984). In his book "The Invented Reality: How Do We Know What We Believe We Know", Watzlawick mentions three key points: a) the unfortunate choice of the term, as it was established in traditional philosophy with a different meaning, b) it refers to a short-lived movement in the arts and architecture in Soviet Union in 1920s and c) it is an ugly word. Indeed, a literature review in the 1920s and 1930s demonstrates the truth. Constructivism, for Watzlawick refers to:

> *"the construction of those who believe they have discovered and investigated it. In other words, what is supposedly found is an invention whose inventor in unaware of the act of invention, who considers this as something it exists independently of him; the invention then becomes the basis of his world view and actions".*

[Watzlawick, 1984, 10]

Watzlawick notes that the first true constructivist is Giambattista Vico, whose epistemological ideas are rarely mentioned. Giambattista Vico (1668-1744) was the first to notice that people had fundamentally different schema of though in different historical eras. To mark the difference between the way people used to think in ancient times compared to the way in modern times, Vico developed a theory of the imagination (IEP, 2022). Vico placed the role of the Man in history next to the role of the God. According to Vico, the natural world is made by God, but the historical world is made by Man (Jackson, & Sorensen, 2007, 164). Some other constructivists are Silvio Ceccato, Jean Piaget, John Dewey, Max Weber, and Immanuel Kant who contributed with their ideas to what constructivism is today. Crowther (1999, 17) places the birth of constructivism in Geneve. The Europeans have already incorporated the role of the ideas and the social interaction between the states among in their analysis, so "there was less intellectual space for constructivists to fill out", while it became very popular among North American Scholars, most of whom were neorealists and neoliberals (Jackson, & Sorensen, 2007, 163). This study has addressed John Dewey's (2001) work in prior chapter, as he is considered one of the pioneers both in adult education and constructivism. In his legendary study "Democracy and Education", Dewey introduces the way constructivism applies in education. Learning is an active and constructive process, a "principle almost as generally violated in practice as conceded in theory". Two main issues are highlighted by Dewey: i) the educational process has no end; and that ii) the educational process is one of continual reorganizing, reconstructing, transforming of experience. Therefore, education is a constant reorganizing or reconstructing of experience, and so far as the activity is educative education always reaches an end, which is equivalent to the direct transformation of the quality of experience. To further facilitate our understanding, we will approach every aspect of interest separately.

Based on the premises introduced by the American school proponents, IPE is about sovereign states, thus the state behavior is the first on the agenda. What motivates government policies and how we can best explain and evaluate government policies are the two key issues to be considered. The state is "the fundamental locus of authority", but this does not mean that other actors -ranging from individuals and enterprises to multilateral organizations and transnational communities- are ignored, but only that the

state is prioritized (Cohen, 2019). By that token, US scholars seek to explain the reasons that shape the state policy-making procedures. IR theory itself focuses on the sovereign state. Based on this premise Cohen presents the levels of analysis of the IR theory and the state behavior each time. The first level is the *systemic* (or structural), where the behavior is studied from outside-in. Inquiry focuses on the constraints and incentives which derive from the broader structure of inter-state relations. The second level of analysis is the *domestic* level, where the behavior is studied from inside-out. In this level the focus is on two main issues: firstly, to strategic interactions among all domestic actors, whether inside or outside government, as they can have a potential or actual influence on a state's foreign actions, secondly to the institutional settings as through them diverse interests are converted and mediated into policy. The third level of analysis is the *cognitive* level, where the focus is on the ideas and consensual knowledge that lend legitimacy to governmental policymaking. This level concerns deeply with the mentality of the individual, what is in his mind and how personal values and beliefs can influence the state behavior; thus, it is largely based on psychology. We shall begin our analysis with probably the most interesting thought which comes from Peter Fensham (1992, 801) that "The most conspicuous psychological influence on curriculum thinking in science since 1980 has been the constructivist view of learning". The main questions that arise here is whether constructivism is a theory itself, an approach or something else. There are some ideas about what constructivism is: a) a theory, b) an approach, c) a track of the cognitive lever, d) an outgrowth of critical theory. But what constructivism is really about? According to Cohen, constructivism is a new track of the cognitive level, which focuses on the independent effect of norms on state behavior. Ruggie (1998, 856) one of the pioneers in constructivism, supports that it is more a philosophically and theoretically informed perspective on, and approach to the empirical study of IPE.

Other scholars also see it as an approach (Alesandrini, & Larson, 2002; Adler, 1997, 321; Hurd, 2008, 302; Kaufman, 2013, 64; Jackson, & Sorensen, 2007, 162). McComas (2014) agrees that there is no single constructivist theory, but it refers to several related ideas in learning theory. Yilmaz (2008, 163) also admits that constructivism is not a unified theory, but a set of multiple and plural perspectives. Reus-Smit (2001, 215) proposes that constructivism should be seen as an outgrowth of critical international theory. For Greenwood Onuf (2013, 3) constructivism is a system of concepts and

propositions and not a theory as such. It applies to all fields of social inquiry, it does not offer general explanations, however it offers a theoretical tool about matters that seem to be unrelated, because concepts and propositions used to talk about them are also unrelated. A new novel theory of IR is another view by Wang and Blyth (2013). Taylor (2014) also perceives constructivism as a theory. Reviewing literature on constructivism, we shall start from the Encyclopedia of Sciences and Religions (Runehov, & Oviedo, 2013), where we find that constructivism comes from the Latin word "construere" which is "to construct" and covers all theories of cognition, looking to explain the active contribution of the subject in the process of cognizing. As a term it represents a group of various epistemological views, coming from philosophy, psychology, sociology, theory of sciences etc., which support that cognition or knowledge is actively received, built up and constructed. Reus-Smit (2001) states that there are three main topics arising while studying constructivism: 1) the importance of normative as well as material structures, 2) the role of identity in shaping political action, 3) the mutual constitutive relationship between agents and structures. Moreover, the same scholar indicates the three different forms of constructivism scholarship in IR: systemic, unit-level, and holistic. Cohen notes that the constructivist track, in contrast to political psychology, is more sociological in nature, concerned with the connections between individuals with learning, inter-subjectivity, and finally with social knowledge. In practice, the American school of IPE is more concerned with the systemic and domestic levels, and their interaction (Cohen, 2019). Ravenhill (2011) notes that the constructivist approaches derive from Weberian analysis and emphasize the significance of ideas in constituting actors' perceptions of their interests and identities. Hopf (1998) suggests that constructivism should understood in its conventional and critical variants. The latter is more closely to critical social theory. Crowther (1999, 17-18) explains that it refers to a process where people when experiencing something new, they internalize it with past experiences or knowledge constructs. Jackson and Sorensen (2007, 162) advise that the term constructivism is a shorthand of the term social constructivism.

Fundamental to constructivism is that the human beings are social beings, who interact with each other and through their social relations they construct themselves and the world they live in. Greenwood Onuf in his book "Making Sense, Making Worlds" (2013) clarifies this relationship by noticing a few issues, presented right afterwards.

Firstly, it is important for the countries to be self-contained worlds, and this can be achieved when "people talk about them that way and try to keep them that way". Thus, talking becomes the most important way to achieve this. Secondly, people and societies constitute each other in a two-way continuous and reciprocal process, being also ready both to change. An important element is introduced here, which are the *rules*. This third element links the other two and tells people what they should do. Moreover, rules identify who the active participants of a society are, the so-called *agents* (Greenwood Onuf, 2013). Another important issue is the role of the social structures. Alexander Wendt (1995, 72-80) supports that for constructivists "state interests are an important part constructed by systemic structures, not exogenous to them". Thus, constructivists are structuralists who believe that social structures can possibly be changed, by changing a system of expectations. Those social structures are collective phenomena that confront individuals as externally existing social facts, and they depend on ideas. In fact, constructivists have a normative interest in social change. Kaufman (2013) notes that the constructivist thinking focuses less on power, and more on cooperation and structures. The role of the identity is also highlighted. Kaufman (2013, 15) argues for the need to take identity and other socially constructed realities into account when explaining their impact on the states' behaviors. Constructivists reject the one-side focus on materials. As Jackson and Sorensen (2007, 162) note, constructivism supports that the international system is a human intellectual and ideational invention. Thus, "it is a set of ideas, a body of thought, a system of norms, which has been arranged by certain people at a particular time and place". Consisting of ideas and thoughts, the international system can change if these ideas will change as well. The ideas are the medium and propellant of social action (Adler, 1997, 325). The states are the principal units/actors in the international system (Kaufman, 2013). Watzlawick (1984, 15) notes that constructivism in its pure, radical sense supports that "the real reality exists and that certain theories, ideologies, or personal convictions reflect it (match it) more correctly than others". Ernst Von Glasersfeld (1984, 26) comments on the role of the Man and the way we arrive at knowledge. Man is responsible for his thinking, his knowledge and what he does, thus "we have no one but ourselves to thank for the world in which we appear to be living", as. The way we arrive at knowledge is another key issue of radical constructivism, which "breaks with convention and develops a theory of knowledge in which knowledge does not reflect an "objective" ontological reality, but exclusively an ordering and organization of a world constituted by our experience".

Knowledge for Von Glasersfeld is useful, relevant, and viable if it responds to our experience and enables us to make predictions and to bring about or avoid certain phenomena. Constructivism is very much close to transformative learning theory presented above. Mezirow's interest for adult learning was expressed through his famous Transformative Learning Theory, which has a leading role in the field. Examining how adults learn to make meaning of their experience, this theory has a leading role in the field.

2.11 Constructivism in education

Constructivism has offered us the opportunity to approach the problems of knowledge and learning, focusing on the socio-cognitive modes of behavior. It is considered as a "softer" version of constructivism, which has modified the teaching modus vivendi at any level of instruction (Larochelle, & Bednarz, 1998, 3). Philosopher D.C. Phillips (1995) proposes that constructivism has three faces: the *Good*, the *Bad*, and the *Ugly*. The *Good* face depicts the necessity for the active participation of the learner, together with the recognition of the social nature of learning. The *Bad* refers to the tendency of many constructivist forms towards relativism, also towards focusing on sociopolitical processes or consensus, or towards abandoning any substantial rational justification. Phillips insists on the role of the nature in the above process. Finally, the *Ugly* refers to any quasi-religious or ideological aspects of constructivism. In literature one can find the term constructivist learning -also known as discovery learning- referring to the process by which students are encouraged to discover concepts and principles through personal exploration and activation of prior knowledge (Seif, Tableman, & Carlson, 2012, 555). Constructivist paradigms in education and psychology are involved in explaining complex learning strategies. Learning is an active information processing, where the learner is perceived as a sense maker, who actively selects and integrates new information with information stored in long-term memory (Braun, Gurlitt, Nuckles, 2012, 563). According to Matthews (2002, 123) constructivism centers to people, it cares for their personal development, professional esteem, their ideas, self-image, thus it has an ethical dimension which endorses notions like emancipation and empowerment. Larochelle and Bednarz (1998, 7) propose that the constructivist project is inspired by the principle of symmetry developed by David Bloor, which proposes using the same concepts and interpretative concepts when examining the success or failure. In this way, success and failure are treated similarly. The same scholars also

suggest that both the dematerialization of cognition and the principle of symmetry had led to significant revision in the teaching content and the form this is imparted.

Constructivism presupposes learner's control of the learning process and emphasizes his ability in discovering and solving his real problems. In effect, learning should be authentic and suitable for meeting real life expectations, and knowledge should be an active experience (Huang, 2002, 27-29). This is the major difference between constructivism and the empirico-realism foundations, which supports that the reality, it terms of substances and phenomena, is independent of the observers involved (Larochelle, & Bednarz, 1998, 5). Learners should be given that chance to think about what they are being taught or what they are learning (Kassaye, 2014, 174). According to Garner (2012, 567) a dialogic interaction between teachers and students is essential to the learning process. Students are actively engaged in discovering, articulating, modeling, and refining conceptions of the context, and how this can be meaningfully used. Teachers, on the other side, have the role of the coach and facilitator, in assisting students' interaction with complex meaningful problems. The whole philosophy of constructivism is summarized in the following triptych: the learners set aims, construct information, and evaluate their own achievements (Saari, Salmela, & Vikkila, 2014, 194). A dialogical theory emerges thereafter, as the person becomes reflexively conscious of his/her own mind and also for the meaning it possesses (Morf, 1998, 54). Larochelle and Bednarz (1998, 5) explain that the individual becomes responsible for his own actions. However, they warn that this "does not hail the return of the *sovereign subject* in all its might, be this in the form of idealism and solipsism. Escaping from the dictatorship of the object to come under the rule of the subject in not a particularly innovative solution", a position endorsed by the empirico-realism supporters (ibid.). These achievements then become the result of a personal intellectual process. Bodner (1986, 4) summarizes the process of knowledge in the following phrase "Knowledge is constructed in the mind of the learner". Learners do not simply mirror and reflect what they are told or what they read. They rather look for meaning and they "will try to find regularity and order in the events of the world even in the absence of full or complete information". Bodner also highlights an instrumentality view of knowledge as "it is good if and when it works, if and when it allows us to achieve our goals" (ibid., 5). In the same spirit, Larochelle and Bednarz (1998, 8) comment that knowledge cannot be transmitted, and it is not neutral. But it is constructed, negotiated and propelled by the

human as long as it is enables him/her to organize his/her reality in a viable way. Thus, knowledge becomes a dynamic process. Indeed, constructivists support that he subject and the knowledge have close ties.

Another key issue highlighted in literature is that knowledge and understanding are social actions. The contribution of constructivism to education does not pose only to the human or a student. It can be succeeded through the process of dialogue, rather than individually, thus we "coconstruct them" (Perkins, 1999, 7). It also implies the way of the interaction of a person with the world. As Morf (1998, 50) advises in the transaction between the human and the world both are transformed. Postulates, ends and the sociocognitive experiences of a person are involved in the reinterpretation of the knowledge, thus are also under the spectrum of reconstruction (Larochelle, & Bednarz, 1998, 5). Morf (1998, 50) proposes a condition "A being capable of symbolically mediated interaction has a mind and is capable of becoming consciously aware of the meaning it possesses". However, one could ask whether every person is able to undergo this process, which means to assess his knowledge, his experiences and therefore to proceed with transformation. Tobin (1998, 196) clarifies that efforts to test the knowledge may not be successful, as this process may illuminate "obscure potentially productive ways of making sense and increase the likelihood of retaining initial conceptualizations". Morf (1998, 32) also argues that only selected sectors of experience are accessible to operational treatment. Phillips (1995, 3) comments that constructivists do not necessarily agree on the way individuals learn or construct knowledge. For example, some of them, like Piaget, support that psychological/biological mechanisms are considered, whereas others like Vygotsky are focused on social factors that affect learning. Wilson (1996, 4) presents how different philosophical conceptions of knowledge can affect our view about instruction:

Table 2.2

How our views of knowledge influence our views of instruction

IF YOU THINK OF KNOWLEDGE AS…	*THEN YOU MAY THINK OF INSTRUCTION AS…*
• a quantity of packet of content waiting to be submitted	• a product to be delivered by a vehicle
• a cognitive state is reflected in a person's schemas and procedural skills	• a set of instructional strategies aimed at changing an individual's schemas
• a person's meanings constructed by interaction with one's environment	• a learner drawing on tools and resources within a rich environment
• enculturation or adaption of a groups ways of seeing and acting	• participation in community's everyday activities

Source: Wilson, 1996, 4

Constructivism neither implies a diminished role of the teacher, nor that he/she is exempted of all educational his/her responsibility. The teacher's role is supportive by "scaffolding [student's] thinking and providing information when needed" (McComas, 2014). This is a process is two-fold process, where students and teachers interact and coparticipate to facilitate a sociodiscursive cohesion within a given community of practice, who are members that have to accomplish something together, In this way, the teacher is perceived from a "enculturational" perspective, having a mediating role (Larochelle, & Bednarz, 1998, 17). Garrison (1998, 60) names a "teachable moment" when the students' habits of functioning are displayed. This process in precondition for the reconstruction of some situation. Teaching is a "transactional, artistically transformative, and creative activity" as Garrison adds. According to Morf (1998, 32) the major effect of constructivism on teaching is reflected in two conditions: firstly, on the adequacy of the teachers' epistemology. This means that their view of knowledge should be in accordance with the didactics based on constructivism. Secondly, their

interpretation with their students' cognitive activity, should be in accordance with their own didactic strategies. However, Morf (1998, 50) warns that constructivist educators should realize that the transformation process of a student's identity cannot be predicted in advance.

Perkins (1999, 6) gives a few examples of how constructivism works in the classroom. A teacher of history challenged each student to write a letter from a French aristocrat to an Italian one, describing a key event of the French Revolution. In physics the teacher asked students to predict whether heavy objects would fall faster than light ones, and how much faster. Then, the small groups of students had to design their own experiments to test their theories. In English after the class had read a poem, the teacher asked students to relate the poem to an episode in their own lives. All these examples suggest many strategies like role playing, experimenting, analyzing, hypothesizing, debating, or making connections with real life instead of listening, reading, or working through routine exercises. Afterall, these strategies will foster constructivism in the classroom.

UNIT 3
LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 An introduction

Much hope is pinned on adult education to yield inter alia personal development, social cohesion, equality, employability, economic and sustainable development. The idea that "we learn for a living" has become fundamental. For adult education to deliver these expectations is consistent with the fact that it serves fundamental values related to the human existence and his well-being. There is no doubt that adult education helps employees to grasp cognitive demands of their professional life and career. Many scholars actually see a new role arising for adult education, although through a critical light due to economic and political influences. Neoliberal paradigm is the main factor behind this criticism, as I explained earlier. Monitoring the impact of adult education programs is also a challenge policy makers and scholars face. On the one hand, the declining resources available for non-formal education make data collection important for the policy makers who endeavor to assure that scarce resources devoted to adult

education are worthwhile not only for the learners themselves but for the society at large. Indeed, the scarcity of resources leads policy makers and program planners in searching for private sources to finance non-formal education, as I explained earlier in this study, which reveals the future being prepared by the stakeholders. On the other hand, is rather doubtful today someone to invest private funds on adult education programs which aim at promoting social values, while it is likely to do for serving the needs of a business activity or in terms of the corporate responsibility. Of course, it would be unjust not to mention the example of the learning communities. From the learners' part, it is crucial for them to know the benefits of non-formal education and how these affect many aspects of their lives. This study has devoted a particularly important space in highlighting the important role adult education plays nowadays, when it actually faces a declining role, also with the need to examine adult education separate from training. Another important parameter that could not be ignored within the spectrum of IPE is the role of the state in promoting adult education, as we all agree that it is overwhelmingly impacted by both political practices and the market forces. In this chapter we will focus on the role of the state, which has been seen as losing ground in the last two decades, while a special focus on the role EU has played in promoting adult education has been offered to serve the needs of this study. In the subchapter 3.1 a literature review on the role of adult education in economic development is presented. This subject is gradually gaining prominence since 2017 when the first interest and studies exploring this correlation in developed countries appeared. *A priori,* it should be clarified that this section lags behind in extent, due to the few numbers of existing studies. At the same time, there are obvious reasons for optimism that this theme will further continue to be developed. I welcome my opportunity to make a contribution to this debate. In subchapter 3.2 is presented a literature review of the role of adult education in economic development. In the subchapter 3.3 a review of the role the role of adult education to sustainable development: a review. A review of the role of the state in promoting adult education and a focus on EU in presented in subchapter 3.4.

3.2 The role of adult education in economic development from the IPE perspective: a literature review

The increasing number of studies looking critically at the neoclassical framework, and the interest to those who want to explore the effects of neoliberal capitalism on adult

education, were the harbingers of the shift towards the political economy perspective. To my knowledge there is not a single study presenting quantitative data on the impact of adult education. The studies found present the impact of vocational education and lifelong learning, giving the relevant data. However, many studies measure the impact in qualitative terms, as presented in previous paragraphs. Merriam (1998, 11) clarifies five types of qualitative research commonly found in education – the basic or generic study, ethnography, phenomenology, grounded theory, and case study. While these types are distinguished from each other, they share essential characteristics of qualitative research. Focusing on the impact of adult education programs in the light of neoliberal paradigm, Regmi (2020) notes "It is of interest to explore who have access to them, who make decisions, and what power and authority they have". Yet a major challenge the political economy of education faces is to fill some of the gaps left over by the economics of education -thus, the neoclassical approach- which further leads to an effective critique of the human capital framework, and to offer analytical and policy perspectives. These are the foundations on which Desjardins (2017) proposes a wider social science approach: the political economy of adult education. Here the focus remains on economic-related thinking involving adult education, but emphasis is placed on social theory, institutional aspects, norms and socio-political positions along with the critical approach to research. Moreover, political economy offers the opportunity to explore the roles of the state and the market in promoting adult education, as "adult education is not a neutral or apolitical sector" (Desjardins, 2017). In this study Desjardins also proposes that this approach will be useful in policy formation and institutional frameworks relevant to adult education in way that are consistent with economic development. However, he is limited at this notice without giving other findings.

Richard Desjardins, a professor of Education and Political Economy has proved to be a great source of inspiration for this work. Having worked in OECD on the Programme for International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC), he has been involved in large scale assessment of adult skills for nearly 20 years, as his bio informs. Revolving around the rising economic significance of adult education, Desjardins explores the dynamics that influence its agenda, and introduces the idea of the political economy of adult education, which this study endeavors to enrich further. The limitations following the use of the narrow economic approaches embedded in the neoclassical framework,

has also been indicated, in order to encourage the use of political economy of education, which is associated with the social sciences. In his study "Economics and the Political Economy of Adult Education" (Desjardins, 2017). Desjardins notes that the human capital framework is highly relevant for adult education, notably for issues of training for work related purposes, but less in known about the economic effects of adult education broadly defined. As Desjardins notes, the approach draws on economic sociology and new institutionalism according to Swedberg, and Crouch and Streeck (ibid., 5). Moreover, he raises concerns on any attempt to separate the economic realm from the political and social realms, as adult education is not just for humanistic purposes. It actually plays a central role in society by enabling complex communication and governance across distinct but interdependent sub-systems. Walters, Borg, Mayo and Foley (2004) in their study "Economics, politics and adult education" explore the role of adult education within political economy, insisting that the relationship between economics and politics with adult education is rarely analyzed. The rising influence of neoliberal studies on adult education particularly worries the above scholars, while they emphasize that a more humanistic and emancipatory conception of adult education can contest the dominant human capital educational discourse. Walters, Borg, Mayo and Foley have also analyzed the potential of the Learning Cape Festival in South Africa to reinforce socioeconomic development that highlights the importance of building a culture of lifelong learning. The "Learning Cape" is one of the four pillars discussed in the Western Cape Provincial Administration's White Paper, which points out the relationship between economic development and learning, without excluding the importance of achieving greater equity and serious poverty alleviation. Besides these acknowledged benefits, Walters, Borg, Mayo and Foley agree that "The Festival is a means to an end, not an end itself", stressing the need to develop the initiative further by involving articulating a provincial human resources strategy, a set of indicators to assess learning outcomes and to popularize the concept of lifelong learning. Compared to the human capital framework relevant to adult learning in ways that are consistent with the distribution of welfare, the political economy of education is the most relevant approach when exploring a conjunction of adult learning and societal objectives like (sustainable) economic development (ibid.). The political economy of adult education is, in actual fact, the challenge this study faces: to explore the impact of adult education through this perspective, and to further enrich this debate which is still in its infancy. It is therefore not my intention to further comment on the omissions of HCT, but to give

more space to the above approach. On the basis of the above findings, even the most reluctant would be convinced that the differences between all forms of training and adult education, also between (sustainable) economic development and economic growth have become more visible now. In addition, it has become easier for any researcher to choose the most relevant framework to use in exploring the relation of the above variables.

Gareth Rees (2010) in his study "The political economy of Adult Education" explores the role of adult education in the light of HCT and the theories of knowledge-based economy, and the political economy. Focusing on the political economy approach, Rees highlights that it seeks to explain the influence which economic theories exert on policy in order to uncover their potential and sociological premises. Through political economy approach adult education acquires a role much more so than this of human capital formation and of generating high levels of skills necessary for economic competitiveness and growth in the globalized economy. With reference to the role of the governments for adult education, Rees compares the Anglo-Saxon economies (the USA, the UK, Australia, and New Zealand) to the northern European governments (eg. Germany, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian countries). The former embraced with enthusiasm market-driven approaches; thus, this revealed an ideological willingness to accept sharp inequalities among people. At the other end of the scale the northern governments in Europe based their adult education polices much more on consensus between employers, employees, and government. This illustrated their ideological commitment to avoid social inequalities through the years. Rees highlights the economic impact of adult education through the formation of human capital. This impact does not beneficiate only the individuals, but the society in general. Moreover, he argues that to reveal its potentiality adult education requires governments to reassert their priorities for adult education as it is "reviving as provider of a liberal general education" (ibid.).

