

Lifelong Learning Book Series 26

Natasha Kersh
Hanna Toiviainen
Pirkko Pitkänen
George K. Zarifis *Editors*

Young Adults and Active Citizenship

Towards Social Inclusion through
Adult Education

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Lifelong Learning Book Series

Volume 26

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Competing visions and paradigms for lifelong learning co-exist at national as well as international levels. The fact that one 'official' discourse may be dominant at any one time does not mean that other ways of thinking about learning throughout the life course have disappeared. They are alive and well in a range of critical traditions and perspectives that retain their power to engage and persuade.

In this series, contributors critically analyse issues in lifelong learning that have important implications for policy and practice in different parts of the world. Evidence, ideas and the polity can mobilise political thinking in new directions, as policy makers search for the new 'big idea'. In turbulent times, ideas for better connecting system worlds and life worlds in the pursuit of broader and more just forms of meritocracy can focus compellingly on learning as a lifelong process which links, rather than separates, the older and younger generations and incorporates the realities of working lives.

The series aims to engage scholars, practitioners, policy-makers and professionals with contemporary research and practice, and to provoke fresh thinking and innovation in lifelong learning. Each volume is firmly based on high quality scholarship and a keen awareness of both emergent and enduring issues in practice and policy. We welcome work from a range of disciplines and, in particular, inter- and multi-disciplinary research which approaches contemporary and emerging global and local challenges in innovative ways. Through advocacy of broad, diverse and inclusive approaches to learning throughout the life course, the series aspires to be a leading resource for researchers and practitioners who seek to rethink lifelong learning to meet the challenges and opportunities of the 21st Century.

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Preface

In *Young Adults and Active Citizenship: Towards Social Inclusion through Adult Education*, Natasha Kersh, Hanna Toiviainen, Pirkko Pitkänen and George Zarifis (Eds) have, with their writing team, produced a new and challenging analysis of the situation of young European citizens, tackling head on the problems inherent in identifying (labelling) young adults as vulnerable and in understanding how dislocations associated with shifting patterns of global migration are experienced and acted upon. What do the concepts of integration and inclusion mean for those who are made vulnerable by the situations they find themselves in? How can social cohesion, tolerance and mutual understanding be fostered through adult education as means of overcoming tensions, antagonism and hostility?

The team has approached these and related research questions in a pan-European survey and in case studies reflective of profoundly different socio-economic and cultural terrains. I was reminded, as I observed the research process from the standpoint of a loosely connected adviser, of my own experience as a researcher in EU supported inquiries some decades ago. Collaborative inquiries of the time were focusing on modes of reflexive activation and finding ways of ‘reconnecting’ young adults by focusing on what was locking them out of the forms of social participation deemed desirable for them¹. These inquiries, which typically covered only 6 or 7 countries in Western Europe were considered sufficiently inclusive if they actively engaged Southern European states. At the time, they presented seemingly huge challenges to research coordinators and partners new to this kind of collaborative endeavour. So how does a multinational team of researchers tackle fundamental questions of learning support for social inclusion in the social landscapes of more than 20 countries, many of which are facing upheaval, uncertainty and disruptive change?

¹See, for example, Warner Weil, S., Wildemeersch, D., Jansen, T., & Percy-Smith, B. (2005). *Unemployed Youth and Social Exclusion in Europe*. Aldershot: Ashgate (Routledge); Evans, K., & Niemeyer, B. (2004). *Reconnection: Countering Social Exclusion Through Situated Learning*. Dordrecht: Springer.

The answer for this team lies in a ‘scanning and focusing’ approach within a well-conceptualised comparative framework, drawing on the notion of the “regimes of social cohesion” (Green et al. 2009) to provide points of comparison. Regimes of social cohesion are anchored in networks of norms and regulations and reflected in how the social practices of education, work and daily lives are structured. Identification of divergent and convergent tendencies combined with contextualised case analyses have enabled the team to explore, in an empirically grounded way, the prospects for developing active participatory citizenship through adult education. Historical legacies, national approaches and culturally embedded traditions are reflected in country- and region-specific variations and priorities in the interconnected fields of lifelong learning and adult education. These range from Western European and Nordic traditions rooted in industrialisation and social movements to a variety of historical development trajectories influenced by Soviet heritage, in the Baltic countries, coupled with the transitions from centralised to market economies that characterise many parts of Eastern Europe. Some other countries have relatively short histories in terms of developing formalised provision for the education for adults but long histories of cultural practices that can be supportive of lifelong learning. Adult education systems are shown to be markedly different in how they recognise and identify vulnerability in young adults, strongly influenced by both historical and contemporary developments as well as national conceptions.

In attempting to address some disconnects between EU aspirations and what is actually happening in practice, vulnerabilities of young adults are sensitively explored and questioned. Empirical fieldwork involved researching some 40 adult-education programmes across 20 countries. Findings and insights are grounded in local practices and young peoples’ lives and choices. The team identifies favourable and supporting policies as those that recognize vulnerabilities as complex and multifaceted issues, avoiding policy responses that put ‘blame’ on individuals (e.g. refugees, migrants, people in receipt of benefits) and ensuring equity in access to resources. These are framework conditions for successful inclusion approaches at the level of adult education providers. Under these conditions, young adults in diverse situations of risk can have positive experiences in recovering motivations and feeling that they can participate and contribute actively, by way of attending adult education programmes. The authors give strong expression to the voice of young people, who prefer to focus on building resilience rather than on their vulnerabilities. The elaboration of modes, structures and processes of communication between partners and participants and the emphasis on the mediating roles of teachers are cross-cultural highlights of the research.

The authors have succeeded both in building on prior research and in taking the field forward in new directions. As an advisor to the team, I have had the privilege of participating in some collaborative conferences and workshops that have underlined the multifaceted nature of the research and the many users who find it a source of new ideas and inspiration. To some observers, the recurrence over decades of seemingly similar research topics of social inclusion and efforts to support young adults is taken as evidence of fragmentation of research effort leading to repetition and re-invention of the wheel. For me, the recurrence is indicative of the

fundamental nature of these deeply embedded societal tensions as well as the constantly shifting conditions in which they are manifested.

These issues of how vulnerabilities are created and responded to are now being played out in the context of a global pandemic which will weigh most heavily on young people for many years to come. The metaphor of an upward spiral in understanding and insight, I believe, captures the way in which fundamental questions are returned to regularly in research inquiries, each time with enhanced intellectual tools and a higher degree of understanding. The book reminds us all that the stakes are high – the development of policies and practices to facilitate the social inclusion and active participation of young adults is crucial not only for the well-being of a generation but also for stabilising political, social and economic conditions and sustaining European democratic societies.

London, UK
October 2020

Karen Evans

Series Editors' Note

The Lifelong Learning Book Series was launched in 2004 and by 2020 had published 25 volumes on topics of international significance. In this latest phase in the life of the series, we aim to engage our expanding, international readership in 'Rethinking Lifelong Learning for the 21st Century'. Lifelong learning debates are refreshed and renewed when scholars bring fresh perspectives and critical analyses of emergent and enduring issues in lifelong learning that have important implications for policy and practice around the globe.

In selecting books for the Lifelong Learning Series, we recognise that competing visions and paradigms for lifelong learning co-exist at national as well as international levels. The fact that one 'official' discourse may be dominant at any one time does not mean that other ways of thinking about learning throughout the life course have disappeared. They are alive and well in a range of critical traditions and perspectives that retain their power to engage and persuade. Evidence, ideas and the polity can mobilise political thinking in new directions, as policy makers search for the new 'big idea'. In turbulent times, ideas for better connecting system worlds and life worlds can focus compellingly on learning as a lifelong process which links, rather than separates, the older and younger generations and incorporates the realities of working lives.

This open access volume, *Young Adults and Active Citizenship: Towards Social Inclusion through Adult Education*, presents and builds on the outcomes of the European Union Horizon 2020 funded research project *Adult Education as a means to Active Participatory Citizenship* (EduMAP). The focus on active citizenship, an under-researched aspect of adult education, enables the contributors to explore, both

This book presents findings of the research project *Adult Education as a means to Active Participatory Citizenship* (EduMAP) coordinated by Tampere University, Finland. The project was funded by the European Union under the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme (H2020-YOUNG-2014-2015/H2020-YOUNG-SOCIETY-2015), Grant Agreement number 693388. This book reflects only the authors' views, and the European Union is not liable for any use that may be made of the information contained therein.

conceptually and empirically, the ways in which education can play a role in enabling young people to be socially, politically and economically engaged across a range of national and regional contexts. The research provides a foundation for contributors to examine the ways in which policy and practice is shaped by distinct cultural-historical conditions and orientations to citizenship and participation. A particular concern for contributors is social inclusion and opportunity for young people who are seen to be vulnerable, disadvantaged or marginalised, for whom the stakes are high and for whom adult education and the possibility of formal and informal lifelong learning can be transformative. The systems and contexts studied vary in the extent to which difference is recognised and social inclusion valued, giving rise to variation in policy and practice and potential to foster active citizenship across communities. To rise to the challenges presented by, for instance, migration and the exigencies of a neo-liberal focus on employability and entrepreneurship, it is argued that adult education has to attend to effective governance, flexibility of provision, close monitoring of quality and broadening participation, and, underpinning this, ensure that there is a clear understanding of and respect for the diverse needs, aspirations and risk of vulnerability of young people.

The collection reveals the multi-dimensionality of the concept of active citizenship and the complexity of designing programmes to promote the participation and inclusion of young people in demanding circumstances. Whilst adult education has a core part to play, initiatives cannot, it is argued, be easily transferred from one context to another. Through research, and volumes such as this, we can draw lessons from policy and practice in diverse settings, and critically apply what we have learned to our own contexts. The turbulence and uncertainty created by the COVID-19 pandemic amplifies the importance of the inclusive engagement and active participation of young people and appreciation of the complexity of fostering active citizenship provided by the contributions to this book. In this most demanding of times, the collection reinforces the vital role to be played by critical adult education and lifelong learning promoted by the Lifelong Learning Series.

UCL Institute of Education, London, UK
Lifelong Learning Series Editors
October 2020

Andrew Brown and Karen Evans

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Irina Maslo has been a professor at the University of Latvia (LU) since 1997. Throughout this period, she has been serving as a creator, implementer and director of several adult learning facilitation activities. Since 2011, her main research direction has been the improvement of the motivation of 18–24-year-old early school leavers and of 25–36-year-old aged gifted adults to participate in Lifelong Learning. Having more than 20 years of adult training and research experiences, she has been acting as a principal investigator in national-level research projects and as contracted Latvian consultant in Horizon 2020 programme project "EduMAP - Adult Education as a Means to Active Participatory Citizenship". Currently, she acts as an independent national expert in the field of adult education/adult skills in the project "Support to the EC Directorate-General for Employment in the field of expertise in adult education / skills in the 28 EU Member States" led by the European Expertise and Consulting Agency ECORYS.

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Hanna Toivainen is associate professor of adult education at Tampere University, Finland. In the EduMAP project, she worked as co-coordinator and contributed to the broad research on adult education in the EU. Her other research interests relate to work-based learning in interorganisational networks. Drawing on the concepts of cultural-historical activity theory, she has developed analytical frameworks for multi-layered expansive learning in the contexts of work-life learning networks and global workplaces. Recent studies address both industrial cooperation and client orientation in public and social care as well as healthcare. She is the co-editor of *Working and Learning in Times of Uncertainty: Challenges to Adult, Professional and Vocational Education* published by Sense in 2015.

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Abbreviations

AC	Active Citizenship
AE	Adult Education
APC	Active Participatory Citizenship
CHP	Republican People Party
DIB	Turkish Presidency of Religious Affairs
DGLLL	Directorate General of Lifelong Learning
DGMM	Directorate General of Migration Management
EduMAP	Adult Education as a Means to Active Participatory Citizenship
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GRALE	Global Report on Adult Learning and Education
HEM	Public Education Centres
ISCED	International Standard Classification of Education
İŞKUR	Turkish Employment Agency
LLL	Lifelong Learning
MoNE/MEB	Ministry of National Education (Turkey)
NEET	Not in Education, Employment or Training
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PIAAC	Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies
SFI	Swedish for Immigrants
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
VET	Vocational Education and Training

Chapter 1

Active Citizenship, Lifelong Learning and Inclusion: Introduction to Concepts and Contexts



Natasha Kersh, Hanna Toiviainen, George K. Zarifis, and Pirkko Pitkänen

Introduction

Promoting the active participation and inclusion of young adults is a complex and multi-dimensional process, and might be facilitated or undermined through different contexts, including formal and informal environments, such as workplace, education and community settings. Over the past decade, social exclusion, disengagement and disaffection of young adults have been among the most significant concerns faced by EU member states. Some young adults are particularly at risk of being excluded and marginalised, such as early school leavers, members of ethnic minority groups, young refugees and migrants. The research project that underlies this book, Adult Education as a Means to Active Participatory Citizenship (EduMAP)¹ started in 2016 in response to the current challenges affecting the social inclusion of young adults across Europe and beyond. These challenges, stemming from uncertain political, social and economic situations, have resulted in barriers affecting the inclusion and integration of young adults across different contexts and settings.

¹The authors received financial support for the EduMAP research from the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme (H2020-YOUNG-2014-2015/H2020-YOUNG-SOCIETY-2015), Grant Agreement number 693388. More details on EduMAP are available at <https://projects.tuni.fi/edumap/consortium/>

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Such barriers can be created by the way in which education provision is tied to receiving financial support. Conditions in some cases restrict young adults in their choice of programmes, creating either barriers related to access, to learning, or with regard to motivation. This is exemplified by different factors, especially in the case of integration programmes, which usually lack the flexibility to accommodate the needs of all individuals related to their specific situations.

This compilation offers a collection of chapters discussing country- and region-specific developments in relation to national approaches to the social inclusion and active citizenship of young adults at risk of vulnerability, in selected European countries and one non-EU country, Turkey. Drawing on both desk and empirical research findings undertaken by the EduMAP consortium between 2016 and 2019, the chapters consider how the promotion of active participatory citizenship for young adults translates into their specific national and local contexts, reflecting on the implications for both the strategies for social inclusion and barriers undermining it. The EduMAP multi-country consortium aimed to consider, in particular, the role of adult education (AE), and the extent to which various AE programmes and initiatives might facilitate the political, social and economic participation of young adults, thus encouraging them to take a more active role as citizens in their immediate as well as wider social contexts. The recent policy and research debate on citizenship and inclusion has raised a question on how active citizenship could be exercised in a way that would promote social justice, inclusion and participation and what the contribution of different forms of AE and lifelong learning (LLL) might be² (Jarvis 2012). Examples of good practice from EU member states and Turkey have been used to provide an illustration of practical approaches to engage and facilitate the life chances of vulnerable young people across Europe. In selecting examples of good practice, the focus is on initiatives that relate to learning about, for or through active citizenship (Kalekin-Fishman et al. 2007) either directly or indirectly (implicitly) through promoting economic, political and social engagement and the participation of vulnerable young people.

The findings of the country-specific chapters imply that the development of policies and practices to facilitate the social inclusion of young adults has been acknowledged as crucial for sustaining European democratic societies and stabilising political, social and economic situations in the region. The social and community contexts across Europe have been becoming increasingly diverse, multicultural and multilingual. The recent decade, however, has been characterised by extremely turbulent political, social and economic developments across Europe and its bordering countries, which in many ways, have undermined the notion of multiculturalism and ethnic diversity.

²Conceptual and terminological overlap between the terms ‘adult education’ and ‘lifelong learning’ has been recognised in the literature (Aspin et al. 2012). While recognising this terminological and conceptual complexity, in this book, drawing on research by Evans (2009), we will employ both concepts and consider LLL in its broadest term as learning through the life course, which encompasses adult education as a configuration of learning throughout life (Evans 2009; Aspin 2012; Kersh 2015).

Political and social trends, such as migration, the rise of far-right powers in some European countries, and results of the Brexit referendum in the UK in 2016, have affected both European and national contexts, contributing to the changing perceptions of social inclusion and citizenship, as well as to tensions and often hostility between ‘local’ and ‘migrant’ populations. The acts of terrorism occurring across Europe have further damaged attitudes towards migrants and refugees. The European migrant crisis reached its peak in 2015, resulting in the influx of refugees and migrants across European countries. The geographical spread of the migrant and refugee population has been uneven and patchy across Europe, with some countries being affected more than others (e.g. Turkey, Greece).

Although there has been a decrease in the number of refugees and migrants arriving in Europe since 2016, the implications of the global migration crisis are presenting a long-term challenge for the EU countries and Turkey, and finding approaches for integration and inclusion has been identified as one of the most pressing tasks to be addressed at local, regional and national levels (Kersh and Huegler 2018). The expansion of multicultural societies has underpinned the need to foster social cohesion, tolerance and mutual understanding, to overcome factors such as tensions, antagonism and hostility between the newcomers and the local population, especially in countries affected by terrorist acts. The integration of refugees and migrants into local societies and domestic labour markets has become one of the most significant challenges faced by the countries and regions affected by the migration crisis in 2015.

During the past decades, the promotion of active citizenship has emerged as an influential concept within official European policy. The strategic goal set for the European Community was to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion (European Council 2000). In the communication Making a European Area of Lifelong Learning a Reality, the European Commission promoted three major pillars, one of which was learning for active citizenship (see Commission of the European Communities 2001).

The key idea of active citizenship is that a person is engaged in participation in activities that support a community. The nation-state is typically in the focus of the debate but the *community* may also refer to local associations or communities, to European community or even to a global community. The policy discussion on active citizenship has been driven by a concern that young people, in particular, may lack the knowledge and skills to act effectively as citizens, and are often not strongly embedded within their communities (Brooks and Holford 2009; Henn et al. 2005; Vromen 2003). In this discussion, education is seen as a key means for ‘supporting active citizenship, equal opportunities and social cohesion’ (de Weerd et al. 2005: 1). Learning for active citizenship is seen as part of lifelong activity in which a person constructs the crucial links between learning and action. The role of adult education for the promotion of active citizenship has thus been recognised and acknowledged in both research literature and policy papers (e.g. European Parliament 2006; GRALE III 2016, 2016, Holford et al. 2008).

However, in practice, the role of AE in the promotion of active citizenship is weakly recognised and conceptualised. The policies and practices for AE and active citizenship have been influenced strongly by the humanitarian migration across the EU as well as by the implications of the 2008 economic crisis, which resulted in the rise of unemployment across Europe. Both these trends have contributed to the risks of exclusion and disengagement for a number of young adults who find themselves in vulnerable positions, for example as migrants or NEETs (not in education, employment or training). The response of AE to these challenges of social exclusion has been to set up programmes and strategies with the aim of integrating refugees and migrants into domestic labour markets and facilitating their social inclusion. The extent to which the programmes have been effective varies from context to context, and different countries have demonstrated different approaches to integration and inclusion. The political, social and economic country-specific contexts, as well as historical traditions have played an important part in developing strategies towards inclusion. Fostering the active citizenship of young people, both directly and indirectly, is an area where many AE programmes overlap, and this has become a core approach to integration.

Research Scope and Methodology

The Horizon 2020 project ‘Adult Education as a Means to Active Participatory Citizenship’ (EduMAP), conducted in 2016–2019, aimed to address the complex issues of social inclusion, advance understanding and further develop both the current and future impact of adult education on learning for active participatory citizenship (APC) in Europe and beyond (e.g. Saar et al. 2013; Jarvis 2012; Evans 2009). EduMAP involved the partnership and cooperation of six European countries, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Greece, Hungary and the UK, and Turkey as a non-EU partner country. In the course of the project, particular attention was paid to the educational policies and practices needed to foster APC among young people facing different types of vulnerabilities. The project aimed to answer the following research question: **What policies and practices are needed in the field of adult education to include young adults at risk of social exclusion in active participatory citizenship in Europe?** The research question endeavoured to address both the complex issues of social exclusion and the multi-dimensional concept of active citizenship, with a specific focus on young adults (16–30 years of age) facing different types of vulnerabilities.