A well-known and pioneer study that investigates the nexus between adult education and development within the context of global political economy is that of Frank Youngman (2000) titled "The political economy of adult education and development". The study seeks to clarify the historical-structural constraints in the choices about adult education policies and programmes in the South. The aforementioned approach, according to the author, "looks at how the historical education and nature of the

capitalist mode of production conditions the relationship between adult education and society". Due to the global dominance of the capitalist mode of production, Youngman supports that the most relevant context to use for the analysis of country-level studies is that of global political economy. Sumner (2008) summarizes the main findings of Youngman's study as follows: First, we have to consider social phenomena within a historical and structural context shaped by the mode of production and its class relations. Second, the manner and extent to which particular aspects of society are influenced by the economic foundation is a matter for specific investigation in each case. Third, country-level studies must be analyzed within the context of global political economy due to the dominance of the capitalist mode of production globally. Fourth, the different classes pursue their own interests, which are conflictual. Fifth, although the main determinants of social phenomena are class relations, other inequalities have significant effects such as gender, ethnicity and race. Sixth, the state institutionally serves the interests of capitalist accumulation and reproduction. Conflicts in society are reflected in the state. Seventh, the capitalist mode of production along with the contestation between different classes and groups in society, shape intellectual and cultural life. Finally, eighth, the existing capitalist socioeconomic order faces opposition not only by political parties but also by social movements and other organizations in civil society that articulate alternative conceptions of society and how it should develop. The political economy has not been without its critics, as Youngman admitted, and its major critique has been its "overemphasis on economic factors and its limitation in comprehending the subjective and cultural dimensions of domination and resistance". However, he elevated the work critical theorists have done, such as Habermas, to integrate other concerns into political economy, including culture, ideology, identity, consciousness, and human agency. Coupled with a humanistic Marxism, this tradition became an important part of Freire's adult education philosophy (Sumner, 2008). In reviewing the above study McCann (2005) comments on Youngman's intention to elevate the ways the nexus between adult education and development can work towards the transformation of a country. Adult education provisions are linked with democratic institutionalism, the eradication of poverty, empowerment and the targeted application of science and technology. At the same time, he warns on the divergent influence that market-driven education and training the workforce into employment, will have on the overall processes of development. Moreover, Youngman reveals the role of adult educators in the above context who

should be equipped with conceptual tools for analyzing the contextual factors influencing divergent the nature of adult education policies and programs in the South. Youngman cites the conclusion of the Fifth International Conference of Adult Education in Hamburg in 1997, with the following:

> *"Adult education ... is a powerful concept for fostering ecologically sustainable development, for promoting democracy, justice, gender equity, and scientific, social and economic development, and for building a world in which violent conflict is replaced by dialogue and a culture based on justice".*
>
> [McCann, 2005]

Youngman and Wangoola in their study titled "Towards a Transformative Political Economy of Adult Education: Theoretical and Practical Challenges" address the central core of such a form, which is to conceptualize the interconnections between the four main systems of domination in society, namely those deriving from imperialism, class, gender, and race-ethnicity. Foley (1998) welcomes this study in view of the existence of a lamentable lack of political economy of adult education analysis, but he becomes quite critical about authors' choice to reconcile an analysis which privileges gender with a Marxist political economy. Commenting on Youngman's thoughts, Foley notices "He vitiates the power of the Marxist problematic and generates a pluralist analysis which gives equal weight to class, gender and race". Torres and Schugurensky (1993) report research findings on adult education programs and skill upgrading programs in Canada, Mexico and Tanzania from a study conducted between 1987 and 1991. The authors concentrated in three groups of social actors namely: 50 policy makers, 155 adult educators and 447 adult learners, their expectations and value orientations, and the interaction among them. The study combined interviews (policy makers and adult educators) and surveys to learners prior and after the educational process. The authors support their methodological framework as follows:

> *"In trying to explain education in the context of economic development, and therefore the relationship between poverty, unemployment and education, a political economy approach will include income distribution patterns, state prices, wages and inflation, state policies or issues of equality of educational opportunities".*
>
> [Torres and Schugurensky, 1993]

The authors indicate that the increasing dominance of technocratic/rational approaches, paradigms, models of thinking and action, conceal a drive for power and reproduction of inequalities rather than their reduction. The parameters authors have chosen to investigate and compare in the above study for the three countries are classified as follows:

- Basic socioeconomic indicators:
  - GNP
  - life expectancy
  - illiterate rate
  - educational expenditure
  - radio receivers
  - TV sets
- In political terms:
  - Government
  - political structure
  - prevailing ideologies
  - adult education policies and literacy campaigns
- Common policy patterns:
  - social distance (differences of income between policy makers-teachers-learners compared to the national minimum salary, work experience, expectations and aspirations)
  - policy maker's language
  - vertical organizational structures (problem solving, curriculum)
  - indicators of political culture (ideological norms, values and propositions, as well as theories and scientific instruments). For learners a variety of indicators was measured, like basic information on national and provincial politics, knowledge and opinion on national problems and possible solutions, civic participation and access to information.
  - Teaching methods
- Main policy differences: state's financial support to learners, teachers' institutional profile, adult education's orientation and purposes

After all, Torres and Schugurensky taking into account the views of the three actors (including perceptions, aspirations and rationalization of their action), three models of thinking and implementing adult education were identified:

- The Canadian therapeutical model,
- The Mexican recruitment model and
- The Tanzanian forced modernization model

The University of London with the Stanford University have conducted the study titled "A rigorous view of the political economy of education systems in developing countries" (Kingdon, Little, Aslam, Rawal, Moe, Patrinos, Betille, Banerji, Parton, Sharma, 2014) to investigate the process of education policy reform and to reveal the interests, actions and choices of a wide range of actors working in a wide range of institutions. They have put the theory of political economy to reveal the relationship between politics and education outcomes from multiple disciplinary lenses, including economics, political science, sociology and education. The authors first specified that their approach is consistent to Leftwich's definition of political economy as "all the activities of cooperation, conflict, and negotiation involved in decisions about the use, production and distribution of resources". The political economy of education is influenced by a number of internal and external actors. Interests, incentives, strategies, contexts and exercise of power of key stakeholders in the formation and implementation of educational decision are also reviewed. Then they comment on the need to move forward from a micro to a macro approach. Since specific features of each sector, such as political powers of teachers, play a crucial role in explaining outcomes, a micro approach which uses a sectoral approach was primarily preferred. However, this study looks at the macro approach to political economy, as this links educational outcomes to alternative institutional structures encompassing variation in types of election and bureaucratic processes. For example, macroeconomic policies, such as openness, may play a significant role. With a view to further understanding the political economy of education, the above scholars propose that we should employ in our study structural, historical and institutional conditions that determine varied possibilities and constraints which actors have to work. The literature review was based on five themes as follow:

1. Roles and responsibilities: Stakeholders (voters, government officials, local international actors, like officials of international agencies with financial

resources and foreign advisors paid for by external agencies), interests and incentives

2. Rent-seeking and patronage politics: Clientelism, patronage and corruption are the three most intense political forces that made states to expand education. The impact of such behavior on education reform and school outcomes
3. Decision making and the process of influence: Groups that influence the educational decision process and the implications for educational outcomes, direct or indirect mechanisms available to different power groups to exercise their power, building-in incentives into the teacher salary structure, and the policies of decentralization in education
4. Implementation issues: to what extent are policy reforms implemented, what are factors of failure (technical design, capacity, political economy issues)
5. Driving forces: drivers of educational change (political and economic conditions), regime type, the importance of political will, positive cases of reform (Kingdon, Little, et al., 2014)

Richard Desjardins (2013) in his study "The economics of adult education: A critical assessment of the state of adult education" assesses the state of investment in adult education. Despite the fact that this study is not purely consistent with our task, however it is important to explore the state of financing in adult education which offers useful information in our analysis. Thus, Desjardins proposes the investment as follows:

- Public expenditure on adult education compared to education
- Indirect spending on adult education (including foregone taxes, wage costs during training periods, individual opportunity costs)
- NGO funding
- Employer support
- Self-financing
- Foreign aid
- Public and private co-financing

The co-financing mechanism involving all stakeholders has a particular importance, as there is an increasing trend toward seeking broader financial responsibility. As Desjardins notes many governments recognize the strong role, they have to play in adult

education, however co-financing “may be a convenient way to shift responsibilities from the public domain to the private sector and attempt to compensate for a lack of commitment to its public responsibilities for investing in adult education” (ibid., 4). Adult education is a key point in development strategies for the long term of the well-being of the nations. Desjardins (2017) in his inspiring study “Economics and the Political Economy of Adult Education” provides a critical overview of the contribution of economic-related thinking to research and policy on adult education and proposes a new approach: the political economy of adult education. A few key theoretical concerns arise from Desjardins’ study: the first relates to the microeconomic foundations of the neoclassical economic framework, firmly embedded within most applications of the human capital framework which “often drive the interpretation of results”, as the author warns. The second issue relates to the omissions in the theory of human behavior and, consequently, to the neoclassical school of thinking which do not take into account the dynamics of social and power relations, and the importance of societal norms and aspirations –beyond monetary gain- in driving behavior. Concepts as “social transformation vs social reproduction”, diversity of democracy are absent too, as Desjardins adds. Although the tendency within the discipline is to adapt the modernization framework, there is a shift away from the state and politics, although economists could be criticized for being slow in adapting the logic of governance embedded in modernization theory. Another concern pointed out by Desjardins relates the interpretations of micro-level statistical results. While it is evident that human capital investments have an impact at both the micro and macro levels, there is no clear indication of micro-level statistical results as having an overall macro level consequences for welfare. Another issue of concern is the conceptualization of the notion of adult education which according to the author remains an area of dispute. Economists prefer to use the notion training or its variants (professional, vocational, technical education) which is directly to work related purposes. However, it is unclear to what extent the policy attention brought to adult education by economists through the human capital approach has been entirely detrimental to non-job-related adult education. Aside from this, Desjardins notices that the fundamental problem researchers deal with in the field remains the identification of the complex nature of the linkages between the different types of learning and different types of skill development and overall economic and social functioning.

Rubenson and Walker (2006) in their study titled "The Political Economy of Adult Learning in Canada" examine the implementation of lifelong learning through a historical overview, in an attempt to reveal the way the new political-economic paradigm has transformed the conditions for adult learning and the role of neoliberalism as catalyst. Then they focus on the case of Canada. The authors classify three generations of lifelong learning, with all relevant information about each of them. From the perspective of implementing lifelong learning, the three generations reflect different roles and interrelations among the three major institutional arrangements according to Rubenson and Walker: state, market, and civil society. The first generation appears in the 1970s, when ideas like to promote a better society, better quality of life and help people adapt and control change were very dominant. "People were encouraged to *make themselves* rather than *be made*", revealing the heart of the concept of personal betterment. The second generation appeared in the late 1980s, or the so called the second generation of human capital thinking in educational policy and signals the focus on the nexus between economy and education, attempting at finding an answer to the rising of unemployment, declining productivity and increasing public deficits. The third generation appeared in the late 1990s, accompanied with a "softening economistic perspective", which claims interests to reinsert issues of social cohesion, civic participation and democracy into politics. Following the authors' notes, these institutional arrangements are not static but interrelated, and are all involved in the lifelong learning practices. Despite this reference, policy documents place the stress on the responsibility of individuals for their own learning. Rubenson and Walker see the forthcoming dominance of economics in adult education but rather in terms of growth, and under neoliberalism it is seen more as the individual's responsibility rather than the state's.

In a later study titled "Comparing Adult Learning Systems: an emerging political economy" (2013), Rees express his concerns about HCT, sets out to explore adult learning (and education) systems in a more *analytical way*. First, he intends to reveal how adult learning is embedded in characteristic regimes of economic and social institutions, which can be understood in terms of a systematic International Political Economy. He uses as a reference point the two models of capitalist organization elaborated in the institutionalist analysis of "varieties of capitalism" first developed by Hall and Soskice: the liberal market economy (LME) and the coordinated market

economy (CME). This is a comparative analysis which uses national states as the key unit and focuses on the social and political processes through which characteristic forms of welfare provision have emerged. This approach came in for some criticism about the appropriateness of using national states for a comparative analysis, as there is a danger that significant divergences in institutional arrangements and access to opportunities for adult learning are obscured. Moreover, whether "the norms of behavior in relation to engaging in adult learning can be appropriately understood in terms of a relatively homogeneous, national social system" (ibid.). In another view, the shaping of adult learning systems can be examined within the approach of 'welfare state regimes' by Esping-Anderson. The focus here is in the ways in which deep-seated historical developments in class relations have produced different forms of welfare states. Three 'ideal types' were proposed: The Liberal regime, the Conservative-Corporatist regime and the Social Democratic regime. These can be understood in terms of basic organizing principles, instead of simple aggregation of social policies. This approach has not been without its critics, who have called into question the relationships between the three types and the actual national cases, and more on the lack of attention to gender relations, focusing more on the work-welfare nexus to the detriment of the care-welfare nexus.

Along the same line is the study by Kapil Dev Regmi (2021) under the title "International political economy of adult education: Perspectives from Canada". Regmi uses International Political Economy as the theoretical framework to explore Canadian contributions to international development and adult education and how the increasing financialization of international development has been affecting adult education. This approach focuses on the interconnection between political and economic systems and its impact on social policies. Commenting on the development project, Regmi notes that "the post-war development project, stemmed from the European notion of trusteeship, has been handed over to the global financial market". The role of the state and civil society organizations in adult education is of major importance within IPE. As they have taken a back seat, adult education is facing an existential crisis. Regmi indicates three main reasons that have caused the reduction of the role of the state and civil society: corporate financing for adult education, the push for measuring adult learning and the governance mechanism that has reduced government accountability. Corporate financing refers to the financialization of international development from the private sector, an action that stems from the idea that marker should lead the

development efforts. The financialization of international development became a key agenda in 2012, as Regmi notes, when the newly established Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN) recommended solutions of the financial matters for achieving the SDGs, especially for the developing countries, based on the private sector. In the context of the SDGs, measuring the results is very important for each program seeking external funding. These evidence, as Regmi adds, serve interests of the international organizations to "monitor progress" at regional and national levels. Regmi also voices criticism against the overemphasis on educational outcomes and measurement, which ran the risk of further commodifying of knowledge, experiences, and occupational skills associated with traditional and indigenous practices. The last reason is the governance mechanism that has reduced government accountability in favor of non-state forces within the context of financialization of international development. As a result, boundaries among the state, the market, and civil society are getting blurred. Moreover, the author raises awareness for the role of the non-state market actors that shape international development agendas, like Bretton Woods Institutions, multinational corporations, and private philanthropic foundations. For example, Regmi highlights "because the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation is established by the owners of Microsoft Corporation, the focus of SDG 4 has been on information and communication technology (ICT) education rather than on community-based adult education initiatives" (ibid., 242).

Political economy is becoming increasingly popular. The *Zeitschrift für Weiterbildungsforschung* has published a volume in 2020 with studies on the political economy of adult learning systems, which also addresses issues related to the political economy of educational research. Although the subject is not very close to the aim of this study, however it is interesting to see what issues related to the political economy of adult education are attracting the interest. A few notes of the above issues will be presented right below for our general understanding. Ioannidou and Desjardins (2020) in their study "The Political Economy of Adult Learning Systems" endorse the new concept which stipulates that adult education can be understood in terms of a systematic and emerging political economy of adult learning systems. The key argument in their study is that adult learning systems are embedded in specific economic and social arrangements. This concept goes beyond the so well-known influence on adult education of culture, history, economic conditions and geopolitical developments, as

well as their embeddedness in a nation's education system in comparative adult education research. In another study carried out by Ioannidou and Desjardins (2020) titled "The Political Economy of Adult Learning Systems – some institutional features that promote adult learning participation", the authors draw on quantitative analysis of PIAAC, IALS and other OECD data and provide empirical evidence on cross – national pattern of organized adult learning. Ioannidou and Desjardins suggest that there are some specific institutional features, like open and flexible formal education structures, public support for education, active labour market policies and programs that focus on socially disadvantaged adults that seem to be related to adult learning systems and also play a vital role in explaining the cross-national patterns of variation in the take up, provision and distribution of organized adult learning.

Michael Geiss (2020) in his study "In steady search for optimization: the role of public and private actors in Switzerland's political economy of adult education", sets out to reconstruct the changes in the political economy of adult education in Switzerland since the middle of the 20th century. His analysis is based on historical institutionalism and concentrates on path dependencies and critical junctures in the country. Schemmann, Herbrechter and Engels (2020) in their study "Researching the political economy of adult learning systems. Theoretical amendments and empirical findings" comment on how the political economy approach and the governance perspective can theoretically amended by the neo-institutional ideas especially when considering the institutional conditions (e.g. actors involved and their institutionalized relationships of interdependency) that shape adult education at an organizational level. Their findings show that adult education organizations relate to both functionally different as well as similar organizations in their environment. Hans N. Weiler (1984) in his study "The political economy of education and development" makes it clear that education is a political matter by virtue of its involvement in social issues that have strong normative connotations and cannot be understand outside of "the hot and cold winds of politics", as the members of the Ashby Commission had claimed. The state tends to structure the relationship to its society in such a way as to maximize both control and legitimacy. As Weiler advises, to some extent a surplus of legitimacy can make up for a deficit of control and vice versa. However, the state will normally not take any chances and will make it sure that a safe minimum of control will be maintained whatever the level of legitimacy. Allowing greater participation carries a latent thread of inevitable loss of

state's control, thus comes down a fundamental issue for the modern state whether this loss would be compensated for by a commensurate increase in the state's legitimacy (ibid.). Frank Stilwell, a well-known critic of conventional economics and an advocate of alternative economic strategies which prioritize social justice and ecological sustainability in his inspiring study "Heterodox economics or political economy" (Stilwell, 2016) explains why it is necessary to overcome this debate about the orthodox and heterodox economics for the sake of economics education. Bearing in mind Professor's J.E. King words that "economics is unique among social sciences in having a single monolithic mainstream, which is either unaware of or actively hostile to alternative approaches", Stilwell is deeply considered about the implications of neoliberalism on economics education, on public debate and on policy formulation. "The close association between neoclassicism in the academy and neoliberalism in the realm of public policy remains much in evidence" (Stilwell, 2016, 3).

3.3 The role of adult education in sustainable development: a literature review

The nexus between adult education and sustainable development attracts a great deal of attention in the scholar community lately. However, the process is slow and insufficient, gaining attention only the final years of twentieth century. Lovren (2015, 309) notices that "Part of the reason certainly lies in nowadays widely accepted assessment of the concept of sustainable development as too broad to be operationalized and implemented" (ibid.). Agenda 2030 becomes a useful tool to overcome this obstacle, as sustainable development has now a narrower context, which encourages investigations. Rubenson and Beddie (2004) in their study "Policy formation in adult education and training" notice that economic and political forces do not mechanically determine adult education policy, thus it is important to investigate how history, politics and economics determine policies, along with the crucial role of the state and of adult educators as political activists. Focusing on learning communities in Australia, Rubenson and Beddie elevate the importance of learning as being an 'intrinsic part' of sustainable development and also an essential element both for the individual and the community. Orlović Lovren and Popović (2018) in their study titled "Lifelong Learning for Sustainable Development – Is adult Education Left Behind?", leading on from the incorporation of lifelong learning into the Agenda 2030, as an intrinsic part of Goal 4, they demonstrate the absence of adult education as an inherent part of the

implementation of the concept of lifelong learning. Taking the lessons learnt from the implementation of the MDGs, Orlović Lovren and Popović conceive adult education and sustainable development to be "natural allies", commenting in the structure of an educational program which should target in triggering sustainable development. Those programs should be based on principles of interdisciplinary, life-wide and integrative, instead of focusing only on the lifelong perspective. Developing adult education from an integrative and intersectoral perspective will ensure that it will serve not only Goal 4 but all of them. Contrary to the role of vocational education within the neoliberal philosophy, adult education inspired by Freire's social theory perspective becomes a process of emancipation from neoliberal pressures and dehumanization towards issues of environmental justice and degradation (ibid.).

Casey and Asamoah (2016) in their study "Education and sustainability: reinvigorating adult education's role in transformation, justice and development", discuss a field study of non-formal adult education in Ghana. Many efforts have been done in the region by the local government to include adults in non-formal education, and specific provisions for the promotion of adult education have been done, although much work need to be done, as evidence from the south demonstrate the importance we perceive focus on social, economic, cultural, and political contexts in which adult education is enacted. Casey and Asamoah also comment on the difficulty to measure and evaluate the outcomes of non-formal education, also on the limited use of the data gathered from the existed educational programs. "The flexible structure of non-formal education, and its mix of formal and informal goals pursued by formal providers combined with the voluntary nature of adult participation can render quantitative survey data of limited use" (ibid.). In a field study carried out in April 2015 in Ghana, in which Casey and Asamoah visited and observed sites of non-formal adult learning and education, met and discuss with involving stakeholders, adult learners and tutors from various adult education programs, who also shared their experiences. This study intended to reveal the effects of non-formal education and learning for communities. Though in-person interviews and conversations with individuals and groups Casey and Asamoah focused on the discussion on five principal and intersecting issues: improved gender equality through the education of women, improved economic development for village communities, improved participation in civic political affairs, action towards diminishing hazardous child labour, and environmental sustainability. Participation in adult education brought tangible and intangible benefits in peoples' lives who were

afterwards able to form and sustain a portfolio of new capabilities regarding gender equality and shared adult participation in the political and civic life of the community that led to visible transformation. Women reported that they learned to speak out in village meetings and to take leadership roles, a previous domain of men's sovereignty, who then had also learned to accept those changes. All these changes reflected on economic life of the village. The setup and hold of small co-operative income-generating enterprises encouraged the cooperation with members of different religio-cultural communities and the procession of local traditional food to the market trading. Some of the beneficiaries had experimented also with product innovation. Casey and Asamoah also found that adult learning spills over into cross-generational learning and addresses social problems like child labour.

European Association for the Education of Adults in its paper "Adult Education and Sustainability" (EAEA, 2018) has a fundamental role to play, as adult learning contributes to building the foundations of change in the social, political, economic, ecological and cultural spheres. On the other hand, SDGs are a global framework which targets common challenges that have to do with development, i.e. the evolution and lasting change of political and economic systems with regard to their impact on social, cultural and ecological systems (ibid.). EAEA perceives a twofold role for adult education: it is a precondition for the achievement of the SDGs as well as a goal in itself. The latter refers to Goal 4, as explained earlier. The former observation is the key debate in this study, as it offers a tangible tool to use for those studies attempting to reveal the way adult education can contribute to the achievement of the SDGs at general. For example, targeted educational measures promoting sustainable agriculture for both producers and consumers helps them acquire a better of ecosystems and their improvement or protection through farming methods and consumption behavior. Thus, through this process Goal 2 is served. Health literacy programs, primarily based on the prevention of disease or programs promoting mental health and wellbeing can contribute to Goal 3. In the light of the above logic, Faradova (2019) in her study "Adult Education, Contribution to the Sustainable Development Goals" adopts the idea that adult education is a precondition for the achievement of almost all the SDGs and through a series of comments she indicates the close relationship two variables. Human beings play the most important role in this process, as being educated and able to use their potential is the key role in the achievement of the SDGs. Based on the idea of Hanemann that 'literacy' and 'numeracy' have evolved out of the classic definitions of

the ability to read and write into "competencies to put knowledge and ability into action" (literacy) and to use numbers to all aspects of life, into "the ability to reason numbers and other mathematical concepts and apply them in solving a variety of problems" (numeracy), Faradova supports that the development of both concepts is aligned to the evolvement of LLL perspectives. Based on this idea she proceeds with the following observations of how adult education contributes to each of the SDGs:

SDG 1: Literacy and numeracy equip people to increase their incomes, overcome poverty and improve their livelihoods.
SDG 2: Literate parents are capable of improving their children's health and nutrition.
SDG 3: Like above literate parents can contribute to good health and wellbeing.
SDG 4: Educated parents are more likely to ensure their children's access to quality education.
SDG 5: Educated women can make their voices heard everywhere and in every aspect of the life.
SDG 8: One additional school year can increase the earnings of a woman by up to 20% (Estimated by Global Partnership for Education)
SDGs 6, 7, 12, 14, 15: Family members with a higher educational level are more sensitive and aware about environmental wellbeing and pass knowledge to the newer members (SDG 6: Clean water and sanitation, SDG 7: Affordable and clean energy, *SDG 12:* Responsible consumption and production, SDG 14: Life below water, SDG 15: Life on land).
SDG 11: Educated citizens are more likely to adopt new technologies and practices that contribute to the sustainability of cities and communities.
SDG 16: Educated people are more likely to contribute to human rights, tolerance, and peace, and conflict prevention.

[Faradova, 2019]

3.4 A review of the role of the state in promoting adult education: a focus on EU

The role of the state in promoting adult education has been cause for a great deal of debate directly consistent to the above discussion about neoliberalism. This discussion is not separated from the broader discourse about the effects of the neoliberal paradigm

on adult education. The latter could not be unaffected by the strong wind of the rise of neoliberalism. Except from the positive impacts one can find, I would agree myself in some of them, in this study I focus only in its negative impact on adult education, which is severe and deserves further attention. The role of the state is also relevant to the question whose responsibility adult education should be. Should it be individual's responsibility or institutionalized, is a rather dubious debate based on ideological grounds. It is common view that the state is the cornerstone of the adult education, an idea which traces its roots in ancient Greek philosophy. To Aristotle and Plato, the State is, above all, a powerful and large educative agency. The individual within the State has increased opportunities for self-development and the capacities for the enjoyment of life have been enlarged. This perception is actually very close to the foundations of adult education. The main its responsibility lays on the state, an opinion that many involved stakeholders agree. Adult education is facing an existential crisis as the state and civil society organizations "have taken a back seat" (Regmi, 2021, 239). This idea leads the discussion in this chapter.

Cautions against the new role of adult education are being applied by many studies. Being a radical adult educator, Griff Foley proposed three ways to respond to these changes. "We can capitulate and become more efficient managers of learning for capitalism. We can nostalgically and ineffectually bemoan the decline and death of earlier traditions. Or we can fight on the new terrain" (Foley, 2001, 84). In his book Understanding Adult Education and Training Foley comments on the impact of neoliberal economics to flexible learning, noticing that flexible learning becomes synonymous with flexible earning (Edwards, & Nicoll, 2000, 139). Bowl (2017, 156) explains that the influence of neoliberal ideologies on adult education has led to policy shifts towards the following directions:

- Training and 'upskilling' for work – rather than education and training for a broad range of social, economic and individual purposes
- 'Targeting' of particular groups deemed to be in need of or education, rather than subsidized education for all those wishing to participate
- Marketisation of provision which does not meet tightly defined government funding priorities

- Participation in education and training viewed as an individual responsibility rather than a public good
- A focus on specifiable and measurable outcomes from education
- Tighter monitoring of the work of adult educators and of learner outcomes

[Bowl, 2017, 156]

In the same spirit, Torres (1996) in his study Adult Education and Instrumental Rationality: A critique analyzes the role and purposes of adult education policy. Although focuses on Canada and developing countries, Torres' thoughts are helpful and contribute to the debate of the neoliberal conception in policy making. According to Torres instrumental rationality is the dominant logic-in-use in adult education, as instrumental action is the empirical way that effective control can be achieved through planning in capitalistic societies. Instrumental rationality underpins technocratic thinking, which is for Torres the dominant *weltanchaung* in adult education policy planning. Peter Jarvis shares his concerns about the changing concept of adult education in his book Adult Education and Lifelong Learning: Theory and Practice (3rd Ed.). The terms globalization, knowledge, society, learning society, and so on are called buzz words by Jarvis (2004, 2) which all indicate in their different ways how education has forced to respond to contemporary social forces. The neglect of socio-cultural nature in the study and performance of adult education weakens the value of adult education. Jarvis offers an adequate explanation of this development:

> *"In recent years this form of adult education an education for the people's own development has been fighting a rearguard action for survival in the face of the dominant pressures in contemporary society and, despite its noble past and proud traditions, it seems to be losing the battle".*

[Jarvis, 2001, 28]

Rubenson and Beddie (2004, 165) express their concerns about the neoliberal philosophy of lifelong learning as it seems that this laissez-faire approach adopted contends that the market has a central role in providing opportunities to learn for those who want to learn and can afford to pay for this purpose. Taking into account that there is no significant government funding for adult education, Rubenson and Beddie propose the model of the learning community, where public and private funds are gathered along with better coordination of educational efforts in order to give a boost to adult learning

(ibid.). Another issue many studies further analyze is the fact that adult education is re-positioned away from social policy. The welfare state seems to lose its illuminance in favor of the labour market. The study of the role of vocational training on employability is one of the most popular the last years. Vocational training is less oriented towards old-style social policy making in favor of the market, the organizations, NGOs etc. Colin Griffin (1999) gives a comprehensive review of the scope and limitations of lifelong learning and the welfare state reform. In the first place Griffin describes the role and scope of lifelong learning up to his days, in the light of European Commission's approach. Then he underlines that there is a shift away from education towards learning, which also connotes the abandonment of education as social policy in favour of individual learning as government strategy (Griffin, 431-432). Rees (2013, 200) also notes "governments, especially in the more developed economies, have prioritized vocational provision, often at the expense of other types of adult learning". Adult learning has been defined in terms of its potential contribution to economic activity, hence, many national governments have shifted priorities from adult learning towards direct vocational provision (ibid.). Dominant nowadays ideas about the relationship between education, real life, and employment are being questioned by Karen Evans (2009) in her study "Learning, Work and Social Responsibility", in an attempt to re-establish their relationship within changing social landscapes. The idea of "learning revolution" is the first in question. Reflecting dominant political and economic interests, this idea actually appears to reinforce inequalities and increases the gap between powerful and the powerless, as a result it cannot be called a 'revolution'. The qualification chase following the ideas of meritocracy and the openness of opportunities for all, becomes, eventually, a zero-sum game for all but the most advantaged. In re-establishing the relationship between education, real life and work away of the narrow institutionalizes confines and create a learning revolution worthy of its name, means: broadening public appreciation to what is genuinely educative in people's lives, linking the idea 'learning for a living' to social purposes, and to recognize people as social actors moving in changing social landscapes, trying to take control of their lives, work included. Moreover, we should look again employment and working life in a new context within which the exercise for social responsibility practices as a specific initiative (ibid.).

Peter Jarvis (2007) in the volume titled "Globalization, Lifelong learning and the Learning Society: Sociological perspectives", discusses about globalization, its main

theories and the factors that have favored it since the immediate decade after WWII. It was the time corporations began to relocate manufacturing and to transfer capital around the work seeking the cheapest places and the most efficient means of manufacturing. As Nozick declares this process was exacerbated in the Thatcher-Reagan era by the belief in a minimal state (Jarvis, 2007). The debate about the role of the state could not be held without the discussion about the process of globalization. Castells (2010), on the other side, admits that nation-states were among the most active agents of globalization, a historical irony, as they "tried to ride the tiger of unaffected markets and free flows of capital and technology for their own benefit". He has also argued that even in an extremely global market but non-completely free, the state still has a role to play. In the network society political institutions undergo a process of deep transformation which results to the rise of a new form of state that gradually replaces the nation-states of the industrial era (Castells, 2005). Power resides in these organizations that transcend the state, as Jarvis advises. "They are free to present and pursue policies that make little or no reference to the power of the substructure, although some of these policies do appear either as idealistic or unrealistic" (ibid.). Peter Jarvis (2002, 5) comments on the important role of adult education outside of the institutionalized education sector to serve a more democratic and radical function. This role is being diminished as long as the process of institutionalization occurs, as "the formal educational system alone cannot fulfil the Enlightenment promise and produce citizens who will help to introduce a utopian vision" (ibid., 2002, 5). Following Negt (2008, 755), on the other side, the more institutionalized adult education is, the more it encourages voluntarily. English and Mayo (2012, 21-23) in their study "Adult Education, Neo-Liberalism and the State" discuss about the state and its implications for adult education. Two key findings resulting from their study: there are many different conceptions of the term state, and that although the term is increasingly dismissed in the western societies, for adult education it is very real and tangible. Following that determination, English and Mayo attempted to discuss the role which adult education plays or can play within the contexts of these conceptualizations (ibid., 21-23). State and politics are not inseparable issues; therefore, they cannot be examined separately. As discussed in this study, adult education is mainly affected by politics in general and the state of course who is considered its main sponsor of those programs. Given the acceptance that politics matter to adult education, Ginsburg (2000) conceptualizes this nexus in two ways: the politics of education and the political work

accomplished through education. I will focus only on the former and not enlarge any further on the latter, as this goes beyond the purposes of this study. Sissel (2001) in her study "Thinking Politically: A Framework for Adult and Continuing Education" declares that politics and concepts of the political are not restricted to activities of governments or partisan electoral politics. Thinking about politics in adult education means expanded possibilities for critically reflective practice, communal discourse, and strategic planning, and active engagement inn advocacy for adult learners, ourselves and our field.

In the EU policies framework this was very clear. According to Room (2005, 78) there is a major difference between the US and many EU countries is the stronger development in Europe of vocational training. Of course, no one can deny the key role UNESCO and other major organizations like European Union have played, as discussed earlier too. Along similar lines, as Tuschling and Engemann (2006, 452) argue instruments of knowledge conceived within the context of Europe's Lifelong Learning are an important part of unification. Some scholars compare the EU with the Unites States, where the social impact of adult education had been brought out by the creation of American Association in 1926, as adult education was seen as an important means of bringing "democratic participation to adults who throughout their lifespan struggle to participate in social and economic decisions affecting them" (Cervero, Wilson, & Associates, 2001, 1). Mohorčič Špolar and Holford (2014, 42-43) have reviewed adult education policies in EU, and they found that both adult education and social cohesion were visible in the *Memorandum on Lifelong Learning,* although these topics were "largely disappeared" in the following Commission's Communications *Adult Learning: It is Never Too Late to Learn,* also in A*dult Learning: It is always a Good Time to Learn,* and the European's Parliament *Resolution on Adult Learning: It is Never too Late to Learn*. Besides the different aspects adult education has, one thing is for certain: it hadn't gained widespread attention in the framework of the EU institutions. This image is clear to all the EU members, although the region has very qualified teachers and trainers. "In all the member-states of the European Union, adult education is leaving behind its image as an underestimated sector, under the care of well-meaning people" (Federighi, 1999, 3). Following the interesting findings of the literature review, I have summarized the most important.

- The political economy is the most relevant framework to explore the full potentiality of adult education.
- Neoclassical economics exclude the very elements that can better explain the impact of adult education.
- Human capital is recognized to relate to adult education, however because of its interconnection to neoclassical economics, scholars in the field avoid talking about it.
- Through the framework of political economy are integrated concerns including history, culture, ideology, norms, and of course the role of the identity and its power.
- The political economy is the most relevant framework in program planning for adult learners, which includes elements from the three institutions, namely the state, the market, and the civil society.
- The political economy is the most relevant framework in investigating the relationship between adult education and economic development.
- The political economy of education is influenced by internal and external actors like interests, incentives, strategies, contexts, and exercise of power of key stakeholders.
- The economics of adult education require the exploration of alternative sources of financing, except from public investments. The importance to portray evidence from the economic outcomes of adult education is a proof of efficacy for the private funding.
- Adult education is a key point in development strategies for the long term of the well-being of the nations.
- The state has a predominant role in promoting adult education, for financing programs for adults that promote social inclusiveness, equality, and democracy.
- When examining the economic impact of adult education, we should move beyond the conventional measures of poverty and unemployment.
- In terms of neoliberalism unemployment is individual's responsibility, who should mind for his skills improvement, rather than the state's.

- The proposed approach for a political economy of adult education will keep focus on economic-related thinking involving adult education in alliance with economic development. Emphasis will be on social theory, institutional aspects, norms and socio-political positions, and the critical approach to research.

UNIT 4

Methodology and framework of analysis

4.1 Introduction

The above interesting findings have been very useful and provided the foundations for this study, while they strengthened my belief on the relevance of political economy in exploring the nexus between adult education and economic development. However, I have come across a few serious concerns, I prefer this term instead of the term obstacle, which would mean that my progress was prevented or hindered. So, the first concerned measuring economic development at the micro level. In this case I would need an accepted scale with measurable goals –for example one scale like that of the Agenda 2030- to measure the progress in several aspects of adult education practices mirroring economic development. But, to the best of my knowledge, such a scale does not exist. A second concern was in the case I would be able to proceed with proposing a scale of measures, how could I prove its reliability? A third concern was on a micro level, in this case I would need a representative sample of adult educators around the EU as the target sample of the research. However, this action far exceeds the capabilities of a PhD student, despite its obvious interest. Moving to the macro level, a fourth obstacle was that even if I could overcome the obstacle with the target sample, then would aggregating economic benefits from individuals to the level of the European society would offer reliable evidence or not? This also proved to be risky, taking notice of Amartya Sen's concern expressed in the following clear example "Personal real income theory translates readily into the theory of real national income if the nation is viewed as a person, which is not outrageously realistic" (Sen, 1979). Another concern, the fifth in line, was whether measuring the impact of adult education in a quantitative way would jeopardize its humanistic value and would also diminish its impact on socioemotional level (on non-cognitive level). A sixth concern was the methodological

framework. The discussion follows the suggestion on approaching economic development and adult education from another perspective away from the mainstream economics. Another concern, the seventh so far, is that adult education is mainly a state issue, and despite some provision within the EU, it is still weak, as the EU mainly focuses on lifelong learning in general, and vocational training, while lately there is a shift from education to learning, an issue which will be further discussed later. These were my serious concerns. A few other arose as soon as I begun the literature review. Most studies focus on vocational education and training, with the main argument is that it responds to the needs of the labor market, which also means that it has gained great interest and great funding through many financial instruments. Another concern is whether these studies should refer to developing or developed countries or both of them. I have decided to include both of them, despite the fact that my case study will refer to the EU. In this case since we focus on the European Union, we will engage the International Political Economy to indicate the supranational character of the study. Another concern is that measuring this impact within IPE presupposes that it cannot be restricted to the binary of monetary or non-monetary attributes, so the readers of this study will expect both findings. There are obviously numerous, possible factors affecting economic development, but this study restricts itself to revealing the potentiality of adult education. The conclusions of this study will hopefully be useful to the broader discussion and could also assist the process of policymaking in both the fields of adult education and economic development. The focus always remains in the EU, which is perceived as an integrated subject, and it also takes the role of the 'State' in terms of political economy.

Peter Jarvis, an inspired philosopher of adult education, with whom I had the unique opportunity to meet in person a couple of years prior to his death, used to speak about the *noble past* of adult education. I think he meant the lukewarm way the state perceives its role, the devaluated structures and consequently the weak impact adult education has in the society, in contrast to state interest in the university community, which is intense. In fact, Jarvis used to say that the study of adult education has an increasing significance as the training of adult educators is being undertaken more frequently. Of course, we should keep in mind that the educational adequacy -or the accreditation- for adult educators is essential in many countries in EU, which is an optimistic sign for the future. However, I cannot deny that it is a sad truth for all of us who are worthily bound to

adult education, that the state, in our case the EU, has not appreciated its full potentiality yet, thus we see it's gradually losing its momentum for the sake of vocational training. Jarvis kept promoting the role of adult education during his whole life. Since he quitted priesthood in his forties to become a Professor, for more than 40 years he served this function tirelessly. He was one of the *fathers* of adult education -let's be fair there are also women among them, so in some sense *mothers*- who have given stature to all of us, not only with their writings but also with their very personalities. In my way, I have met -not always in person - many other personalities that we could include among the *fathers* of our scientific field, who had never been mentioned or even imagined before as such. The origin of the well-known personalities is from the disciplines of pedagogy, psychology, and social sciences in general. In my opinion, we should see beyond this spectrum, discovering other personalities who could worthily be named as *fathers* and whose profession is far from the above disciplines, however they have enriched the role of adult education in society and its *euphoria*, and in fact their stories can raise awareness relating to our societal involvement.

The main logic behind this study is that economies with a higher level of adult education have higher levels of *euphoria* than those with a mediocre level. This study has proposed that economic development is the state where people achieve *euphoria*, identical to living well and faring well. Hence, this could be construed as a state in which people wish to stay for more. Besides the importance of certain indicators to be ameliorated, *euphoria* for a nation means a rise in the conditions of living for the residents who live within the territory, or in other words that their life is getting better. Of course, this study does not propose that adult education is a precondition for achieving economic development, but that it is one of the parameters that can augment it. This study also endorses the idea that measuring adult education's impact within the context of IPE will reveal a broader spectrum of variables that are involved, without having to dwell on the binary of financial and non-financial ingredients. This measurement must also go beyond the main indicators of poverty and unemployment, usually engaged in several studies of economic development. The framework of analysis here has a dual purpose: To explore the role of the three institutional arrangements ie. the state, the market, and the civil society both in the formulation of policy planning, and in the mental transformational process of the individual learners, which opens the path to a deeper understanding of the interaction between the

individual and the social action. Examining educational outcomes of adult education within IPE, also presupposes the study of the historical conditions that determine the possibilities and the constraints that may affect the policy planning in the field. In the light of IPE, adult education will offer learners the opportunity to enjoy a richer learning experience. This study also proposes that economic development can have a positive impact on the unification of Europe, an idea older than the EU, but always present, which encompasses economic, political, and cultural components.

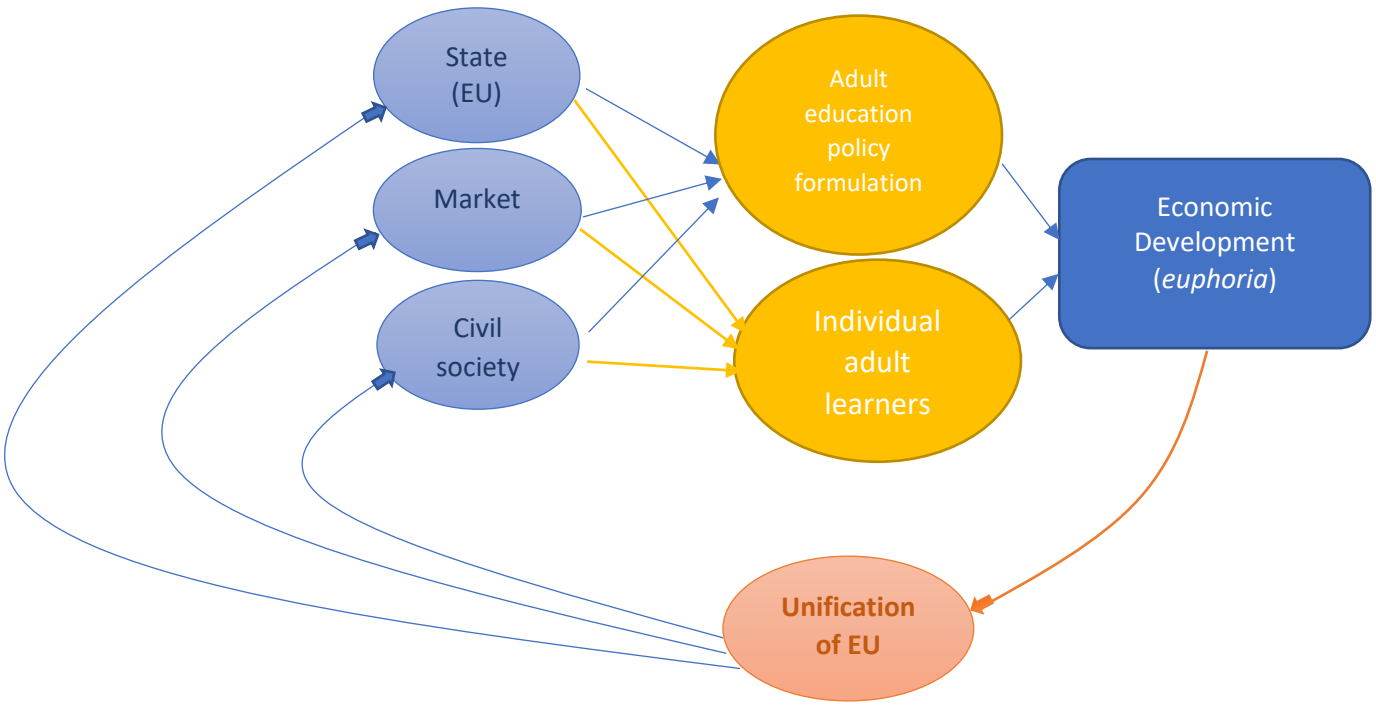
4.2 Adult education measures in the EU and their contribution in economic development: a proposed project

Some would probably wonder in which way the example of a distinguished chef can contribute to the discourse of this thesis. The answer is simple. My intention is not to reveal distinguished people that could be titled as constructivists or adult educators, which probably could be the subject of a future study, but instead to give an example that would enrich our understanding on how political economy is involved in our discourse and its relation to adult education and economic development. Through the story of Auguste Escoffier, we had the opportunity to understand how constructivism works in explaining the processes between external stimulus and the response of the subject, and also the operations which lead to the construction of knowledge. Also, we understood the way the three institutional arrangements of political economy formed the orientations of the individual, the mental processes that were taking place, while he was reflectively reacting with his experiences. Finally, we explored the role of education and learning in shaping a learner's knowledge, and how these operations affected his actions towards economic development.

I shall begin this paragraph in an unorthodox way, by giving the conclusion sentence of this proposal: we can all be the heralds of a new world. Each person can contribute to economic development if he/she is provided with an opportunity for involvement. This study proposes that adult education can be this opportunity. The personal reconstruction, the social reconstruction are correlatives, as John Childs (Dennis, 2003, 292), one of the most known Dewey's disciples used to say, and I could not be more committed to this idea. This study proposes that adult education is one, but not the only, sufficient foundation to maintain and strengthen economic development. Figure 4.1 summarizes my proposal.

Figure 4.1

The role of adult education in strengthening economic development within political economy



This framework proposes that the three institutional arrangements of political economy, namely the state, the market, and the civil society can contribute into two cases. Firstly, they can contribute to the policy formulation, through provided enriched information useful to the process of the needs assessment and secondly to the individual learner through the process of the construction of knowledge and the personal identity. A needs assessment is widely accepted to offer information about the target group in order to design effective educational programs. Through the political economy the needs assessment is enriched with data from the three institutions, so we can safely suppose that these programs will better respond to the needs of the society if we accept that these institutions depict the society in general.

Following the above this study proposes the examination of the following measures:

State (In this case the European Union)

1. In socio-economic terms:
    - Public expenditure on adult education
    - Participation in adult education for the age range 25-64
    - Participation of low-qualification adults in education
    - Adult education and social outcomes
    - Barries to participation in adult education
    - Percentage increase in wages associated with additional years of adult education
    - Life expectancy
    - Income inequality
2. In political terms:
    - Internal policies for adult education. Historical structural decisions in the choices about adult education policies in the EU
    - Ideological norms and ideology of the EU Committee

Market

- Private co-financing on adult education

Civil society

- The impact of institutional structures of governance modes and policy intervention on outcomes of adult education

The adoption of these measures was based on the literature review, and they represent a wider spectrum of measures from the three institutional arrangements. Especially the measures deriving from the market, could be the response to the criticism that adult education does not depict the needs of the labour market. To what degree these measures impact adult education is unclear. Is it the political priorities or economic forces that affect more adult education? This is a question open to all of us. The second contribution of the three institutional arrangements, as proposed in the Figure 1, is to individuals. All these manifestations mirror a state of economic development, thus *euphoria*. The more the *euphoria*, the better the living conditions, the happier the

people! The individual -every citizen- contributes to economic development, by constructing his own *euphoria* and then contributes to the wider *euphoria* of the society. The participation of the individuals in the foundations of the construction of their euphoria, and therefore of the society's euphoria, ensures its robustness and long-lasting. Otherwise, if the individuals are absent from this process, then the foundations of wellbeing, and euphoria, are fragile and tend to deteriorate and this works against the people and the society. Thus, it is important to offer educational structures for the adults so they can have through education the opportunity to involve in this process and place their own stone to the edifice of economic development, otherwise it is doomed to crumble someday. As Figure 1 proposes, the individual also participates in the strengthening of a cohesive and united society. This is the way towards the unification of Europe. This discourse indicates a circle which leads from economic development back to the three institutional arrangements, as proposed in Figure 1. Moving forward as shown in the Figure, it is proposed that economic development strengthens the unification of the EU. The idea for the unification of Europe, today commonly referred as *Integration* of Europe, or even Europeanization, all seem to be the very same thing. To me the term unification proposed by Count Coudenhove-Kalergi better depicts an idea well understood around Europe. It is very much identical with the establishment of economic, political, and cultural ties within the nation-states. Economic development is not a precondition for the unification of Europe, but it rather constitutes a dynamic process towards this direction, in which every citizen has an active role. It is actually an extra pillar to the above edifice. Where close links between people exist, this encourages the creation of networks, which can systematically transfer the concepts 'from below' to the heart of the decision-making in Europe, claiming to represent the general interest. This discourse indicates a circle which leads from the unification of EU back to the three institutional arrangements, as proposed in Figure 1.

4.3 The role of the institutional arrangements in the adult education policy formulation

This study has explored the paradigm of EU, within the framework of political economy. We will examine the role of the three institutions presented above in promoting the role of adult education.

State

In socio-economic terms

The development of policies for adapting to demographic changes in the EU has been a key issue during the last two decades. Life expectancy, a later retirement age, and the high number of job transitions Europeans are expected to go through, are among the issues discussed in many Reports around Europe, requiring particular awareness for vocational and non-vocational education, and of course for additional funding. The continuous augmentation of job-related skills to meet the needs of the market has made vocational education and training immensely popular to the detriment of adult education, as this study has suggested several times. This is a general global trend, which Europe follows. In the light of these challenges, this chapter compiles and analyses the key data of adult education for several socio-economic indices.

- Public expenditure on adult education

Analyzing where funding for adult education in the EU is coming from was anything but an easy task for two reasons: Firstly, mapping all the funding policies and mechanisms involved in financing adult education and estimating the amount they invest has proved to be the real Gordian knot of this study. Secondly, the issue of the inconsistencies in terminology, discussed earlier in this study, has complicated this work in defining whether these funding policies targeted adult education directly, or vocational education and training or adult learning. An attempt to map the stakeholders that are involved in the funding of adult education was undertaken within the Financing Adult Learning Project - FinALE (2018). Besides EU funds, public financial support in adult education (directed at institutions, learners, or employers) may draw from national funding.

Table 4.1

European Union: Stakeholders involved in financing of adult education

EUROPEAN UNION
1. Council of the European Union

1. European Commission ▪ Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture -Erarsmus+ ▪ Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion -Unit for Adult Education -EPALE -European Social Fund
2. European Parliament ▪ CULT Committee ▪ Interest Group for Lifelong Learning
4. European Economic and Social Committee
5. Committee of the Regions
6. CEDEFOP
LOCAL
Local authorities/municipalities
REGIONAL
Regional Authorities
NATIONAL
Intra-country organizations
State-funded organizations ▪ Labour market service/job centres ▪ Universities/research institutions
Ministries ▪ Education

- Social Affairs
- Employment
- Finances

Source: FinALE (2018).

Financing Adult Learning Project - FinALE (2018) presents other intergovernmental organizations interested in evolving and financing adult education like Council of Europe, Cedefop, UNESCO (UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning - UIL), and OECD – Directorate Education and Skills (Skills Beyond School Unit), or European Associations/NGOs (Lifelong learning platform, EAEA), or International Assicciatios/NGOs (ICAE). Despite the interest to account their contribution within political economy, this study restricts itself only on the participation of the EU. Financing adult education has always been a challenging task for governments. The reason is mainly connected to the question whether adult education should be treated as an investment expected to pay-off or not. In the first view, the attention will be straight on its outcomes. If these are sufficient then adult education becomes profitable for investing, but if these are not, then it becomes loss. This debate is close to the discussion about measuring the outcomes of adult education in the light of HCT and neoclassical economics, which had been developed earlier. The discussion about the neoliberal perception of adult education comes back to the fore, too. Despite the accepted assumption that policy making in adult education will clearly be facilitated by any 'proofs' of efficiency, monetary among them, we must abide firmly by the political economy perspective, which offers a wider perception of adult education's profits. With much debate about being an investment or not, being a cost or not, of course one could measure the returns of adult education, however this study does not support this idea. Adult education should be treated more as a public good, by its nature, rather than as an investment, as it is a social commodity, and it does not fit in with the profit rationale. It must be said that there it is an extremely labyrinthine structure of stakeholders in financing of adult education in the EU. However, EESC in the Opinion SOC/629, 24.9.2019 (EESC, 2019) indicates the lack of evidence on overall investment in lifelong learning, however it suggests that the public expenditure on adult education is only around 0.1 percent to 0.2 percent of GDP. The total expenditure on adult education, including other financial sources such as funding through employers, learners' fees,

varies between 1.1 and less than 0.6% of GDP (EESC, 2019). The Eurydice report "Adult education and training in Europe: Building inclusive pathways to skills and qualifications" (European Commission, European Education and Culture Executive Agency, 2021) presents the two key dimensions of public expenditure on adult education and training: the supply-side funding and the demand-side funding. The supply-side funding supports education and training providers. It in way it affects the provision and cost of the courses. On the other hand, the demand-side funding supports individuals to pay the costs. It also aims at encouraging employers to invest in education and training. The report notices that even if public authorities directly subsidize adult education programmes and their providers, learners may still carry some costs. The overarching adult leaning participation objective, which is set at a 50% participation rate until 2025, is expended to require an estimated additional investment of EU 48 billion annually, according to the report. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to find concrete data on the budget targeted adult education directly. On the other side, we have concrete and daily renewed data on the financial support of the EU allocated through the ESM, ERDF, and EAFRD under the broad theme of Educational and Vocational Training, invested in a range of investment priorities. The amount in total for the period 2014-2020 was € 47.411.124.043, from which the EU support was € 33.943.428.899, and national support € 13.467.695.143.

- Participation in adult education for the age range 25-64

After having examined the expenditure on adult education, this paragraph concentrates in the participation of adults in education and training. It presents general participation figures and data, as well as differences in the levels of participation among women and men. At present, there are two data sources providing information about the participation of adults in education and training, the AES and the EU LFS. In this study we use three data sources the AES, Eurostat – on the basis of data collected through LFS- and a few studies from EAEA and Deutsches Institut für Erwachsenenbildung. Despite the fact that LFS and AES use different reference periods for measuring the participation -LFS covers participation in the last 4 weeks for EU member-states and non-EU countries, while AES in the last 12 months- however they both offer a useful insight. The figures point an overall increase in the participation of adults ages 25-64 in education and learning between 2003-2020 (we used 2003 as the reference year).

The proportion of persons aged 25-64 who participated in learning in 2019 was 10.8, a share which was 0.7 percentage points higher than the corresponding share for 2014, as Table 4.2 shows. The year 2020, marked by the COVID-19 pandemic and the withdrawal of the UK from the EU, interrupted this trend. We should once again point out the inconsistencies in terminology as some figures use the terms adult education, other training, other both. Thus, the proportion in learning for 2020 is 1.6 points lower (9.2%) compared to 2019 (see Table 4.3). Available data in both tables show differentiation between participation in women and men, a rather usual trend. Women recorded higher participation rates in learning than men in all reference years, 2014, 2015, 2019, 2020. Cedefop has been sounding the alarm bell, because there are 128 million adult learners in the EU 27, the UK, Iceland and Norway (46% of the adult population of the area) with potential upskilling and reskilling -represent low education, low digital skills, now cognitive skills or one medium-high educated at risk of skill loss and obsolescence- who do not belong into the poll of the 60 million low-educated adults (Cedefop, 2022). Regarding the role of EU in fostering participation, Downes (2014, viii) advises that although EU has no legal powers over Member State's education and training systems, the Council has agreed certain targets regarding participation in adult education. Moreover, the annual reports to the Commission regarding progress and performance in education and training, reveal that progress is slow and even declining in relation to some of the targets.

The participation rate for women in 2019 was 11.9%, and it fell to 10% in 2020. Simultaneously, the participation for men in 2019 was 9.8% and in 2020 1.5 percentage points lower (8.3%). Council conclusions of 12 May 2009 on a strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training ('ET 2020') (CEU, 2009) sets five benchmarks to be achieved by 2020, including one for adult participation: An average of at least 15% of adults (aged 25-64) should participate in lifelong learning, during 4 weeks prior to the survey, and includes formal and non-formal education and training. As Figure 1 presents, in 2014 the proportion of adults that participated in lifelong learning was 10.1% and in 2019 10.9%. Women recorded higher participation in both reference years compared to men, namely 10.9% in 2014 compared to 9.3% for men, and 11.9% in 2014 compared to 9.8%. Moving to the Figure 2 we see that the total proportion falls to 9.2 %. However, we should notice that BREXIT played an important role in this development.

Table 4.2

Adult participation in learning, 2014 and 2019

Adult participation in learning, 2014 and 2019 (1)

(% of the population aged 25 to 64 participating in formal and non-formal education and training in the last 4 weeks)

	Total		Male		Female	
	2014	2019	2014	2019	2014	2019
EU	10.1	10.8	9.3	9.8	10.9	11.9
Belgium (2)	7.4	8.2	6.9	7.7	7.9	8.6
Bulgaria	2.1	2.0	1.8	1.8	2.3	2.1
Czechia	9.6	8.1	9.3	8.1	9.8	8.1
Denmark (2)	31.9	25.3	26.2	20.7	37.6	30.0
Germany	8.0	8.2	8.1	8.3	7.9	8.1
Estonia	11.6	20.2	9.2	17.0	13.9	23.3
Ireland (2)	7.0	12.6	6.4	10.7	7.6	14.5
Greece	3.2	3.9	3.4	3.7	3.1	4.2
Spain	10.1	10.6	9.4	9.5	10.8	11.7
France	18.4	19.5	16.0	16.7	20.8	22.2
Croatia	2.8	3.5	2.6	3.2	3.0	3.7
Italy	8.1	8.1	7.8	7.7	8.3	8.6
Cyprus	7.1	5.9	6.7	5.6	7.5	6.2
Latvia	5.6	7.4	4.9	5.4	6.3	9.3
Lithuania	5.1	7.0	4.6	5.5	5.6	8.5
Luxembourg (2)	14.5	19.1	13.9	19.7	15.1	18.5
Hungary (2)	3.3	5.8	3.0	5.6	3.6	6.0
Malta (2)	7.7	12.0	7.3	10.7	8.1	13.4
Netherlands	18.3	19.5	18.0	18.5	18.6	20.4
Austria	14.3	14.7	13.2	13.1	15.4	16.3
Poland (2)	4.0	4.8	3.6	4.2	4.3	5.4
Portugal	9.6	10.5	9.3	10.3	9.9	10.7
Romania	1.5	1.3	1.7	1.4	1.4	1.2
Slovenia	12.1	11.2	10.5	9.7	13.8	12.8
Slovakia	3.1	3.6	3.0	3.6	3.2	3.6
Finland	25.1	29.0	21.6	24.8	28.8	33.3
Sweden (2)	29.2	34.3	22.3	26.1	36.3	42.9
United Kingdom	16.3	14.8	14.6	13.3	18.0	16.3
Iceland	26.3	22.2	21.9	18.8	30.6	25.7
Norway	20.1	19.3	18.4	17.7	21.9	21.0
Switzerland	30.5	32.3	30.8	33.2	30.3	31.3
Montenegro	2.9	2.5	3.1	2.1	2.7	3.0
North Macedonia	3.2	2.8	3.2	2.8	3.3	2.7
Serbia	4.4	4.3	4.1	3.8	4.8	4.8
Turkey	5.7	5.7	5.8	5.7	5.5	5.7

(1) Refer to the internet metadata file (http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cache/metadata/en/trng_lfs_4w0_esms.htm).