In order to address the complex issues raised by the research question, both desk and empirical research were undertaken. This covered undertaking a review of the relevant literature, including research publications, policy papers and materials related to various educational initiatives to facilitate the inclusion of young adults in vulnerable positions. The desk study aimed to offer an overview of historical and contemporary developments in each of the EU28 countries. Qualitative analysis of existing research and policy reports as well as comparative qualitative content

analysis were exercised through the following phases in the desk research: (1) identification of the material relevant to the study; (2) interpretation of the nature of the policies; (3) comparative analyses of the policies; and (4) identification of the main drivers and patterns in EU 28 and Turkey. Broad categories (themes) identified through the desk research, contributed to better understanding of both effectiveness of adult education and identification of the main drivers, policies and practices. The themes and sub-themes provided a structure for considering relevant developments in country specific contexts, including: Lifelong Learning and Adult Education (historical developments, conceptions and national approaches, adult education and vulnerable young adults); Existing research in the field and policy documents at national level; Specific programmes related to adult education, such as basic skill and remedy programmes; second chance education; retraining; vocational programmes; informal learning; higher education (Kersh and Toiviainen 2017).

Field research was aimed at identifying and analysing examples of good practice (in form of specific programmes) and at mapping communicative ecologies within these programmes and with other small sample groups. Empirical fieldwork involved researching some 40 adult education programmes across 20 countries: Austria, Cyprus, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Malta, Netherlands, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Sweden, Turkey and the UK. Individual and focus group interviews were conducted with 814 participants in total: 482 young learners and 332 professionals (teachers and other practitioners and policy makers). In selecting the types of educational programmes and respondents, the sampling approach was employed to ensure both the diversity (e.g. in terms of different types of programmes and different cohorts of young adults) and focus on APC. Both formal and informal programmes in AE have been used increasingly to overcome social exclusion and facilitate the engagement of young adults. Specifically, in relation to facilitating inclusion and engagement, the following types of programmes were researched:

- Basic skills and remedy programmes
- Second-chance education
- Retraining
- Vocational programmes
- Informal and non-formal learning
- Selected higher education programmes

Even though focusing on adult education programmes listed above, we also included some higher education-related programmes that, from our desk research, have been identified as programmes that provide motivation and contribute to the inclusion and social mobility of young adults. The five types of programmes, listed above, and some selected higher education programmes contribute to a better understanding of AE developments and provide a framework for the presentation of country-specific cases. In the following chapters, the seven contributions provide insight into the developments in selected countries from the project overall sample: Austria, Germany, France, UK, Netherlands, Ireland, Estonia, Latvia, Hungary, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Greece and Turkey.

Key Concepts, Target Groups and Theoretical Considerations

The theoretical framework of this book is informed by both the discourses of adult education and lifelong learning and the conceptualisation of active citizenship in relation to the social inclusion and participation of young adults in vulnerable positions. Emerging as a political goal in many countries around the world (Delanty 2000; Nicoll et al. 2013; Holford and Mleczo 2013; European Commission 1998), the notion of active citizenship has been linked to the development of the knowledge-based economy, employability and social cohesion. In the European policy discussion, adult education and lifelong learning have been increasingly recognised as means for promoting active citizenship, equal opportunities and social cohesion in Europe (European Commission 1998, European Commission 2000; European Commission 2016; European Commission 2015). However, in practice, the different national AE systems in the EU face serious challenges in meeting the educational needs of young people at risk of different vulnerabilities. The role of lifelong learning and social discourses, the notion of vulnerabilities and the concept of active citizenship provide thus a conceptual lens for the interpretation of the approaches towards the promotion of APC and social inclusion.

Discourses of Lifelong Learning and Adult Education

Policies and practices that aim to tackle social exclusion became important items of the European Lifelong Learning agenda in the past decade, and their directions and priorities need to be considered in the wider landscape of the developments in adult education and lifelong learning. The findings of the EduMAP research suggests that the priorities in the development of approaches for AE and social inclusion have been defined, in many ways, by the political and social agendas of governments across the EU. (Kersh and Toiviainen 2017; Toiviainen et al. 2019). The relationship between lifelong learning, adult education and social inclusion, as well as the perceptions, definitions and interpretation of AE and LLL have been strongly influenced by different discourses, both contemporary and historical (Aspin et al. 2012; Schuller and Watson 2009; Evans 2009; Faure et al. 1972). As noted by Aspin et al. (2012), different cultures have their own discourses on learning throughout the life course, informed by their own traditions. Similarly, the EU's terminology around adult education and lifelong learning has not always been clearly defined. It included references to both broad forms of lifelong learning as education and training, 'from cradle to grave' and more specific interpretations, relating to particular types of education for adults.

Given that it is challenging to develop a unified definition of LLL and AE, the general approach of the EduMAP project was to conceptualise these notions in the context of different historical and contextual discourses. The research findings indicate that social and political discourses have contributed to context-specific

interpretations of the concepts of lifelong learning, adult education and inclusion. The interpretation of learning through the lifespan and approaches to adult education and inclusion have been both shaped and influenced by different social perspectives and discourses (Aspin et al. 2012; Evans 2009). Specifically, in the most recent decade, developments and policies related to adult education, inclusion and active citizenship have been strongly influenced by both the economic crisis and the influx of migrants across the EU and Turkey. These trends have resulted in the prevalence of market-oriented approaches and strategies to integrate refugees and migrants across adult education programmes. Therefore, these trends and related discourses, have played a prominent role in defining the vision and strategies for inclusion through adult education. One powerful discourse emphasises the economic justification of LLL, adult education and inclusion, where the value of learning and integration is in acquiring job-related skills and competences, i.e. skills that would enable individuals to succeed in the job market. This neo-liberal perspective has become dominant across a number of European countries.

Another significant discourse has been influenced by current social and demographic challenges, such as, migration and the influx of refugees across Europe (Evans and Niemeyer 2004; Hoskins et al. 2012; Kersh and Toiviainen 2017). The implications for AE have involved developing and re-developing AE programmes to respond to these challenges and the demands of these discourses, ensuring that the provision of training would enable adults to adapt to their new or existing environments and overcome political, economic or social challenges through social and economic inclusion (Toiviainen et al. 2019). This also reflects some of the findings from the Global Report on Adult Learning and Education III (GRALE III 2016): it was observed that more than half the countries taking part in the GRALE survey agreed that adult learning and education can have a moderate to strong effect on employability.

The findings of the EduMAP research indicate that the neo-liberal discourse provides a very powerful context and rationale for the development of LLL and AE across Europe. Moving young adults into work and enabling them to learn the skills required by the contemporary labour market has been considered to be one of the most significant prerequisites of the majority of AE courses across Europe and its neighbouring countries. In Chap. 8 Pata et al. (this volume) observe that in the Baltic States, neo-liberal trends resulted in the new developments in adult education, with a strong focus on employability and entrepreneurship. Other contributions have also underpinned the dominant role of neo-liberal discourses within the context of adult education programmes. The neo-liberal perspectives, however, may undermine the notion of social inclusion, specifically, for young adults at risk of vulnerability. In Chap. 4 Huegler and Kersh (this volume) argue that the context of adult education dominated by socio-economic perspectives involves somewhat narrow interpretation of participation, inclusion and citizenship of young adults, arising in the context of discourse shifts through neoliberalism, emphasising workfare over welfare and responsibilities over rights. Such considerations bring to the fore the role adult education which goes beyond than simply developing skills and competences required by the labour market. As Evans (2009) note, repositioning AE

within LLL requires a shared philosophy of the purposes and benefits of adult learning, which relates to a capability approach and the expansion of human capabilities rather than merely economic development. Such an approach presupposes that learning is rooted in interactions in the social and material environment as well as in the ways in which people connect new experiences to their prior learning (Illeris 2009, 2011). This approach extends beyond the economic dimension and emphasises the importance of social and political participation as well as the responsibilities of participation, developing capabilities and the rights to participate (Evans 2009). These aspects relate strongly to the notion of active citizenship, one of the most significant foci of this project.

The strong interdependency between civic values, learning and AE has been recognised increasingly, both in Europe and beyond. The GRALE III report has placed a specific emphasis on the role of AE for civic and citizenship skills, particularly observing that there is strong evidence that AE can help citizens become more active and resourceful members of their communities. It does this specifically through helping individuals improve their literacy, numeracy and practical skills, and also by fostering life skills such as resilience, confidence and problem-solving as well as encouraging people to become more tolerant of diversity and cultural heritage (GRALE III 2016). In line with GRALE III, the subsequent GRALE IV report has emphasized the untapped potential of adult education within the predominant economist approach. One of the key messages of the report has highlighted the problem of very low participation in adult education for active citizenship, ‘despite its important role in promoting and protecting freedom, equality, democracy, human rights, tolerance and solidarity’ (GRALE IV 2019, p.22).

Target Groups and Vulnerability

The main target group for the EduMap research was young adults at risk of vulnerabilities or in vulnerable positions. It was taken into account that the terms ‘vulnerable’ and ‘vulnerability’ are contested and debated concepts in both policy and research literature. Vulnerability has been defined in relation to a restriction of individual choices and capabilities. In this sense the concept relates to the notion of ‘disadvantaged people’ as such individuals are also held back as a result of having certain disadvantages or possibly lacking advantages and/or opportunities. The EduMAP research indicated that adult education systems differ regarding the recognition and identification of vulnerability of young people.

The interpretation of the concept of vulnerable young adults has also been strongly influenced by both historical and contemporary developments as well as national conceptions. The research findings largely suggest that vulnerable/disadvantaged young adults have been regarded as those who lack some essential capacities and/or are in need of being engaged or re-engaged in relation to social, political and economic involvement. Such young adults often require specific approaches in education and training. Specific target groups in each country/region are often

suggested by local or regional developments. In the UK and Ireland, for example, a high number of young people who are classed as NEET have been defined as a group with particular needs of being integrated into the world of work or education. In Turkey, political unrest and military conflict in neighboring countries has resulted in a high number of refugees and migrants, with the number of immigrants estimated to be over four million. The influx of refugees has characterised, to a greater or lesser extent, a range of other EU countries, and thus ‘refugees and migrants’ have been considered as a group of vulnerable people whose specific requirements need to be addressed in order to facilitate their social engagement, integration and inclusion. In the Baltic States, the historical development of being incorporated in the former Soviet Union left a legacy of a segregated society, with the current challenges related to the integration of ethnic Russians into society in all three countries.

It was noted that vulnerability can be seen both as a universal part of the human condition, and as particular in the sense that it is embodied and embedded, affecting individual people uniquely based on their personal and social situation (Abrisketa et al. 2015). The UN Development Programme’s Human Development Report (UNDP 2014) describes vulnerability as multidimensional, dynamic and relational, linking it to a restriction of people’s choices and capabilities which are critical to human development (e.g. in the areas of health, education, personal security or command over material resources). Therefore, vulnerable groups are interpreted as relating to individuals and communities who are at a considerably more significant risk of restriction, exclusion, and disadvantage.

Over the last decade unemployment and the social exclusion of young people have become important issues of concern across Europe and beyond. The term and meaning of ‘vulnerable young adults’ are open to interpretation and may vary from country to country and from context to context. Young adults in vulnerable positions are suffering from disengagement and disaffection, and, therefore, they are at risk of social exclusion. They often lack both skills and formal qualifications, specifically being held back by deficiencies in basic skills as well as wider personal skills. This often results in lack of self-confidence and motivation, leading to the disengagement of young people from education, training or employment as well as social exclusion. The political concern in many European countries is how to ensure that this group of young people, often categorised as disadvantaged or marginalised, is motivated towards social, political and economic participation. In conceptualising the notion of vulnerability, the EduMAP research team have taken into account that institutions as well as academic researchers who are in positions of power in societies may, by using categories such as ‘vulnerable groups’, inadvertently contribute to the very processes that have stigmatizing and labelling effects (EduMAP Concept Note 2017). The perspective taken by the EduMAP consortium on addressing vulnerability, was to see adult education as a possible means to contributing in different ways to help build resilience of young people (EduMAP Concept Note 2017). Therefore, while recognizing the sensitivity surrounding the concept of vulnerability, the project findings highlight the empowerment of young adults in different situations of vulnerability rather than using vulnerability as a label to define our target groups. Adult education was seen as addressing vulnerability through building

resilience of young people with the aim of facilitating their active participatory citizenship (Toiviainen et al. 2019).

Vulnerable positions, identified in the course of our research, included a range of potential situations at risk, such as unemployment, migrant or refugee status, lack of formal qualifications or basic skills, low confidence, physical or mental health problems. These situations may contribute to risks of social exclusion, disengagement and disaffection. The contributions in this book consider how the notion of vulnerability translates into specific national, regional and local settings, particularly reflecting on different perceptions and interpretations of vulnerability across various contexts of adult education. One common interpretation of being at risk of social exclusion has been identified as socio-economic vulnerability (i.e. risk of unemployment, lack of employability skills). Huegler and Kersh ([this volume](#)) for example, consider selected good practice cases targeting young people deemed not to be engaged in either education, training or employment, NEETs. Tóth et al. ([this volume](#)) reflect on the challenges of promoting the social inclusion and decision-making for people with disabilities, considering the issues of equal access to public services (e.g. education, training, employment, adult education, electoral rights), which is severely restricted for people with disabilities, in the context of Hungary. Thus this brings attention to the issue of multiple vulnerabilities, as highlighted by Endrizzi and Schmidt-Behlau's ([this volume](#)) contribution. They helpfully discuss the notion of multiple vulnerabilities, which contribute to a situation of social and economic exclusion. In their contribution, they underpin a range of multi-layered factors associated with multiple vulnerabilities (e.g. limited basic skills, poor health, low self-esteem and poverty). The interpretation and understanding of vulnerabilities and vulnerable situations have important implications for the conceptualisation of active participatory citizenship, as it varies according to the situation of vulnerability and related needs of young adults.

In addition to the above gender is a cross-cutting element which points to another layer and level of exposure to being vulnerable. Women, especially young single mothers with low educational background and difficult social and economic conditions are exposed to a specific situation of risk because of their child care responsibilities. Those who find themselves confronted with a refugee situation such as fleeing from a home country in war can become even more vulnerable when exposed to a new situation of risk starting a new life in a foreign host country.

Active Participatory Citizenship

The complexity surrounding the interpretation of the notion of active citizenship has been indicated by the ongoing discussion in both research and policy papers. Fresh perspectives on active citizenship bring attention to the broader social, political and economic dimensions of citizenship, which go beyond the conventional interpretation of legal status and political participation (see Marshall 1977). The focus on the notion of 'participation' suggests conceptualising citizenship not only as *active* but

also as *participatory*, thus emphasising that through social inclusion approaches young adults are encouraged to assume both active and participatory roles in their immediate and wider social contexts (Kalekin-Fishman, Tsitselikis and Pitkänen 2007). Addressing emerging social demands and overcoming contemporary challenges stemming from the unstable political, social and economic situation affecting Europe calls for a better understanding of the role and interpretation of the concept of APC in relation to the social inclusion of young adults in vulnerable positions. A broader European discourse on active citizenship (Milana 2008) stressed the significance of community participation, as well as the promotion of tolerance and diversity (GRALE III 2016). Community membership, both local and global, has been described as an element of social engagement and citizenship, whereby ‘an active or global citizen is understood to be a member of the wider community’ (Field and Schemmann 2017:172).

The specific focus on young adults in vulnerable positions highlights the importance of adult education for social justice tradition. The consideration of this tradition provides a rich context for a conceptual understanding of this notion and helps to develop the project’s approach towards AC for vulnerable groups, specifically taking into account how AC could be enhanced through AE. Such an approach further helps to advance the interpretation of the project’s original definition, which refers to AC as ‘membership of a politico-legal community that serves as a forum for *political, social and economic participation*’. In addition, the concept of citizenship has been linked to the socio-economic aspect of AC, dealing with engagement through employment and work-related training (Further Education Funding Council 2000:4). Such perspectives on AC bring to the fore the significance of individual or group participation, specifically through taking a more active role in the developments and processes by which decisions are made about their lives (Field and Schemmann 2017). This discussion underpins complex interdependencies between citizenship, inclusion and participation in both local and global communities. The recent policy discussion on AC has been driven by a concern that young people, in particular, are often not strongly embedded within their communities, and may lack the knowledge and skills to act effectively as citizens. In this discussion, education is seen as a key means for supporting AC and social cohesion (Brooks and Holford 2009; Boeren and Holford, 2016; Henn et al. 2005; Vromen 2003; de Weerd et al. 2005:1). With such an interpretation, learning for AC is seen as part of a lifelong activity in which a person constructs links between learning and societal action.

People can take an active part in diverse formal and informal learning processes at local, national and international levels. The contexts in which citizenship can be learned thus occur not only in educational organisations but in various areas of social life: civil society, work, and what is usually designated as the private sphere (Kalekin-Fishman et al. 2007). In this context, AC could be perceived, interpreted and exercised through its different configurations and dimensions. The findings of EduMAP suggest that with the exception of programmes for newly arrived migrants and/or refugees, the majority of AE courses do not demonstrate an explicit focus on citizenship education and/or skills. However, different dimensions of AC, such as economic, social and political dimensions, have characterised (often implicitly) AE

programmes and initiatives across all countries considered in this book. While some programmes are specifically focused on citizenship (e.g. programmes for migrants), often ‘citizenship’ is not used explicitly and/or may be embedded. AE programmes and initiatives across all countries are seen as related to the social, political or economic dimensions of AC. Therefore, through the different dimensions of AC, we trace the social, political and economic dimensions that have characterised AE programmes and initiatives, implicitly rather than explicitly, across the European countries. These include:

- the socio-cultural dimension, which focuses on the development of social competences and social capital
- the socio-economic dimension, which relates to employment (e.g. developing employability skills) including access to social benefits
- the political dimension, which encourages civic and political participation, for example, running for boards, neighbourhood and community activities

Findings from field research data across all cases in EduMAP suggests that the concept or term of active (participatory) citizenship does not seem to be relevant to young people in its *abstract* meaning, but when formulating the questions so that young people are prompted to talk about their interests, needs and aspirations as well as when methodology uses focus group discussions, an often more *implicit* understanding surfaces about how young people are aware of their rights and ways of feeling part of society and addressing social injustices that they have observed. In most interviews with the young people, they express either a feeling of being ‘hampered’ by certain individual disabilities (mental or physical, related to learning) or an experience of discrimination by the larger society because of their vulnerable position. This highlights the close connection between conditions of vulnerability and how these play out as barriers to active participatory citizenship in all its dimensions and on all levels. The implicit rather than explicit ways of the promotion of active participatory citizenship were highlighted by both the desk research and through the exploration of special cases of AE programmes across the EU and Turkey. The consideration of good practice cases in Austria, Germany and France by Endrizzi and Schmidt-Behlau ([this volume](#)) shows how the development and promotion of APC can be either explicit and ‘on the cover’, as a core objective pursued through an adopted education strategy, or more implicit and ‘under cover’. They conclude that despite the more or less direct vocation for APC, those AE programmes with a more participatory and learner-focused approach and pedagogical strategy are more suitable for conveying APC values and have a higher impact on young adults’ learning experiences and attitudes, an indication that AE enables individuals to become active and resourceful members of their communities. Huegler and Kersh’s exploration ([this volume](#)) of selected AE programmes in the UK, Ireland and the Netherlands has indicated a strong focus on the socio-economic dimension, i.e. integration through entering employment, whereas active participatory citizenship is promoted implicitly rather than explicitly, through equipping young adults with employability skills, thus facilitating their chances to take a more active role in their social settings through their engagement into employment and paying taxes.

Cross-national considerations: challenges and strategies for the inclusion of young adults The cross-national consideration of the notions of vulnerability, inclusion and active citizenship (AC) underpins the complexity of translating these concepts into the national contexts of adult education (AE) programmes. The seven contributions, illustrating the configurations of inclusion and active participatory citizenship (APC) across selected European countries and Turkey, show that the notion of APC is a multidimensional concept, encompassing the complex interdependencies between economic, social and political participation. The theoretical research has suggested that the role of both national historical traditions in education and wider political, social and economic discourses affecting Europe and its bordering countries have shaped the approaches to inclusion through AE. Neoliberal discourse, justifying the economic value of lifelong learning, have contributed to the inclusion strategies focusing on employability and labour market skills. Migration and the influx of refugees across Europe have resulted in schemes and programmes aiming to integrate newcomers, such as refugees and migrants. A deeper empirical exploration of our cases in different cultural-historical contexts has indicated that the approaches towards inclusion and the promotion of APC have often been driven by national political priorities rather than by the multiple needs of vulnerable young adults.