(2) Break in series.

Source: Eurostat (online data code: trng_lfse_01)

eurostat

Figure 4.3

Adult participation in learning, 2015 and 2020

Adult participation in learning, 2015 and 2020 (')

(% of the population aged 25 to 64 participating in formal and non-formal education and training in the last 4 weeks)

	Total		Male		Female	
	2015	2020	2015	2020	2015	2020
EU	10.1	9.2	9.2	8.3	10.9	10.0
Belgium (²)	6.9	7.4	6.5	7.1	7.3	7.7
Bulgaria	2.0	1.6	1.9	1.4	2.1	1.7
Czechia	8.5	5.5	8.3	5.6	8.6	5.5
Denmark (²)	31.5	20.0	25.6	16.4	37.5	23.6
Germany (²)	8.1	7.7	8.2	7.8	8.0	7.6
Estonia	12.4	17.1	10.6	13.1	14.1	21.1
Ireland (²)	6.5	11.0	6.0	9.2	7.1	12.6
Greece	3.3	4.1	3.3	4.3	3.3	4.0
Spain	9.9	11.0	9.2	9.9	10.7	12.0
France	18.6	13.0	15.9	11.2	21.2	14.6
Croatia	3.1	3.2	2.7	2.6	3.6	3.8
Italy	7.3	7.2	6.9	7.0	7.7	7.4
Cyprus	7.5	4.7	6.9	4.9	7.9	4.5
Latvia	5.7	6.6	4.1	4.6	7.2	8.4
Lithuania	5.8	7.2	5.1	5.6	6.5	8.7
Luxembourg	18.0	16.3	18.2	15.3	17.8	17.3
Hungary	7.1	5.1	6.8	4.4	7.5	5.7
Malta (²)	7.4	11.0	6.9	9.6	7.9	12.7
Netherlands	18.9	18.8	18.4	17.9	19.4	19.8
Austria	14.4	11.7	13.3	10.8	15.4	12.7
Poland (²)	3.5	3.7	3.3	3.1	3.8	4.3
Portugal	9.7	10.0	9.7	9.6	9.8	10.4
Romania	1.3	1.0	1.3	1.0	1.3	1.0
Slovenia	11.9	8.4	10.7	7.4	13.3	9.5
Slovakia	3.1	2.8	2.7	2.6	3.4	3.0
Finland	25.4	27.3	21.8	23.0	29.1	31.7
Sweden (²)	29.4	28.6	22.3	21.9	36.7	35.5
Iceland (²)	28.1	20.3	23.5	16.8	32.7	24.1
Norway	20.1	16.4	18.3	15.0	22.0	17.9
Switzerland	30.8	27.6	31.5	28.5	30.2	26.7
Montenegro	3.0	2.7	3.4	2.6	2.5	2.8
North Macedonia	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.5	2.5	2.7
Serbia	4.8	3.7	4.5	3.3	5.1	4.0
Turkey	5.5	5.8	5.6	6.0	5.3	5.5

(') Refer to the internet metadata file (http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cache/metadata/en/trng_lfs_4w0_esms.htm).

(²) Break in series.

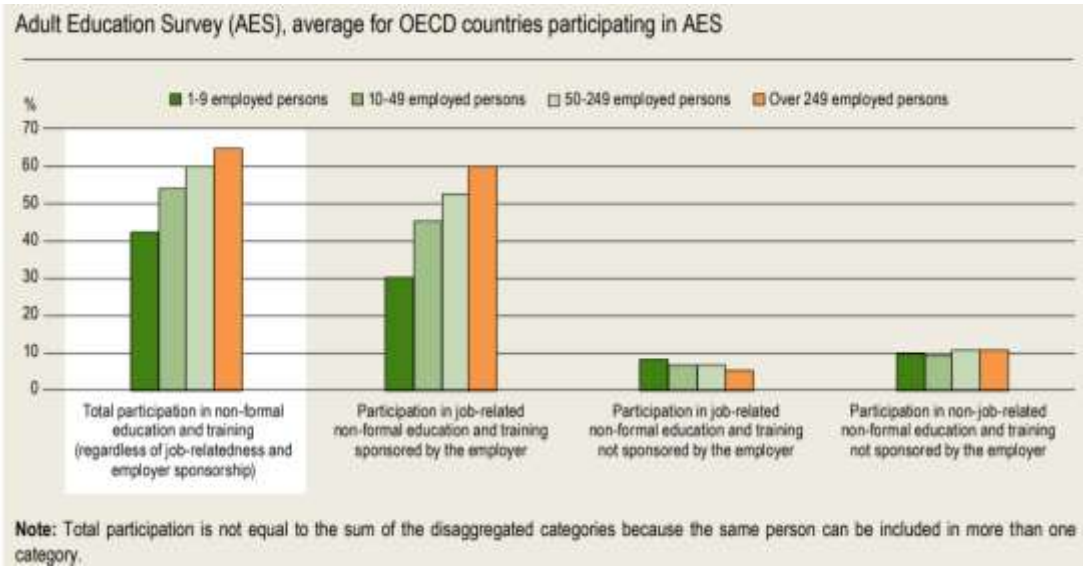
Source: Eurostat (online data code: trng_lfse_01)

eurostat

The participation in job-related non-formal education and training is mainly driven by employment. On average across OECD countries participating in AES, the total participation in at least one job-related non-formal education and training sponsored by employer is 44% of working adults, while the participation in job-related non-formal education not sponsored by their employer is only 7% (Chart 4.1). The size of the enterprise plays an important role in participation, as in large enterprises -with more than 249 working people- the 60% of the employed persons participated in at least one job-related non-formal education sponsored by their employer, while only 5% of them participated in a job-related non-formal education not sponsored by their employer.

Chart 4.1

Share of employed 25-64 years-old participating in non-formal education and training, by job relatedness, employer sponsorship and size of enterprise (2016)

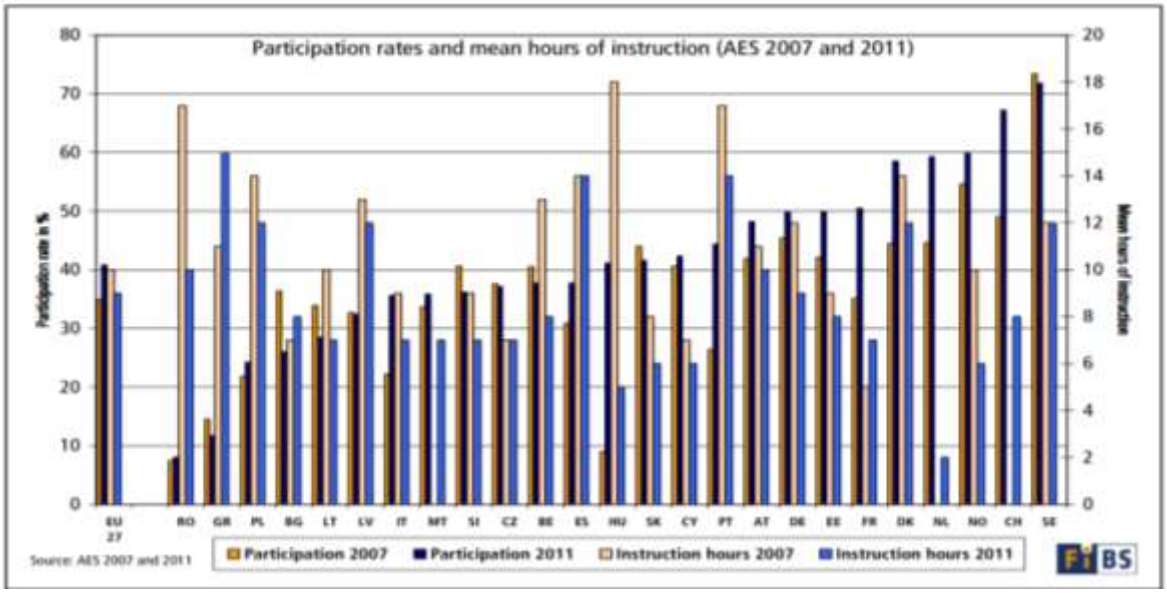


Source: OECD (2020)

According to Adult Education Survey (AES) the participation rates of adults between 2007 and 2011 indicate that on average participation rates in EU-27 increased, while on average instruction hours decreased (Deutsches Institut für Erwachsenenbildung, & Deutsches Institut für Erwachsenenbildung, 2013). As indicated in Chart 4.2 the participation rates between 2007 and 2011 increased from 35 to 41%, while the instruction hours decreased on average from 40 to 35%. Newer members of the EU show considerable variations compared to the older members.

Chart 4.2

Participation rates and mean hours of instruction (AES 2007 and 2011)

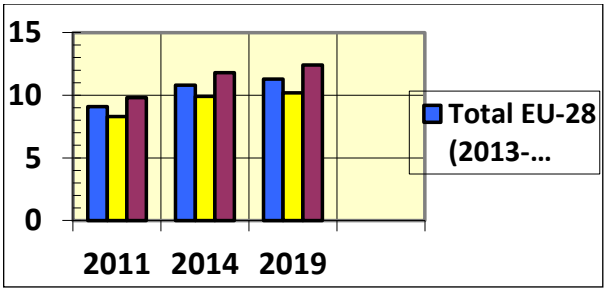


Source: Forschungsinstitut für Bildungs- und Sozialökonomie and Deutsches Institut für Erwachsenenbildung, 2013

Council Resolution on a strategic framework for European Cooperation in education and training forwards the European Education Area and beyond (2021-2030) (2021/C 66/01) set EU-level targets, including one for adults' participation: At least 47% of adults aged 25-64 should have participated in learning during the last 12 months, by 2025. Moreover, by 2030 at least 60% of adults aged 25-64 should have participated in learning during the 12 last months. The latest data published in the Eurostat annual report of the participation rate in education and training (last 4 weeks), between the ages 25-64 published in June 2021.

Chart 4.3

Participation in education and training (last 4 weeks) by sex 2011-2014-2019 (EU-28)



Source: EUROSTAT, 2021a

Table 4.4

Participation rate in education and training (last 4 weeks) total (age class 25-64)

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
EU-27 (since 2020)	8.1	8.2	9.9 b	10.1	10.1	10.3	10.4	10.6	10.8	9.2
EU-28 (2013-2020)	9.1	9.2	10.7 b	10.8	10.8	10.8	10.9	11.1	11.3	-
EU-15 (1995-2004)	10.3	10.5	12.4 b	12.7	12.5	12.5	12.6	12.7	13.0	-
Euro area-19 (from 2015)	8.3	8.5	10.6 b	10.9	10.9	11.2	11.3	11.5	11.6	10.0

(b) break in time series

Source: EUROSTAT, 2021a

Table 4.5

Participation rate in education and training (last 4 weeks) by sex (males)

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
EU-27 (since 2020)	7.5	7.6	9.06 b	9.3	9.2	9.4	9.6	9.7	9.8	8.3
EU-28 (2013-2020)	8.3	8.5	9.76 b	9.9	9.7	9.8	10.0	10.1	10.2	-
EU-15 (1995-2004)	9.4	9.7	11.3 b	11.6	11.3	11.4	11.5	11.5	11.7	-

Euro area-19 (from 2015)	7.9	8.1	9.8 b	10.2	10.0	10.4	10.5	10.6	10.6	9.2

(b) break in time series

Source: EUROSTAT, 2021a

Table 4.6

Participation rate in education and training (last 4 weeks) by sex (females)

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
EU-27 (since 2020)	8.6	8.8	10.7 b	10.9	10.9	11.1	11.3	11.6	11.9	10.0
EU-28 (2013-2020)	9.8	9.9	11.6 b	11.8	11.7	11.7	11.9	12.2	12.4	-
EU-15 (1995-2004)	11.1	11.3	13.5 b	13.8	13.7	13.6	13.7	13.9	14.3	-
Euro area-19 (from 2015)	8.7	8.9	11.4 b	11.7	11.7	12.0	12.1	12.3	12.6	10.7

(b) break in time series

Source: EUROSTAT, 2021a

- Barries to participation in adult education

As we presented in previous chapters numerous studies explain why adults participate in adult education and also explore the barriers they face to participation. Table 4.7 provides unique data which set on differences between the barriers faced by adults in the group age 25-64 to participation in adult education across several EU countries. Their latest year data refer to 2017.

Table 4.7

Adult education and learning: Barriers to participation

Country	Did not have the prerequisites	Too expensive	Lack of employers' support	Too busy at work	The course/program me offered at an inconvenient time/place	Childcare or family responsibilities	Sth unexpected came up and prevented me	Other
Austria	0.5	1.3	0.5	1.6	1.3	1.2	0.9	1.3
Czech Republic	0.9	1.7	2.1	3.5	1.4	2	1.1	2.2
Denmark	0.4	0.9	1	1.2	0.8	0.6	0.5	1
Estonia	0.5	0.9	0.7	0.9	0.8	0.6	0.4	0.8
Finland	0.5	0.7	0.8	1.4	1.1	0.8	0.4	1.2
France	0.5	1.1	1	1.3	0.5	0.7	0.4	1.1
Germany	0.3	0.9	1	1.5	1	1.2	0.5	2.2
Greece (2015)	1	2.2	0.9	2.1	1.5	1.8	1.1	1.5
Italy (2012)	1	1.6	0.8	2.3	1	1.8	0.8	1.4
Lithuania (2015)	1	1.6	1	2.1	1.8	1.4	0.7	1.4
Netherlands (2012)	0.4	1.3	0.9	1.7	0.9	1	0.9	1.4
Norway (2012)	0.6	0.9	0.9	1.3	1	1	0.7	1.1
Poland	1.1	2.2	1.5	1.7	1.5	2.1	1.2	2.3

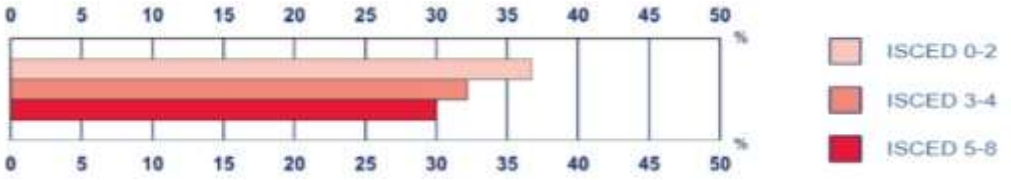
Slovak Republic	0.9	1.9	2.4	2.6	1.4	1.7	1	2
Slovenia	1	1.8	0.9	1.3	1.4	1.2	0.7	1.1
Spain	1.5	0.9	0.4	1.3	0.8	1	0.4	1
Sweden	0.6	1	0.7	1.3	0.9	0.9	0.6	1.4

Source: OECD.stat (2022)

Table 4.7 presents several barriers adults face in participating in education. In the barrier titled "Did not have the prerequisites" the rate is higher in Spain (1.5%). Both Greece and Poland consider adult education to be too expensive (2.2%). The highest proportion of adults who answered that the lack of employers' support is an obstacle in participating come from the Slovak Republic. Lithuania holds the highest percentage in the barrier "the course/programme offered at an inconvenient time/place" (1.8 %). The Polish seem to face the highest proportion in participating due to family responsibilities.

Chart 4.4

Adults (aged 25-64) -who wanted to participate (or participate more) in adult education and training in the 12 months prior to the survey and indicated costs among the reasons for not participating (%) by educational attainment level (EU-27 average) 2016



Source: European Commission, European Education and Culture Executive Agency, 2021

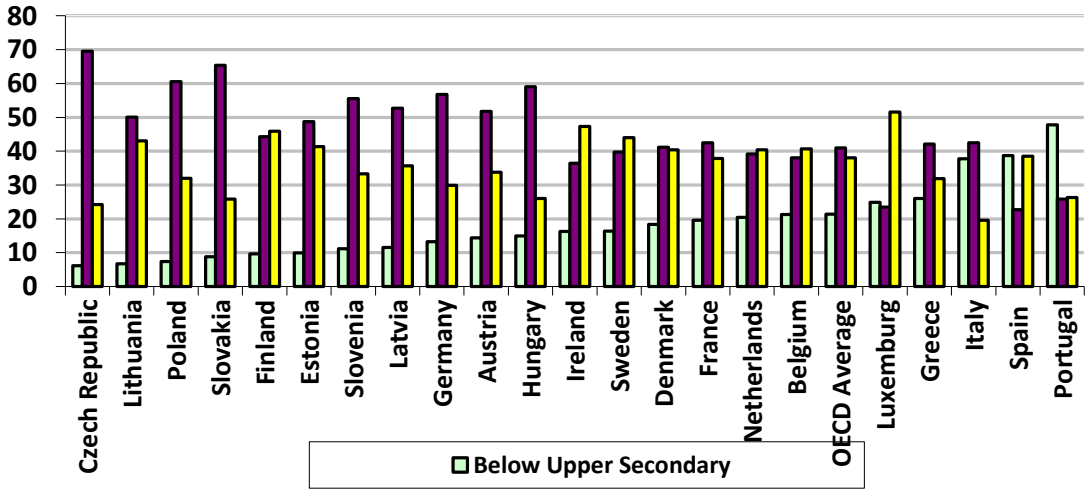
The chart 4.4 shows that adults with lower levels of educational attainment (36.7%) percent present costs more often as an obstacle compared to other adult with higher educational attainment. As the repost suggests almost 22% of adults (aged 25-64), which are 51.5 million people in the EU-27, had not completed upper secondary education (ISED level 2, EQF level 3 or 4). This offers new potentialities to those adults to participate in non-formal education.

- Participation of low-qualification adults in education

Many studies propose that adults with low skills are less likely to participate in education and learning than those with higher skills. In the context of political economy, it is basic to explore if these adults enjoy the same opportunities. First of all, we should explore the highest level of education completed by the age group 25-64. OECD proposes three levels: below upper secondary, upper secondary, and tertiary education. The indicator is measured as a percentage of same age population in EU 27, yearly (Chart 4.5). In 2020 Luxemburg had the highest level of tertiary education, 51.6%, while the OECD average is 38%. Ireland and Finland followed with 47.3 and 45.9% accordingly. The lowest level of tertiary education belonged to Italy 19.6%.

Chart 4.5

Adult education level as defined by the highest level of education completed by 25-64 year-old population (2019 or latest)



Note: No data available for Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Malta, and Romania

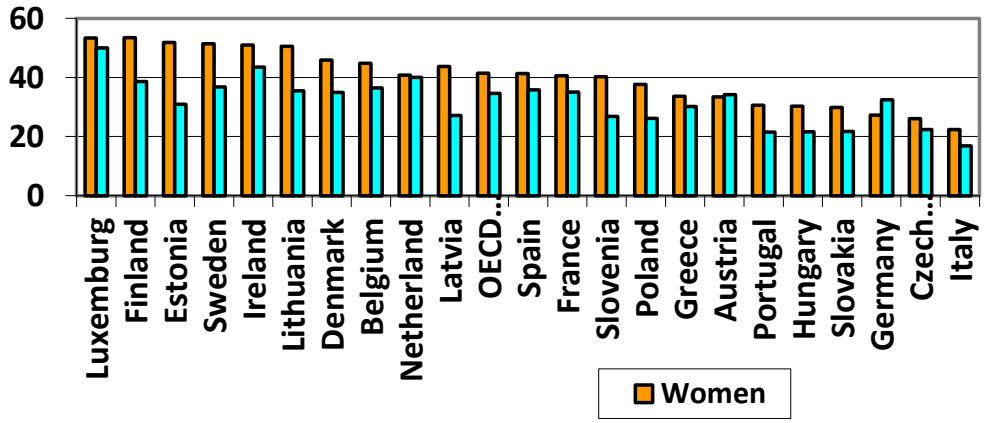
Source: OECD (2021)

Among countries with comparable data in the EU-27, women are more likely to achieve tertiary education in most of the EU countries with available data (Chart 4.6), except for Germany and Austria where men have a small advantage over women (27.3% women and 32.5% men, 33.4% women and 34.2% men accordingly). The highest score in the EU-27 is found in Finland, where 53.5% of women have a tertiary degree, compared to 38.6% of men, on an OECD average of 41.4% and 34.6% accordingly.

There is significant gender difference in tertiary rates in the new member-states, like Estonia, where there is 20.9 percentage points (51.8% for women and 30.9% for men), and Latvia where 43.7% of women have a tertiary degree, compared to 27.1% of men.

Chart 4.6

Adult education level by gender as defined by the highest level of education completed by 25-64 year-old population (2019 or latest)



Note: No data available for Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Malta, and Romania

Source: Source: OECD (2021a)

Table 4.8

Share of low qualified adults (25-64) participating in learning

Baseline (2016)	Interim milestone (2022)	Target (2024)	Latest known Results (2016)
17.9%	24%	28%	17.9%

Source: Annual Activity Report 2020, Directorate General Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion

- Percentage increase in wages associated with additional years of adult education

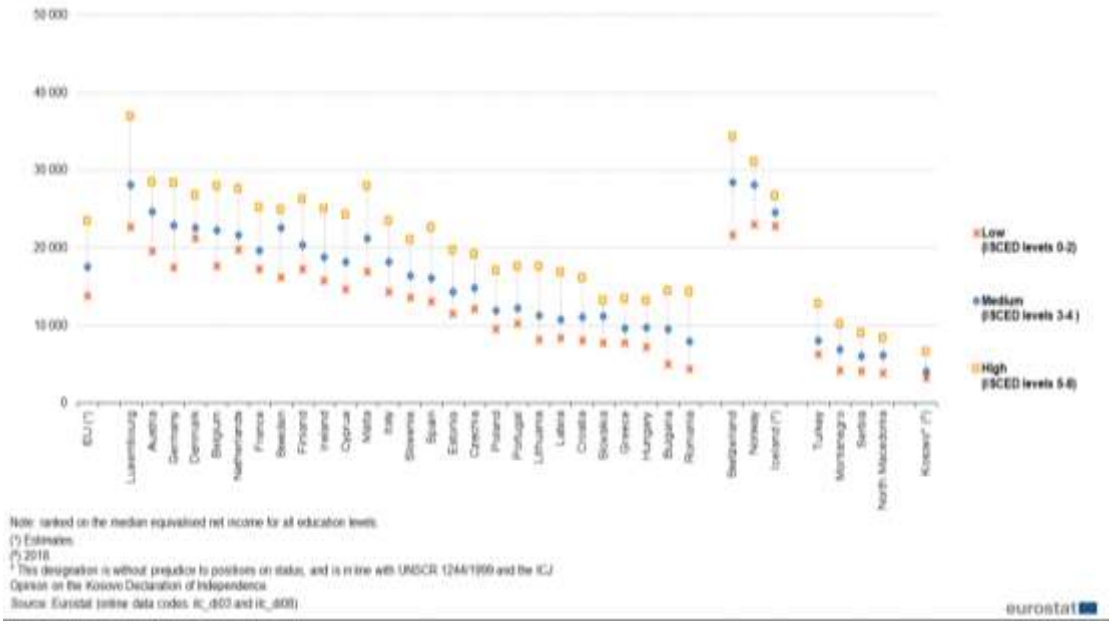
As we have discussed earlier measuring the returns of schooling in the formal system within neoclassical economics, and the human capital formation, is a very popular theme. Studies also suggest that vocational education and training have a positive impact on earnings. All these have been discussed earlier. What about adult education? The percentage increase in wages associated with additional years of adult education is also a unique subject to investigate, which mainly depends on distinct studies around the EU. To my knowledge there are not official data on this subject from the EU. An interesting study held by the Swedish Institute Labour Market Policy Evaluation (IFAU) (Stenberg, 2007) proposes the following:

- The equivalent of one year of full-time adult education render different returns depending on educational attainment prior to adult education enrolment. Thus, for males with only compulsory school the estimates range 15%, and for those with two-year upper secondary school range 5%.
- For a minimum of positive returns, it requires more than one semester of studies.

In the reference year 2019 in the EU median equivalized disposable income was 71% higher for people with a high educational level (PPS 23.483 per inhabitant), compared to those who had lower educational attainment (PPS 13.764). The differences are remarkable to the southern and eastern Member-states compared to western. Romania recorded the largest relative income gap between people with high and low educational levels, where the median was 3.3 times as high as the median for those people with low educational attainment. At least double the median with high levels compared to those with low, were recorded in Bulgaria, Lithuania, Latvia and Croatia. On the other side of the spectrum, in the western and northern Member-states the median equivalized disposable income was not that large between those with high and low educational attainment. In Netherlands the median equivalized disposable income for people was 40% higher than the median of those with low level, in Norway was 35%, and in Denmark it was 26% (Eurostat-Living conditions in Europe – income distribution and income inequality, 2022).

Chart 4.7

Median equivalized disposable income of the population aged 18-64 years, analyzed by educational level, 2019 (PPS per inhabitant)



Source: Eurostat-Living conditions in Europe – income distribution and income inequality, 2022

This study proposes that since the market is one of the three arrangements in political economy are involved in planning adult education programs, will accordingly offer a positive impact on earnings. Future studies will offer useful data.

- Life expectancy

Notwithstanding that many studies support that the increasing education levels are consistent with life expectancy (Luy, Zannela, Wegner-Siegmundt, Minagawa, Lutz, Caselli, 2019), and we have also reviewed literature on the beneficial psychological and mental outcomes of adult education, we now approach life expectancy from another perspective. Besides these contributions, it is proposed to approach life expectancy

from another perspective. The more the life expectancy increases, the more adult education should be prepared to deal with the new challenges. There is a differentiation in the educational needs in different age groups. The Table 4.9 shows an increase in life expectancy in all EU countries. Governments should take into account many issues with regard to the life expectancy, like the retirement age, social benefits and the minimum wage in order to ensure they will meet the educational needs of people at every age.

Table 4.9

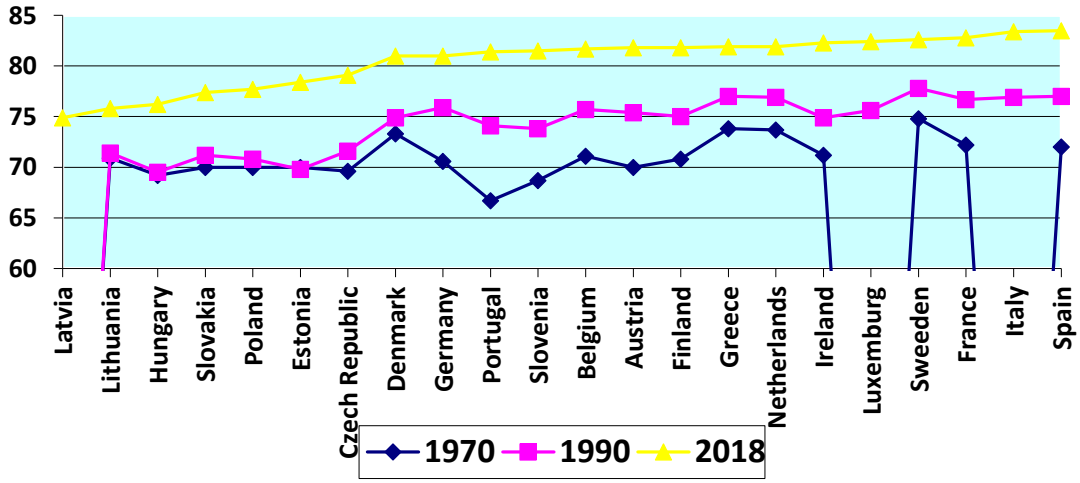
Life expectancy at birth (Total years 1970, 1990, 2000, 2010 and 2018)

Country	Total years 1970	Total years 1990	Total years 2000	Total years 2010	Total years 2018
Latvia	-	-	-	73.0	74.9
Lithuania	70.9	71.4	72.1	73.3	75.8
Hungary	69.2	69.5	71.9	74.7	76.2
Slovakia	70.0	71.2	73.4	75.5	77.4
Poland	70.0	70.8	73.8	76.5	77.7
Estonia	70.0	69.8	71.0	75.9	78.4
Czech Republic	69.6	71.6	75.1	77.7	79.1
Denmark	73.3	74.9	76.9	79.3	81.0
Germany	70.6	75.9	78.2	80.5	81.0
Portugal	66.7	74.1	76.9	80.0	81.4
Slovenia	68.7	73.8	76.1	79.8	81.5
Belgium	71.1	75.7	77.8	80.3	81.7
Austria	70.0	75.4	78.2	80.7	81.8
Finland	70.8	75.0	77.7	80.2	81.8
Greece	73.8	77.0	78.6	80.7	81.9
Netherlands	73.7	76.9	78.2	81.0	81.9
Ireland	71.2	74.9	76.6	80.8	82.3
Luxemburg	-	75.6	78.0	80.7	82.4
Sweden	74.8	77.8	79.7	81.6	82.6
France	72.2	76.7	79.2	81.8	82.8
Italy	-	76.9	79.9	82.1	83.4
Spain	72.0	77.0	79.3	82.4	83.5

Source: OECD (2021b)

Chart 4.7

Life expectancy at birth (Total years 1970, 1990, 2000, 2010 and 2018)



Note: No data available for Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Malta, Romania. Data missing for Latvia for the years 1970 and 1990, also Luxemburg and Italy for the year 1970.