What emerges from the cross-national consideration in EduMAP is a complex and interdependent relationship between learning, education, active citizenship and barriers that young people experience. More often than not these components are not clearly separate. Adult education and learning play an important role for fostering and enabling active citizenship and clearly practicing active citizenship is part of learning how to engage and overcome barriers, there is a mutual reinforcement. For women, especially from countries with stronger patriarchal norms, cultural values or the expected role of women to be the main family care giver can be a strong barrier that needs to be overcome. Experiences of difficult life situations and feeling vulnerable can turn into manifold barriers, starting with challenges accessing adult education.

The following individual chapters offer the consideration of particular challenges as well as examples of good practices from selected country contexts. The promotion of APC has been considered from the perspectives of both policies and practice. The implications for individual learners' perceptions of what AC means and how it could be exercised vary from context to context. The consideration of APC through the lens of different forms of participation and engagement (e.g. economic, social or political) contributes to an understanding of the ways that young adults exercise their agency through a more active engagement in a variety of contexts, including those of family, community, education and workplace. The complexity of the conceptual understanding of the key concepts underpins the discussion offered in the seven contributions within this book. The notion of vulnerability is particularly complex and multidimensional. It may be context dependent, i.e. what is considered vulnerable in one context may not necessarily be regarded in the same way in a different context.

The seven region-specific contributions (Chaps. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8) shed light on particular challenges and strategies for the inclusion of young adults at risk of social exclusion across selected European countries and Turkey. In Chap. 2, Zarifis ([this volume](#)) focuses on the issues of participation and non-participation of unemployed young adults with low skills (including early school-leavers and NEETs) in educational activities that either focus or promote active citizenship in southern Europe (Greece, Cyprus, Malta, Italy, Spain and Portugal). The discussion uncovers the reasons behind low political, social and/or cultural participation rates among vulnerable young adults in the region, specially through demonstrating that South European countries are showing less favourable conditions for increasing the participation of low-skilled unemployed young adults in such programmes. By considering the diverse conceptualisation of active participatory citizenship (APC) and the educational strategies adopted in the different programmes in France, Austria in Germany, Endrizzi and Schmidt-Behlau's ([this volume](#)) chapter demonstrates how APC can either be explicit and 'on the cover', as core objective pursued through an adopted education or be exercised and perceived more implicitly and 'under cover'.

The contribution by Huegler and Kersh ([this volume](#)) considers the focus on the socio-economic dimensions of citizenship in the context of neoliberal welfare and education policies specifically demonstrating how these trends have influenced the adult education and lifelong learning scenes in the UK and in other countries in North-Western Europe. By discussing the implications of attempts to remedy social exclusion risks above all through a labour-market driven approach, and by contrasting this with alternative perspectives (from within the selected countries and beyond), Huegler and Kersh ([this volume](#)) aim to offer a critical view on contemporary debates regarding the potential roles of lifelong learning in promoting active participatory citizenship. Pata et al. ([this volume](#)) similarly draw attention to the emerging neo-liberal trends in the Baltic States, resulting from new developments in adult education, specifically highlighting the role of active citizenship in developing individual entrepreneurial skills.

Tóth et al. ([this volume](#)) consider the development in Hungary, specifically looking at Roma and young people with disabilities, and discuss the issues of access to AE, drawing attention to the ways that the national and European goals for reform, capacity-building projects and financial support remain isolated and incomplete. These factors, as they discuss further, minimise the chance for the creation of an independent, integrated, educated, democratically thinking and participating citizenship. The consideration of policies and practices from the three Scandinavian countries (Kuusipalo et al. [this volume](#)) offers an insight into the interplay between AE and the provision of equal opportunities for vulnerable groups, specifically highlighting how the lack of basic skills affect the issues of equality and life chances.

The shortcomings in the developments and implementation of integration strategies in Turkey, with respect to developing sustainable and gender-sensitive AE programmes, have been discussed in the contribution by Erdoğan et al. ([this volume](#)). Through the review of the major legal and institutional developments in Turkey since the first wave of refugees entering Turkey after the beginning of the Syrian Civil War in 2011, that chapter provides an analysis of how new AE programmes are designed

to target specific groups of refugees under pressure from multiple vulnerabilities. The strong thread that runs through the seven chapters underpins the complex interdependencies between the provision and implementation of AE strategies and the promotion of active participatory citizenship for young adults in vulnerable positions.

The final chapter (Toiviainen et al. [this volume](#)) presents overall conclusions, pulled from the seven chapters, specifically reflecting on country- and region-specific developments in relation to national approaches to the social inclusion of young adults at risk of vulnerability, in selected European countries and one non-EU country, Turkey.

The collection of chapters will provide illustrations and discussion of the issues related to the promotion of AC through AE programmes. The theoretical considerations, such as the influence of neo-liberal discourses and the interpretation of the concept of AC, will offer a basis for further analysis of empirical findings.

Finally, it's worth highlighting that research presented in this book has been undertaken by the EduMAP consortium between 2016 and 2019, prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. The effects of the COVID-19 crisis across Europe and beyond, have had a further profound impact on the role and perception active citizenship, its purposes, meanings and implications for the practice of adult education, social inclusion and lifelong learning across Europe and globally. The global crisis and impact of the COVID-19 pandemic call for further research on the future developments and role of adult education for the promotion of active citizenship and engagement of young adults. Future approaches to researching adult education and active citizenship need to take into account the significant challenge of the COVID-19 situation and its implications for social inclusion and life chances of young adults across Europe and beyond.

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Chapter 2

Active Citizenship Programmes for Unemployed Young Adults with Low Skills in Southern Europe: Participation, Outreach, and Barriers



George K. Zarifis

Introduction

Europe is, and further will be, facing new challenges related to the consequences of demographic change. Among other socio-demographic transformations, population ageing is inevitable in most European states due to long-term demographic trends. Therefore, social policies are focusing more and more on the circumstances and effects of active social lives, essentially encouraging longer working lifetimes (European Commission 2012). Nevertheless, what about those adults who are exposed to socio-economic disadvantages? Moreover, has the vulnerability of certain social groups like the long-term unemployed changed due to the socio-economic transformations of the last decades in Europe? How have policy changes that were introduced as a response to new social and economic structures affected the social vulnerability of those groups, and in particular low-skilled or low-qualified young adults who remain out of work (and education) for too long?

Lifelong Learning (LLL) and active citizenship have recently been a major preoccupation of those considering policy options in the European Union. In European policy documents (European Commission 1998, 2011), active citizenship has been interpreted as specific skills, attitudes and knowledge that have to be acquired through education. The political aim is to create feelings of belonging, participation and democracy through social activities and learning. Even if the European education system appears to have been successful in enhancing active citizenship in terms of participation in educational initiatives and educational attainment, some particularly vulnerable areas remain. The pledges and aims of 'Europe2020' include two priorities. The first is to decrease the rate of early leavers from education and training, and the second is to reduce the proportion

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of people at risk of poverty. According to the European Commission (2012) high quality adult education and highly trained adult educators in particular, can enhance the chances of early leavers from initial education and training to enter labour market through upgrading their skills and qualifications. The potential to stable income will reduce the quantity of population at-risk-of-poverty or exclusion.

The development of relevant policies and targeted initiatives for young unemployed adults with low skills have not passed unnoticed in southern Europe for the last decade. However, and despite the existing policies and strategies, most countries in the region do not place active citizenship programmes for low-skilled adults as a priority. The latest PIAAC results, the high influx of migrant and refugee populations in the area, the rising unemployment, poverty, and most of all the low participation rates in adult education, particularly among vulnerable social groups, has placed the issue back on the policy agenda (Zarifis 2019).

Based on an ad-hoc analysis of the accessibility of adult education as part of the research report on adult education in the EU for the Horizon 2020 EduMAP project,¹ this chapter provides an in-depth look on the socio-economic reasons behind the low participation rates of young adults (aged 18–30) in active citizenship programmes in southern Europe, with some country examples. The departure point for this chapter is the broad research on adult education in the EU (EDUMAP Deliverable 2.1 2017). The specific focus of the research is on vulnerable young people, and in particular the report aims to highlight the extent to which AE and LLL initiatives have been effective for engaging and re-engaging vulnerable (disadvantaged young) people, and facilitating their social inclusion across EU28 countries. The concept of active citizenship (AC) is employed to provide a better understanding of social inclusion and participation of vulnerable young people, where AC is seen as related to the following dimensions: social, political or economic dimensions of participation and engagement.

In the chapter I argue that despite the unfavourable socio-economic conditions and the lack of state support, many countries in the region are showing signs of resurgence particularly through the development of initiatives at local and regional levels, as well as the challenges and the complications that many of these initiatives have to face due to low participation, lack of effective outreach policies, and existing barriers to access. Ad-hoc analysis in this respect proves useful because it allows to make a query at any time, select the data sources, and determine how data will be presented. What is presented in this chapter is a totally customized form of analysis with data that is extracted from national agencies (ministries of education, ministries of employment, and other relevant national authorities), national, regional and local AE providers as well as EUROSTAT. Ad-hoc analysis allows for a deeper dive to find the answer to a specific query. In this case it explains some of the variables involved in low participation of young low-qualified adults in active citizenship

¹ More details on EduMAP are available at <https://projects.tuni.fi/edumap/>. EduMAP (No 693388) was funded under the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme. The opinions of the author of this chapter do not represent those of the European Commission or the EduMAP Consortium.

programmes. Along the same line, ad-hoc reporting provides a quick answer in its own report, without waiting for regular, standard analysis. But the two work together. They each have their own purpose, with ad-hoc reporting providing a different level of insight to support decision making.

The Impact of Socio-Political State of Affairs in the Region

It took 10 years with a series of terrorist attacks in major European cities, a lasting economic crisis with severe social repercussions, the influx of a large number of war refugees and economic migrants and the opportunistic rise of the far right, for the policy rhetoric to shift towards the need for an education that encourages empowerment and emancipation. This rhetoric was encompassed in the term “active citizenship”. The term was endorsed in the European Council and European Commission’s joint report about the “*New priorities for European cooperation in education and training*” (Official Journal of the European Union 2015), but also in the Paris Declaration on “*Promoting citizenship and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination through education*” (EU Ministries of Education 2015). In European policy documents, however, active citizenship is interpreted as specific skills, attitudes and knowledge (i.e. measured learning outcomes) that can be acquired through education. The EU’s political aim is to create feelings of belonging, participation and democracy through *social activities and learning*. Growing ethnic and religious diversity in Europe, however, poses both opportunities and challenges to European policy-makers and societies. It is expected that this diversity will continue to increase. At the same time, recent studies (Van Driel et al. 2016) show that intolerance and social exclusion are increasing, with some migrant groups feeling alienated. This is leading to incidences of social unrest. So how can adult education prepare societies for dealing with these phenomena?

Southern European member states have an expressed interest in developing or expanding relevant policies and practices. However, the general economic and socio-political outlook in the majority of the European south, has a persisting –if not intensified– effect on adult participation in education in general. This tendency is more evident among young adults with low skills, hence those with ISCED level 0–2. The Greek adult education and VET sector for example has been strongly affected by very low and decreasing public spending, due to strict fiscal consolidation. Adult participation in lifelong learning in Greece remains very low and has tended to stagnate over time. It stood at 3.0% in 2014, compared to an EU average of 10.7%. Some groups of people, such as the lower skilled young adults (ISCED level 0–2) – with a participation rate of barely 0.4% in 2014, compared to an EU average of 4.4% – or older people and those living in isolated, remote and sparsely populated areas have less access to training (OECD 2016a). Recent legislation in the adult education sector in Greece indicates the intention to revert to the educational policy from the pre-2010 period. There is still considerable room to increase efficiency and effectiveness at virtually all levels of adult education (basic, initial and continuing VET).

Along the same line the fragile recovery of the Portuguese economy, the rates of unemployment, adult participation in learning, and educational attainment are still low, particularly those young adults who are low qualified. In spite of (adult) education policies in the last decade, results achieved seem to be insufficient to reduce the distance between Portugal and other European Union countries (OECD 2016b). The stress upon economic development, even if including a reference to low qualified young adults, reflects the ambivalence of the role assigned to adult education. It has gone from a central pillar in some policy discourses, something that could improve economic development, to a minor position in the political, social, educational, cultural and civic agenda. Only the certification and professional qualification issues and rates have been expressively stressed in policy discourses and programmes, which is a very short concern when education is at stake (Antunes and Guimarães 2015).

For Malta it is the first time, the country's efforts in the field of adult education more generally are spearheaded by a National Lifelong Learning Strategy which was adopted in 2014. It attaches importance to the issue of up-skilling people from 20–64 and beyond. There has been a shift in the economy from manufacturing towards a service-oriented industry. The special emphasis is now placed on knowledge intensive work (Bacchus 2008). The National LLL Strategy document is geared to reaching targets for education set by the EU and takes into account the special conditions of a small island state. It places importance on 'employability' but it does not go beyond it to provide a more comprehensive set of guidelines for a more exclusive approach to education for active citizenship (Mayo 2012).

In Italy, the labour market is gradually emerging from the prolonged recession. However, the risk of labour market exclusion is high, particularly for the young. Although recovering, employment and unemployment are still among the worst in the OECD area. Participation of young adults in lifelong learning is very low and shows irregular progress. At the current growth rate, the ET2020 target of participation in lifelong learning (15%) could be achieved by 2030 (ISFOL 2014). The trends towards increased participation are related largely to activities promoted by companies or, more generally, due to private (commercial or social) initiatives. Participation in lifelong learning is concentrated largely on people with highly qualified professional roles. The most significant measure is the reform of the active labour market policies. Its implementation could improve the role of employment services and prompt the unemployed to retrain (MEF 2016). However, policy interventions on these issues have often been announced, but never fully implemented.

In Cyprus adult education is a field that has gained distinct attention only within the last few years. Despite the reforms taking place, the statistics still reflect low levels of participation of young age groups. At the same time the PIAAC survey (MoEC 2016) has revealed a low level of basic skills attainment among the young adult population. Albeit the low level of basic skills of low qualified adults (ISCED 0–2), their participation is still the lowest among all other groups. The attention given to the field by the state is an indicator of the significant role adult education has to play, especially in helping overcome the current financial crisis. The National Lifelong Learning Strategy 2014–2020 is an important step toward addressing key

challenges in the field of adult education and lifelong learning, although the implementation of planned reforms is not always on time (Papaioannou 2016).

Last but not least, in the Spanish context participation rates, educational levels, inclusion of low qualified adults in the labour market and other statistics generally point to Spain making slow progress in relation to European goals. In this sense the situation of the adult education system has declined over the last 5 years. The latest OECD report indicates that investment in education decreased from 9% to 8%, well below the average of European countries (11%) (OECD 2016c). Officials of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport affirm that these are figures from 2013, but the fact is that the budget has only had a small increase – 0.1% since then the educational budget has in fact decreased from EUR 53,000 million in 2009 to EUR 46,000 million in 2015 (Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad 2016). There are general statements concerning adult education and learning, but there are no initiatives to encourage people to attend adult learning.

In general the socio-political and economic outlook for most south European member states presents a paralysis in the functioning of legislative measures and the possibility of new more effective measures is yet quite far from reality. Key strengths in the policy area in this region of Europe however, include the tradition that connects adult education and learning with local communities, and the work that has been done by several NGOs particularly with young migrants and refugees as well with young ROMA population. In terms of weaknesses, it is possible to cite the lack of a culture of learning, the lack of a workforce with specific training, and in some cases the utilisation of education as a partisan issue (Zarifis 2012, 2019).

Major Challenges in Programme Delivery and Relevance

What has largely been disregarded through the years in the region, because of the intensive advocative rhetoric on skilling for the labour market that was and still is dominant, is the focus on active citizenship. The relevant rhetoric is overarched principally by those who approach adult education from the narrow perspective of the relation between vocational education and training (VET) and the needs of the labour market in skills that exclusively support human capital. Yet, the social role of adult education including that of VET has not been translated into concrete and tangible programmes and educational practices, leaving a severe, yet not unrepairable, discrepancy in programme provision. In Greece for example organising a long term lifelong learning thematic agenda for a fully pledged (as consistent, focused and structured) adult education for building social capital is essential (Zarifis 2019). Delivering a fully structured agenda for current and future skills in order to address transversal skills for personal and social development (such as citizenship, decision making, problem solving, etc.) is vital. Promoting uninterrupted forms of networking among existing lifelong learning structures and institutions (including initial and continuing VET structures and Universities, as well as schools and local communities, museums and cultural centres, libraries and sporting facilities) will

contribute to the expansion of provision of relevant programmes. Any reform however, needs to enhance the relevance between adult educational policies with provision of active citizenship programmes, as well as the improvement of lifelong counselling and guidance for those who are socially vulnerable; hence the low skilled, migrants and long-term unemployed (Zarifis et al. 2015).

Similar evaluations in Portugal have noted that the link between adult education policy and work was the weakest dimension of provision. On the one hand, it was clear that higher educational attainment is important for economic development and the concern of increasing educational attainment rates has been stressed by a large number of international and national organisations and researchers: namely these that promote human capital theories. However, the large majority of enterprises in Portugal are micro, small or medium sized, in which employers do not value education and training and in which many workers are low educated and trained. One of the reasons pointed to explain this situation is the fact that nor employers or workers seem to consider that adult education provision improves neither productivity nor an increase in skills. Important skills are the outcome from school certification, general in character, and skills that are not specific, nor clearly linked to professional tasks or a job (Carneiro 2011). The existing *Programa Qualifica* launched in August 2016, only includes a short range of provisions for promoting lifelong learning policies and improving the quality of the learning processes. Therefore, this new policies directed at fostering the achievement of education and training pathways leading to qualifications (school certification and professional qualification). These pathways are based on valuing learning developed through life, through the achievement of recognition of prior learning, and the acquisition and development of competences by the attendance of education and training courses and modular training. However, this seems to be clearly insufficient when observing the cultural, economic, and civic problems that the Portuguese society is currently facing (Cavaco 2016).

In Italy the actions focused on understanding and identifying needs and motivations of learners are mainly carried out within the framework of measures providing individual training plans. Identification of current and future skills needs of employers is carried out by various bodies. Nevertheless, foresight studies are lacking for the medium and long term which would improve the development of programmes to meet the needs of the labour market. Innovation and flexibility in the delivery of learning is reflected principally in regional policies that over the past 15 years have developed regional, remote training systems and structure models of training paths (INDIRE 2013). In the territorial training projects, programmes are promoted by associations or networks of stakeholders. In the corporate projects such actions can also take very rich forms that involve the future participants in the planning process. The public policies explicitly aimed at encouraging the emergence of new demand for training –(i.e. adults at risk of social exclusion) are based primarily on measures of “compulsory training.” This approach characterises all measures related to the new flexicurity policies and of “active inclusion” (poverty), as well as the policies which aim to introduce new standards of quality in productive activities, in business, in the professions (doctors, engineers, lawyers, etc.). In these cases, obtaining

a certification and the formal fulfilment of the provisions of the law is the main motivation for participation. However, compulsory training has a cost for those who participate. It is free when it is connected to flexicurity policies and active inclusion (SPRAR 2016).

In Malta while drafting the National Youth Policy for 2015–2020, three separate but interlocking pillars were identified and provided the background and context for the development of this policy (MEDE 2014). The first of these pillars is the reality of the lives of young people in Malta today and how coherent policies, effectively implemented and actively supported, can help young people in meeting their needs and aspirations. The second pillar is the development of youth policy over the past 20 years at both national and European level. The evolution and implementation of youth policy has provided us with not only the aims and objectives towards which such policy should be directed, but also the underlying principles, methodologies, tools and administrative and financial supports. The third pillar is the Government's policy for greater democratic participation, equitable economic and social progress for all, and inclusive change. In most conventional accounts of youth transition, the route from full-time education to the labour market is often perceived as the most critical. A successful economic transition, it is argued, forms the basis for the ultimate attainment of domestic independence, household and/or family formation. In senior policy circles, therefore, it is understandable that a crucial aim of the education system should be vocational preparation. Education, however, embraces a broader mission than merely aligning the education system with the needs of the economy. In fact such an alignment is no simple task, because healthy economies are dynamic and in a state of constant flux and change (NFCHE 2013). Young people, therefore, need to be equipped with something rather more than sets of occupationally-defined competences. They need the skills, competences and attitudes required to adapt to rapidly changing economic and social conditions. The acquisition of such navigation skills should now be regarded as an essential element of a good education. As far as participation in education is concerned, attention has been drawn to the problem of illiteracy and dropout rates (Mayo 2007).

A challenge for adult education in Cyprus is the need to bridge the world of education and training with the real world of work. The National Lifelong Learning Strategy for 2014–2020 is focused on the promotion of vocational education and training especially targeted at young adults. The implemented and planned developments and reforms are a serious step towards combating skills mismatch and youth unemployment. The Cypriot Human Resource Development Agency (HRDA) is promoting research activities (skills forecasting) for understanding and harmonising the supply of skills to the needs of the economy, with no reference to social and civic skills (Cyprus Government 2015). Along this line, there is not much activity targeted at the identification and understanding of learners' needs. Most of the programmes offered in formal adult education, especially those offering second-chance education to low educated young adults (i.e., Evening Gymnasiums-Lyceums, Evening Technical Schools), do not use tools for assessing the learners' needs and adjusting to them. In contrast, their curricula and their operational framework are

directly imposed by the Ministry of Education and Culture, leaving little space for adjustments (World Bank 2014).

Early school leaving remains a challenge in Spain. In 2014, about 39% of men and 28% of women among the 25–34 year-olds did not have an upper-secondary qualification 4, which is twice the OECD average. Nevertheless, the past 4 years have seen a substantial shrink in early school leaving, as a consequence of increased enrolment in vocational education and training. A significant proportion of youth in Spain have poor literacy skills (18%) and poor numeracy skills (23%) (OECD 2016c). Even if Spanish youth perform better than the group aged 30–54 years which represents an improvement with respect to the previous generation, they still score poorly compared to other OECD countries. Young people who are neither employed nor in education or training (NEETs) risk being left permanently behind in the labour market. This risk is especially high for the relatively large share of low-skilled NEETs (i.e. those who have not finished upper secondary schooling). Many in this group live in households without any employed adults, suggesting that they are also at risk of poverty (Dolado et al. 2013). Effective policies are needed to reconnect members of this group with the labour market and improve their career prospects. While long-term unemployment among youth has risen sharply in most European countries during the crisis, higher unemployment and NEETs rates in Spain largely reflect much higher worker turnover rather than a higher prevalence of long-term unemployment. Further, the transition from education to a first stable job takes longer in Spain. The high incidence of temporary employment in Spain is found to be the main determinant of both high worker turnover and the volatility of youth employment (Scarpetta et al. 2010).

Barriers to Participation and the Need for Targeted Outreach

Most country studies in southern Europe show that the strategies implemented by most member states in the region to increase the number of young adults in education, or to reach out to disadvantaged groups of young adults, particularly those who are low skilled, concern the articulation between supply and demand of lifelong learning.

Table 2.1 below shows the varied rate of participation in adult education and lifelong learning programmes in the selected six southern European member states among young adults. The table shows that the majority of the countries on which this chapter focuses score the lowest levels of adult participation in any type of formal education between 2010 and 2015. Although any statistical analysis cannot make direct reference to how formal, non-formal or informal education is approached by the respondents in order to identify themselves as belonging to any of the categories for which data is collected, the numbers reveal a highly uncomfortable situation for some of these member states.

Table 2.1 Lifelong learning participation rates of low qualified adults (ISCED 0–2) in six selected southern European countries and progress against EU2020 target and EU average

	Greece	Cyprus	Italy	Spain	Portugal	Malta
2015	0.4%	1.6%	2%	3.6%	4.2%	2.4%
2014	0.4%	1.4%	2.2%	3.9%	4.3%	2.9%
2013	0.4%	1.2%	1.5%	4.6%	4.6%	2.5%
2012	0.4%	1.3%	1.6%	4.7%	6.1%	2.4%
2011	0.4%	1.3%	1.2%	4.7%	7.8%	3%
2010	0.5%	1.1%	1.3%	4.7%	3.6%	3.4%

Source: Participation rate in education and training by age, Eurostat trng_ifse_01, last updated 26 April 2016

Explanatory note: EU average participation rate for low qualified adults at the time of the EDUMAP research was 4.3%. This table compares the participation rate in lifelong learning of adults aged 25–64 for those with low qualification levels (ISCED levels 0–2) between 2010 and 2015

Most south European countries, do not show any favourable conditions for increasing participation of young adults in learning (see Carneiro 2011; Lucio-Villegas 2012; Mayo 2012; Papaioannou 2016; Zarifis 2008). Many of them face major barriers to implementing policies to increase the number of adults participating. These barriers generally appear at all levels of adult education, but the most influential ones as Broek et al. (2010) suggest are the institutional barriers.

This is very evident in Greece where the major policy target for adult education and VET systems is to ensure the mechanisms that will endorse and improve the effectiveness of the existing national strategy for LLL, so that the ongoing as well as the planned interventions meet the local needs. This is not easy to be achieved mostly because these needs are linked to the needs of the labour market, and are not targeted to the target groups' particular needs for civic responsibility and essentially combating the risk of social vulnerability. To this end, lack of initiatives for resolving issues of access and raising adult participation rates in education appear as the main barriers. Despite the efforts and some relevant actions at policy level by the Council of Lifelong Learning, the goal to increase participation in adult education that promotes active citizenship cannot be realised without rebooting the adult education system within a strategic framework that builds a permanent link between adult education and training with the development of transversal skills. Moreover, Greece has to resolve inequalities in access to adult education which are reflected in the minimum participation of young workers, artisans and the low skilled in comparison to those with the highly skilled, the greater participation of residents of urban areas over suburban and rural areas, and in the greater involvement of young people with high level of education compared to those with lower levels of education (Zarifis 2012). In addition, the intensification of the refugee crisis in 2015 has disproportionately affected Greece as a transit country. This unanticipated increase in refugee and migration inflows, and the estimated continuation or even escalation of inflows in response to the continuing geopolitical tensions in the Middle East, undoubtedly entail an additional challenge in terms of educational opportunities for

this particular group. PIAAC data² also shows that a demand for raising literacy levels must be a priority. The low levels of educational attainment and qualification amongst young adults in particular reveal a deficit in building a sustainable lifelong learning approach despite the measures foreseen in the relevant laws (Zarifis 2020).

The participation barriers young low-skilled adults face in Malta is facing are also many. It has a high percentage of early school leavers (the percentage of early school leavers in Malta hovered around the 22% mark in 2013) (MEDE 2014). In response, Malta provides an alternative learning programme at a particular centre to address students at risk of early school leaving. This centre faces the challenge of providing adult continuing education for both these students in terms of their continuing education and others not caught by this safety net. The other challenge is to bridge the digital divide and here further investment in support of adequate adult provision is necessary including support for local council initiatives in the field. Malta needs to extend and improve the quality of its multimedia library provision in different localities on the understanding that these libraries are often considered as important sources of LLL. These libraries are to serve as hives of learning activities in terms of enabling adults and youngsters to improve their digital literacy, reading and information gathering and sifting skills, important skills for both citizenship and work. It needs to invest more in the sectors of intercultural adult education given the constantly changing nature of the country's multi ethnic composition and also, as with all other countries of the world, adult education for sustainable development, the latter to be part of a holistic approach at all levels of education from cradle to grave (Mayo et al. 2008).

In Italy until recently, a policy of emergency containment prevailed concerning vulnerable groups (e.g. migrants, NEET, elderly, etc.) through specific responses and momentary interventions. Today the challenge for Italy is to define the supply of skills that the country needs to ensure participation of the country in the new industrial revolution characterised by new production models based on the embedding of intelligence in all objects of industrial production, as well as in living and working environments. Today, the creation of innovation and its use aim at human capital development, equipped with more refined qualities than those required by previous industrial eras (UE 2014). It is not just reforms are needed to face this challenge. Italy does not have a public system of adult learning and as a result adult learning does not achieve the standards of quality and extent of other countries. Public investment should respond to a support strategy of expanding the demand for training by all the population and qualification and enlargement of the offer. Some of the reforms in place (the public administration and flexicurity policies) are moving in this direction, but they are not enough. Other policies should be adopted urgently to support individual demand (from vouchers to the effective obligation of adult learning), the creation of support systems (from operator training, to research,

²Greece participated in the second round of the international survey PIAAC of OECD, for the period 2012–2016. The full results have not yet been released, however the general indicators show that adults in Greece score very low in ICT skills. The full report is available at <http://www.oecd.org/publications/skills-matter-9789264258051-en.htm>

to the introduction of access policies to new technologies, as well as cultural infrastructures), the adoption of fiscal measures that favour social mobility (tax simplification and breaks for new businesses) and the qualification of training organisations (cutting down oligopolies, opening up to competition, encouraging their internationalisation as well as the creation of new training start-ups) (OECD 2016d). Certain barriers of accessing education and training of young low-skilled adults in Italy refer to the ability to contribute to the revival of growth and employment in a context of shrinking resources, of fiscal policy aimed at ensuring debt reduction. It is true that the policies of flexicurity and the social act have increased the potential demand for training through the concentration of public resources on vulnerable groups, but the adoption of measures supporting individual demand for training can help spread the possibility of increasing people's freedom of choice and customising routes. This could enrich the training offered and improve quality assurance. Additionally, this trend of measures to support individual demand would lead to the release of public resources and direct them to the construction of a public system of adult learning that ensures all necessary support for proper functioning of the adult education market. This includes: improved skills recognition systems, training of trainers, dissemination of information and guidance services, introduction of devices for quality control of learning and to the adoption of favourable tax policies (MLPS 2015).

In Cyprus at the moment, a major challenge for adult education that focuses on active citizenship is the planning and implementation of a special Administration of Adult Education and Lifelong Learning under the aegis of the Ministry of Education and Culture. The Administration is an opportunity for the creation of a group of adult education experts, which will lead to the promotion of reforms and developments under a unified plan. At the same time, this evolution will address the need for the creation of a database of information, data and literature on adult education on a local basis and will further promote the systematisation of the field (Papaioannou 2016). Additionally, this reform will ease the creation of a monitoring mechanism that will ensure the quality of the programmes. To address the need for the creation of a quality adult educational system, another challenge is the establishment of a legislative framework that will define and regulate adult educational staff. This reform would regulate the qualifications and the required training of the adult educational staff in a legislatively harmonised way (Zarifis 2012).

In Spain adult education has traditionally been linked to communities either in a social dimension or in relation to the local production system. While a part of this important tradition has been lost, its influence remains, as seen in the Communities of Learning operating in disadvantaged neighbourhoods such as the *Polígono Sur*³ (South District) in the city of Seville, and other similar initiatives spread around the country. These kinds of initiatives can be considered strengths because people find in these activities a motivation to attend learning activities (Flecha 2015). There are also some positive examples of strong collaboration between the public sector,

³ See <http://www.poligonosursevilla.es/opencms/opencms/>

workers and employers in the field of adult training that promotes civic responsibility. The Tripartite Foundation for Training in Employment in particular is a private foundation that provides training for young employed workers with low skills. The foundation is jointly governed by trade unions, employers, and the State Public Employment Service.⁴ There are also examples of Civil Society Organisations filling gaps in adult education and learning provision. For example, in the city of Seville important work in relation to literacy with migrant people is being taken forward by *Hermandades* (Fraternities) (Flecha and Puigvert 2015). A key weakness though is that there is not a strong culture of learning in the country. This can be related to relatively low levels of literacy. Based on figures from the census of 2011 it is possible to consider that 31% of the adult population in Spain is functionally illiterate.⁵ Other figures show that 43% of adult people have a low level of education.⁶ Other data on the behaviour of the population can be useful here: with figures from 2014 showing that only 33% of the population went to visit a museum, 62% read a book and 23% attended theatre performances (Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad 2016). There is a lack of training focused on specific teaching approaches for adults. The psychology of the adult, or specific teaching methodologies used in adult learning are not seen as an important element of teacher training in the majority of Faculties of Education. There is a lack of political consensus about the fundamental building blocks of the educational system in Spain. This lack of consensus is regarded as being responsible for the relatively poor performance of the adult educational system in Spain in which early school leavers in 2015 were around 20%.⁷ There also are big variations in the effectiveness of the education system across different territories in Spain⁸ (Lucio-Villegas 2012).

What must be stressed at this point is that given the extensive literature on barriers to learning, it is also important to relate structural factors to the perceptions of barriers perceived by individual who wish to learn. In the context of defining barriers for participation of young low-skilled adults in adult education programmes that focus on active citizenship in particular, the strategies designed to resolve the problems identified with widening participation need to aim to introduce targeted instruments that further address issues of outreach. What seems to be lacking is not the policies or the will of the governments to change existing structures, but the conditions that will eventually allow greater collaboration and commitment among various social partners and the development of a sustainable information network in southern Europe that goes beyond the issues of sources of funding and mere programme marketing (Zarifis 2008).

⁴ See <http://www.fundaciontripartita.org/Pages/default.aspx>

⁵ See http://www.ine.es/dyngs/INEbase/es/operacion.htm?c=Estadistica_C&cid=1254736176825&menu=resultados&idp=1254735576508

⁶ See <http://www.elmundo.es/espana/2015/06/12/5579fbc8268e3e26118b459d.html>

⁷ See http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=en&pcode=t2020_40&plugin=1

⁸ See http://ccaa.elpais.com/ccaa/2016/08/01/madrid/1470070603_695615.html

Some Recommendations

Unemployed, low-qualified young adults in southern Europe are largely under-represented with respect to participation in adult education programmes that focus on active citizenship. The emphasis on their vocational education hampers the awareness of the importance of their non-vocational learning. Based however on the assumption that social policy has – as a productive factor – a decisive impact on the functioning of a country’s economy (OECD 2016a), it seems reasonable to involve more actors in designing social policies that address their participation in active citizenship programmes. Their participation in such programmes is very low and shows inconsistent progress. One aspect, specifically emphasised by the European Commission as an important element of a social investment strategy in this context, is “social innovation”, which is defined as developing new ideas, services and models to better address social issues⁹. The crucial point is that this does not only refer to input from public actors, but puts a special emphasis on private actors, including civil society, to improve social services: *“Greater involvement of public authorities is key to achieving sustained outcomes from social policy innovation. Promoting broader partnerships with the private sector, civil society organisations and stakeholders operating in the social economy is also essential. Social enterprises and entrepreneurship are pivotal for catalysing innovative ideas and should complement public efforts in pursuing social policy objectives”* (European Commission 2015: 4). In the light of current policy initiatives in the countries presented in this chapter, raising participation of young unemployed adults with low-skills in active citizenship programmes must also consider that the way adult education for active citizenship operates must make a difference. In particular, adult education settings with strong and dynamic ties to the local community have great potential for promoting cohesion. They create a sustainable positive adult education settings atmosphere, as well as a stronger sense of belonging (Boeren et al. 2010). In addition to that relevant programmes need to create conditions for inter-ethnic cooperation and foster tolerance. Simply bringing young unemployed adults from different backgrounds together is not sufficient to reduce prejudice and develop positive intercultural relations. We need to stress that adult education needs to create the conditions for all learners and teaching staff to develop intercultural competence. Furthermore, adult teaching staff need diversity training. The intercultural competence of adult educators in Europe needs to be strengthened (Zarifis 2019). The majority of adult educators who participated in the EduMAP research suggested that they also feel weak and vulnerable when it comes to perform in learning environments with diverse audiences. The use of effective methods for creating inclusive programmes is also essential. Most south European countries still tend to use

⁹ According to Phills et al. (2008) social innovations are new solutions (products, services, models, markets, processes etc.) that simultaneously meet a social need (more effectively than existing solutions) and lead to new or improved capabilities and relationships and better use of assets and resources.

traditional teaching methods, although methods such as project-based learning, cooperative learning and peer education are becoming more common. These methods have demonstrated their value in combating intolerance. An activity that involves learners dialoguing with each other and the instructor. Beliefs, assumptions, attitudes, and perspectives are challenged and examined in the classroom where dialogue is encouraged (Zarifis 2020). Last but not least, adult education practice could benefit more from third-sector know-how. Local and international NGOs with specific expertise in the field can enhance the expertise in adult education settings, but are underutilized in both formal and non-formal adult education (Quesada et al. 2015).

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Chapter 3

Active Participatory Citizenship for and with Young Adults in Situations of Risk – *On the Cover and Under-Cover*



Francesca Endrizzi and Beate Schmidt-Behlau

Introduction

The link between Active Participatory Citizenship (APC) and Adult Education (AE) is not always evident and explicit, acting *on the cover or under-cover* of educational programmes and practices. The extent to which AE contributes to promoting APC depends on the meaning of APC and the role of AE in European contexts.

Grounded on the available literature, this chapter will further explore the role of APC in AE practices. Based on a first phase of desk research focusing on adult education policies in the European Union (EU), EduMAP first findings revealed that Active Participatory Citizenship often remains *under-cover* in the education programmes' visions and objectives as well as in the overall designs. Yet, the APC conceptual approach may be embedded in many European programmes and initiatives. Despite the lack of explicit use of the term, the different APC dimensions have been driven by the national policy framework and agendas, and different AE initiatives have been therefore seen as tools for promoting one or more of its three above mentioned dimensions (Kersh and Toiviainen 2017).

Adopting an inductive approach, the EduMAP field research has provided the opportunity to collect primary data and give voice to young adults in situation of multiple vulnerabilities and at risk of social exclusion, and participating in AE programmes, about their understanding of APC. Due to its nature, a deeply

The co-author is responsible for the choice and the presentation of the facts contained in the article and for the opinions expressed therein, which are not necessarily those of UNESCO and do not commit the Organization.

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contextualised research work at the country level was necessary to understand the embedded link between the two concepts (Schmidt-Behlau 2019).

Framed within the empirical work carried out in EduMAP and within both the European and contextual research at the country level, this chapter is dedicated to investigating the complex relationship between adult education and APC in four selected concrete cases. These consist of a second chance programme in France, a Youth Integration courses and an example of Youth Forum, both in Germany, and the programme of three production schools in Austria. Deeply contextualised, the chapter will present and analyse the providers' perspectives on APC and their educational approaches. It will then investigate the APC understanding of young participants and the experienced learning processes in terms of developed competences and gained knowledge. Based equally on the interviews with young beneficiaries participating in the programmes with practitioners and providers and on the study of their programmes and/or policies of implementation, participants' learning processes will be compared vis-à-vis the methods and strategies adopted and in light of the APC definition.

The Framing of APC in AE

APC has developed as a comprehensive and multi-layered concept with a proper relevance going beyond the meaning of the single terms composing the expression. Despite the term *citizenship*, APC is not limited to the legal bound between the state and its citizenry. All subjects of a community can potentially participate actively in the society, even if they cannot entirely benefit from the rights that a citizen status in strict and legal sense may confer to them. The community is here conceived as membership of a politico-legal group that serves as a forum for political, social and economic participation (EduMAP Concept Note 2017). Starting from the premises that APC entails a range of actions that are framed within and at the same time work for perpetuating democratic values (Mascherini et al. 2009), the EduMAP research project has contributed to investigating how APC has been implemented throughout Europe, endorsing the definition provided by Hoskins and Mascherini (2009), according to whom APC implies the *participation in civil society, community and/or political life, characterised by mutual respect and non-violence and in accordance with human rights and democracy*. APC in practice encompasses a range of actions, from the involvement in participatory democracy, including holding governments accountable, to representative democracy and participation in the everyday life of the community. The *active* connotation clarifies that APC is not participation as objective presence in or exposure to society, rather it implies awareness acquisition and change in attitude, as the fieldwork proved.