Source: OECD (2021b)

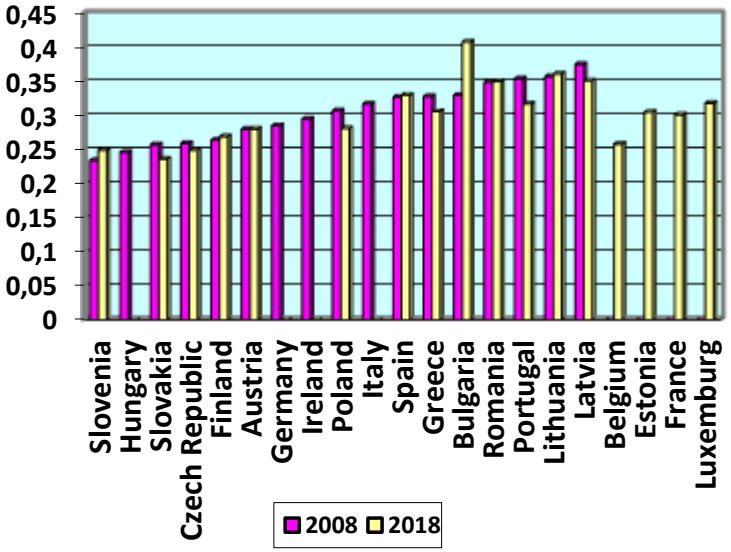
- Income inequality

To what extent a society should expect complete equality of income at a given point in time, is an issue open to a huge debate. This study proposes that within the framework of political economy the income inequality should be one of the measures the public policy makers should consider. It must be clear whether income inequality is the result of the knowledge gaps between people, or it is determined by the circumstances in society. Through adult education public policy should build a ladder of opportunities for the people to attain the income that fits to their professional status, talents, and interests. Chart 4.8 considers OECD data for several EU countries. Between the reference years of 2008 and 2018, the inequality varies. The highest difference appears

in Bulgaria where the income inequality is increased in 2018 compared to 2008. Austria has almost the same level of inequality between the reference years.

Chart 4.8

Income inequality (Gini coefficient, 0 = complete equality; 1 = complete inequality, 2008 and 2018



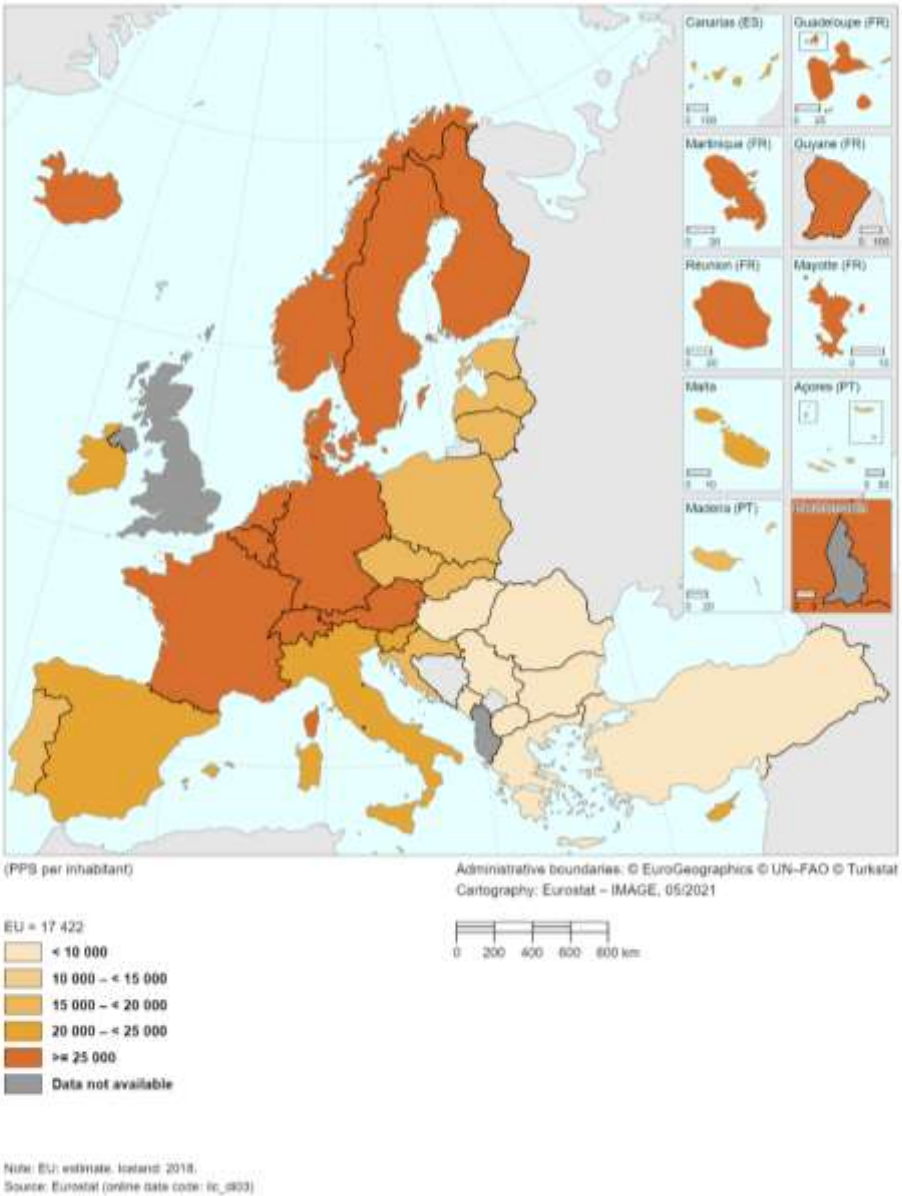
Note: No data available for Germany and Ireland for year 2018; Moreover, no data for Belgium, Estonia, France, and Luxemburg for year 2008

Source: OECD (2021c)

In the EU for the reference year 2019 the median equivalized disposable income averaged PPS 17. 422 per inhabitant. However, there were great differences among the states. The lowest averaged PPS was 7.338 in Romania. Map 4.1 shows that median equivalized disposable income was lower for the southern and eastern Member-States. Less than PPS 10.000 per inhabitant were recorded in Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Greece. At the other end of the spectrum was Luxemburg with PPS 28. 943, which was the highest rate recorded.

Map 4.1

Median equivalized disposable income, 2019 (PPS per inhabitant)



Source: (Eurostat-Living conditions in Europe – income distribution and income inequality, 2022

In political terms

In this section the discussion revolves around two main issues:

I. The internal policies for adult education. I proceed with the development of a historical structural process of the decision-making in the field of adult education since the Treaty of Rome.

II. The ideological norms of the composition of this EU Committee and how these have affected the direction of adult education, compared to the previous composition.

Prior to discussing the above two issues, we should begin with a few comments about the terminology issue. The learning of the appropriate terminology was very central to the concerns of this thesis, as the main terms of both adult education and economic development stimulate significant discussion, due to the fact that the EU policy papers and the EU glossaries lack of narrow, clear definitions. The failure to explicitly define the above main terms -except from that of sustainable development which follows the Agenda 2030- is a serious problem for those involved in the research, especially researchers in European level. I did also notice that the term "sustainable economic development" is gaining some prominence lately in the EU documents. The previous work in this study has produced some general findings regarding this issue. Starting with the term economic development, it is used in the EU documents to refer either to international development aid or for rural development in the post enlargement phase, as a synonym to economic growth, or to express economic changes either in a quantitative or qualitative way. In the IATE glossary it is presented with the following ways:

- "To refer to sustained, concerted actions of policy makers and communities that promote the standard of living and economic health of a specific area. Economic development can also be referred to as quantitative and qualitative changes in the economy. Such actions can involve multiple areas including development of human capital, critical infrastructure, regional competitiveness, environmental sustainability, social inclusion, health, literacy, and other initiatives. Economic development differs from economic growth" (IATE ID 2144588).

- "To indicate the growth of the standard of living of the inhabitants of an area. Not to be confused with the process of taking actions to promote the standard of living" (IATE ID 3576845).

With regard to the term sustainable development, this was explicitly discussed in the context of Agenda 2030, and it is obviously the only one with a narrow definition. Moving forward to the term sustainable economic development, as explained in the previous chapter, in the literature this notion reveals a shift of economic development to the 'green path' and it is usually used to refer to the impact of economic activities to the environment. Upon reflection following the above discussion I decided that the notion that much serves the need of this study is that of economic development, however as depicted within the framework of IPE, and away from the dominant neoclassical perception.

In 1968, "The World Educational Crisis: A System Analysis" by Phillip H. Coombs examined the problems education was facing, and later in 1971 the report of the Faure Commission "Learning to Be" saw the launch of the concept *lifelong education*. In 1996 the report of the Delors Commission "Learning: The Treasure within" offered pointers and recommendations that could be applied both in national contexts and on a worldwide scale promoted the concept of education throughout life, based on four pillars: learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together and learning to be. The latter gained serious attention not only from education but also from development specialists, as it stressed out the contribution of education to economic and social development (Delors et al., 1996, 18). Despite its commitment to learning throughout life, adult education is not clearly part of the Delors Commission policy design, to the benefit of formal education. Bhola (1997) in his study titled "Adult education policy projection in the Delors Report" raised several concerns about the Commission's primal urge to formal institutional structures at the expense of adult education and non-formal and informal opportunities. Not until the early 2000, adult education attracted the EU bureaucrats' attention, although the EU has always paid much effort to promote vocational education and training. While the first provisions for vocational education adopted early enough in the Treaties of Rome. And in 2020 the European Skills Agenda foretells the inevitable devaluation of adult education. All these issues are presented right afterwards.

I. The historical framework

The commitment of the EU on the promotion of adult education through the development of relevant policies from 1950 onwards is examined in the following paragraphs. From the standpoint of the policy-making process many researchers have been worried about the lack of a concrete political context for adult education in the EU. Richardson and Mazey (2015) influenced by Kingdon (2014) who had drawn parallels between the process of biological natural selection and policy-making in the US communities, combined to what he named as a "political primeval soup", liken the EU policy making with the US in a rather skeptical view. They present their arguments to demonstrate that the policy making process in the EU is also a "primeval soup", a *sui generis* system very much about "low politics" technical issues with an extreme opened decision-making system which allows national politico-administrative elites and lobbyists to involve in the agenda and place their ideas. Adult education has a pivotal role to play in this process, starting from its very same contribution to the well-being of people and the societies. For the needs of this analysis, we will classify the EU policies in three periods, on the basis of Hubert Ertl's classification: the pre-Maastricht phase, the post-Maastricht phase and the post-Lisbon phase (Ertl, 2006, 6).

1. The pre-Maastricht phase

As of 1950 the Treaty of European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was signed in Paris on 18 April 1951 with a validity period limited to 50 years. Among its principles it aimed to boost the readjustment of the workers who have been affected adversely by the competition (Capelle, 1963, 48). The Treaties of Rome, signed on 25 March 1957, are the legal basis upon which rest two Treaties: The Treaty Establishing the European Economic Community (EEC Treaty, 1957) and the European Atomic Energy Community (The Euratom Treaty Consolidated Version, 2010). Due to the lack of reference to education in EEC Treaty, cooperation in this field depended on the political will of the member states (Rasmussen, 2014, 19). According to Ertl (2006, 6) none of these Treaties make any specific mention of general education while Vocational Training is mentioned in a few numbers of Articles: ECSC Article 56, Euratom, Articles 7 and 9, EEC Articles 41, 50, 118 and 128. In the same direction was the European Council's Decision 63/226 of 2 April 1963, containing 10 general principles for setting up a common policy for Vocational Training to give all people the opportunity to receive adequate training in order to exercise free choice of occupation and place of

work, and to reach new and higher levels of employment (Ertl, 2006, 6). On 26 July 1971, the Council adopted general guidelines for the development of the programme for vocational training stating that "objective should be to provide the population as a whole with the opportunities for general and vocational education, further education, and lifelong education, which will adequately allow individuals to develop their personality and to follow a skilled occupation in an economy of which the needs are constantly changing" (OJ C81 of 12.8.1971). On 16 November 1971 ministers for education met for the first time at Community level and adopted a resolution approved on an intergovernmental basis, to deal with educational problems at a national level, vocational training among them (Pépin, 2006, 25). The ministers decided to set up a Working Party of Senior Officials to examine means of achieving cooperation with the Commission, including the possibility of establishing a European Centre for Educational Development. A few months later, in July 1972, the European Commission asked Professor Henri Janne, Former Belgian Minister of Education, Chairman of the Scientific Committee of the Institute of Sociology and of the Institute of European Studies of the Université Libre de Bruxelles, to formulate the first principles of an education policy at Community level. The Report entitled "For a Community Policy in Education", also known as "Janne Report", which clearly stated the division of general and vocational education, influenced the discussion in the field of education (Ertl, 2006, 8) although in the literature review offered in the Report, adult education is still equalized with training schemes. Bodies of mutual contacts and exchanges should lead to a "Europe of Education", whereas the Community is endorsed to involve in adult education as a matter of priority in the context of Community policy. Adult education, also mentioned as permanent education and recurrent education in the Report, is seen as an emerging field, the least saturated, with the weakest structures, little integration, more open to combined action, and better qualified to use mass media and new educational technologies.

The oil crisis of 1973 set the principles for a further discussion about youth unemployment. Vocational Training gained a more significant role at the Community level, due to the recognition of the fact that many young people entered the labour market with no qualifications after leaving school at the age of 16 or under (Ertl, 2006, 7). "The concept of 'vocationalization', as highlighted by Neave, began to determine the agenda of education policy at the Commission level" (Ertl, 2006, 8). In 1974 a

Council Resolution established the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training CEDEFOP to collect and exchange information on national systems of vocational training and prepare a harmonisation of training levels (Rasmussen, 2014, 20). In 1974 an Education Committee was set up composed of representatives of the Member States and of the Commission, to develop actions in the seven priority areas agreed upon by the ministers for education of the Community. According to Ertl (2006, 7) cooperation in the area of general education had just started. In 1975, the Council and the ministers for education meeting in the Council approved the first Community action programme on education, the resolution formally adopted by the Council on 9 February 1976, which laid the foundations for Community cooperation in the area of education and contained six priority areas for action: education of the children of migrant workers, closer relations between education systems in Europe, compilation of documentation and statistics, higher education, teaching of foreign languages, and equal opportunities (Pépin, 2007, 24). Until then, all references in the EU documents were occupied for two decades with Vocational Training. Indeed, even the focus of funding was on Vocational Training: in 1984, 75% of the European Social Fund was used to help young people to enter the workforce and also to promote an exchange programme for young workers (Pépin, 2007, 95).

2. The post Maastricht phase

The Treaty on European Union (TEU, 1992), also known as 'Maastricht Treaty', opens the way to political integration and creates a European Union. With this Treaty, the European Economic Community becomes the European Community (EC). According to Rasmussen (2014, 19), prior to the TEU, cooperation on education had no legal basis in the European community. Whereas there is no reference to adult education, there is provision to further promote vocational training (Articles 123, 127). One possible explanation could be that policy makers equated adult education with vocational training. The role of the Community was focused on encouraging cooperation between member states, by supporting and implementing their action (Article 126). In the meanwhile, there is distinct reference to distance education in Article 126, paragraph 2. In this Treaty there is also provision for the strengthening of social cohesion (Article 130a, 130b). Moreover, it introduces the concept of European citizenship, which is stated as one of Union's objectives "to strengthen the protection of the rights and interests of the nationals of its Member States through the introduction of a citizenship

of the Union" (Article B). Vocational Training would target to facilitate vocational integration and reintegration into the labour market. In 1993, the Commission of the European Communities released the White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness and Employment (CEC, 1993). The Commission underlined the importance of lifelong education and training among the priorities for action on jobs and invited national educational communities to make their own contributions towards universally accessible advanced vocational training (CEC, 1993, 17). Investment in education and training is linked to competitiveness, employment and social cohesion. Distinct reference is made to its contribution to meet the needs of European industry, as a result of the increased level of skills required to use new technologies effectively. This White Paper set out to promote the European Year of Lifelong Learning -1996- established with European Parliament and Council Decision n° 95/2493/EC, of 23 October 1995. These provisions are consistent with the conclusions of the Cannes European Council of June 1995 (Cannes European Council, 1995) on the importance of the investment on training to improving competitiveness and employment. Later, on 30 November 1995, the European Commission presented the White Paper on "Teaching and Learning: Towards the Learning Society" (CEC, 1995). Besides the Commission's main concern to stem the rise of unemployment in Europe, it is important that for the first time provisions for the informal education are made "Education and training whether acquired in the formal education system, on the job or in a more informal way, is the key for everyone to controlling their future and their personal development" (CEC, 1995, 2). Selfawareness, belonging, advancement and self-fulfilment are the main elements of personal development. Lifelong learning is a reference point in this White Paper, as it is seen as a response to the radical increase of life expectancy, which at the same time changes the age structure of the population. The long-term implications of the focus on vocational training for improving employment and competitiveness are becoming a matter of attention. According to Federighi (1999, 1) the development of a future strategy for lifelong learning was raised by the Irish Presidency the second half of 1996 and much useful discussion ensued on a whole set of "new" terms, such as learning environments, formal, non-formal and informal settings, community education etc. At the same time new and different concepts based on learning rather than education were introduced.

Mohorčič Špolar and Holford (2014, 39) are quite skeptical about the outcomes of the European Year of Lifelong Learning as "There is room for debate as to how far the member states endorsed the idea of lifelong learning, but they most certainly embraced the funds which the Year of Lifelong Learning brought". Rasmussen (2014, 20) raises several concerns about the reluctance of the member states to include social partners and associations in consultations, a reality which became more widespread after 2000. Griffin (1999, 435) himself is rather skeptical about the priorities of lifelong learning, i.e.- economic growth, increased productivity and competitiveness. As a matter of fact, he insists that this introduces "a reductionist model of lifelong learning as a form of progressive and redistributive education policy, in global market conditions, and from the perspective of the industrialized countries of the world as they move through the postindustrial era" (Griffin, 1999, 435). A more moderate view, is that of Gass (1996, 5) who states that the European Parliament and the Council endorsed the view that lifelong learning is as much a matter of personal fulfilment and being enabled to participate in the exercise of the rights of citizenship as it is a matter of attaining economic objectives, set out to promote the European Year of Lifelong Learning. Moreover, he clarifies that this does not mean that educational values are subordinated to considerations of industrial competitiveness, notwithstanding the damage to social cohesion caused by unemployment, especially youth and long-term (Gass, 1996, 5). So far, it is obvious that a wide range of policies and events were organized by the EC to promote the concept of lifelong learning, notwithstanding that adult education has not been considered yet as a distinct policy matter. It was only in 1999 that the EU established contact with the European Association for the Education of Adults, EAEA, so a useful round of talks had finally begun in the field.

3. The post-Lisbon phase

On 23-24 March 2000, the Lisbon European Council agreed on a new strategic goal for the Union in order to strengthen employment, economic reform and social cohesion as part of a knowledge-based economy "The Union has today set itself a new strategic goal for the next decade: to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion" (Lisbon European Council, 2000). Emanating from the EU institutions, this emphasis in a knowledge-based economy has been echoed and reinforced in a wide variety of policy statements and studies (Room, 2005, 78).

Promoting lifelong learning is seen as one of the four key areas addressed by the Council and Commission. A few months later, the on 19 and 20 June, the Santa Maria Da Feira European Council had taken a number of important steps aimed at addressing the challenges confronting it in the immediate future (Santa Maria Da Feira European Council, 2000). The conclusions of the European Council confirm a dual target: to prepare the transition to a competitive, dynamic and knowledge-based economy and to modernize the European social model by investing in people and building an active welfare state. As stated in Paragraph 33 "Lifelong learning is an essential policy for the development of citizenship, social cohesion and employment". According to Jarvis (2004), lifelong learning is now recognized to be more than an economic matter. The Council and the Commission invite Member States "to identify coherent strategies and practical measures with a view to fostering lifelong learning for all to promote the involvement of social partners, to harness the full potential of public and private financing, and to make higher education more accessible to more people as part of a lifelong learning strategy". On 30 October 2000, the Commission presented a working paper under the title "A Memorandum on Lifelong Learning" (CEC, 2000). It set out the goal to launch a European-wide debate on a comprehensive strategy for implementing lifelong learning at individual and institutional levels, and in all spheres of public and private life (CEC, 2000, 3) and presented a few examples of "good practice" in order to illustrate innovative and flexible approaches for the citizens and other partners to putting lifelong learning into practice (CEC, 2000, 26). According to Mohorčič Špolar and Holford (2014, 39) the EU's view has not always been so narrow: the Memorandum stressed lifelong learning's role in social cohesion, active citizenship and social inclusion. Lifelong learning is no longer just one aspect of education and training, as it must become the guiding principle for provision and participation across the full continuum of learning contexts. In the Memorandum for the first-time adult education is considered as a distinct matter called into a European cooperation:

> *"Training courses and qualifications for education and training practitioners working in non-formal sectors (such as youth and community work), in adult education or in continuing training are underdeveloped everywhere in Europe. What can be done to improve this situation, including through European co-operation".*
>
> [CEC, 2000, 14]

Responses to the consultation on the Memorandum called for a broad definition of lifelong learning which would be not limited only to economic issues or to refer only to adults. With the Communication COM (2001) 678-final titled "Making a European Area of Lifelong Learning a Reality" the EC offers a broad definition for lifelong learning which refers to learning from pre-school to post-retirement and encompasses the whole spectrum of formal-non-formal and informal learning (European Commission, 2001a). The term 'learning' has found preference to 'education' not only in the political discussion in the EU, EAEA in its 2006 study "Adult education trends and issues in Europe" confirms this shift towards learning. At the same period the Grundtvig programme, a sub-programme that focused on adult education and other educational pathways, was launched and adult education first became a selfstanding policy (Holford, & Milana, 2014, 8). On 23 and 24 March 2001 the European Council met in Stockholm (Stockholm European Council, 2001), where the ministers for education agreed for the first time on a set of three strategic goals and thirteen concrete objectives, which became the basis of the 'Education and training 2010' process. The objectives especially relevant to adult education were the following: developing key competences, access to information and communications technology for everyone, creating an open learning environment, promoting active citizenship, equal opportunities and social cohesion, and strengthening links with the world of work, with research and society (Rasmussen, 2014, 23). The EU has finally shown some signs of improving in the field of adult education. In November 2001 a Commission Communication (CEC, 2001, 4) suggested to establish a European area of lifelong learning in order to empower citizens to move freely between learning settings, jobs, regions and countries, making the most of their knowledge and competences, and to meet the goals and ambitions of the European Union and the candidate countries to be more prosperous, inclusive, tolerant and democratic. The Council Resolution of 27 June 2002 on Lifelong Learning stressed its contribution to competitiveness and employability, but also to social cohesion, active citizenship, personal and professional fulfilment (Council Resolution on lifelong learning, 2002). It was only in 2006 that the definition adult learning has become a matter of policy in a Communication from the Commission under the title '*Adult learning: It is never too late to learn*' (CEC, 2006). Despite the variation of definitions, Commission offers a narrow one of adult learning which implies "all forms of learning undertaken by adults after having left initial education and training" (CEC, 2006, 2). The Commission emphasizes the weak

implementation of adult learning in changing national systems to mirror the need for learning throughout the lifespan and admits that it had not gained the recognition it deserves in terms of visibility, policy prioritization and resources. On 15 November 2006 the European Parliament and the Council released a decision establishing an action programme in the field of lifelong learning for the period 2007-2013. The term adult education is pointed out clearly. According to Article 2, "adult education means all forms of non-vocational adult learning, whether of a formal, non-formal or informal nature" (Decision No 1720/2006/EC).

In 2006 the EAEA (2006) examined the presence and the dynamics of adult education both in the EU and national policies in its study "Adult education trends and issues in Europe" the major findings regarding the interests of this study (terms and connotations, benefits and the EU policies) are summarized below. In the beginning the EAEA reopened the variety in definitions around Europe which reflects deep philosophical differences about values and priorities, complicating discussion in the field. It is accepted that adult education's recognition has grown since the early nineties, whereas at the same time the tension between broad and narrow functionalist views has also increased. The weak impact of the EU policies for lifelong learning along with the weak research base for adult education is highlighted in the study which discourages changes in its formal standing and the public resources allocated for it. Among the benefits of adult education are considered the act of building social capital, fostering social inclusion and combating both direct and less obvious costs of social exclusion. It is the first time that this term acquires such a narrow definition. Social capital is a multi-dimensional concept difficult to define and to explain. As Lundvall and Lorenz (2009, 81-82) advise that social capital has to do with generalized trust and with the orderliness and predictability of co-citizens' behavior and can be enhanced by social investment in a narrow sense. In the so called by the above scholars the learning economy, compared to the widespread OECD's concept of 'the knowledge-based economy', social capital is therefore defined as "the willingness and capability of citizens to make commitments to each other, collaborate with each other and trust each other in processes of exchange and interactive learning across class and family boundaries". Commenting on social investment on the social capital in the learning economy, Lundvall and Lorenz insist that it depends on both the political culture and what is regarded as fair, as legitimate forms of government intervention (ibid). The Commission Communication in 2007 "*It*

is always a good time to learn" (CEC, 2007), focused on disadvantaged because of low literacy levels, inadequate work skills and/or skills for successful integration into society. The European Parliament resolution (2008) of 16 January 2008 on adult learning: it is never too late to learn makes sufficient reference to adult education, which is particularly heartening. Starting from the paragraph E in the preamble "investing in adult education increases social and cultural returns in terms of greater individual wellbeing and fulfilment and active citizenship", later on paragraph 5 the European Parliament urges the improved promotion of adult education accompanied by active policies in order to motivate more people to engage, including disadvantaged groups. In paragraph 9 the Parliament considers that the European Adult Education Survey (AES) is an essential means of collecting comparable information and promoting shared thoughts on adult education. The need for high quality adult educators and university degree programs in the field is mentioned in paragraph 26. The importance education to be tailored to vocational and practical requirements is stressed out on the paragraph 29, along with paragraph 43 which again connects adult education to skills required of workers. Council conclusions of 22 May 2008 on adult learning have set specific measures for the period 2008-2010 (CEU, 2008). The activities included, among others, support for both measures and campaigns to strengthen the place of adult learning within the context of national lifelong learning strategies and to raise awareness and motivation in order to increase overall participation in adult learning. Mention should be made of the use of the term adult education in the Council Conclusions. The Council invited the Commission to "strengthen and use existing research structures for the needs of adult education". Member States were invited to promote and support the exchange of good practice with stakeholders, mutual learning and the development of joint projects in the field of adult Education and therefore to reinforce cooperation with Cedefop, the UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning and other international institutions, in the area of adult education and learning (CEU, 2008). Under the Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council of 23 April 2008 a European Qualifications Framework advisory group was established, composed of representatives of Member States and involving the European social partners and other stakeholders, (Official Journal of the European Union, 2008b). Member States were invited to relate their national qualifications systems to the European Qualifications Framework (EQF) and to promote the validation of non-formal and informal learning.