As investigated by the extensive research at the country level in the first phase of the EduMAP project, the concept of APC varies across Europe, according to the counties' policy priorities. Historical but also recent social and economic trends, as for instance the migration phenomenon in different countries, have impacted on its

conceptualisation and implementation (Kersh and Toiviainen 2017). Across literature, APC has been studied laying emphasis on its different dimensions, namely the economic, social and political ones. In EduMAP, a comprehensive approach has been adopted, considering equally all the aforementioned aspects of APC. Policies and practices related to the development of employability skills – the economic dimension- has been analysed alongside programmes focusing on civic and political participation – the political dimension- and/or on the acquisition of social competences and communication – the social dimension.

How adult education and lifelong learning (LLL) contribute to APC and which are the outcomes and possible effects of participation in education practices fostering APC have been at the core of the EduMAP research project. As described in the UNESCO Global Report on Adult Learning and Education (UIL 2019), learning is not only linked to economic development, but also with social and political participation in society. It has been proved that adult education enables people to gain civic skills and knowledge about the opportunities to become active and resourceful members of their communities (Campbell 2006; Ruhose Thomsen and Weilage 2018). Taken into account the various interpretations and differences in countries' approaches and experiences (Hefler and Markowitsch 2013), adult education remains pivotal as a means to learn and understand how to address modern challenges (Evans and Kersh 2017). It can enable adults to *activate* their participation in their communities and societies at large, *acquiring, recognizing, exchanging, and adapting* their capacities (UNESCO 2015). Conveying the values imbued in Active Participatory Citizenship conceptualisation, adult education is called to contribute to helping forge more inclusive and democratic societies for the future.

As showed by the OECD Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC) (OECD 2012, 2015), the Eurostat Adult Education Survey (2011, 2016) results, adult education has not always been able to target socially marginalised and economically disadvantaged groups in Europe, whose needs have rather been catered for by the social sector. However, with the rise of more extremist and populist tendencies, a new demand to find approaches to make APC relevant for people in situations of social exclusion has emerged above all from a political perspective and from the interest of institutions to safeguard democratic values (Waller et al. 2017; Taylor 2018). The adult education sector also interacts with people who, by definition of authorities responsible for social inclusion issues, are '*less integrated*' and, to different extents, '*less active participating*' individuals. Against this backdrop, adult education has already taken up the challenge to try to match demands for APC learning with the necessities and motivations of the traditional adult education beneficiaries (de Greef et al. 2012).

Methodology

In the past 10 years, studies on AE were structured around dominant topics, as for example learning in the community for change (Chungil et al. 2017), or they were framed within the social justice, inclusion and participation discussion (Jarvis 2008) or in terms of social and civic responsibility (Ahrari et al. 2014). By answering the research question: *What policies and practices are needed in the field of adult education to include young adults at risk of social exclusion in active participatory citizenship in Europe?* EduMAP tries to investigate how adult education contributes to strengthening individuals' participation in their civil society and community (Hoskins and Mascherini 2009), according to an economic, civic-political and social perspective, framing this within a social cohesion perspective.

After having identified the cases through stakeholders and experts in the field of adult education, accessibility for research purposes was negotiated. Other relevant stakeholders were identified using snowballing or utilising contacts gathered during a first phase of desk research. Data collection was carried out through individual semi-structured interviews and/or focus groups and was conducted among three categories of respondents: policy-makers,¹ including educational authorities, politicians, policy officers, policy experts, national programme coordinators, adult education practitioners, such as educators, social assistances, counsellors, coaches, and adult education participants, aged 16–30 and living in a situation of disadvantage.

The sample to the investigated cases here consisted of 130 respondents in total. 21 respondents² for the Second Chance Programme in France, of whom 13 learners, 21 respondents³ for the Youth Integration courses in Germany, of whom 13 learners, 78 respondents⁴ for the Production schools in Austria, out of whom 42 were young adults, and ten respondents⁵ in the Youth Forum in Germany, out of whom eight

¹The EduMAP project endorses the definition of policy-maker as a person with the authority to influence or determine policies and practices at an international, national or local level.

²Interviews for the Second Chance Programme, France, were conducted in July 2017 and involved 21 respondents. Out of these, 3 were policy-makers, 5 practitioners, and 13 learners, of whom seven boys and six girls. All respondents were interviewed in French.

³Interviews for the Youth Integration courses, Germany, were conducted between June 2017 and July 2017 and involved 21 respondents. Among the five youth migration services providing the courses throughout the country, one has accepted to participate in the study. In particular, out of the 21, two were policy-makers, 6 practitioners, and 13 course participants, of whom eight boys and five girls. All respondents were interviewed in German.

⁴Interviews for the Production schools, Austria, were conducted between October 2017 and November 2017 and involved 78 respondents. Among the providers offering the programme throughout the country, three agreed on participating in the study. Out of the 78, 11 were policy-makers, 25 practitioners, and 42 young adults, of whom 26 boys, 13 girls, and three unknown. All respondents were interviewed in German.

⁵Interviews for the Youth forum, Germany, were conducted between December 2017 and January 2018 and involved ten respondents. In particular, one policy-maker has been interviewed via Skype; one practitioner has been interviewed face-to-face, and eight participants, of whom four

were participants. With the written consent of the participants, interviews were audiotaped, transcribed and then coded.

The four case-studies' approaches to APC were examined by comparing selected variables, including the type of respondents and gender. The results presented in this chapter will compare and contrast views from the providers, based on conceptual documents and the interviews with practitioners and programme managers, with the learners' experiences and perceptions. The analysis among participants' voices on their perception on APC aims to investigate the different outcomes based on their learning experience.

Adult Education Programmes: Providers' Perspectives

Second Chance Schools, France

The Second chance schools in France are considered institutions under the general name of *Établissement pour l'insertion dans l'emploi* (E2C) (translated hereinafter as institutions for integration into employment). Jointly managed by the Ministry for Social Cohesion and by the Ministry of Labour, they are targeted at 16–25-year-olds who are experiencing severe challenges in finding a job. The institutions apply a work-based learning methodology, which takes into account individual participants' learning styles. The French Second Chance System facilitates school-to-work transition by providing personalised training lasting 6–9 months. The learning approach is based on three key elements: the Training Hub, which updates young people's basic competences, the Business Hub that establishes partnerships with local companies, and the Social Life Hub, which encourages inclusion in the wider community.

The programme entails the opportunity to experience internships in a company based in the neighborhood. The 9 months are organized as one-month counseling and guidance after 2–3 months from the beginning and 2–3 months before the end, respectively. In-between, young people make the experience of the internships. Participants may ask for an interview with the staff any time. The internship opportunity is clearly an element of success of the programme, alongside the key aspect of the work-based learning program, which characterizes the comprehensive experience in partner businesses.

Educational Approach to Foster APC The mission of any Second chance school is first and foremost to equip participants with an occupational project and the means to achieve it. This may vary from school to school, to the extent that some make the job placement their priority – and they are aiming at full time unlimited contracts or at any lower alternative such as internship or short-term contracts –,

boys and four girls, in individual face-to-face interviews. All respondents were interviewed in German.

whereas others work more on providing participants with key tools, such as learning by doing. The approach can be more pragmatic: finding participants a job is the priority, but also understanding and using pieces of information. In general, the goal of the Second chance schools is to teach young people to become independent in potentially acquiring new competences and looking for an occupation.

The word citizenship is barely used as such, but approaches promoting citizenship and democratic values in general, are at the heart of the Second chance schools' activities. The topic, and its many declinations, is covered on a daily basis, such as in the context of voluntary projects, to which most of the participants contribute.

On many occasions, citizenship is embedded in their activities. The choice to rely on the cognitive remediation allows the staff and the participants to nicely connect the content of the course and the overall objective of becoming better citizens since the method insists on learning to explore, to observe, to draw conclusions and to relate issues to one another.

The school uses different catalysts to include APC in the curriculum, such as team work, elaboration of projects for improving the commitment and the sense of belonging of the young adults, involvement of teachers and administrative staff to create a positive atmosphere, internship opportunities, and the creation of partnerships to build bridges between the school and local enterprises.

Some practitioners consider that citizenship is just as important as occupational competences and the E2C aim at using to the extent that help E2C participants exit from their neighbourhood, where they tend to be ghettoized.

Barriers Amongst the main barrier identified is the structural disadvantage of young people, as defined in one interview with the direction of one E2C. A structural disadvantage means that for example through multiple vulnerabilities a situation of social and economic exclusion is created. Many of the young people are poor or homeless or have health issues and low self-esteem. All factors are multi-layered and reinforce their further social exclusion. Individual difficulties even to access learning offers are greater and social support is a large dimension for the school, even before young people can give education and training a thought. A rising number of young people have been reported not having the basic skills needed, such as in numbering, language and literacy, which are considered prerequisites in order to find an employment.

Youth Integration Courses, Germany

Selected due to the federal nature and main integration instrument for young people, the Youth Integration Courses were created in 2005. The programme is funded by the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees and has reached out to 53.516 young migrants and refugees in about 12 years (BAMF 2018).

The current framework for the Integration programme was developed in 2015. The programme consists of a language course (900 teaching units) and an

orientation course (60 teaching units), which occur sequentially. The language course aims to teach German as a second language,⁶ while the orientation section can be considered as a civic education course, providing knowledge about aspects of everyday life and about the German legal system, history and culture. Particular emphasis is laid on democratic values and how they are implemented in Germany and the principles of the rule of law, equal rights, tolerance and freedom of religion.

The courses are officially targeted at migrants, living and working in Germany and refugees with the right to stay in the country,⁷ who are up to 27 years old without basic skills of German language. The concept for the Federal Youth Integration courses identifies multiple elements that can be traceable to a situation of vulnerability. Young learners have experienced migration at an early stage of adolescence or adulthood, mostly dependent on external reasons (BAMF 2015).

Educational Approach to Foster APC The link with APC finds an explicit expression in the orientation course. With the aim to provide learners with basic civic and legal notions and an overview of the German customs and traditions, it applies a standardised curriculum for all participants in the courses. Far from being a personalised programme, the orientation course does not have the ambition to activate young people, as defined within EduMAP research project. The educational approach of the programme and its assessment modalities, which is based on a multiple-choice test, limits it to an instructional course.

Nevertheless, teachers point out the importance of a learner-focused approach in their courses, recognising the individual predisposition of everyone as fundamental to enhance participants' potentials.

For me as a teacher, it is definitely important to first go into a course and to look who I have in front of me, what strengths do the young people have and which are their interests (Teacher and local director of a school, Germany).

Therefore, an empathic approach, showing interest and respect towards the learners' cultural values is fundamental for a successful relationship of exchange. Building the group relationships and inclusion is also pivotal: one of the teachers reported strengthening this sense of belonging. Excursions are also seen as a good opportunity and a different way to socialise, to integrate the group, to get to know the neighbourhood, and to show learners the services available in the city.

When compared with the EduMAP definition of APC as membership of a community, the concept for the Federal Youth Integration courses can be seen to overlap to a certain extent with that of integration, namely social and economic participation in the host society. In particular, language skills and knowledge about the

⁶With the expression second language, it refers to a new language that as an adult, adolescent or child, one learns in the country of migration, in everyday life, at work, in school life and, if necessary, during leisure time.

⁷At the time of the interviews, in the Land considered, the legal status to stay in Germany and automatically attend the courses was given to people coming from Syria, Eritrea, Somalia, Iraq and Iran.

fundamental values of German society and legal system are considered the basis for enabling participants to be active and motivating them to integrate into their future communities. The expectations through the concept also include that it will encourage the *voluntary engagement*,⁸ conceived as the individual contribution and commitment to German society by participating in the labour market and/or in education. Thus, although the economic dimension of APC is predominant in practice the concept does relate to an implicit notion that the overarching outcome of the integration course should be an actively engaging and engaged person.

So the personal commitment of the individual, I would say [it should be] changed, maybe put even more emphasis on it. We have the opportunity here at school [...] to suggest them in concrete: 'Do that. Try to go into sports associations.' (Teacher, Germany)

Barriers According to the local programme coordinator interviewed in the specific case, participants in the courses cannot be actually considered or become active as they are experiencing a situation of vulnerability that can be defined as structural. In their juridical status as migrants or refugees and therefore as 'denizens' they are not entitled to the same rights as German citizens; for instance, they cannot take part in all social and institutional processes in the country and they cannot easily or fully access the labour market due to limited language competences.

They are not disadvantaged as individuals. [...] But I would consider them as being disadvantaged in structural terms because as migrants or immigrants they are denied access to a great number of processes [...] And this constitutes a structural disadvantage. They are not on the same footing as other people living in Germany (Local programme coordinator, Germany).

On the other hand, teachers recognise some common barriers among learners, such as the lack of language skills, the necessity to rearrange living conditions and problems with the residential status. Yet, what marks the difference most is the attainment of or access to education these people have so far experienced which determines their potential for participation in society.

I tend to see the strengths that simply these people bring along, because they have already graduated from high school in their hometown. Most of them have studied one or two years or they have learned a profession [...] and acquired a lot of social skills. So from this perspective, for me, strengths are more important than the assessment results (Teacher and director of a school, Germany).

Production School Programme, Austria

Framed within the Austrian Network for Professionals (NEBA) and inspired by a Danish model, the Production schools have developed their educational provision as part of a federal programme, which aims to support young people in their need to

⁸ *ehrenamtliches Engagement* in the source.

identify their professional orientation. In the first half of 2018, 2.949 young people participated in the Production school programme, with a majority of 60% being young men (Sozialministeriumservice 2019).

Targeted at young people up to the age of 21, or 24 years maximum, with special educational needs, and/or social or emotional impairments, the programme intends to further develop social and personal competencies through dedicated training and especially offering young people more time to find their way into the job market. Production schools offer educational provision that consists of four core components, including training modules, coaching, knowledge workshops and sports activities.

Educational Approach to Foster APC According to the concept for inclusive implementation rules of the Production schools, the educational approach can be defined as highly personalised and individually tailored. The focus is on learners with their abilities and strengths, and the aim is to teach young people to look at their own capacities and help them explore their personal potentials. This element finds a particular expression in the individual coaching practice. Individual assistance is guaranteed through a constant supervision of the coach according to the principle of resource orientation, namely the focus on the participant's resources, with the intent to further strengthen them (Sozialministeriumservice NEBA 2014).

The concept states that the aim is to enable young people to actively take part in the Austrian job market. It is worth noticing the linguistic differentiation in German using the term *Teilhabe* that – differently from the synonym *Teilnahme* (participation) – implies a conscious activation and willingness to take part (Sozialministeriumservice NEBA 2014). It will therefore be here translated into English as *active* participation to underline the terminological difference. Against this backdrop, it can be inferred that conceptually the Production school defines APC as limited to active participation in the job market. Yet, the pedagogical approach of the Production schools reveals that other dimensions of APC may also be taken into account and cultivated. APC is embedded in the programme design and scope, but as potential by-product of the work done at the individual level.

I believe that the ability to be self-determined, self-responsible, able to secure one's existence, one's own existence, is the basis. [...] I think that everyone defines his/her existence differently. And yet, for me it is really important they secure existence, without fear for their lives, in order to survive (Trainer and Coach, Austria).

Different from the original Danish model that conceived the Production school as a pure job-oriented training – as one programme coordinator emphasises – the role of the Production school is not limited to the professional training of participants, its mission is rather to encourage their personal development, so that they can act in and for their individual life and furthermore in the community and in society at large. One of the local directors defines APC in terms of social participation, while a third provider endorses a civic engagement conception. Practitioners point out that

participants firstly need to become cognizant of their capacities and capabilities. The exercise of APC is thus implemented to a different extent, starting with the first step:

I think that civic engagement is being able to stand up and say “I can make at least a whole working day” (Trainer and Coach, Austria).

We create the opportunity that makes the participants feel useful [...]. We have families [Note: in the community] [...] who do not manage to paint a room or cut wood for the winter time. So, learners help this family cut the wood for the winter and bring it down to the cellar. [Note: the lesson learnt is]: “I have been able to help” and that is a tremendously good feeling [...] this creates new perspectives (Programme coordinator and local director, Austria).

Barriers Practitioners identify the main barrier to the exercise of APC in learners’ lack of consciousness and understanding of their capabilities and limited autonomy. Being active is perceived as “too far away” from their everyday life and concerns. From the provision perspective, it clearly emerges that young people in situation of vulnerabilities are seen to have the potentials to become active in all the dimensions of APC, but their current situation needs to be addressed first. It can be deduced that in order to be *activated*, some basic premises have to be satisfied. The Austrian production school works on and with the person to identify and address the needs, and on that basis, build on and strengthen the grounds for becoming a future active agent.

Youth Forum, Germany

Framed within the Federal Programme of Urban Development Assistance of the Social City model set up in 1999 (Federal Ministry of the Interior, Building and Community), the participatory Youth Forum is part of a more comprehensive project of stabilizing and upgrading economically and socially deprived quarters and communities in German cities through the involvement of local stakeholders and the people living in the concerned area. Jointly financed by the German Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, the Federal Agency for Civic Education and the Federal Youth Council and established back in 2007, the Youth Forum offers young people from the district opportunities to discuss thematic issues with social relevance on a monthly basis. It is targeted at youth at minimum age 14, mainly living in the deprived district of a German city. The overarching aim of the Forum is to bring together young people from different cultures, provide assistance in conflict resolution and promote identification with the district and help them develop more self-confidence.

Educational Approach to Foster APC The Forum is conceived as an opportunity for active participation and political involvement of young people and for generating concrete experiences of neighbourhood interaction. The vision and aim of the project is to promote Active Participatory Citizenship according to a civic dimension.

Based on the approach of active participatory engagement, the Youth Forum offers young people a platform where they can articulate their specific needs and interests. It gives them the possibility to propose the topic of discussion and a problem they wish to address, or discuss together in order to find potential solutions and present the proposals for change in committees active at the city district level. It can therefore be considered a specific form of civic engagement related to political decision making as it enables young participants to experience themselves as potential social change agents. This experience is seen as a key by the provider to disclose the opportunities at hand:

We do not approach (Note: the young people) with a stereotype, but we say that there are different situations of risk in a life time. And a young person is anyway in such a situation of risk, young people are, anyway. And then a lot can come together, unemployment, lack of education, language problems... and the project tries to identify which conditions are needed, so that these young people engage actively, in spite of this situation (Coordinator and Facilitator, Germany).

The Youth Forum experience enables participation on a structural level in the sense that young people can identify their interests and needs and are given the space to voice them. Although the provider does not identify as an adult education institution, the pedagogical approach is experience-based with the aim to purposefully *provide* young people with the specific space and possibilities to acquire skills closely related to active citizenship by for example giving young people responsibility. One example for this is that a young person is asked for instance to moderate one of the sessions.

APC is the prevalent component of the Youth Forum. Linked to the social sector through the urban development assistance, differently from other education practices, the informal learning experience has from the beginning a clear and extrinsic orientation to activate young participants. As proven by the experiential approach and the action-oriented learning process, young adults have the opportunity to already experiment by engaging actively.

Barriers The living context of the city district can be generally characterized as disadvantaged in terms of a high long-term unemployment rate of most of its inhabitants, environmental issues and congested area. Asked about the barriers to APC, the coordinator and facilitator of the forum does not identify any substantial limitations, rather the potential situation of disadvantage are related to external factors, such as discrimination and unequal treatment.

Learning APC: Young People's Perspective

Understanding APC

Analysing the learners' perspectives reveals that the interpretation of the meaning of Active Participatory Citizenship is multidimensional and often not clearly defined. As concept, it is too abstract and distant from young people's everyday life and set of priorities. The capacity of reflecting upon its meaning and implications varies, according to the approaches implemented by the single educational practices.

In the French Second Chance case, for example, young people mention mainly the *participation* in neighbourhood activities when asked about their concept of APC. Due to financial constraints, they often have a feeling of being limited in terms of mobility, therefore they have particularly appreciated organised visits that enable them to exit from their living environment and *encounter new experiences*. Participants report having done activities to which they had not been exposed before taking part at E2C, such as visiting a museum, a theatre or other cultural activities.