Validation in non-formal education was restricted to validate only vocational education and training.

The social dimension of education and training is confirmed by the Council Conclusions of 11 May 2010 (2010/C 135/02), as expanding access to adult education can create new possibilities for social inclusion and enhanced social participation especially for the low-skilled, the unemployed, adults with special needs, the elderly, and migrants. Council Resolution on a renewed European agenda for adult learning (2011/C 372/01) of 20.11.2011 calls for developing a new approach to adult education and training which focuses on learning outcomes and learner responsibility and autonomy. It should be noted, however, that the term adult learning, broadly used in both documents, covers the entire range of formal, non-formal, and informal learning activities -both general and vocational- undertaken by adults after leaving initial education and training. Council conclusions of 12 May 2009 on a strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training ('ET 2020') (CEU, 2009) agreed that the primary goal of European cooperation in the period up to 2020 should be to support the further development of education and training systems in the Member States. The ET2020 benchmark for adult education is that at least 15% of adults should participate in lifelong learning by 2020.

The Commission Communication "Europe 2020: A strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth" (European Commission, 2010), is a 10-year strategy that puts forward three mutually reinforcing priorities: smart growth, sustainable growth and inclusive growth. Adult learning provides a means to adults, especially to low-skilled and older workers, for improving their ability to adapt to changes in the labour market and society. The Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 December 2006 on key competences for lifelong learning (2006/962/EC) specifies that Member States develop the provision of key competences for all as part of their lifelong learning strategies, including their strategies for achieving universal literacy, and use the "Key Competences for Lifelong Learning — A European Reference Framework" with a view to ensuring that coherence of adult education and training provision for individual citizens is achieved through close links with employment policy and social policy, cultural policy, innovation policy and other policies affecting young people and through collaboration with social partners and other stakeholders. In 2009 the Commission released a Communication "Key competences for a changing

world. Draft 2010 joint progress report of the Council and the Commission on the implementation of the Education & Training 2010 work programme" and a staff working document "Key competences for a changing world. Progress towards the Lisbon objectives in education and training. Analysis of implementation at the European and national levels". Among the Key competences is that adult education and training should give real opportunities to all adults to develop and update their key competences throughout life. In 2011, the Council of the European Union recognizes that all adults, included the highly qualified, can benefit from lifelong learning, especially in times of economic crisis (CEU, 2011). The 2012 Joint Report of the Council and the Commission on the implementation of the Strategic Framework for European cooperation in education and training (ET 2020) "Education and Training in a smart, sustainable and inclusive Europe" proposed new working priorities for the period 2012-2014 geared to mobilise education and training to support Europe 2020 (European Commission, 2012a). There is neither a reference to adult education, nor to adult learning in this draft. The EU's focus on investment in education and training for skills development as a means of growth and competitiveness is also found in a communication issued by the Commission in 2012 "Rethinking Education: Investing in skills for better socio-economic outcomes" (European Commission, 2012b). Rasmussen (2014, 25) highlights that the EU activity and debate has focused much on urgent economic issues due to the severe economic crisis that hit much of Europe shortly after the commencement of the Europe 2020 process. Therefore, this has made a profound impact on the priorities in education, including adult learning. Adult education has been excluded again, as a matter of policy. The Council Conclusions on investing in education and training in 2013 (CEU, 2013) were, likewise, focusing on the role of education and training as a driver for growth and competitiveness.

In 2015 the European Commission (2015) releases a report looking at adult learning policies and their effectiveness titled "An in-depth analysis of adult learning policies and their effectiveness in Europe". This report offers a clear overview of the national strategies and policy actions embedding various priorities for adult education in response to the EU strategic frameworks the last decade, though the definition of adult learning can vary from country to country. The situation was grouped as follows:

- Wide-ranging adult learning strategies

It is a group of countries with well-established comprehensive adult education policies and strategies that follow to a large extent the EU recommendations on adult learning as part of lifelong learning, which include among others Denmark, Finland, Sweden and the Netherlands.

- Strategies to widen participation

In a considerable number of countries, policies have focused on engaging socially excluded learners in order to improve their employability with the acquisition of basic skills.

- Integrating adult learning into other strategies

In some countries lifelong learning strategies targeting adults usually embedded in employment or labour market activation policies. This appears to be the case in countries with high or growing unemployment rates like Belgium, Bulgaria, and Poland.

- Strategies focused on consolidating formal learning and validating non-formal and informal learning (NFIL)

In this group countries motivate adults to engage in further learning through validation and recognition of NFIL.

- Strategies with a strong focus on improving guidance

Almost half of the Member States have policy actions in progress or planned for improving guidance to individual learners to address skills gaps and employability.

- Strategies focusing on the economically active

A group of countries with a lower adult participation in lifelong learning like Italy and Spain put emphasis on engaging the employed, unemployed and young adults in learning for economic outcomes perhaps.

Council Resolution on a strategic framework for European Cooperation in education and training forwards the European Education Area and beyond (2021-2030) (2021/C 66/01) set EU-level targets, including one for adults' participation: At least 47% of adults aged 25-64 should have participated in learning during the last twelve months, by 2025. The Resolution proposes five strategic priorities, one for lifelong learning.

Strategic Priority 2: Making lifelong learning and mobility a reality for all verifies that average participation of adults in learning remains low in the EU, which reflects concerns about the sustainable and fair economic growth. Fostering mobility remains a key target in the Resolution (Official Journal of the European Union, 2021). The focus of the European Skills Agenda (European Skills Agenda, 2020), adopted on 1 July 2020, is almost exclusively on adult learning and skills. Adult education has unfortunately taken a back seat. The need to foster entrepreneurial and transversal skills around the EU is the first task of the Agenda. At this point we should see the priorities set out in the European Skills Agenda on how adult learning should develop by 2030 in five priority areas:

- Governance of adult learning – with a strong focus on a whole-of-government national strategies and stakeholder partnerships
- Supply and take-up of lifelong learning opportunities with sustainable funding
- Accessibility and flexibility – to adapt to the needs of adult
- Quality, equity, inclusion and success in adult learning – emphasizing the professional development of adult learning staff, the mobility of both learners and staff, quality assurance and active support to disadvantage groups
- The green and digital transitions and related skills needs

Moreover, it is worth taking a look at the proceedings of the Council Resolution on a new European Agenda for adult learning 2021-2030 (13616/21) to briefly mention a few interesting points. The recognition for dialogue between all stakeholders to ensure there is a shared vision which incorporates both the social dimension of adult learning, as well as the employability, since the field is fragmented between sectors, policy areas and legal frameworks. It is highlighted the importance of adult learning in the quality of competitiveness, social inclusion, gender equality, creativity, innovation, entrepreneurship, and the quality of workers' engagement with their work. The creation of a learning culture in all workplaces is also one of the points. A positive sign is the acknowledgment to go beyond the development of work-related skills, to active citizenship, community learning, the personal, social, and professional development, the fulfilment, the health, the wellbeing, and the personal needs, talents and aspirations.

Also, the need to facilitate the participation of adults in education and learning, including those not inclined to attend learning activities and the 65+ age group. Finally, we should mention the provision for adult educators and trainers to raise their occupational status of, professionalization, capacity-building, mobility. This study does not support that the EU pays no efforts to support adult education. After and above all in the European Pillar of Social Rights which affirms the importance of education and training:

> *"Everyone has the right to quality and inclusive education, training and lifelong learning in order to maintain and acquire skills that enable them to participate fully in society and manage successfully transitions to the labour market".*

Following the European Pillar of Social Rights, the Commission proposed a strategy to help people develop skills in accordance with the needs of the labour market and announced a new initiative on micro-credentials in the European Skills Agenda (European Commission, 2021). Despite the reference to lifelong learning, micro-credentials attend to respond to the demand for short, tailored learning opportunities, which will certify the outcomes of small learning experiences. Despite the reference in lifelong learning, the main target of micro-credentials remains to ease job transitions following the COVID-19 crisis. EESC (2021) draws its attention to the quality standards and the need for clear information about the value of training leading to micro-credentials. The Committee also suggests "It is important not to overregulate micro-credentials in order to preserve their flexibility to the needs of the labour market". In my opinion, this initiative is very important for reskilling and upskilling, however, is remains to see which will be the financial burden that will be laid upon individuals. As for adult education, it is rather questionable whether this measure responds to its needs, and to what extend this could be applied as it refers to small, tailored learning experiences, which in some kind contradicts the practices of adult education, which are more institutionalized. In my opinion, the reference of the term lifelong learning in the above Council Recommendation serves only the need to highlight the importance of reskilling and upskilling throughout the life range.

I. The ideological norms of the composition of the EU Committee

Literature review proposes that political ideologies and norms can affect adult education. Examining the ideological norms of the composition of the EU Committee

has begun when the current composition has decided to include adult education in the Directorate General for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion. In a personal communication which I had with the Directorate in a letter I wrote asking for information whether adult education policies belong to this Directorate or to the Directorate Innovation, Research, Culture, Education and Youth, the answer I received -Ref. Ares (2021) 4025259-21/6/21- informed me on the following:

> *"I would like to confirm that adult education policies are part of the mandate of Commissioner Nicholas Schmit, who holds the portfolio on Jobs and Social Rights. Most recently, the European Skills Agenda and the European Pillar of Social Rights Action Plan cover adult education policy. In general, we refer to adult learning to cover the entire range of formal, non-formal and informal learning activities — both general and vocational, i.e. for life or for jobs — undertaken by adults after leaving initial education and training. The European Skills Agenda and European Education Area together span lifelong learning - learning from early childhood to old age. The European Education Area is the competence of Mariya Gabriel, Commissioner for Innovation, Research, Culture, Education and Youth. The European Education Area covers early childhood, school and higher education and as such includes adult participation in higher education, which is a growing priority in the context of lifelong learning. The focus of the European Skills Agenda, adopted on 1 July 2020, is almost exclusively on adult learning and skills. This responds to the need for adults to up- and reskill throughout their lives, in an environment in which lifelong learning is the norm. The Skills Agenda sets ambitious objectives for adult participation in learning. To achieve these, one of its most important aims is to empower adults to learn, by ensuring that they have the learning opportunities, financial resources, support and guidance they need to reach their potential".*

In my opinion, the ideological norms of the composition of the EU Committee, and its Directorates, accordingly, seem to affect the direction of adult education. The continuous changes in terminology are increasingly proving to be a constraint in the public discussion, in an ever-blurred context. Focusing on the above answer, we come across some new realities, presented right afterwards:

1. Adult education is incorporated in the Directorate of Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion, under the Commissioner Nicolas Schmit.

2. We are informed that adult learning covers the entire range of formal, non-formal and informal learning activities. But as we have seen in the previous paragraph the whole spectrum of formal-non-formal and informal learning used to be encompassed in lifelong learning (European Commission, 2001a).

3. There is a preference in using the term 'learning' instead of 'education'.

4. Skilling a re-skilling is the priority in the Agenda of the European Skills.

At first, I propose we look back and recall to whose Commissioner's mandate adult education policies used to be, based on the political party he/she belonged, and how this could affect the orientation of adult education.

- *The von der Leyen Commission (2019-present)*: Adult education policies are part of the mandate of the Commissioner Nicolas Schmit, Directorate of Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion.
- *The Juncker Commission (2014-2019)*: Adult education policies where within the portfolio of Commissioner Marriane Thyssen for Employment, Social Affair, Skills and Labour Mobility.
- *The Barroso Commission II (2010-2014)*: Adult education policies were part of the mandate of Commissioner Androula Vassiliou responsible for Education, Culture, Multilingualism and Youth
- *The Barroso Commission I (2004-2009)*: Adult education policies were part of the portfolio of Maroš Šefčovič responsible for Education, Training, Culture and Youth
- *The Prodi Commission (1999-2004)*: Adult education policies were within the portfolio of Viviane Reding responsible for Education and Culture.
- *The Santer Commission (1995-1999)*: Adult education policies were part of the portfolio of Edith Cresson responsible for Science, research and Development, Joint Research Centre, Human Resources, education, training and youth.

The above findings about whose mandate adult education policies are since 1995 suggest that the Commission has chosen to direct them towards the portfolio of jobs and employment instead of the previous compositions who have given the responsibility to the directorates responsible for education and culture (see until 2014). Eventually, since the Juncker Commission, and then the present of von der Leyen, adult education policies are incorporated in the directorate responsible for employment and jobs. This finding is consistent with the general assumption of this study: the adult education policies are shifted towards the market-oriented model. In my opinion, the vocational training policies should be in the directorates of jobs and employment and adult education in the portfolio of the directorate responsible for education, youth and culture. Namely, in the Juncker Commission it should been in the portfolio of Tibor Navracsics (Education, Culture, Youth and Sport), and in the present in the portfolio of Mariya Gabriel (General Directorate of Education, Youth, Sport and culture) instead of Nicolas Schmit's. Despite the fact that there is a complementarity within the two portfolios of Schmit and Gabriel, unfortunately, we have another proof that the social and cultural potentialities of adult education are weakened in EU. This results in a dissonance among the European voices who perceive education in the formal system to be a social good, and education outside the formal system -see adult education which is in non-formal- a consumption good.

We have earlier discussed about the gradual shift from the term 'education' to 'learning' which takes place the last decade. The term 'learning' has found preference to 'education' in the political discussion in EU. The EAEA, in its 2006 study 'Adult education trends and issues in Europe' confirms this shift towards learning. This obvious shift from education towards learning, as was the Commission's general approach, attracted many scholars' attention. The EU's orientation of lifelong learning towards economic growth, employability and industrial competitiveness has been widely criticized by the majority of scholars. Prokou (2011, 37) suggests that EU policies in lifelong learning are consistent with a clear shift from the emancipatory-utopian or social justice concept to a market-oriented model with a primary objective of making continuous training and learning of workers a requirement for employability. However, this is not a European phenomenon only. Ross-Gordon (1990, 4) has noticed a greater preoccupation in market-driven domains of adult education since the early nineties like human resource development and continuing professional education. In

the same vein, Jarvis (2004) admits that despite the rhetoric about learning enriching our humanity, our spirituality and the democratic society, these EU documents still put emphasis in employability, since the new welfare state will be built around it. We cannot disagree that education should not be seen as a self-constrained enterprise, but as a parameter in a complex context where adult education coexists and interacts with various realms of political, social and economic life (Sklias, Chatzimichailidou, 2016). In my opinion, this shift indicates three issues. The first concerns the need to up- and reskill of Europe's workforce. The investment in human capital formation through adult learning and skills are expected to benefit the wider economy. The second concerns the cost of adult education and the lack of finance. The EU wants to pass on the increased cost away from the State. This also reveals the third issue, which is the increasingly reduced government accountability, which also means a diminished role of the state - the role of the EU in our case- in the planning and implementing of adult education. It turns out there is an overall under-representation of investment in adult education and a lack of a coherent education strategy. Despite what has been said so far, we should agree on the principle that adult education is a political matter by virtue, thus this requires the EU to reassert priorities for adult education, reviving its role not as a consumption good but rather as a social investment.

Market

Financing adult education is highly discussed the last decade, mainly because of the diminishing financial contribution of the state and consequently the growing tendency to seek for co-financial support from the private sector. We should recall Desjardin's words that co-financing "may be a convenient way to shift responsibilities from the public domain to the private sector and attempt to compensate for a lack of commitment to its public responsibilities for investing in adult education" (Desjardins, 2013). Co-financial support concerns also the individuals, as we discussed in precious paragraphs, but this is not included in this discussion. In this paragraph we will focus the private co-financing on adult education. The efforts to increase the contribution from the private sector in adult education and continuing learning is further pursued by the European Commission given the demands of the knowledge society and the constraints of the public budgets, whereas public authorities must preserve their roles (European Commission, 2003). The pursuit of effective economic policy coordination creates a new European Political Economy according to Sklias, Roukanas, and Maris (2012).

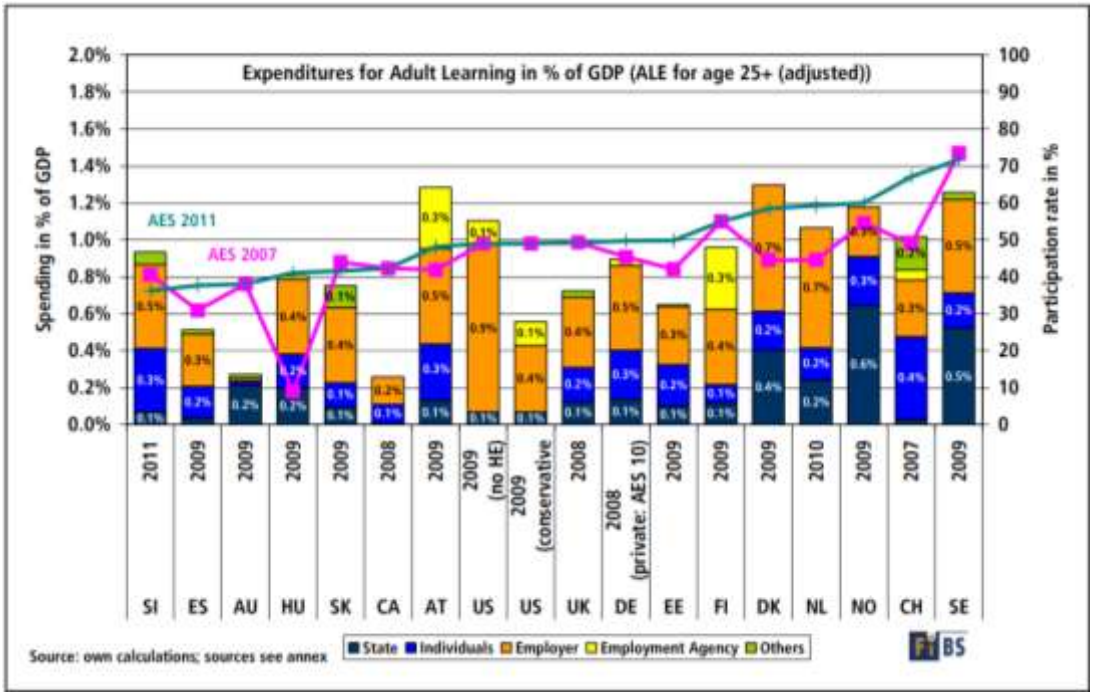
The Financing Adult Learning Project - FinALE (2018) proposes several stakeholders from the private sector who have interest and involve in financing of adult education, like private providers (e.g. language/ICT learning centres, distance learning centres), companies, consultancies, multi-national companies (e.g. Google, Microsoft), or private funds/foundations (e.g. Educapital). Despite the importance of these funding sources, this study does not intent to present each of these sources and their distinct contribution, but the total share of private funding sources. The Forschungsinstitut für Bildungs und Sozialökonomie and the Deutsches Institut für Erwachsenenbildung (2013) have published a study which proposes the contribution of the employers in education and training, compared to this of the state and the individuals. These evidence indicate three issues: firstly, the given share of private fundings and also the origin of these fundings. This also is an answer to those who support that adult education does not apply to the realities of the labour-market. Secondly, the obtained data provide some evidence on which study fields private funds are interested in investing. The third issue is exploring in what degree these funding can affect the orientation of an educational program for adults i.e. whether they invest in job-related education courses or courses with a general interest. One important notice of this study is that the focus is the contribution of companies to adult education and training in general and not in their company's needs.

Evidence shows that most of these educational programs are job-related, to the detriment of adult education. Chart 4.9 presents the expenditures for adult learning in % of GDP for twelve of the EU-27 member-states. Three of these countries spend more than 1.2% of GDP in adult learning (Austria, Denmark and Sweden). In these countries spending volumes seem to be linked to participation rates according to AES 2011 which is more than 50%. This also could suggest that to achieve a participation of 60% in adult learning, the minimum of spending level should be this of 1,2% of GDP. The lowest expenditure in adult learning among these members is found in Spain 0.5% of GDP. The other member-states allocate between 0.6% and less than 1.2% of GDP (Slovenia, Estonia, Hungary, Slovakia, Germany, Finland, Norway, and Netherlands). Compared to non-EU members who spend even less, like Australia which is almost 0.3% of GDP, Canada more than 0.2%, and USA less than 0.6% (although the source notes that these number may be due to under responding). Another important finding is the source of funding. In Norway, the state is the highest financier of adult learning with 0.6% of

GDP, then comes Sweden with 0.5%, and Denmark with 0.4% of GDP (Chart 4.9). In countries like Slovenia, Slovakia, Austria, Germany, Estonia, and Finland the state contributes only 0.1% of GDP. In most European countries the employer's share is between 0.3% and 0.5% of GDP.

Chart 4.9

Expenditures for Adult Learning in % of GDP – Adjusted spending for adult learning (25+, excl. higher education) in % of GDP



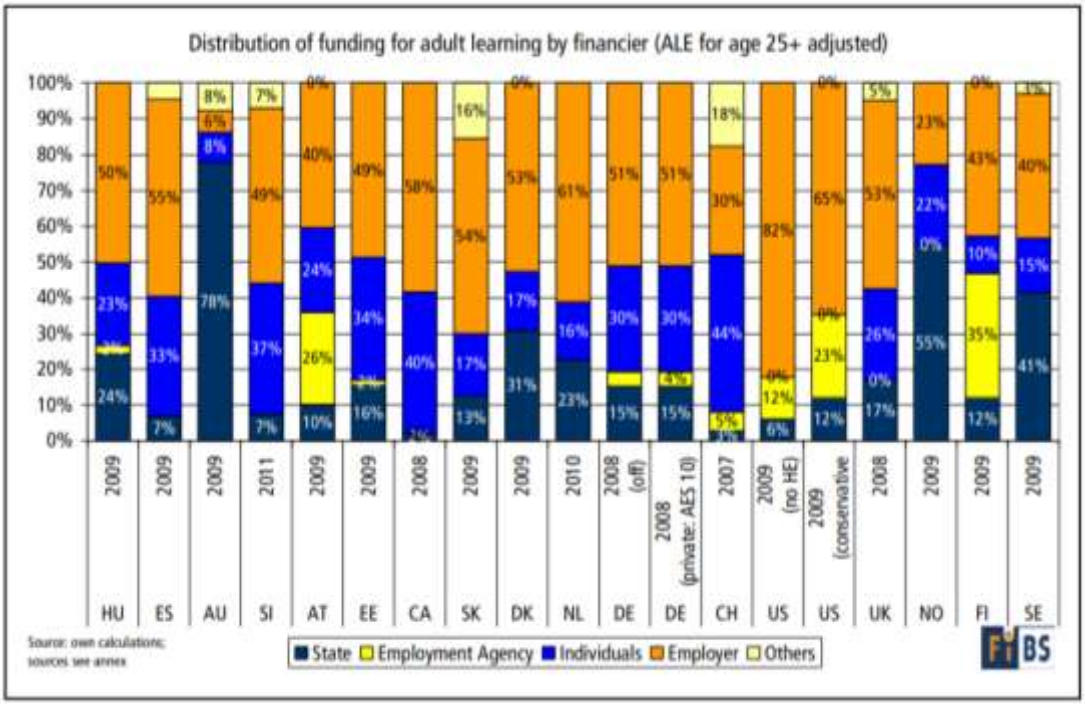
Source: Forschungsinstitut für Bildungs- und Sozialökonomie and Deutsches Institut für Erwachsenenbildung, 2013

Reviewing more explicitly the distribution of funding among state, individuals, employment agency, employers, or others, a few interesting findings arise. In almost all the countries, the employer bears the brunt of the funding, for more than half of the total spending. In EU members, in Netherlands the employer contributes with 61%, which is the highest percentage, while the lowest goes to Norway with 23% (Chart 4.10). The state, in which maybe are also included funds from ESF according to the study (ESF also can be counted in some countries as 'other'), contributes with 55% in

Norway, the highest percentage, while the lowest goes to Slovenia with 7%. Individuals contribute less to funding for adult learning than it would be expected, with Slovenia 37% to be the highest percentage in EU, and the lowest with 10% in Finland.

Chart 4.10

Distribution of funding in adult learning between stakeholders (aged 25+ adjusted) (ranked according to AES 2007 participation rate)



Source: Forschungsinstitut für Bildungs- und Sozialökonomie and Deutsches Institut für Erwachsenenbildung, 2013

We could therefore assume that the source of funding of adult learning could be a main determinant of its orientation. Thus, since the employer is the main financier, it is expected these adult learning programs to be job-oriented more than general. National and/or regional funding is crucial for the sustainability of adult education also. EU funding through Erasmus+ and the ESF are the financial tools for non-formal adult education. Erasmus+ is the EU's program to support education, training, youth and

sport in Europe. It has an estimated budget of €26.2 billion, nearly double the funding compared to its predecessor programme (2014-2020).

The role of civil society in EU

Speaking of the composition, role and mandate of the civil society organizations in EU, the main question should be raised about the level of influence they could have in determining adult education policy making. Of course, the more the interaction the better. This is clearly a difficult undertaking to explore all organizations representing civil society in EU, who have a clear interest in adult education, but it will certainly provide useful information. Notwithstanding, the important role stakeholders from government, and non-government organizations (e.g. UNESCO, OECD, EAEA, Lifelong Learning Platform etc) that they have played in shaping policies in EU, this study restricts its self only in the role of European Economic and Social Committee (EESC), which represents civil society organizations from the Member States.

The concept 'civil society' is used very often in public speaking, although without clear indications of its content. However, it is true that it reflects political reality. The White Paper on European Governance (European Commission, 2001b) reminds that the way EU policy is prepared and done must be more open and easier to understand. Thus, there needs to be a stronger interaction with regional and local governments and civil society. Civil society organizations play a vital role in giving voice to the concerns of the citizens. Such civil society organizations in EU, according to the White Paper, include the following:

- Social partners (trade unions and employers' groups)
- Churches and religious communities.
- Non-governmental organizations
- Grassroots organizations (eg. Youth and family groupings)

Article 15 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union recognizes civil society's role in the EU's good governance (Treaty of the Functioning of the European Union, 2012). Article 11 of the Treaty on European Union stresses the need for the institutions of EU to have an open, transparent, and regular dialogue with civil society organizations (Treaty of the European Union, 2008). The interpretation of modern civil

society is based on four principles according to EESC Opinion 1999/C 329/10 (Official Journal of the European Communities, 1999):

- Civil society is typified by more or less formalized institutions, which have many functions (not just economic, but religious, cultural, social, etc.) and are crucial to social integration.
- Individuals are free to choose whether to belong to civil society institutions.
- Although civil society is independent of the state, its framework is the rule of law.
- Civil society organizations play the role as 'intermediaries' between individual and the state. Their mediatory role is important for the democratic process.
- Civil society introduces the dimension of subsidiarity, which opens up the possibility of establishing independent –but recognized by the state- levels of authority.

The EESC Opinion 1999/C 329/10 stresses the importance of moving beyond the typical dual model of former political and economic theories, which revolved around the two poles of 'state' and 'market', to include relationships that reflect social and human reality. Following the three institutional arrangements -state, market and civil society- EESC recognizes the role of civil society as the third component in the state system. Compared to the 'statist society' model, which perceives the citizen as first and foremost as a citizen of the state, and the 'market society' model on the other side, which sees the citizen as a marker player, citizen actually mediates between the two. As a member of civil society, citizen embodies all three aspects (homo politicus, homo economicus and homo civicus) (Official Journal of the European Communities, 1999). This study does not intent to involve in the wider discussion about the contribution of the EESC in its 50 years and its role in the EU's institutional framework. Instead, my efforts focused only on exploring its contribution in policy making only with regards to issues that have to do with adult education. The EESC was established with the Treaty of Rome of 1957 and in its mission statement "EESC contributes to strengthening the democratic legitimacy and effectiveness of the EU by enabling civil society organizations from the Member States to express their views at European level" (EESC, 2022). It counts 329 members from the 27 EU Member-states. Members are divided into three groups of equal number, employers, employees, and a third group of various

other changing interests. Several documents and public opinions expressed by the organization have been explored in the field of adult education. The findings are presented just below. EESC has set out its view on the role of adult education in EU in several opinions since 2008.