I'm 28 years old and if I were in school today that would piss me off. I was forced to do it and so much the better. I used to get beaten up by my brother when I wasn't there. Now I am with the [Name] association to help young people find their way around. We can do volunteer work (Youth, France).

The understanding of APC was also limited among participants in the Austrian production schools. A few young people bring as example of their active participation the fact of being at school or to wake up in the morning and follow a schedule. Others relate it to a *social dimension*, such as meeting friends or being part of a sports association or helping others. A few examples are reported about their *personal approach*, such as being focused or interested in looking for an internship.

On the other hand, learners in the Youth Integration courses in Germany provided various answers in relation to APC. Some respondents conceive it as *professional engagement*, thus having a job, an internship or simply attending an education course, some understand it as *political engagement*, in particular being informed about politics and taking part in elections. Other young people consider APC as *social engagement*, as participation in activities outside the course, such as practicing sports, and having social contacts. Six participants out of ten answered the question reporting examples of voluntary activities, helping older people or supporting friends. Most of them relate the APC exercise to an *individual attitude*, in particular having a daily structure, being focused, having an objective, having a positive approach to life, respect other opinions, being interested and committed and doing everything possible according to the own possibilities.

In contrast to the above-mentioned answers the perspectives and understanding of the Youth Forum participants about APC do not differ too much from those of the provider and the coordinator and facilitator. The answers of some of the interviewees confirm that the objective to make young people understand themselves as active citizens in the district and contribute to its development, even though holding a stigma, is successful:

Personally, I've learnt to be critical and changed my points of view on some aspects of the district (Youth, Germany).

[I've learnt] That everyone can bring an idea and be listened to. Young people without family support can freely talk about their problems and questions that are important to them are discussed. The problems of the district are discussed together, we get information how to engage politically for example by learning how to demonstrate, we engage through the activities of the YF (Youth, Germany).

Despite the difficulty in reflecting upon the concept and sometimes in the novelty of the term, it was possible to identify common patterns in the definitions or examples provided by the young respondents. Adopting a pure inductive approach in the analysis of the different answers, Active Participatory Citizenship seems to be perceived in a *solidarity and social dimension* and as an attitude to help or support other people. It is also defined in *socio-economic* terms as having a job and being economically independent or more related to a *personal dimension*, as the capacity to have a daily routine and being able to follow a schedule. In general, it is clear that Active Participatory Citizenship understanding is not a predefined concept and it varies according to the situation of vulnerability and related needs of the interviewees.

Learning Processes and Outcomes

From the point of view of young learners, in most cases Active Participatory Citizenship had not been the priority that led them to participate in an adult education programme. Yet, many interviewees, to a greater or a lesser extent of awareness, reported about a learning process towards APC. Not always directly identifiable as prerequisites for becoming active, in describing their experience and advantages gained from the programme, participants identified positive achievements, from knowledge acquisition about democratic values, to awareness increase in their opportunities up to a concrete change in attitude.

Many learners in the Second Chance school programme in France appreciate especially the opportunities to participate in projects, get out of their 'ghettos' and find support in their internships. Youth Integration courses have provided learners with practical knowledge about the political and legal rights and European democratic freedoms. Some reported having acquired notions about the administrative division of the country, about the state bodies, the democratic decision-making process, and the recent German history. Participants were also provided with practical information about social and supportive services, educational and recreational opportunities in the city.

In the Austrian Production school case, beyond the acquisition of professional techniques and practical abilities, the greater learning outcomes are related to social skills. Young people reported becoming more self-confident and aware of their strengths and potentials. They were trained in conflict management and have learnt how to cope with everyday life challenges, without discouraging, but disclosing

them and learning to find a solution. The importance of the acquisition of a daily structure and of the value of punctuality and the respect for rules was particularly stressed.

Before the Production school, I slept every day until three o'clock or four o'clock in the afternoon. I did not know what to do. I did not have any employment in my life, because I did not have any motivation to look for training, whilst in the course I have a regular every-day life and have support (Youth, Austria).

I'm (here) with people and work with them and talk to them. That actually helps me a lot become more social (Youth, Austria).

Through non-formal and informal learning by doing, young people in the Youth Forum have developed better critical thinking skills and have become politically more self-confident and better informed. Some reported having learnt to ask questions, listening to other perspectives and changing their own thinking when appropriate, others stressed the acquisition of a positive attitude and a broader horizon. In terms of personal development, a few participants said to have become more tolerant, open towards other people, and able to accept different opinions. Young people also appreciate in general the experience of being in a group, making new friends and even being able to talk about personal problems:

By character, I am not so open but thanks to the Youth Forum I've improved my self-confidence, the communication with others, my vocabulary. I've made new friends and met new people. It is possible to talk about personal problems as well (Youth, Germany).

Adult education programmes, on purpose selected for their differences in the conceptualisation of APC and in the educational strategy design, present differences in relation to the educational approaches and methods implemented to transmit knowledge and develop competencies for APC. Comparing the different extents of APC learning processes expressed in the interviews with young learners and comparing these with the specific educational strategy adopted by the selected programmes reveals a correlation between approach and outcome. According to the study, the more experiential and personalised is the learning process, the more effective is the impact on young people's capacity of self-reflection, upon their potentials and attitudes towards APC.

Adult Education's Contribution to Active Participatory Citizenship

In the analysis of the cases' concepts, one specific aspect or dimension of the multidimensional APC concept tends to prevail in the educational design, such as either the economic focus through company internships in the Second Chance Schools in France or the political dimension in the Youth Forum in Germany. Whilst on paper this characterisation emerges clearly, the opportunity to interview providers and practitioners implementing the programmes sheds more light on the complexity of

the relationship, since respondents emphasised the comprehensive potentials of *activation* of learners through the education provision. The most emblematic case is the Production school programme in Austria which, though initiated as a vocational orientation course, has in practice acquired a more individual dimension thanks to the specific educational strategy that providers decided to adopt.

Comparing the learners' responses with the APC description or references as presented in the programmes' concept reveals that a clear explicit intention of the education initiative to foster APC has led to a more comprehensive and less distant understanding on the side of the young interviewees. This is demonstrated especially by the more articulated responses of the participants of the Youth Forum, who proved to be more aware of the meaning of APC.

In France, a widely accepted assumption is that successful transition into the labour market of young adults encompasses a reasonable integration into the society. The concept of citizenship therefore imbues the idea of social integration. However, the analysis of the French case reveals that the embedded definition of APC has not led to a change in the attitude of the learners. Indeed, the explicit or implicit reference of the programme to fostering APC does not show consistent results.

While participants in the Austrian Production schools report having acquired a daily structure and having become more cognizant of their strengths, namely having experienced a personal development, the young adults in the Youth Integration courses were less able to reflect on their learning process and just reported having gained more knowledge. Not surprisingly, migrants and refugees in the Youth Integration courses respond to have acquired knowledge about the German society, system and culture and have improved their language skills. Following a standardised concept developed at the federal level, the educational approach of the courses is aimed at providing young adults with useful information and general notions.

Conversely, the Austrian Production school programme has developed an individually tailored pedagogical strategy, which finds its main expression in the individual coaching practice. Young people's learning process in terms of APC does not mirror the economic goal of the programme, rather, with an increased awareness of their strengths and potentials, the individual dimension has emerged preponderantly.

Analysing the results of the learning process of young adults attending the Youth Forum in Germany, it emerged that participation led them to a real change in their former attitude seeing themselves as *active participatory citizens*. They had in fact the opportunity to take part in the educational experience, bringing up their ideas and implementing them in form of socio-cultural and political projects. They have challenged themselves against and within the group and have become agents of change in the deprived city district where they live.

Linked to the definition of APC endorsed in the EduMAP project, the learners of the Youth Forum have acquired a greater awareness of APC and their potential as participatory members in their community and/or group compared to all the other

cases. The adult education component, expressed in the educational approach adopted, was pivotal and the explicit reference to APC in the programme.

What has actually made the difference in terms of the learning process *for becoming active* is the strategy adopted by the providers, both in terms of educational approach and pedagogical methods. Adult education turns out to be a key instrument for fostering and promoting APC for young people facing multiple situations of risk. On the other hand, whether APC acts *on the cover* or *under-cover* makes a difference as long as the space for experiencing a learning process related to APC competences is provided, as represented in Fig. 3.1. The visualisation summarises the components considered and analysed in each case-study. The conceptualisation of APC in the programmes, described as explicit – *on the cover* – or implicit – *under-cover* – does not have in these cases a direct correlation with the learning outcomes, as reported by the interviewed participants. Conversely, the educational approach comes out to have an impact on the learning development of the young respondents. It can therefore be concluded that the more participatory and personalised is the learning experience, the more effective is the impact on young people's capacity of self-reflection upon their potentials and attitudes towards Active Participatory Citizenship.

Conclusion

The selected adult education practices present differences in the conceptualisation of Active Participatory Citizenship and in the educational programme design. Whilst in both the German cases the goal of fostering APC is clearly mentioned and designed at the conceptual level, the French and Austrian practices have a less direct and explicit link. The analysis of the different extents of the APC learning process and the multiple programme strategies adopted by the selected cases reveals a correlation between the adopted approach and the resulting outcome.

As long as the education approach and methods are key and determinant components, the analysis bears out that AE is instrumental not only to promote specific skills and competencies, but also as driving factor to a real change in the individuals' attitudes. It remains therefore fundamental as a means for change (Evans and Kersh 2017). Despite the differences among the countries' traditions and strategies in AE (Hefler and Markowitsch 2013), and the considered case-studies, all have contributed to fostering the *participation in civil society, community and/or political life*, as defined by Mascherini (2009). However, to a different extent.

Amongst the four cases, only the Youth Forum has proved successful in leading to a change in attitude and implementing participatory community-oriented activities by young participants. By contrast, more standardized educational provision, even with a clear goal to foster APC such as in the Youth integration courses, run the danger of being limited to mere knowledge acquisition or awareness raising missing out on the opportunity for fostering a holistic experience of Active Participatory Citizenship in all its dimensions.

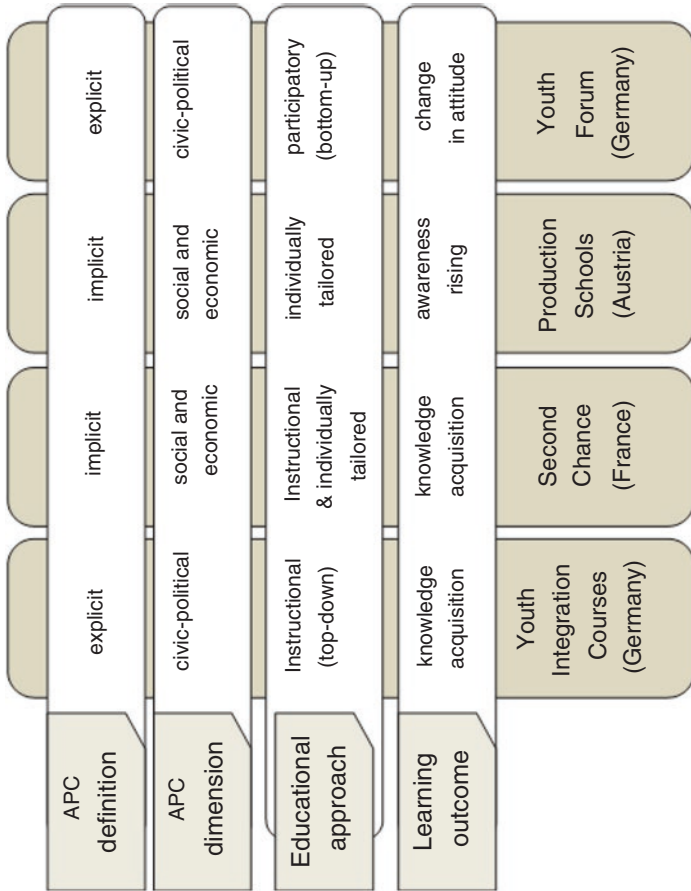


Fig. 3.1 Cases' visualization

Active Participatory Citizenship can be conceived *on the cover* or *under-cover* in adult education provision and learning opportunities. Yet, despite the more or less direct vocation for APC, those adult education programmes with a more participatory and learner-focused approach and pedagogical strategy are more suitable for conveying APC values and have a higher impact on young adults' learning experiences and attitudes, confirming that adult education enables individuals to become active and resourceful members of their communities.

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Chapter 4

Social Inclusion, Participation and Citizenship in Contexts of Neoliberalism: Examples of Adult Education Policy and Practice with Young People in the UK, The Netherlands and Ireland



Nathalie Huegler and Natasha Kersh

Introduction

In this chapter, we discuss findings from EduMAP research involving adult education programmes in the UK, Ireland and the Netherlands. EduMAP's understanding of active participatory citizenship involves a multi-dimensional perspective, including a socio-economic, a socio-cultural and a politico-legal dimension (EduMAP Concept Note 2017, see also Chap. 1 of this book). In this chapter, we will consider the influence and impact which various discourses of social exclusion have had on the construction of understandings of active citizenship, particularly in contexts where skills for socio-economic participation are a dominant concern for post-16 education. We will examine some key conceptual frameworks and look at policy contexts in the UK, the Netherlands and Ireland, before considering how selected educational programmes and initiatives (researched as part of the EduMAP project) negotiate aims of promoting participation and inclusion in these contexts.

In all three countries, adult education policies, particularly for programmes aimed at young adults, have been influenced by concerns about skills gaps and youth unemployment, exacerbated by the impact of the economic crisis of 2008 onwards. In Ireland, for example, rising youth unemployment has propelled reforms of the further education system, while in the UK, funding for many programmes has been cut in the context of austerity policies. In the Netherlands, largely considered as an example for success in targeting issues such as early school leaving and youth unemployment through educational and welfare policies, there have been concerns

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that young people from ethnic minority backgrounds may be particularly at risk of social exclusion.

These contexts may lead to narrow conceptualisations of participation, inclusion and citizenship of young adults, which emphasise the responsibilities of the individual over the removal of structural barriers to participation. Discourse shifts as part of neoliberalism emphasise workfare over welfare and responsibilities over rights, leading to the framing of inclusion predominantly in terms of practices and discourses related to ‘activation’ and sometimes, assimilation. Key target groups for discourses of activation include young people not in education, employment or training (‘NEET’), while the inclusion of migrant and ethnic minority young people is often framed through the complex and contradictory interplay between discourses of assimilation and experiences of discrimination. These developments influence the adult education field for young people vulnerable to social exclusion, particularly in relation to whether and how programmes and initiatives promote active participatory citizenship.

The Framing of Adult Education and Active Citizenship Participation as Responses to Social Exclusion: Key Discourses

Within the context of the European Union, as well as at national level in many countries, adult education, along with other forms of active citizenship participation, are often framed as responses to social exclusion and marginalisation (European Union 2015; European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice 2015; Martin, 2003; Field and Schemmann 2017; Mikelatou and Arvanitis 2018). This is premised on the notion that adult education can be a means to promote social, economic and political participation and that in turn, active participation in these citizenship domains will mitigate against a range of life contexts associated with vulnerability and social exclusion. The EduMAP project has adopted this as a starting point for its research, considering how approaches to participation are framed and put into practice in a range of adult education programmes in different countries. A key finding early on in the review of adult education policies and practices, confirmed through the fieldwork research, is the diverse, contextual and relational character of concepts such as active participation, inclusion, and exclusion. However, this is contrasted by the generalised use of these terms in policy contexts, where their meanings are taken for granted and (as a result) remain ambiguous (Levitas 2004).

The diverse framings and discourses relating to active citizenship, participation and social inclusion are influenced by contexts of neoliberalism, an ideology and system of governance which has spread from its origins in economic theory to different spheres of life (Brown 2016). Based on paradigms of economic paramourcy, market self-regulation through competition, reduced levels of state intervention, and a focus on people as either human capital or consumers, neoliberalism has

wide-ranging implications for conceptualisations of adult education on the one hand, and of participation and active citizenship on the other. Education, in its framing of lifelong learning, becomes a tool for influencing national competitiveness and productivity, while also being conceived as a means to boost the positions of individuals within competitive job markets (Brown 2016; Biesta 2006; Desjardins 2013). For (adult) education policies this leads to a focus on programmes and qualifications which either have a high currency on job markets or provide remedies to perceived skill deficits. *Learning for earning* is thus privileged over *learning for learning* (Martin 2003), while adult education systems themselves are also subject to marketisation, functioning as de facto enterprises which have to bid and compete for both funding and learners-as-customers.

The application of neoliberalist principles and paradigms promotes a shift from viewing education as the collective responsibility of societies, based on a human right to education, towards constructing learners as competitive and enterprising individuals who are responsible for increasing their own human capital market value through acquiring more skills desired by employers. Such processes of responsibilisation and individualisation frame active participation as a citizen duty, and certain values, behaviours and personality traits become favoured (such as adaptability, flexibility and ambition) (Brown 2016). In this logic, the *worthy citizen* is one who by way of their participation in work or learning, contribution to economic productivity and a resulting reduction of welfare spending is ‘deserving’ and entitled to financial and quality of life rewards, while in the reverse, non-participation (in learning or in employment) becomes linked to self-exclusion that is ‘tantamount to non-citizenship’ (Walker 2009, p. 346).

Discourses which exclusively frame participation as *responsibility* neglect or deny the role of social inequality and injustice. Levitas (1998) has captured different positions in the context of policy, academic and public discourses on social exclusion. Developed during the UK New Labour government years of the late 1990s and early 2000s, her framework distinguishes three discourses: firstly, a redistributionist discourse, focused on poverty and processes of *being excluded*, envisaging citizenship as a foundation of rights that lead to ‘a substantial redistribution of power and wealth’ (Levitas 1998, p. 7). This perspective emphasises the role of adult education as a catalyst for processes of social change and transformation, addressing not just individual but also community-related needs as well as critical and structural perspectives. The second, *social integrationist* discourse, prominent in New Labour policies in the UK, but also in European Union policy of recent decades, focuses above all on labour market participation, casting paid work not only as the most effective route out of material poverty but also as a form of social and cultural integration (Levitas 1998). By extension, participation in adult education or lifelong learning is seen as an important factor in fostering such socio-cultural integration, with the promise of social mobility. The third discourse focuses above all on individual responsibility, attributing exclusion to problematic or deficient behaviours and values of individuals or groups. This discourse problematises ‘dependency’ on welfare systems, while utilising gendered and racialised ‘*moral underclass*’ tropes (Levitas 1998), for example by focusing on young men involved in crime, single

(young) mothers, or immigrants and ethnic minorities. Integration is mostly conceived as assimilation to dominant values and behaviours, with (adult) education taking on a remedial role. Fergusson (2013) notes that discourses of social exclusion are increasingly being displaced by those of ‘disengagement’, describing acts of self-exclusion that emphasise individualised responsabilisation and personalise blame for non-participation.

Thus, framings of inclusion and participation are diverse, with both competing and overlapping discourses. In- and exclusion have also been described as limited concepts, focusing on dichotomist views of ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ and neglecting wider inequalities (Levitas 2004). Nevertheless, whether the focus is on exogenous (structural) or on endogenous (individualised) factors preventing participation (Fergusson 2013) has significant implications for adult education, setting contexts of complexity which programmes, practitioners and young adults have to negotiate. In the following, we take a closer look at different policy contexts for adult education and active participatory citizenship in the UK, the Netherlands and Ireland.

Policy Contexts for Adult Education and Active Participatory Citizenship in the UK, The Netherlands and Ireland

United Kingdom

In the UK, adult education looks back on rich traditions and continues to be characterised by diverse strands. Arising from religious roots in some areas, along with self-help and labour movements (for example the Workers’ Educational Association), liberal adult education approaches were significant from around WW1 to the 1980s (Holford and Welikala 2013). Vocational and further education drew on the apprenticeship tradition (established through medieval guilds) as a key influence (Hopkins 2014). From the 1970s and 1980s onwards, concerns about economic competitiveness in the context of neoliberal policy environments weakened the position of community-based liberal adult education in favour of a lifelong learning paradigm which focused on employment-related skills (Bynner 2017; Holford and Welikala 2013). Major national policy documents in the first decade of the Millennium included *The Learning Age* (Department for Education and Employment – DFEE, 1998) and *The Leitch Review of Skills* (2006), both of which focused on the development of skills for employability in the context of retaining the UK’s position of global competitiveness.