In the opinion SOC/291 of 13 March 2008 (EESC, 2008) of Commission Communication "*It is always a good time to learn*" (2007), EESC expressed its regret that no consideration has been given to those supraregional and European residential adult education centers which practice specific types of adult teaching and learning. Moreover, EESC urged that work is needed on the specific methods of adult education and their dissemination. It has also asked to get involved in developments of the international dimensions of adult learning. This last call raises concerns according to my opinion, as it opposes to the main purpose of the EESC to be a consultative body of the EU. EESC has welcome the New Skills Agenda with the SOC/546, 22.2.2017 (EESC, 2017a). It however regrets the absence of a specific action relating to non-formal information. It also cannot accept the lack of new financing to enforce the New Skills Agenda and presses for further solutions to increase the funding, such as public and private investments. On the occasion of the European Pillar of Social Rights the EESC with the SOC/542, 25.1.2017 (EESC, 2017b) acknowledges that the European economic and social model should be based on the importance of increasing the employment, productivity and social progress. The economic achievement and the social progress should be in the centre of the EU policies. As part of the efforts for social progress, EESC stresses the opportunity to reaffirm our shared commitment to the European social model. In the opinion, n SOC/629, 24.9.2019 (EESC, 2019a) the Committee has welcomed the European Skills Agenda, while it commented on a few issues about adult education. Firstly, on the funding issue, the EESC called on the Member-states' attention on this issue for those adults in need to facilitate their access in quality and inclusive adult education and training. Secondly, it raised its concerns on the lack of coordination in adult education at both Member-states and European level. Despite the political initiatives, adult education needs effective social dialogue with social partners and consultation with civil society. With the opinion SOC/622, 25.9.2019 (EESC, 2019b) the Committee recognizes that non-formal education is key to fostering inclusive education systems, while it stresses the need of assessing and validating the outcomes of non-formal education. The importance to develop social

competences throughout adult education has been pointed out by EESC in the opinion SOC/663, 27.4.2021 (EESC, 2021). These social competences include social sensitivity, empathy, intercultural dialogue, citizenship skills, and entrepreneurship, including social entrepreneurship.

Following the above indicative number of EESC's opinions we can summarize its major concern in promoting adult education for all, in affordable ways able to fight discriminations. The need to promote social progress and the European social model is stressed in many opinions of the Committee, including issues of the labour market. EESC always recommends the need to promote social dialogue between stakeholders in educational issues. The recognition that non-formal education is key to fostering inclusive education systems, along with assessing and validating its outcomes is another important finding. The need on the specific methods of adult education and their dissemination is important part of the promotion of non-formal education, while a concrete agenda on adult education policies with provisions for public and private investments is further developed by EESC.

4.4 The analytical framework through an example

I will present an example which comes from the French cuisine and the life of its most famous representative, the Chef Auguste Escoffier, whose legacy will always remain as the person who introduced *haute cuisine* to the universe. The main task of this example is to introduce my thoughts on how adult education works within the framework of political economy, how it can enforce economic development -*euphoria*- and which is the role that constructivism plays in this process, based on the literature presented in the previous chapters. In this example are engaged the approach of constructivism and the transformative learning theory. Constructivism is one of the three paradigmatic underpinnings of transformative learning theory, while the other two are the humanism and the social theory (Gambrell, 2016). The source of information about Escoffier's life comes from the documentary "Auguste Escoffier: The birth of haute cuisine". Born in 1846, Escoffier dreamed of that day he would be known as *the king of chefs and chef of kings*. And he did! Having spent his whole life in famous kitchens, like the Savoy and Ritz-Carlton, Escoffier has left a huge legacy to his students, and the following generations of chefs as a teacher, a pattern for them, an inspirer, and as this study proposes the greatest constructivist in gastronomy. He has

undoubtedly built a new world. But how did Escoffier meant to build this new world? We should imagine Escoffier to be a subsystem as an individual. We will use both the terms subsystem and individual to depict him. Our focus will remain on how he managed to build a new world both for the chefs and the employees of a restaurant, and also the customers around the world, through his passion for continuous learning and experimenting. Actually, it is not a coincidence that he is often called as "a chef scientist". We will explore both his internal and external environments, the mental processes he had undergone, and then his actions. The three institutions of political economy -state, market, civil society- will be used to analyze his external environment, while the approach of constructivism will offer useful information on his concepts and mental operations, which guided his social activity.

From the age of 13 and for the next 6 years, Escoffier worked in his uncle's restaurant as an assistant, forced by his father, despite his desire to become an artist. In this environment neither personal exploration nor human interaction was encouraged. Knowledge -on the basics of the art of cooking- was simply transferred to him by his uncle in an instrumental and mechanistic way. Constructivism is still absent. At the age of 19, Escoffier decides to move to Paris and joins the most famous kitchen in the city as an assistant. The subsystem (Escoffier) consists of a background of suppositions and assumptions, a complex of concepts, experiences, ideas, established patterns, and norms. There is a motive behind his decision. Escoffier comes to Paris to become an *artist chef*. This is when constructivism begins to emerge. Fourez (1998, 143) proposes that constructivism comes up with the idea that people are confronted with the necessity of justifying their actions, and these orders of justification "convey expressions of the common good on which today's society functions". This is not a hidden motive, but an impulse. Behavior is motivated, according to Hurd (2008, 311). Constructivism seeks to explain "its development into communal cooperation in the future" (ibid.). In the new working place, Escoffier comes across a variety of reflections, practices, and questions, limited by the state of the kitchens of the time: miserable working conditions, chefs' life expectancy at 45, increased death rates due to coal fumes, and alcoholism, the scourge of chefs. He strives to coordinate his behavior with the new reality. Constructivists believe that an external stimulus causes internal mental processing resulting in an external response, as Dewey described it (Garrison, 1998, 45). The experiences of all these years Escoffier had been working as an assistant, caused an internal mental process which raised an external response: to elevate the *art* of cooking,

and the role of chefs as artists, rather than simply an act of cooking. This motivation reveals a potential for social action, not only the revelation of hidden motives forced by personal ambitions, as constructivists would say. Escoffier's passion for studying and learning had never ceased. It was continuous and developmental. Another important issue is the interaction between Escoffier and his colleagues, which is crucial at this moment. He selects and integrates new information. This knowledge catalyzed his search for new patterns while obscuring other memories of sad evidence in the kitchens. Constructivism supports that the interaction of an individual with the other individuals generates new potentialities for transformation. This interaction between individuals who act purposely on the basis of their personal ideas, beliefs, judgements, and interpretations will result in social action according to Adler (1997, 325). This is one of the foundation stones of constructivism. As we can understand this process is not defined in terms of time, it is continuous, and its duration depends on when the transformation process will begin.

Moving on to Escoffier's external environment, we will explore the greatest historical facts that take place in these days in terms of political economy, focusing on the three institutions, namely the State, the market, and the civil society, to see how these have affected Escoffier and his process of constructivism towards social action. Escoffier had just been hired as a chef. His external environment is also in a process of reconstruction. In terms of the *State,* it is the time Napoleon III had seized power by force and proposed to Baron Haussmann to carry out a massive urban renewal program for Paris. At the same period, Napoleon was dreaming of a great Paris, he had started his plans to build France's colonial empire. Both Aristocracy and the intellectuals have found their most suitable place to live: Paris. In terms of the *market,* France was at the forefront of the industrial revolution. This was also a revolutionary moment in culinary history too. There laid an opportunity which generated some of the most famous restaurants of all times in Paris. In terms of the *civil society*, we should see intellectuals and the Aristocracy who are looking for elegant new meeting points in Paris, commonly identified as places where they could dine and have fun. This is the best environment for the 27 years old Escoffier, who is open to new potentialities. His external environment will gradually create new expectations for further construction. Escoffier reacts closely with his external environment. He becomes a friend of many intellectuals and members of Aristocracy. Having noticed the increased role of women in the market,

he understands that to satisfy them is half his success. Thus, he invests in the decoration of the restaurants, the lighting and the elegance. Being a chef now he has, for the first time, the opportunity to deconstruct aspects of widely held beliefs in a reflective way and to construct new realities. As constructivists would also say, Escoffier was inspired by the dream of having better conditions for all the chefs and proceeded to a personal exploration in order to solve his real problems, thus, to meet his real expectations of improving the conditions for a broader recognition of the French kitchen and the promotion of the artistic aspect of his profession. Constructivists would say that the process of knowledge, or cognitive activity, is under construction. Escoffier was reflecting upon his own experiences and using them to negotiate their meanings. For Larochelle and Bednarz (1998, 16) knowledge is "inevitably experiential". While enjoying recognition, Escoffier never stops studying and learning. His reputation soon reaches a peak, he becomes the most renowned chef, and his culinary writings are translated in many languages. However, Escoffier wanted his recipes to be constantly subjected to empirical testing, and this introduced his scientific status. Constructivists would agree that when an individual gains awareness of the constructed knowledge, and he/she is able to recognize the collective, consensual aspects involved in its production, he/she also seeks for the basic intellectual tools which would enable him/her to develop a more emancipative and critical relationship to knowledge (Désautels, 1998, 136). Based on his experience from the army, Escoffier proceeds with introducing the hierarchical *brigade de cuisine* which is still standard for many restaurants around the world. He also contributes to the improvement of the working conditions for the staff. In 1910 he shared his vision for a new generation of educated and skilled chefs with a strong work ethic and status quo in the society and he joined a committee of concerned academics and hospitality representatives to develop the School of Hospitality and Culinary Arts in the United Kingdom. Constructivists would see that the social structures had changed because of an individual's actions who had changed his own system of expectations. His role as a teacher couldn't be less impressive. He leads to a team of people whom he intended not to transfer his knowledge, but his passion for this profession, he wanted them to be free to reach their own peaks as chefs. He promoted dialogue and interaction among his students, he listened carefully to every thought, while he grasped every stimulus for educational action. In 1928 Escoffier established the World Association of Chefs' Societies and became his first president. Escoffier has now become their ambassador, introducing his

students to Europe and the USA. A whole new world was built. Until his late seventies, Escoffier never ceased looking for new potentialities for transformation. Who else could be a better ambassador for constructivism not only in gastronomy but also in political economy?

The central core in transformative learning theory is the argument that adult experiences are a catalyst that causes them to question their worldview, the disorienting dilemma, which leads to a fundamental change in the way that they view the world. This disorienting dilemma – a life experience that cannot be accommodated by one's present worldview - is the first step of a ten-step learning process through which the learner critically examines and reflects on the assumptions and beliefs, which guiding meaning making in the past but are no longer adequate, towards exploring new ways of dealing with the dilemma. This process often happens in conjunction with other people who face a similar crisis, and this dialogue motivates learner to test out new assumptions, understanding and perspectives in order to formulate a new or transformed perspectives that are more inclusive and accommodating than the previous one (Merriam, 2005, 45). In effect, according to Mezirow as learners become more critically reflective, through the critically examined of their cultural and physiological assumptions which were uncritically assimilated in childhood, they may discover that private problems become seen as public issues, which accordingly leads to a desire to take action towards changing institutions that support the old ways of thinking (Mezirow, 1989, 196). Mezirow's theory is based on a tri-level concept of critical reflection on experience. This process of vigorous critical reflection transforms our "meaning perspectives" to become more "inclusive, differentiating, permeable, critical reflective, and integrated of experience" (Fenwick, Tennant, 2004, 62). Identifying and challenging people's assumptions through critical reflection aims at fostering radical social change, in democratic and sometimes revolutionary directions (Nesbit, et al., 2004, 88). The way an adult develops thinking skills, including critical reflection, through learning and the transformations in group settings are key factors in exploring the contribution of adult education to sustainable development. Similarly, Edward Taylor (2007, 173) explains:

> *"Transformative learning offers a theory of learning that is uniquely adult, abstract and idealized, grounded in the nature of human communication. It is a theory that is partly developmental, but even more it is about where learning is understood as the process of using a prior interpretation to construe a new or*

revised interpretation of the meaning of one's experience in order to guide future action".

[Taylor, 2007]

Kitchenham (2012, 1599) supported the constructivist view in Mezirow's theory as "meaning exists within ourselves rather than in external forms such as books and that personal meaning that we attribute to our experience are acquired and validated through human interaction and communication". This study proposes that the external environment incorporates ingredients from the three arrangements and offers the possibilities for new expectations. In this way, the individual reacts closely with his external environment, and through this interaction he/she reflects with the stimuli he/she receives and therefore interprets and assesses his/her own experiences in a critical way. This process aims at negotiating their meanings which eventually stimulates the processes of reconstruction and transformation. All the various dynamics involved help individuals transform or constitute new understandings and therefore they become able to plan future action to change their lives. The interaction and communication with other people are very important at this stage. Mezirow's transformative learning also comments on the crucial role of dialogue to consensually validate one's particular interpretation, as people may coordinate their actions in pursuing their perspective aims. Critical thinking refers to all those intellectual skills essential for citizens to exercise their rights and discharge their responsibilities, namely the citizenship. In this perspective, critical thinking is also linked to citizenship. This development, which is not restricted in a specific time range, can be better explained through the approach of constructivism. The social framework, which is created thanks to political economy, is the reason that makes social actions possible. Each individual is involved in the betterment of his/her life, and we can assume that he/she also is involved in the societal affairs. The society involvement could be viewed in terms of demanding greater social justice for all, or better distribution of resources, or better conditions of life, or better health benefits, which respects human rights and fundamental freedoms, such as security, self-esteem, democracy, equality, wellbeing, and access to basic infrastructure for all citizens. Also, the societal involvement could be in terms of voluntary work, or in several cultural engagements and many more. All these will accordingly introduce a rise in economic development, thus euphoria.

4.5 The European views of economic development

It is clear so far that the terminology issue is far from easy. Our review of the notion of economic development in the EU documents begins from the EU's terminology database, IATE (Interactive Terminology for Europe) and then continues with the term as depicted in several policy papers. Unfortunately, this procedure was not at all enlightening, as IATE proposes many definitions some of them originating from other databases like Wikipedia and Investopedia, plus certain comments. The policy documents reveal a similar picture of disorientation. The following paragraphs present the findings, including the notions of sustainable development and sustainable economic development as both of them are very close to economic development. Economic development appears in IATE with the following definitions:

- "Sustained, concerted actions of policy makers and communities that promote the standard of living and economic health of a specific area. Economic development can also be referred to as quantitative and qualitative changes in the economy. Such actions can involve multiple areas including development of human capital, critical infrastructure, regional competitiveness, environmental sustainability, social inclusion, health, literacy, and other initiatives. Economic development differs from economic growth" (IATE ID: 2144588).
- "The growth of the standard of living of the inhabitants of an area. Not to be confused with the process of taking actions to promote the standard of living" (IATE ID: 3576845)

Reviewing now the policy papers, the first reference for the term economic development was in the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community on 18 April 1951. Some supporting evidence are presented right afterwards.

> *"Europe can be built only through practical achievements which will first of all create real solidarity, and through the establishment of common bases for economic development".*
>
> [Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, 1951]

The Treaty of Rome (1957), which brought about the creation of the European Economic Community (EEC), states that the Community intends to pursue the efforts to promote economic and social development (Article 3). In the Article 42 the Council may, in particular, authorize the granting of aid within the framework of economic development programmes. The Article 92 paragraph 3 clarifies that state aid may be compatible with the common market when it indents to promote economic development of the regions in which the standard of living is abnormally low or in the case of job loss. In the Article 131 the Treaty provides for the association of the Community with non-European countries in order to promote economic and social development. The Single European Act (1986) set the objective of establishing a single market by the 31st of December 1992. In the Act the term economic development now becomes more specific. As provided for in Article 42 the Council may, in particular, authorize the granting of aid within the framework of economic development programmes. However, the notion is provided in the broader meaning. The consolidated version of 1992, as modified by Maastricht Treaty removed the word "economic" from the official title of the Treaty of Rome but the Article 42 has remained with provisions for aid for economic development programmes. The Article 103 provides for the Council to monitor economic developments in each of the Member States to ensure closer coordination of economic policies and sustained convergence of the economic performances of the Member States. The consolidated version of 197, as modified by the Treaty of Amsterdam kept the Article 42 –now renumbered as Article 36-, also Article 103 –now renumbered as 99-. Finally, the consolidated version of 2002, as modified by the Nice Treaty kept the 42 –now renumbered as Article 36-, also the provisions of the Article 99. So far, the term 'economic development' is used in policy papers in a broad sense to denote a desirable state the Member States make efforts to achieve of. Ever since 1986 the European Commission has launched some programs to support initiatives and projects that would strengthen the relationship between vocational training and economic development. Starting from July 1986, with the Council Decision 86/365/EEC, the Comett program was launched for the period 1986-1989, aiming at strengthening and stimulating cooperation between universities and enterprises in training. Among the objectives of the program was to improve the supply of training at local, regional and national level which would accordingly work towards a balanced economic development of the Community. A second phase of the program, Comett II for the period 1990-1994 with the Council Decision 89/27/EEC has followed.

The Decision 88/C184/03 has funded the network Iris for a five-year period 1988-1993 of demonstration projects of vocational training for women, which extended for another four years 1994-1998. The Petra program 1988-1991 and 1992-1994 for supported young people to receive vocational training. In 1990 the action program Eurotecnet established with the Decision 89/657/EEC for a five-year period, aiming at promoting technological innovation in the field of vocational training. The action program Force (1991-1994) was designed to for the development of continuing vocational training. In addition to all these programs, the Erasmus program (87/327/EEC) was introduced in order to increase the mobility of university students and to promote greater cooperation between universities and the Lingua (89/489/EEC) to promote foreign language competence. These two programs also aimed, along the same lines, in creating the basis upon which intensified cooperation in the economic and social sectors could be developed. The other action programs, Leonardo Da Vinci (94/819/EC) for a five-year period 1995-1999 and Socrates (819/95/EC) for the period from 1995 to 1999 brought some change. The first program goes beyond the notion of vocational training to a broader spectrum which encompasses initial vocational training, continuing vocational training and lifelong learning. Adult education comes forward only with the Socrates program in its third chapter, where provision for the promotion of adult education courses in all areas (general, cultural and social) is made in order to contribute to the understanding of political, economic and administrative affairs. In 1997, two years after the introduction of the Socrates program, the Commission advised on the results achieved so far with the Report COM (97)99. According to the Report the program has generated a significantly increased volume of European Cooperation in the field of adult education, among school education and open and distance learning. In particular to applications to support new projects in the fields of in-service teacher training, adult education and open and distance learning, have risen by between 78% and 112% compared with the previous year.

The success of Leonardo da Vinci and Socrates led to the launch of new action programs for the period 2000-2006. Grundtvig is one of the eight actions of the second phase of Socrates program, which seeks to enhance the quality, European dimension, availability and accessibility of lifelong learning through adult education. In an interim evaluation report COM (2004) 153, 8.3.2004 the Commission underlines the success of Grundtvig “of all the actions within the Socrates programme, Grundtvig is the one

which has been most innovative vis-à-vis Socrates 1" and "the Grundtvig action can be judged to be largely successful". With the Decision No 1720/2006/EC of the European Parliament and of The Council on 15 November 2006 Grundtvig enters to a second phase through the establishment of the Lifelong Learning Program. As was discussed earlier in this study, the Lifelong Learning Program had clear provisions for the role of adult education through the Grundtvig program towards strengthening economic and sustainable development. The Decision No 1720/2006/EC denotes that adult education refers to all forms of non-vocational adult learning, whether of a formal, non-formal or informal nature (Decision No 1720/2006/EC). This is actually the decision that established the Lifelong learning programme which denotes that lifelong learning contributes to sustainable economic development and social cohesion. European Commission's Report "Digital Transformation Monitor: The need to transform local population into digital talent" (European Commission, 2017) urges the growth of digital talent as a key to the economic development of cities and regions. The term is only used in the title. In the same Report the digital revolution is also presented as a key for economic growth, and it also offers an insight in statistics that support this idea. It is fairly safe to say that economic development in this Report is identified to economic growth. In the Report "Global Trends to 2035: Economy and Society" (European Parliamentary Research Service, 2018) which analyzes current and future trends in the fields of economics and society, the term economic development is used again to express GDP per capita and its relationship to irregular migration. This study endorses two definitions. The first one from IATE presented above (IATE ID: 2144588), which highlights the actions to promote the standard of living and economic health of a specific area, which clearly differs from economic growth. The second is that referred in the 1991 World Development Report of the World Bank, according to which economic development is a sustainable increase in living standards that encompass material consumption, progress in education, health and nutrition, the protection of the environment, equality of opportunity, political freedoms, and civil liberties.

So far, it has proven very difficult to find a consensus between the stakeholders in the EU about the term economic development, without diminishing the EU's effort. Of course, there are critical voices like this of Hettne, who said about the European model of development "it was violent not only in certain crucial historical phases but remains inherently unstable in the way it molds the international structure of trade" (Hettne,

1990). The presentation of both the terms “sustainable development” and “sustainable economic development” will further facilitate our understanding. Sustainable development appears in IATE data base with the definition derived from the World Commission on Environment and Development “Our Common Future”:

- “[Sustainable development is] development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (IATE ID: 755774).

We have so far discussed how close the two notions sustainable and economic development are. From another point of view, presented in the 2005 World Summit Outcome, endorsed by the General Assembly UN Resolution 60/1 “The three pillars of sustainable development are economic development, social development and environmental protection” (UN General Assembly Resolutions, 2005). This study has so far highlighted the division of the two terms, without denying their close dependence. Focusing on the word sustainability, it was introduced at the beginning of the 18th century in German forestry circles about sustainable harvests “it is but sensible to cut down more wood in the forest than grows back” and it rebranded as sustainable development in the «Brundtland Report» in 1987 “Humanity has the ability to make development sustainable to ensure that it meets the “needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Sabau, 2020). The «Brundtland Report», came to be known as such by the Commission’s chairwoman, Gro Harlem Brundland, is a report by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) of 1987 under the title «Our Common Future» (UNITED NATIONS, 1987), which developed guiding principles for sustainable development.

> *“The concept of sustainable development provides a framework for the integration of environment policies and development strategies - the term 'development' being used here in its broadest sense. The word is often taken to refer to the processes of economic and social change in the Third World. But the integration of environment and development is required in all countries, rich and poor. The pursuit of sustainable development requires changes in the domestic and international policies of every nation”.*
>
> [UNITED NATIONS, 1987]

The idea of integrating adult education dates back to 1950s. UNESCO has undoubtedly led the way in putting the focus on this issue since the times of "Télé-Clubs", when the Organization works on promoting adult education for community development. Both adult education and lifelong learning have always been part of the United Nation's agenda for sustainable development. Back to 1977, the Declaration and Recommendations Intergovernmental Conference on Environmental Education (1977), held in Tbilisi, USSR, organized by UNESCO and UNEP, has provided fundamental proposals on the role of adult education in promoting environmental education. The crucial role of education in sustainable development becomes clearer in the Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development Our Common Future (1987), which is considered as the first widely used definition of sustainable development, as cited below:

> *Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.*
>
> [Our Common Future, 1987]

In 1992 during the United Nations Conference on Environment & Development held in Rio de Janeiro, known as Agenda 21 (1992), educational authorities are endorsed to promote adult education programs for continuing education in environment and development. The corporate sector is also encouraged to include sustainable development in their educational programs. In the Agenda it is recognized that education, training and public awareness are critical tools for the transition to sustainable development. The Fifth International Conference on Adult Education, held by UNESCO in Hamburg, Germany in 1997 provided vulnerable evidence on the correlation between adult education and sustainable development. The role of adult education presented in the most eloquent and flourish way for both the personal development, the societal progress, economic and sustainable development, as cited below:

> *"Adult education thus becomes more than a right; it is a key to the twenty-first century. It is both a consequence of active citizenship and a condition for full participation in society. It is a powerful concept for fostering ecologically sustainable development, for promoting democracy, justice, gender equity, and scientific, social and economic development, and for building a world in which*

violent conflict is replaced by dialogue and a culture of peace based on justice. Adult learning can shape identity and give meaning to life. Learning throughout life implies a rethinking of content to reflect such factors as age, gender equality, disability, language, culture and economic disparities".

[The Hamburg Declaration on Adult Learning, 1997]

Later in 2000, the Dakar Framework for Action on Education for All (2000) has welcomed adult education commitments made by international community not only for the education for adults in order to meet their basic learning needs, to the deduction of disparities between male/female and urban/rural literacy rates. Education, in general, is considered as a fundamental human right and a key to sustainable development. The Millennium Summit in 2000 led to the elaboration of eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to reduce extreme poverty and set out a series of eight time-bound targets with a deadline of 2015. The eight MDGs are presented below:

- Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
- Achieve universal primary education
- Promote gender equality and empower women
- Reduce child mortality
- Improve maternal health
- Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
- Ensure environmental sustainability
- Develop a global partnership for development

In 2002, the General Assembly of United Nations has adopted its resolution 56/116 entitled "United Nations Literacy Decade: education for all" (UNLD) (UNESCO, 2002). In the preamble of the resolution 56/116 the General Assembly stresses the importance of literacy to the acquisition, by every child, youth and adult of the essential life skills that enable them to address the challenges they can face in life. Later in 2002 the World Summit on Sustainable Development adopted the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation (JPOI) which addressed the need to provide all community members with a wide range of formal and non-formal continuing educational opportunities. It also supports the creation and strengthening of networks for science and education for sustainable development, at all levels, with the aim of sharing knowledge, experience

and best practices and building scientific capacities, especially in developing countries. JPOI had also addressed the need for sustainable development to be integrated into education systems at all levels of education in order to promote education as a key agent for change (paragraph 121). The United Nation's General Assembly has adopted in 2002 Resolution 57/254 which put in place a United Nation's Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (DESD) (UNESCO, 2005). The overall objective of the DESD is to integrate values, principles and practices of sustainable development in all aspects of education and training.

> *"The basic vision of the DESD is a world where everyone has the opportunity to benefit from education and learn the values, behavior and lifestyles required for a sustainable future and for positive societal transformation".*
>
> [UNESCO, 2005]

UNESCO was requested to lead the Decade and develop a draft International Implementation Scheme (IIS) for the decade spanning from 2005-2014. The IIS focuses primarily on what nations have committed to achieve through the DESD and under UNESCO's leadership. Adult education is not included in the scope of Resolution 57/254, but adult learning programs. Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) is promoted by UNESCO within the IIS. "ESD prepares people of all walks of life to plan for, cope with, and find solutions for issues that threaten the sustainability of our planet" (UNESCO, 2005). The Muscat Agreement adopted in 2014 acknowledged as the overarching goal of the post-2015 education agenda "Ensure equitable and inclusive quality education and lifelong learning for all by 2030". This goal was further translated into the following global targets, to be reached by 2030, with regards to adults:

- All youth and at least x% of adults reach a proficiency level in literacy and numeracy sufficient to fully participate in society, with particular attention to girls and women and the most marginalized.
- At least x% of youth and y% of adults have the knowledge and skills for decent work and life through technical and vocational, upper secondary and tertiary education and training, with particular attention to gender equality and the most marginalized.

- All learners acquire knowledge, skills, values and attitudes to establish sustainable and peaceful societies, including through global citizenship education and education for sustainable development.