Over recent years, the trend of focusing on economic objectives and employability has continued, particularly in the context of education for young people. In England and Northern Ireland, the Adult Skills Survey PIACC (OECD 2013) raised concerns about growing socio-economic disparities as well as the relatively poor performance of young people aged 16–24 for literacy and numeracy skills (both in comparison to older age group in same country and in international comparison).

Thus, the development of young people's employability skills has come to be viewed as a key factor for their social inclusion and integration. In contrast, young people who leave school with limited or no qualifications and do not participate in further education, training or employment (characterised as 'NEET') have increasingly become a policy concern. Originating in the context of re-categorisations of unemployed young people in the 1980s and 90s due to changes in welfare policy, the 'NEET' concept has been criticised for being both too broad (as it involves a very heterogeneous 'group' of young people) as well as too narrow in perspective. It focuses on what young people are not engaged in rather than considering what young people might be doing instead, which may range from short term unemployment, (mental) health difficulties or disabilities through to caring for children or other family members (Furlong 2006; Yates and Payne 2006). Despite a plethora of initiatives, the number of 16–24 year olds in England classified as 'NEET' has remained relatively constant since the turn of the Millennium, aside from a peak during the financial crisis years (Department for Education 2020; Thurlby-Campbell and Bell 2015).

There have been a number of educational programmes in the UK aimed at young people considered at risk of social exclusion over the past decades. Shifting governmental positions, both within and across political divides, have shortened the lifespan of some of these initiatives. An example of this was the 'Connexions' strategy, initially a flagship initiative of the New Labour government, which was later disbanded at national level (Hutchinson et al. 2016). A financial support programme for young people aged 16–19 in further education, Education Maintenance Allowance (EMA) fell victim to cuts through austerity policies in England from 2010 onwards. Overall, funding uncertainties have become a characteristic feature for many post-16 programmes, with an emphasis on a target- and profit-driven free market culture (Wrigley 2017). At the same time, informal youth education programmes have either been cut altogether or suffered from similar tendencies of marketisation affecting the formal sector, following competitive models of 'commissioning' through which multi-national corporations may be awarded contracts over existing providers at local level with trained and experienced staff (Davies 2013). Current policies focus on 'tracking' the pathways of young people aged 16–17, some targeted financial support through the 16–19 Bursary Fund, apprenticeship and traineeship initiatives, careers advice targeting young people aged 12–18, as well as supported internships for young people with learning difficulties and disabilities (Powell 2018). However, the success of some of these initiatives has been viewed as limited (Maguire 2015). Atkins (2013) highlights the marginal status of many programmes designed to increase the employability of young people who are considered at risk of becoming 'NEET' and argues that the socialisation of these young people into accepting the conditions of low-pay and low-skill employment runs counter to real social inclusion. This is due to a narrow focus on modifying individual behaviours and attitudes while governmental responsibility for lacking structural conditions is neglected. Hutchinson et al. (2016) observe that while Conservative-led governments of recent years have continued some trends introduced under the previous New Labour governments, responsibility

for participation has been placed firstly on young people themselves, secondly on businesses and local governments (whose funding has been severely cut) and only as a last resort on central government, despite the latter being in charge of setting the structural conditions for participation.

Similar trends can be observed with regards to policy discourses regarding active citizenship in the UK. Burls and Recknagel (2013, p. 5) observe that under the Conservative-led governments since 2010 the philosophical roots of policies have moved away from participation in civic and civil society towards ideas of '*social action*' and '*community self-help*', developments which have been accompanied by extensive welfare benefits reform, a rhetorical shift from '*equality*' to '*fairness*' and policies of austerity with deep impacts on publicly funded community services. In this context, socio-economic pressures and cuts are considered to have diverted attention from political participation to meeting immediate individual needs. However, Bee and Pachi (2014) argue that even though active citizenship agendas had been prominent during the New Labour governments (1997–2010), the reality of policy implementation was marred by the dominance of top-down approaches giving priority to institutional agendas over local social needs, as well as by exclusionary and assimilationist policies towards ethnic minority groups in the context of growing concerns about extremism and terrorism. These concerns also provided the backdrop for further policies that have cast a more restrictive frame on notions of citizenship, as part of the so-called 'Prevent' duties on schools and further education colleges in England and Wales. Under the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015 educational institutions have a duty to prevent learners from being drawn into violent and non-violent forms of extremism which create an atmosphere conducive to terrorism; as part of this duty they also have to promote British values, namely '*democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance for those with different faiths and beliefs*' (HM Government 2015, p. 5). McGhee and Zhang (2017) suggest that this requirement, which has been controversial since its inception, has raised concerns about a retreat from previous policies of multiculturalism towards a more 'muscular' and securitised policy approach aimed at producing liberal citizens and thus remedying perceived previous failures of the education system. They argue that despite this muscular top-down approach to defining citizenship in the British education system, at local levels, implementing schools and colleges have managed to integrate this requirement into existing and inclusive classroom discussions about citizenship. However, the specific framing of the requirement as *British fundamental values* is also considered to bear increased risks of perpetuating existing patterns and discourses of exclusion and otherness, drawing on assimilationist approaches to integration (Lockley-Scott 2019).

The Netherlands

Adult education and lifelong learning in the Netherlands have been characterised as policy priorities in recent years and linked to concepts of self-reliance, autonomy and personal achievement based on employability (EAEA 2011). Historically, government involvement was mostly residual, emphasising the role of voluntary initiative. Agendas of emancipation, equality and pluralism came into focus from the late 1960s onwards, leading to a rise in programmes of second chance and second way adult education (Cedefop 2002). From the mid-1980s radical policy shifts took place in the context of high levels of unemployment and public expenditure cuts and subsequently adult education policy became increasingly focused on economic perspectives, emphasising vocational education and training as well as basic skills development aspects. Following from this, adult general education and adult basic education were developed and eventually integrated in a common structure with vocational education and training through the 1996 Adult Education and Vocational Training Act (Cedefop 2002). Decentralisation, along with deregulation, have been strong themes in Dutch education and welfare policies, leading to diverse regional and local delivery of education and training programmes particularly for unemployed young people (van Berkel 2013). The Netherlands are considered to have adopted neoliberalist principles in welfare, adult education and citizenship policies early in comparison to many other continental European countries, with an emphasis on individual responsibility. This has implications in adult education and active citizenship contexts both for young people considered 'NEET' and – through changes from paradigms of multiculturalism to civic and cultural integration – for migrant and ethnic minority communities (Schinkel and van Houdt 2010; Mattei and Broeks 2018).

Rates of youth unemployment, 'NEET' status and early school leaving are low in the Netherlands in comparison with other European countries while participation in adult learning and adult skill levels are high and above the EU average. However, young people with low qualification levels and young people from migrant and ethnic minority communities face higher risks of unemployment (OECD 2014; European Commission 2018). In the context of the European Youth Guarantee initiative, policy initiatives to mitigate against youth unemployment as a result of the financial crisis, the Youth Guarantee Implementation Plan (Youth Guarantee Implementation Plan 2014), the Youth Unemployment Action Plan (2013) and subsequent policy documents led to initiatives such as the creation of training schemes and jobs for young people; training and job coaching programmes in specific regions; financial incentives and support for employers providing training opportunities; cooperation between government agencies and social partners on employment and job security for young people, targeting particularly groups considered vulnerable – such as young people with low qualification levels and young migrants (OECD 2014; Cedefop 2016; Youth Guarantee Implementation Plan 2014). However, flexibilisation with the aim of job creation also promoted temporary contracts offering limited security (Chung et al. 2012). Young migrants born outside the

EU are considered to be at particularly high risk of unemployment compared to young people born in the Netherlands (12.1% versus 5.4% for 15–24 year olds; European Commission 2018).

In 2009, legislation was introduced which changed access to the benefit system fundamentally for young people aged 18–27 (through the ‘Investment in Youth Act’, later incorporated into the Work and Social Assistance Act), placing an onus on young people to accept offers of work or education and introducing waiting periods before they can access social assistance (Chung et al. 2012). After this period, it is up to local municipalities to determine whether young people have made sufficient efforts to find work, education or training. ‘Activation’ measures include compulsory work activity programmes alongside different forms of coaching and support, however, there are concerns about support for young people who do not register and therefore are not ‘visible’ to local authorities (Youth Guarantee Implementation Plan 2014; van Berkel 2013). The Youth Guarantee Implementation Plan (2014) foresees a role in local youth work schemes to reach those identified ‘*problem groups*’ including those suspected of involvement in crime, while the scheme ‘City Deal’ targets young people particularly from migrant backgrounds (European Commission 2018).

Civic integration of migrant populations, in particular through language learning, has become a central aspect of policy in the Netherlands involving the adult education sector (Mattei and Broeks 2018). However, concerns have been raised about the quality of some integration courses and low success rates in language courses, combined with the fact that the financial burden for these courses (as well as the burden of integration more generally) has been placed on migrants themselves (European Commission 2018). Legislation introduced in the late 1990s made language skills and basic knowledge of Dutch society a precondition to citizenship for non-EU immigrants, aimed at promoting self-sufficiency and economic productivity (Mosher 2015). While socio-economic integration and employability have been important considerations, over time the emphasis has shifted to concerns about remedying the perceived failures of multicultural policies (Mattei and Broeks 2018; Schinkel and van Houdt 2010).

In line with educational policies, citizenship discourse over recent years has emphasised the idea of a *participation society*, based on individuals’ responsibility for their own life and environment (Hoekman et al, 2018). Self-sufficiency is linked with reducing burdens on the welfare state and has been described as neo-liberal communitarianism, requiring the activation of citizens to support government (Schinkel and van Houdt 2010; Mosher 2015). However, there are concerns that expectations on citizenship not only include responsibility for socio-economic participation and integration, but that some ethnic minority groups, particularly Muslims and others classed as ‘non Western’ in official discourse, are considered predominantly through the prisms of cultural difference and otherness (Long 2015). Linked to concerns about crime and more recently, radicalisation, these young people have become a target of culturally based citizenship education while society overall (including in educational contexts) has failed to challenge prejudices linked to cultural essentialism and nationalised concepts of belonging (Long 2015; Turcatti

2018). Thus, the situation of ethnic minority young people in the ‘participation society’ is particularly complex, with Schinkel and de Houdt (2010, p. 711) describing an ‘*ethnically selective form of governing*’ which is supportive of community when it relates to the majority population, but problematises it as preventing integration where migrants and minorities are concerned. Adult education as a means of social integration has been largely perceived in terms of broadly interlinked purposes: preparation and activation programmes linked to employability; language and integration programmes aimed at preventing the perceived dangers of multicultural segregation; and remedial approaches (e.g. through youth work) for youth considered at risk. However, each of these strands is set in complex discourses surrounding citizenship, inclusion and belonging.

Ireland

Adult education in Ireland has a tradition of community-based approaches involving high levels of volunteerism and a focus on personal development and social inclusion, with economic drivers taking a more explicit roles in policy developments since the global economic crisis (Maunsell et al. 2008; McGuinness et al. 2014). In the first decades after the establishment of the Irish state (1922) government involvement in (adult) education was fairly low, with church-based organisations focusing on academic education. The development of vocational education was influential for Irish adult education but took hold later than in some other countries, linked to a later emergence of industrialisation (McGuinness et al., 2014). From the late 1950s, the need for an educated labour force in the wake of economic difficulties and high levels of emigration led to a stronger emphasis on second level and third level (university) education, albeit mostly available on a full-time basis, with limited fee-paying evening class provision organised by local vocational education committees. Non-formal provisions through voluntary adult literacy tutors, as well as women’s self-help groups were significant in establishing alternatives that enabled wider participation levels, especially for working class adults. From the 1970s and 80s onwards, many vocational education committees (more recently re-established as further education and training boards) moved towards coordinating adult education provision and providing funding for literacy schemes, however, they retained a significant role as adult education providers (Maunsell et al. 2008).

The White Paper on Adult Education, ‘*Learning for Life*’ (2000) emphasised the role of adult education in promoting community development and active citizenship, through principles that were based on a life-course approach, reflecting the different settings of learning in Ireland (i.e. rural and urban), acknowledging the role of formal and informal learning, as well as of supportive services such as guidance, counselling and childcare. Principles of equality in relation to access, participation and outcome, as well as a framework of interculturalism in the context of growing diversity were recognised as important in the White Paper.

The development of the Irish adult education sector, characterised by a variety of influences often at local levels, led to criticisms of fragmentation and lack of centralised governance and planning structures (McGuinness et al. 2014). Since 2013, the adult education sector has undergone significant reforms, particularly with the establishment of a new Further Education and Training agency (SOLAS), charged with coordinating, overseeing and delivering a strategy that emphasises employability and skills development. The focus of active inclusion is on full participation in society, with high-quality, accessible and flexible education, training and skills development considered as key aspects of the strategy. Young people under the age of 25 are identified as a key target group for education and training interventions, including through youth work provisions. An example of provision aimed particularly at early school leavers is the Youthreach programme, combining vocational learning with a focus on transition from education to employment and adult life (SOLAS 2014).

The stronger alignment of educational policies with economic objectives was set in the context of the economic crisis, which hit Ireland particularly hard, resulting in a bailout from the Troika and subsequent austerity policies. As in other countries, public expenditure cuts affected those already marginalised disproportionately (O'Brien 2018). At the height of the crisis, youth unemployment rose more than threefold, most significantly affecting young people with low qualification levels and those with migrant backgrounds (Kelly et al. 2013; Kelly and McGuinness 2013). Although figures have decreased since then, large gaps remain between young people with the highest and the lowest qualification levels (European Commission 2018). O'Brien (2018) suggests that in the context of austerity, adult education providers and advocacy organisations alike came under pressure to conform and align with state policies, leading to top-down approaches including for citizenship. For young people, cuts in benefit provision were imposed at the same time as training scheme funding also became more limited (Papadopoulos 2016).

A key demographic development in Ireland since the late 1990s has been increasing diversity through immigration, including asylum seekers and refugees seeking protection after the tightening of asylum systems in other European countries and 'economic' migrants considered crucial for boosting the booming Irish economy (Lentin 2016). However, despite this diversity, issues of integration and interculturalism (as officially endorsed paradigms) have remained complex. Examples are experiences of racism reported by ethnic minority young people (often in gendered forms, for example against wearing the hijab), while the system of dispersal Direct Provision for asylum seekers has been criticised as an example of institutionalised racism, reminiscent of the treatment of other repressed groups such as unmarried mothers in Ireland's past (Walsh 2017; Lentin 2012; Lentin 2016). However, Lentin (2012) argues that the language of interculturalism can euphemistically mask racism that remains unacknowledged, leading to a reproduction rather than abolishment of inequality.

Active citizenship and participation featured prominently in policy discourse before the years of economic crisis, when the Taskforce on Active Citizenship (2007) provided a report on the challenge, vision and values (including liberty,

equality and solidarity) associated with the concept, considering active citizenship to involve critical awareness of and care for the welfare of fellow citizens. Participation in democratic processes as well as respect for ethnic and cultural diversity are emphasised, while links to adult education and learning emphasise both formal and non-formal contexts. Language learning, mentoring as well as support for community and voluntary organisations are among the report's recommendations. However, in the context of the economic crisis that followed, a high number of civil society and community organisations were forced to close or significantly reduce their work, among them the independent expert advice agency National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism, while many migrant-led organisations were threatened in their existence, partly because they struggled to compete for funding with other community organisations (Ejorh 2015).

Marking the centenary of the 1916 Irish Rising that had led to the establishment of the Republic, the report 'Citizens Rising' (The People's Conversation 2015) published findings from a series of citizens conversations in a range of community settings, as well as prisons, about influences shaping Ireland's future as well as expectations by and from citizens in this context. Acknowledging the break in public trust as a consequence of the economic crisis, the report identifies education as having a key role in active citizenship, along with rights and responsibilities. The report also calls for community-level action (alongside government-level strategies) to address anti-racism and support integration. Of particular contextual significance in the context of EduMAP field work research in Ireland is its tradition of youth work and a rich landscape of youth services, with a dedicated youth participation strategy (DCYA, 2015) which emphasises cross-sectoral policy approaches such as strengthening links between youth services, formal and non-formal learning providers, businesses and employment agencies.

Framing Active Participation and Social Inclusion in Different Contexts: Examples from EduMAP Field Research in the UK, The Netherlands and Ireland

EduMAP Research on Adult Education Practices in the UK, The Netherlands and Ireland

In this section, we consider selected examples from programmes researched as part of the EduMAP fieldwork¹ in the UK, the Netherlands and Ireland. Our research followed a case study approach, considering what might be examples of 'good practice' in relation to promoting active participatory citizenship among young adults at risk of social exclusion. Based on our review of policy contexts and preliminary

¹We wish to acknowledge the invaluable field work and data analysis contributions of our co-researchers Dr. Helen Lawson, Dr. Andrea Laczik and Dr. Mai Abu Moghli.

desk-based research into a variety of programmes, we selected four programmes in the UK (three in England and one in Scotland), two in Ireland and one in the Netherlands and carried out individual and focus group interviews both at the sites and in some cases, via telephone (Huegler et al. 2018a, b; Huegler 2018a, b; Lawson 2018). At one site, we also conducted separate interviews with young adult participants which focused on communication practices, platforms, means and networks (as aspects of communicative ‘ecologies’) in relation to adult education and in everyday life. Furthermore, we interviewed several policy makers who were either affiliated with the programmes or provided relevant thematic expertise.

Our definition for including programmes under the framework of ‘adult education’ was deliberately broad and included a range of contexts, as outlined in Chap. 1. We sought to both reflect the diversity of adult education contexts (such as vocationally focused and other formal education and training, as well as informal programmes), while also seeking to capture initiatives which focused on socio-economic, socio-cultural and politico-legal dimensions of citizenship. Table 4.1 sets out the seven programmes covered by the research in the three countries:

Overall, interviews were conducted with 129 participants across the three countries, including 80 young adults and 49 professionals. Data collection took place from June 2017 until February 2018. Ethical approval for the research was provided by the UCL Institute of Education research committee.

The focus of our field research was on identifying the views of professionals (educational practitioners and policy makers) and of young adults in relation to their conceptualisation and operationalisation of active participatory citizenship and related concepts, barriers preventing participation and inclusion, as well as examples of how educational programmes facilitated relevant skills. The life contexts of

Table 4.1 Overview of programmes considered as part of EduMAP research in the UK, Ireland and the Netherlands

UK	Netherlands	Ireland
A mentoring programme focusing on care experienced and other vulnerable young people in a Scottish city A vocationally focused programme at a small further education college in London An English for speakers of other languages (ESOL) programme at an adult and further education college in London A ‘gateway’ programme for unemployed young people aged 16–29 in a local authority area in Southeast Englandz	A coding skills programme for young adults at risk of social exclusion, targeting specifically refugees and migrants	A small youth participation project at an education service for ethnic minority young people in Ireland A sports-based socio-cultural programme promoting equality and anti-racism in Ireland

(the programmes highlighted in bold are discussed in this chapter)

young people and young adults taking part in the programmes were diverse, ranging from experiences in public care; unemployment; previous negative experiences in education; experiences of migration; as well as belonging to an ethnic minority group. From the perspective of most professionals, through not necessarily young people themselves, they were potentially vulnerable or at risk of social exclusion. Interviews with young people and young adults focused on exploring their life situations and experiences, not least because few of them directly related to abstract terms such as ‘active citizenship’.

Overall, it is important to stress that the full findings of the research were rich and wide-ranging, indicating diversity across contexts as well as some common themes, and it is far beyond the scope of this chapter to report on these in any detail.² Instead, the following discussion focuses on specific examples from three programmes which provide insight into how participation and social inclusion may be framed in different contexts. Our findings are not representative of each programme’s overall aims, objectives or functioning, not least because active participatory citizenship often was not the explicit focus or learning outcome of the programme). In the same vein, we do not purport to represent the perspectives of professionals and young adults involved with the programmes.