The UNESE Strategy for Education for Sustainable Development (UNESE, 2005) adopted by UN, endorses the idea that education is prerequisite for achieving sustainable development and an essential tool for good governance, informed decision making and the promotion of democracy, in addition to being a human right. Education for sustainable development is a lifelong process that goes beyond formal education, from the early childhood to higher and adult education. In the United Nation's Conference on Sustainable Development (Rio+20) held in Rio, Brazil, in June 2012, Member States adopted the outcome "The future we want" in which they decided, inter alia, to launch a process to develop a set of Sustainable Development Goals. This definition was built on this one appeared in 1987 Our Common Future. The definition was further translated as follows:

> *"Sustainable development meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Seen as the guiding principle for long-term global development, sustainable development consists of three pillars: economic development, social development and environmental protection".*
>
> [Rio+20 Conference, 2012]

With the Resolution A/RES/70/1, General Assembly adopted the post-2015 agenda under the title Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (2015). The 2030 Agenda was built on the Millennium Development Goals and sought to and completed what they did not achieve. The 17 Sustainable Development Goals and 169 targets reflect the commitment to achieve by 2030 sustainable development in its three dimensions: economic, social and environmental. The supreme goal by 2030 is the world to be a better place. It is clear that Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) gains a growing international recognition, which as stated by the UN is considered as an integral element of quality education and a key enabler for sustainable development.

The 17 goals of the Agenda are summarized as follows:

Goal 1: And poverty in all its forms everywhere

Goal 2: End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture

Goal 3: Ensure healthy lives and promote wellbeing for all at all ages

Goal 4: Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all

Goal 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls

Goal 6: Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all

Goal 7: Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all

Goal 8: Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all

Goal 9: Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation

Goal 10: Reduce inequalities within and among countries

Goal 11: Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable

Goal 12: Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns

Goal 13: Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts

Goal 14: Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development

Goal 15: Protect, restore and promote sustainable use for terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably mange forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss

Goal 16: Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels

Goal 17: Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the Global Partnership for Sustainable development

Source: Sustainable Development Goals (2020)

The 2030 Agenda addresses the relationship between sustainable development and adult education in Goal 4. Although indirectly, adult education has now come to the fore through SDGs, as it was excluded in Millennium Development Goals, who stressed only primary education. SDG 4 says that inclusive and equitable quality education and lifelong learning opportunities should be ensured for all. The targets 4.4 and 4.6

endeavor to encourage the participation of adults in educational processes. More specific target 4.4 aims at substantially increase the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship. Target 4.6 aims at ensuring that all youth and a substantial proportion of adults, both men and women, achieve literacy and numeracy. Finally, the role of education in sustainable development is defined in target 4.7 as stated below:

> *"By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development".*
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> [Sustainable Development Goals, 2020]

The literature highlights that until the adoption of the 2030 Agenda by all United Nations Member States in 2015, sustainable development used to refer to three major dimensions: economical, ecological and human or in other view economic, social and environmental. One aspect can be expected to be more acceptable to some people, which does not mean that the other is discarded. Duran, Goran, Artene and Duran (2015) propose that the sustainable development of a society refers to three major components of human existence: economical, ecological and human. The relation between economic growth and the protection of the environment is an essential problem in approaching sustainable development. Bossel (1999) being an environmental scientist, had examined the notion and the indicators for sustainable development in his study "Indicators for Sustainable Development: Theory, Method, Applications". As he mentions the deteriorating environmental conditions in many parts of the world was the reason that led to the widely recognition of the concept of sustainable development, which encompasses environmental, material, ecological, social, economic, legal, cultural, political and psychological dimensions. In finding an appropriate set of indicators one will experience much difficulty, Bossel insists that the concept has to be translated in practical dimensions of the real world in order to be operational. A remarkable effort to construct a set of indicators was made by the Balaton Group in 1998 (Meadows, 1998). Scholars and activists came together sharing the same concern about the importance of indicators of sustainable development, which should be more

than environmental indicators, about 'time and/or thresholds'. Going beyond this concept the notion of sustainable development is further enriched in the field of political economy. Fred Gale (2018) in his inspiring book "The Political Economy of Sustainability" elevates the idea that the state has failed to play a leading role in delivering sustainable development, as mainstream political economy would expect. As he explains, a political economy of sustainability perspective identifies that this is because competitive elections put the state temporarily in the hands of a political party that prioritizes a subset of sustainability value's four component values to the detriment of the others and to the realization of sustainability value more generally (Gale, 2018). Party-political systems do little to prevent powerful actors from exerting undue influence on people's political and economic preferences.

The EU is committed in implementing internally and globally the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the SDGs in cooperation with partner countries. The Agenda reflects many of the EU's priorities for sustainable development. The European Commission has set out 10 political priorities which contribute to implementing the 2030 Agenda and explain how the EU will meet the SDGs in the future. Notwithstanding the foregoing, this study reveals that limited provisions are made for promoting externalities, like sustainability, across adult education curricula. Focusing in meeting the goals of the Agenda 2030, it is necessary for the Commission to promote the idea of adult learners to be encouraged to engage in initiatives and projects that refer to the 17 goals of the Agenda, while participating in an educational program. Executives involved in planning educational programs for adults should, also, understand the challenges of the Agenda and their crucial role in supporting the above idea. I consider that this idea will accordingly empower critical thinking and consciousness about the crucial role that every human can play in promoting sustainable development in the benefit of the whole society and its members. This offers a two-fold benefit: for the trainees themselves to acquire new knowledge and for the society to be benefit from the Agenda 2030.

Reviewing the EU documents of the notion sustainable economic development, I also found difficulties in arriving at a European acceptable definition. However, it is clear that it is gaining momentum during the last years, as it is presented as a key element in many EU documents concerned with lifelong learning, in specific, and other issues in the economic sphere. The Proposal for a Decision of the European Parliament and of

the Council establishing an integrated action programme in the field of lifelog learning (European Commission, 2004) concludes:

> *"An Integrated Programme should therefore be established to contribute through lifelong learning to the development of the European Union as an advanced knowledge society, with sustainable economic development, more and better jobs and greater social cohesion".*

Therefore, this notion reveals a shift of economic development to the 'green path' and it is usually used to refer to the impact of economic activities to the environment. Barbier (1987) elevates this view in his study "The concept of Sustainable Economic Development" since the late 1980s, although this paper limits itself to discussing the concept as applied to the Third World. According to this view, the primary concern of sustainable economic development is ensuring that the poor have access to sustainable and secure livelihoods. 'Real' improvements can occur when the strategies, which are being formulated and implemented, are ecologically sustainable over the long term, consistent with social values and institutions, and finally encourage 'grassroots' participation in the development process. While the term "sustainable economic growth" is used in some EU documents, in others the term "sustainable economic development" is used in the same way. In the Presidency Conclusions of the Lisbon European Council of the 23 and 24 March 2000 the Union sets out a new strategic goal for the next decade:

> *"To become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion".*

In other EU documents the word again serves to denote the economic cooperation among the EU regions and among the Community and other countries like Russia. Although there are few references, this notion has a dynamic lately. The EU on her part gave a strong political component in the efforts to propose measures which go beyond GDP. Drawing on the results of the conference 'Beyond GDP' held in 2007 by the European Commission, the European Parliament, the Club of Rome, the OECD and the WWF, a few actions had been undertaken towards introducing new indices. The term "sustainable economic development" is also used in the Consolidated Versions of the Treaty of the European Union and of the Treaty establishing the European Community

(Official Journal of the European Union, 2002), in the Article 177, and refers to the development cooperation of the Community with the developing countries, as follows:

> *"Community policy in the sphere of development cooperation, which shall be complementary to the policies pursued by the Member States, shall foster […] the sustainable economic and social development of the developing countries, and more particularly the most disadvantaged among them".*

This study supports the idea, along with other scholars, of reinforcing the qualitative dimension of economic development and to incorporate citizens' action and opinion on their opportunities to wellbeing. The context of economic development derives from the ancient Greek philosophy. Thus, economic development is the state where people achieve *euphoria*, a concept identical to living well and faring well. Hence, this could be construed as a state in which people wish to stay for more. The main logic is that economies with a higher level of adult education have higher levels of *euphoria* than those with a mediocre level. It is also a state where citizens feel more satisfied, secure, they enjoy equal opportunities to work and have access to basic infrastructure. Besides the importance of certain indicators to be ameliorated, *euphoria* for a nation means a rise in the conditions of living for the residents who live within the territory, or in other words that their life is getting better. Economic growth is definitely the huge wager the advanced economies have been dealing with in the post-WWII era, and this study does not contest its reflection in the improvement of the standard of living of the people or the increase in their earnings. Contrariwise, it is my strong belief that economic growth and economic development could strengthen one another in approaching the stage of affluence and wellbeing of the European society. Moreover, I believe the economic growth is a precondition for economic development. Within the chain of economic development, adult education may be one of the strongest links. The above assumptions provide further evidence that there is a correlation between a cohesive society and economic development. On these grounds we argue that adult education could serve as a vehicle for economic development in the developed countries. This study also proposes that economic development can have a positive impact on the unification of Europe, an idea endorsed by this study, which encompasses economic, political, and cultural components. Everyone has witnessed the plurality in terminology in the public dialogue: Unification, Europeanisation, integration. I prefer the term "unification" and

I must make myself clear. I do not intent to revive an idea which origins from the early 1920s and was proposed by Count Coudenhove-Kalergi. Instead, it is my firm belief that both EU institutions and civil society must engage in a public dialogue with simple, clear and understandable criteria. The term "unification" serves this purpose, and it also has a strong identity.

UNIT 5

COMMENTS

This study explored the role of adult education in economic development within the methodological framework of International Political Economy. A case study in the EU carried out for this purpose to explore the role of the three institutional arrangements ie. the state, the market, and the civil society both in the formulation of policy planning for adult education, and in the mental transformational process of the individual learners, which opens the path to a deeper understanding of the interaction between the individual and the social action towards economic development. The latter is identical to *euphoria*, which means a rise in the conditions of living for the residents who live within the territory, or in other words that their life is getting better. Economic development can have a positive impact on the unification of Europe, an idea endorsed by this study, which encompasses economic, political, and cultural components. The main logic is that economies with a higher level of adult education have higher levels of economic development. I have chosen to explore the nexus of the two variables in the EU, even though adult education is mainly planned and practiced within the nation states. At a European level many policies were adopted to increase the esteem of adult education, however they were far behind the initiatives to promote vocational education and training.

The involvement of economists in education is synonymous with the birth of Economics of Education around 1960. All relevant studies lied on the HCT, measuring the quantitative returns of education. HCT has proved to be a very useful tool, which has also aroused controversy over its strengths and weaknesses. Since then, much progress has been made. With an increasing number of studies looking critically at the

neoclassical framework and the effects of neoliberal capitalism on adult education, and the overall inadequacies of mainstream economics, we met all these voices which spread the need to look for progressive alternatives for measuring the impact of adult education and its policy formulation. Focusing only on neoclassical economics to explore the financial impact of adult education, it will marginalize the consideration of its history, producing a short of historical amnesia, besides the social harm, namely the devaluation of its socio-cultural influences. All these will accordingly lead to the establishment of malfunctioning policies enacted only in the name of 'knowledge economy', which serves the needs of the labor market. This is a process of accumulated causation, whereby neoclassical economics exclude the very elements that could better explain the impact of adult education. The need for a pluralist perspective for approaching adult education, for the public discourse and the policy formulation has become lately accepted, and IPE attracts the interest of the scholars in the field. Literature revealed that the relationship between economics and politics with adult education is rarely analyzed. This study supports the idea presented by Richard Desjardins on introducing an approach of the political economy of adult education, which focuses on economic-related thinking involving the societal element. I propose that this approach should also consider the role adult education in economic development. My personal interest in exploring adult education within political economy begun in 2014. It had taken a long time reviewing several studies until I finally reached an important milestone: the rising interest on the topic from 2017 onwards. This was a small ray of hope which encouraged me and supported my belief that this subject is of interest and deserves further attention. Moreover, it is the proof that scholars in the field were very much concerned with the lack of a robust approach which would enable them to improve their understanding of the impact of adult education on economic development. Despite the encouraging signs arising for future research, the main shortcoming was the lack of a robust methodological framework with concrete indicators ready to use, to measure the impact of adult education. This is the purpose this study intents to serve: to offer this framework and then to proceed with the implementation of this framework in the case of the EU. Neither the number of the studies occupied in the political economy of adult education, nor their weak evidence can offer tangible arguments at the moment, thus, much work needs to be done. I have engaged myself in further elaborating upon this issue.

All the studies presented in the literature have the same starting point: The discourse goes beyond the neoclassical framework towards engaging the political economy. The discussion about the neoliberal perception of adult education and its repercussions came back to the fore. Desjardins was right when he said that adult education is not neutral or apolitical. Despite the accepted assumption that policy making in adult education will clearly be facilitated by any 'proofs' of efficiency, monetary among them, this study endorsed the idea that the political economy perspective offers a wider perception of adult education's profits, by exploring the nexus between economics and politics and their impact on the policy formulation of adult education. Thus, political economy offers the opportunity to explore adult education's impact in terms of policy and economics. Despite the preference in this topic, these studies approached the political economy of adult education only theoretically, while I found only two of them which provide some data, but they refer only to developing countries. Another issue to be highlighted is that these studies did not necessarily include worthwhile comments about the contribution of adult education to economic development, but only some references. Adult education in this study is seen as a means that helps adult learners move from awareness to making decisions towards the betterment of their lives which depicts an overall amelioration of the living conditions in the society. This study proposed an aspect, partly neglected until recently in scientific community: that adult education can bolster economic development, which will in turn contribute to strengthening the process of unification of the Europe. Thus, economic development is considered as an extra pillar to the above edifice. This topic is actually incorporated in a wider discussion about the political economy of adult education and economic development. In this light it is important to remember that adult education and political economy are two issues which have to be tackled hand to hand. Examining educational outcomes of adult education within IPE also presupposed the study of the historical conditions that determined the possibilities and the constraints that affected the policy formulation in the field.

To explore the political economy of adult education we engaged the three institutional arrangements of political economy -the state, the market, and the civil society- which as proposed can contribute in two cases: Firstly, to the policy formulation, through providing enriched information useful in the process of the needs assessment and secondly to the construction of knowledge and the personal identity. Both of them are

directly connected to economic development as we presented. Through the political economy the needs assessment is enriched with data deriving from the three institutions, thus we have safely supposed that both the policies and the programs will better respond to the needs of the adults and the society in general. All of this information, appear in the external environment of adult learners, incorporate ingredients from the three arrangements and offer the possibilities for new expectations. Thus, the external stimulus will accordingly cause internal mental processing resulting in an external response, as presented in this study. The approach of constructivism and the transformative learning theory were the proposed theoretical basis for explaining the way adult education is correlated to economic development through the involvement of adult learners. As this study proposes this interaction with the external environment helps learners to interpret and assess their own experiences in a critical way. This process aims at negotiating their meanings which eventually stimulates the processes of reconstruction and transformation. All the various dynamics involved help individuals transform or constitute new understandings and therefore they become able to plan future action to change their lives. The interaction and communication with between people are very important at this stage. Each individual is involved in the betterment of his/her life, and we assumed that he/she also is involved in the societal affairs. The society involvement could be viewed in terms of demanding greater social justice for all, or better distribution of resources, or better conditions of life, or better health benefits, which respects human rights and fundamental freedoms, such as security, self-esteem, democracy, equality, wellbeing, and access to basic infrastructure for all citizens. Also, the societal involvement could be in terms of voluntary work, or in several cultural engagements and many more. All these will accordingly introduce a rise in economic development, thus euphoria.

Following the above study, we examined the following measures:

1. In terms of the state (in this case the European Union).

We explored several socio-economic and political measures. The idea was how these could endorse the role of adult education and the individual learners. In socio-economic measures, the first was public expenditure. According to some estimations by EESC, which were presented earlier, public expenditure on adult education is only around 0.1 percent to 0.2 percent of GDP. The signs are not that optimistic. In the EU, the general government expenditure on education amounted to € 671 billion or 5% of GDP in 2020.

At the EU level, the public expenditure on education (which covers pre-primary, primary, secondary and tertiary education, post-secondary non-tertiary education, education non definable by level, subsidiary services to education, R&D, n.e.c.) as a ratio to GDP ranged between 4.7% of GDP and 5.1% of GDP in the period 1995-2020 (Eurostat, 2022). On the other side, we have concrete and daily renewed data on the financial support of the EU for vocational education and training, allocated through the ESM, ERDF, and EAFRD. With much debate about being an investment or not, being a cost or not, it gets further complicated to measure the public expenditure. Despite these difficulties, adult education should always be treated as a public good, by its nature, rather than as an investment. It is a social commodity, and it does not fit in with the profit rationale. The next measure we discussed was the total participation rate, which in 2019 was 10.8%, while the target of the Council ('ET 2020') was an average to be achieved of at least 15% by 2020. The year 2020, marked by the COVID-19 pandemic and the withdrawal of the UK from the EU have further marked this shortfall. Further developments are expecting in the coming period. We also explored the barriers in participation in adult education. We saw major differences among the member states regarding the percentage each barrier has. For example, among all member states, adults in Greece and Poland believe that adult education is too expensive (2.2%), which is the highest score in the EU. While in Spain, among all member states, adults have the highest score in the barrier regarding the lack of the prerequisites to participate in adult education (1.5%). In the Czech Republic adults do not have the time to participate in adult education, as they are the busiest in EU (3.5%). While family responsibilities have the highest rate in Poland (2.1%). In my opinion, this differentiation in the barriers which are faced by the adults around Europe could further discourage the policy formulation in the EU level. Moving to the measure about the participation of low-qualification adults in education, with the latest offered data of 2016, we have reached the target of 17.9%. With regards to the percentage increase in wages associated with additional years of adult education, there is a positive association between the years of adult education and the increases in the wages. Again, the differences are obvious around the EU, as in the Eastern countries recorded the largest relative income gap. In Romania the median equivalized disposable income was 71% higher for people with a high educational level (PPS 23.483 per inhabitant), compared to those who had lower educational attainment (PPS 13.764). On the other side, in the western member states the income gap is smaller (Denmark scores the lowest 26% between these adults with

higher and lower educational attainment). The next measure examined was the life expectancy. There is an increase in life expectancy in all EU countries, which proves that both EU and the national governments should take into account several variables like the life expectancy, the retirement age, the social benefits and the minimum wage, in order to ensure that these people will have the opportunities to meet the educational needs they have at every age. Specific attention should be given to the educational needs of the older adults. These provisions should be taken in the logic of offering education programs which do not focus in the up- or re-skilling of the work force, but to the general educational requirements. The last measure we explored in this study was the income inequality. As proposed in this study, it must be clear whether income inequality is the result of the knowledge gaps between people, or it is determined by the circumstances in society. In the case of the EU, we see again high differences between the western and the eastern member states. Thus, the lowest averaged PPS was 7.338 in Romania and in the other end of the spectrum was Luxemburg with PPS 28.943, which was the highest rate recorded in the EU.

Moving to political measures, we examined the internal policies for adult education through a historical structural process of the decision-making, and also the ideological norms of the composition of this EU Committee and how these have affected the direction of adult education. Since its origin, the EU focused on vocational education and training, which is absolutely understood as the EU was first introduced as a union to serve commercial purposes. In the 2000s, the star of adult education begun to rise, but even then, it was perceived more as an instrument of stemming the rise of unemployment in the region, rather than as a cultural means which encompasses all the ideals presented in the previous chapters. As this study presented, there is a commonly held view that the EU policies are highly affected by the neoliberal ideologies which have speeded up the shift from education to training in the so-called knowledge society. This is particularly worrying because adult education is almost fighting to prevent the risk of losing its values and priorities. Evidence was also provided in the previous chapters which propose a gradual shift in the EU policy papers from the term ‘education’ to ‘learning’. This represents a shift in the policy orientation from the social model to the market oriented. We saw a shift also in the term lifelong learning which used to cover the whole spectrum of formal-non-formal and informal learning, while lately the EU documents propose the term adult learning to cover the entire range of

formal, non-formal and informal learning activities. While examining the ideological norms of the composition of this EU Committee we saw that adult education is incorporated in the Directorate of Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion, under the Commissioner Nicolas Schmit. This study proposed that adult education should be incorporated in the directorate responsible for Education, Youth, Sport and culture, and vocational education and training should be in the Directorate of Employment. Finally, there is an evident desire to promote the Agenda of the European Skills which, unfortunately, does not have provisions for adult education. In this study, we have also discussed the European views of economic development. So far, it has proven very difficult to find a consensus between the stakeholders in the EU about the term economic development, without any intention to diminish the EU's effort. The EU is committed in implementing internally and globally the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the SDGs in cooperation with partner countries.

2. In terms of the market

We investigated private co-financing on adult education. The financing challenges of adult education in the EU has been widely discussed in this study. Measuring the contribution of the private sector in financing adult education was also not an easy task. Available evidence presented in this study show that in almost all the countries the employer bears the brunt of the funding, for more than half of the total spending. In EU members, the highest contribution of employer in adult learning is in Netherlands (61% or 0.7% of GDP), which is the highest percentage, while the lowest goes to Norway and Spain with 23% (0.3% of GDP). Since the political initiations in adult education are getting limited, and the need to be affordable for individuals, co-financing from the private sector seems to be the most preferable choice.

3. In terms of the civil society

We explored the role of the EESC, which represents civil society organizations from the Member States in issues that have to do with adult education. The main concern highlighted by EESC is the need to adopt specific methods of adult education and the creation of a concrete agenda on adult education policies with provisions for public and private investments is further developed by EESC. This is very much consistent with the findings of this study. Other issues raided by EESC concern the cost of participating in adult education, along with the need the governments to provide opportunities for all

adults to enroll in non-formal education in order to fight any discriminations. The need to promote social progress and the European social model, including issues of the labour market is another major issue highlighted by the Committee. This finding is also consistent with the findings of this study, which suggest that the EU provisions for adult education, which encompass the social dimension due to the very same nature of adult education, are far behind from the provisions for vocational training. EESC always recommends the need to promote social dialogue between stakeholders and also between herself and the EC in educational issues. In my opinion this issue creates prerequisites for ambiguous interpretation of the role and the given opportunities to EESC for making a reality the participative democracy and for working towards the promotion of the dialogue between organized civil society and the EU institutions. The recognition that non-formal education is key to fostering inclusive education systems, along with assessing and validating its outcomes is another important finding. Thankfully, the latter is accomplished at a European level, as discussed earlier, as many countries the educational adequacy -or the accreditation- for adult educators is essential for their participation in the labour market.

For the needs of this paper, we argued that the term adult refers to a person that is regarded as adult by the society to which he belongs, and he is in that position to construe meaning upon his experience and revise interpretations in order to plan future actions. Moreover, we argued that adult education denotes the entire body of organized educational processes, within the framework on non-formal education, whatever the content, level and method. It actually covers the lifespan after the cessation of formal education, and it serves both as a means of personal betterment and economic development. In essence, adult education fosters each citizen to develop critical review and understanding of major contemporary problems of its life, to reassess and interpret his experiences and therefore to react and communicate with other people and institutions and after all future action will be planed. Thence it arises that adult education develops citizens' ability to participate effectively in the construction of a cohesive society, which consequently might contribute to the elimination of a few disparities in the political, social and economic realms. As a corollary, adult education will provide citizens with some patterns or help them to construct new patterns, which might be useful in order to react to future situations. The main logic behind this study is that we can all be the heralds of a new world. Each person can contribute to economic

development if he/she is provided with an opportunity for involvement. Adult education can be this opportunity!

UNIT 6
CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The significance of this paper is the attempt to explore the potential of the contribution of adult education to economic development within the framework of IPE in the EU. Since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, education has been recognized as a basic human right which acts as the voices of human dignity, freedom, justice, and peace among others. People through adult education will be better prepared for any unforeseeable economic and social changes. Although its meaning has undergone through several changes, it provides a platform for raising all these noble issues notably relating to social change, personal development, civic life, social cohesion, progressivism, equality, human rights, political participation, sustainable and economic development. The EU's legislative initiatives for adult education were examined in a critical and objective way, aiming at providing food for thought, supporting, at the same time, the policy making process in the field. The issue of the inconsistencies in terminology has complicated our understanding about whether the funding structures and mechanisms target adult education directly, or vocational education and training or adult learning. Mapping all the funding policies and mechanisms involved in financing adult education and estimating the amount they invest has proved to be the real Gordian knot of this study. With public expenditure only around 0.1% of GDP, it is not enough for adult education to reveal its full potentiality. On the contrary, VET and adult learning are taking the crown in the European political stage.

Adult education and economic development can strengthen one another. In this framework citizens play a vital role as they are reinforced to form and hold together with other people and the institutions the fragments of the wellbeing of the European society towards economic development. Although economic growth is always on the top of the EU and the governments' agendas, the discussion about the motives that boost economic development and the causes for slowing down its process have their own

place on top of the international agenda. Going beyond the economic valuation of economic development within the neoclassical approach, this study proposes that IPE is the most relevant framework to explore economic development, which offers the opportunity to engage in a multidimensional package of purposes all devoted to improving the quality of people's lives. The methodological framework of reveals the invisible -so far- interface of adult education with economic development. Within the chain of economic development, adult education may be one of the strongest links, an effective instrument for generating revenue at a European level and it may very much determine the identity and quality of economic development. Thus, adult education can serve as a vehicle for economic development in the EU.

Although all the foregoing chapters have some policy implications, we should bring the leading policy issues together. The central ambition of this study is to get all those interested in the field, and hopefully the Brussels bureaucrats and Europeans themselves more firmly behind the idea of adult education. The financial crisis resulted from the pandemic of COVID-19, is exerting great pressure both to the public finances of member states and the social foundations. We can therefore seize the opportunities in front of us and to do our best to consolidate the European social model, and thereby to speed up policy responses to enforce the role of adult education. I purposely urge the need to redraw the boundaries in terms of formulating policies in the field of adult education, as it is not yet recognized as a significant factor contributing to economic development. Focusing on the financial impact and the fact that all countries face the same challenges simultaneously, one can suppose which the roles of economic development and economic growth will play within the new European strategy. Despite the obvious complexities the EU faces over at the moment, the European Commission will always hold its course in the direction of a more unified Europe and this study certainty offers fresh food for thought in this direction. The data provided in this study are obviously not sufficient to establish a definitive causal link between economic development and adult education, but it offers some help on a topic which gains prominence lately. Considerably more work will need to be done to better understand the link between adult education and economic development.

As demonstrated above, the EU has not appreciated the full potentiality of adult education and therefore its probability to strengthen economic development. The sufficient evidence, which were presented in this study, prove that the EU policies

follow the international trend in which adult education takes the back seat. However, adult education must be put in a wider European context of policies and practices, where it can fulfil its full operational potential towards economic development. Member-states should be encouraged to get involved in the above discussion. This presupposes that adult education will be considered as a distinguished part in the European social and developmental policy agenda. This study also proposes the establishment of an agency like the European Centre for Development of Vocational Training (C.E.DE.FO.P), which will bring together the European Commission, governments, representatives of employers, trade unions, associations, researchers and practitioners in adult education, with the aim at strengthening European cooperation.

Being an adult educator myself value-bound to this profession, I strongly recognize its noble past, I strongly condemn its devaluation, and I strongly believe in its dynamics in the present and in the future. Engaging in adult education serves more than a purpose of stirring impressions and applauses as its benefits relate to both the individuals and the society, both to the developing and the developed countries. It elevates values that every person strives for, like personal development, wellbeing, equal opportunities, and justice, among others. Therefore, it deserves our greatest attention. This is a plea for adult education to be provided with the wherewithal for living up to its potential. On the other side, reinforcing economic development in the EU means strengthening the concepts of *Europe for Citizens*, *People's Europe*, and the overall idea of Europeanism. The idea of *a too strong Europe* is relevant to too strong social benefits. Economic development can have a positive impact on the unification of Europe, an idea endorsed by this study, which encompasses economic, political, and cultural components. We can all be the heralds of a new world. Each person can contribute to economic development if he/she is provided with an opportunity for involvement. Of course, further work needs to be done to determine the relation between economic development and the unification of Europe. This study also supports the idea, presented by Professor Richard Desjardins, on introducing an approach of the political economy of adult education, which focuses on economic-related thinking involving the societal element. My suggestion is that this approach should also consider the role of adult education in economic development. My intention is to continue to spread and promote the message of the significant role adult education can play in reinforcing economic development. Further findings of this study will be presented in future papers. Considerably, more

work will need to be done to determine the role of adult education in economic development in EU.

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