‘Activating’ Unemployed Young People Through Personalised Support: A Programme in England

This programme, aimed at unemployed young people aged 16–29 in a certain local authority area who are not in training or education, is focused on personalised support through advisors who help participants consider their educational, training or employment plans and options. Priding itself on its tailored approach, there is no set curriculum or route and some learners might only attend one-to-one sessions with their advisor, while others take part in a range of classes, volunteering opportunities or embark on other courses. Support can last up to 12 months, with a further 6 months ongoing support for those who enter education, training or employment. Recruitment to the programme is diverse, with some young people being referred by professionals. A strong emphasis within the programme is on supporting young people to develop positive attitudes and confidence about their strengths and capabilities. Many participants have had negative experiences in previous education contexts, and the relationship and communications with their advisors are contrasted as being respectful, based on empathy, flexibility and reliability. While the focus of the programme overall is clearly on employability and socio-economic participation and integration, some of the competences (such as confidence, self-esteem,

²The EduMAP website contains a range of publications which provide more detail on research findings across the project and for specific country and programme contexts (<https://blogs.uta.fi/edumap/>)

communication skills and learning in diverse group contexts) have wider relevance to participation.

'Moving forward' and *'changing mindsets'* are key metaphors used by practitioners in the programme, contrasting this with perceived passivity in states of unemployment. There is also an emphasis from the perspective of programme leaders on avoiding *'a dependency culture'* and *'taking responsibility'*. Thus, the programme is strongly aligned with social integrationist discourses focusing on labour market integration and economic participation and productivity, while reflecting framings of *'disengaged'* young people as requiring activation. Rather than emphasising structural dimensions leading to situations of inequality, for example lacking support for children and young people with mental health needs or learning disabilities, as well as macro-economic conditions of poverty, the context of the programme addresses issues related to mitigating against individual *'chaotic lifestyles'* and community-based and generational *'entrenched worklessness'*. The onus is on young people to participate and adapt to given circumstances, but limitations in their capability to do so are addressed through the supportive and flexible structure and pace of the programme, based on *small steps* if needed. On the other hand, learners appreciate this personalised approach, commenting that they feel respected, welcome and treated *'as adults'*. For some participants, a sense of solidarity also develops in group contexts, providing safe spaces for testing out ideas (for example through supporting entrepreneurship) and for experiencing diversity that may challenge their previous frames of experience. Group participation can also mitigate against the isolation of unemployment, while the relationships and personalised support of advisors provide a contact line to the outside world for those young people for whom mental health difficulties make leaving their bedroom a challenge. In times of funding constraints leading to short term interventions, the programme offers a much longer and well-integrated support framework than is usual, allowing practitioners and young people to develop meaningful relationships in which advice is not only limited to employability, but includes wider access to networks and resources, alongside practical help. Being able to sustain both the support provided individually and the continuation of the programme as a whole are key concerns of practitioners and local programme leaders. At the time of the research work was under way to secure longer term funding beyond the project-based grant that had started the programme off.

Enhancing Socio-Economic Integration and Contributing to the Community through Specific Industry Skills: A Case from The Netherlands

This programme focuses on developing computer coding skills aimed at young adults at risk of social exclusion, specifically refugees and migrants, as well as those under-represented in the technology industry (including women). The programme

lasts for 12 months and involves a highly immersive coding ‘boot camp’ based on intensive learning of various coding languages through a *learning by doing* approach, supported through master classes by prominent technology companies. After this phase, learners become mentors for new starters and learn more advanced programming languages. The final 6 months involve an internship with a company as a developer, which may involve a scholarship. Overall, the programme is intensive and demanding from the outset, relying on self-directed learning, peer- and self-assessment. The initiative is based on a start-up social enterprise setting, with co-founders describing it as an ‘experiment’ intended to challenge national policies and practices towards refugees and asylum seekers, characterised as denying agency (e.g. of working) while people wait for immigration status decisions in holding centres and receiving welfare payments. In contrast, the programme (supported by the local municipality) promotes early integration into educational and work contexts. A key part of the programme are community *impact weeks* during which learners work on real world problems with community organisations and NGOs (e.g. optimising systems in a social restaurant chain, connecting international organisations with local experts, or language and translation apps for refugees). The programme uses business professionals and developers from companies, based on the idea that this contact will support participants in making networks that may lead to employment. According to the co-founders, the programme is meant to be based on hard work, passion and perseverance. At the same time, access to technological skills is also conceived as a form of democratisation.

The programme emphasises self-motivation and commitment, while aiming to promote confidence, team work skills and resilience, not least through the *cloud* of a supportive community (through peer learning and mentoring, as well as technology master classes). This sense of community is in itself seen as a mitigating factor against exclusion and isolation experienced particularly by more recently arrived refugees. Participants contrast this approach and the recognition of their prior skills with disempowering experiences in other context, for example for Syrian refugees their time in limbo contexts in Turkey. A sense of needing to be proactive in networking, seize opportunities and ‘stand up’ is key element from the programme from early on, with the aim that this will support confidence as well as socio-economic and socio-cultural integration.

The wider context of the programme reflects some of the previously mentioned complexities surrounding diversity. On the one hand, the programme itself is very diverse in terms of ethnicity and nationality, and while it targets refugees as a key group, anyone at risk of social exclusion, on a low income or underrepresented within the technology sector is able to become involved in the scheme. At the same time, an organisational board member pointed towards a certain *tolerance policy* that prevailed at local level towards refugees and immigrations, involving pressures ‘*to function*’, to work and ‘*be quiet*’. This was linked to distinctions made by local people between ‘*the good Arab – the bad Arab, the good Muslim – the bad Muslim*’, involving expectations on integration, specifically through learning the Dutch language (even though many learners on the programme spoke good English which bears relevance in the technology-driven environment of the scheme). There was

concern that public anxieties about immigration and diversity combined with the rise of right-wing populist parties could lead to a sense of hostility against the initiative itself, although this was addressed through its open recruitment policy (rather than being a designated 'refugee support' scheme). Interestingly, despite the pressures on integration through language learning, the programme itself does not consider limited language skills (including in English) a criteria of exclusion at the point where learners apply to join the programme; instead, the system of peer mentorship (which may involve others from the same background) and an immersive approach to language alongside coding skills are seen as key solutions to overcome such barriers. In this way the programme represents a highly pragmatic approach to integration through work-related learning with a high skills-level 'currency'. While there is awareness about structural issues of discrimination, exclusion and resulting isolation affecting the refugee and migrant participants in the programme, the fast-moving, open, innovative and experimental approach seems to firmly prioritise a forward-looking and optimistic outlook, in which sought-after skills and access to networks will provide sufficient social and cultural capital in the *participation society* to enhance the social integration of ethnic minority participants.

Facilitating Participation as 'Activism' to Address Structural Barriers and Discrimination: An Informal Programme in Ireland

This programme in Ireland involved a short-term one-off informal education project, run at an education service for ethnic minority young people for approximately 4 months. The project was funded by a government grant linked specifically to themes of education and employment. Through a series of workshops and meetings supported by youth workers and educational practitioners as facilitators, including a residential trip, a group of young people from migrant and ethnic minority backgrounds explored issues related to discrimination and barriers in education and employment settings. The project culminated in the production of a video resource in which the young people enacted scenes related to their own or other ethnic minority young people's experiences of prejudice, pressures and discrimination. The video provided an outlet for young people allowing them to express themselves while also conveying their messages to a wider audience. The reaction to it was described by the young people as overwhelming, both because many other young people confirmed that they had experienced very similar issues, and because the reactions of professionals and organisations led to some ongoing dialogue involving awareness raising among practitioners and policy makers.

A key message from young people was that while participation should be based on *an even playing field for everyone*, this is not the case for migrant and ethnic minority young people. The reasons for this are manifold, but include: a lacking awareness of the diversity of young people's situations and needs on the part of

(educational) professionals; lacking networks and social capital which in Irish (majority) society is deeply embedded and forms the basis of many day-to-day interactions (including for finding employment); sometimes contradictory expectations from within ethnic minority communities and families and from wider society (e.g. regarding educational achievements); regular experiences of prejudice through to outright racism. These experiences disadvantage migrant and ethnic minority young people particularly in post economic crisis contexts where competition and youth unemployment are high.

For the young people involved in the programme, *not shying away* from naming *ugly truths* about discrimination and racism is a key way of addressing structurally embedded issues. Through their role in giving voice to inequalities, they are also acutely aware of how this might lead to improving conditions for the next generation of young people, to whom they feel a sense of responsibility. Educational and youth work practitioners involved in the programme held a facilitative role, creating safe spaces in which young people could express and name experiences and feelings, moving from a sense of powerlessness and resignation to thinking about possible actions. Thus, the project involved strategies of activism and solidarity rather than being based on paradigms of individualised ‘activation’. The young people refer to a range of skills they consider they gained or developed through the course of the programme, but the context for this was informal and participatory, following an agenda young people set themselves. Rather than preparing young people for active citizenship participation, the programme utilises participation to create platforms for and experiences of critical expression and mutual solidarity, along with a sense of their efforts making an impact (particularly through the video resource and reactions towards it). Therefore, despite running only for a short time on a one-off basis, the programme provided opportunities for participation and dialogue with practitioners and policy makers which at the time of the research were ongoing. The young people involved in the project describe feelings of empowerment and hope through a sense of *other people also fighting for it* [equal rights and opportunities].

Discussion and Conclusions

This chapter has considered how active citizenship, participation and social inclusion for young adults are framed and promoted in different adult education contexts (and countries). As part of that, we have considered the influence of neoliberalism and discourses which focus on the perceived need for excluded young people to be ‘activated’ to participate socio-economically and socio-culturally. While policy contexts are diverse across the three countries (particularly in the aftermath of the economic crisis and austerity measures), government approaches tend to focus on the responsabilisation of young people, particularly those experiencing unemployment or being classified as ‘NEET’. For migrant and ethnic minority young people, this often intersects with assimilationist discourses of integration. For both cohorts, social exclusion becomes framed less in terms of structural or situational barriers to

participation but rather as a problem to be managed through the acquisition and development of skills or through the modification of values, attitudes or behaviours.

The findings from our field research are complex and contextualised, with local professionals often perceiving national policy frameworks as constraining (for example in terms of funding insecurity or lacking support for initiatives). Similarly, the young people and young adults involved in the programmes had diverse life situations and needs and their perspectives on active participatory citizenship varied. In contexts which focus on ‘activating’ young people to engage in education, training or employment, our case example from England shows that personalised, flexible and empathetic support based on relationships of respect and trust enhances the confidence, skills and capabilities of young adult participants. While the purpose of programmes like this is clearly oriented towards facilitating the socio-economic participation of individual young people, group settings and access to networks and resources can also support experiences of solidarity and mitigate against the isolation of unemployment. In our example from the Netherlands, the opportunity for participants to develop coding skills that may be very desirable to future employers, with access to networks and a supportive community, represents an approach that is innovative and distinct from more standard skills-based integration programmes. The pragmatic focus on socio-economic participation and on coding skills as a new common ‘language’ also works to distance this programme from some of the complex debates regarding cultural integration or assimilation that have arisen in the context of migration and refugee movements across Europe. Finally, the case from Ireland marks one of the most explicit examples of informal education programmes facilitating processes of activism, challenging discrimination and racism. Rather than targeting the individual skills levels and / or employability of participating young people, the programme started from their own experiences and concerns, while the main role of professionals was to support young people in voicing these concerns. Thus, the programme not only provided skills for participation, but constituted an example of active citizenship ‘in action’, establishing contexts of mutual support and solidarity.

At the time of writing (2020), the parameters of adult education and societies overall have been radically challenged through the Covid-19 pandemic. At the same time, there has also been a rise in youth activism, including against structural forms of racism, boosted through the Black Lives Matter movement. In this situation, while future developments seem as unpredictable as never before, questions about what constitutes active participatory citizenship become more relevant than ever, with young adults likely to remain at the centre of policy attention in the field education and beyond.

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Chapter 5

How Are the Prospects for Refugees to Become Active Members of Society? – The Vision and Practices in Turkish Adult Education



Armağan Erdoğan, K. Onur Unutulmaz, Suna G. Aydemir,
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Introduction

Adult education (AE) gives individuals the opportunity to gain new skills and expand their knowledge throughout their life (Kowalski 1988; Tight 1996; Jarvis 2010). It has, therefore, different perspectives, benefits and limitations from the formal education. Adult education has a lifelong perspective for any age group and is designed both for the personal development of individuals and also for the public good (Jarvis 2010, Toprak and Erdoğan 2012). In this sense, it has a significant role for the development of human resources for any country. Disadvantaged groups who have less opportunities in formal education for any reasons appear as *specific* targets for AE (Anderson and Niomi 1969). In the contemporary era the number of people, who suffered from migration and particularly forced migration, increased dramatically throughout the world. These unstable circumstances put an important role on adult education mechanisms both for the “new comers”, who have multi-dimensional vulnerabilities, and also for the countries who are hosting those people. Adult education in this sense is one of the inevitable tools of the social cohesion as stated by Kersh and others in the introduction to this edition. Nevertheless, although the necessity of adult education is evident, it is not always easy to implement functional AE systems and programs. Capacity and resources are the key elements to

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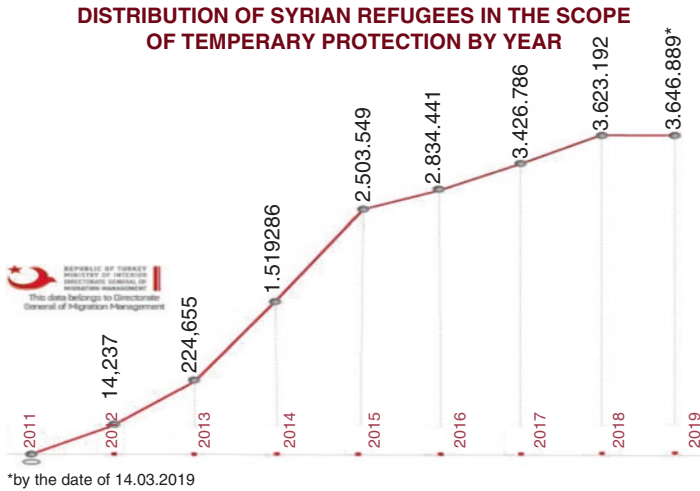
N. Kersh et al. (eds.), *Young Adults and Active Citizenship*, Lifelong Learning
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realize the AE programs, particularly for the forced migration cases where both emergency and the numbers create a great challenge and barrier for their access (Pennacchia et al. 2018). EduMAP started from this perspective and aimed to search for good examples of adult education programs leading the vulnerable groups towards active participatory citizenship in 28 EU countries and Turkey. This chapter, derived from our research, discusses Turkey's unique experience of the Syrian refugees in the last 10 years by focusing on possibilities and limitations of the AE programs designed for these groups.

The world has been witnessing one of the biggest humanitarian crises since 2011. Due to the Civil War in Syria, almost half of its population were forced to be displaced. Out of 22 million population of Syria, 6.6 million people had to leave the country, 7–8 million internally displaced, almost 500 thousand people died and hundreds of thousands were injured (UNHCR, 2019). The majority of the displaced Syrians found shelter in the neighboring countries such as Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan. Turkey was confronted with a dramatic refugee flow due to Syrian Civil War starting in March 2011 (Erdoğan 2014, 2018; Eroglu et al. 2017). As of March, 2020, there are over 4.1 million registered refugees, of which 3.6 million are from Syria (DGMM 2020). In other words, 54% of Syrian refugees, half the population who had to leave Syria is being hosted by Turkey. Turkey had only 58 thousand refugees in 2011, and received 4.1 million refugees within a few years and became the country hosting the largest refugee population in the world since 2014 (IOM 2017, 34). Refugees currently make 5% of the total 83 million population in Turkey and even in some border cities like Kilis, Syrian population is 80,61% - much higher than the local population (DGMM 2020). Another significant point regarding the refugee settlement is that approximately more than 97% of refugees live in the towns or cities as “urban refugees” and only small numbers live in the camps.

Receiving a tremendous amount of population in a short time creates inevitable challenges for Turkey which had been a transit country rather than a target country before. Furthermore, there is still no clear prospects about when the war might end and peace will be achieved in Syria even after 9 years. The unclear situation in their homeland weakens the option for Syrian refugees to return. Studies about the attitudes of Syrian refugees in Turkey show that the majority wish to stay permanently in Turkey even if the war ends (Erdoğan 2017). Relatively high but at the same time “very fragile” acceptance rate of Turkish society in spite of high refugee numbers eased this very challenging and sensitive situation so far (Erdoğan 2020). However potential problem areas and anxiety exist and clear social policies are needed for a better integration (Erdoğan 2014, 2020; Unutulmaz 2017).

It can be said that Turkey's policy for the Syrian refugees is based on four axes: open door policy, temporary protections status, emergency management and perception of temporariness. Turkey adopted open door policy on its East and South-East borders during these years to shelter the Syrians escaping from the effects of the war; and it resulted in a few years in a massive influx of asylum seekers not only from Syria but from other countries such as Iran, Afghanistan, and Iraq, heading to Turkey either for settlement or for transit migration (see the Fig. 5.1). The legal status of the Syrian refugees who come to Turkey as a result of civil war after 2011



Source: Directory General of Migration Management (DGMM), Ministry of Interior.

Fig. 5.1 Increase of Syrian refugees in years in Turkey. (Source: Directory General of Migration Management (DGMM), Ministry of Interior)

is “temporary” protection, because of the geographical limitation Turkey put in the Geneva Convention in 1951. Emergency based policies were needed for the massive number of refugees in the first years; but to define them as “guests” rather than “refugees” put them in a “temporary” status both in terms of legislation and policies. It can be said that temporariness perception hinders the future perspectives and integration processes of Syrian refugees (Erdoğan 2017).

Undoubtedly, one of the most important elements of living together in harmony is education and inclusion of the newcomers who in many ways are vulnerable. This chapter presents a critical analysis of the Turkish experience of adult education (AE) in the context of the current refugee situation with a focus on its role in helping this vulnerable community to become active members of society. After analysing the background information about the mass influx of refugees in Turkey since 2011, the historical development and current structure and practices of AE and Lifelong Learning (LLL) will be examined. Findings of our research show that all its stakeholders perceive the AE sector as crucial for the empowerment of Syrian refugees. AE appears to be the necessary framework for the transformation of refugees into active members of Turkish society through their social, economic and cultural inclusion.

Methodology

The information and discussions presented in this Chapter are based on data collected through a mix of techniques in line with the overall EduMAP research design. The backgrounds, current frameworks, and relevant statistics regarding both the Syrian refugees and AE sector in Turkey present extensive data collected through comprehensive desk research. The main focus has been on the refugees as vulnerable young adults in Turkey, as sampling the country outside EU28. Following this target of the project and in line with the coordinator team meetings and the documents, guides and interview materials were prepared to collect data from “good practices”, having the same methodological approach decided by the Coordination Team and the Team Leaders of EduMAP.

The discussion over how the Turkish AE sector responded to the inflow of Syrian refugees, however, utilized primary data collected through a multi-sited fieldwork on three identified Good Practice (GP) cases. In this context, interviews and focus group meetings were conducted with more than 50 individuals including decision makers at national level and administrators, project coordinators, educators, and former and current learners at selected AE programs targeting vulnerable young adults in Istanbul, Ankara, Gaziantep, and Soma. The collected primary data was analysed using a qualitative data analysis software, namely MAXQDA, using the codes collectively formed by all EduMAP partners, adapted to the Turkish context when necessary. Limitations of the research are mainly based on working with the vulnerable groups such as communicating through and relying on translators; the fact that their legal status of being under temporary protection intensified the idea of temporariness, and their lack of knowledge about the conceptual definitions of the research such as AE and APC.

Background and Relevant Statistics of the Syrian Population in Turkey

It would be useful to overview some statistics relevant to the scope of our research to set the background for the Syrian population in Turkey. A large majority of the Syrian population in Turkey are under the age of 30, while the number of young adults in the scope of EduMAP age group of 15 to 30 is 1.181.261 (see Table 5.1). Therefore, there is a dynamic and young population in question, which makes providing education one of the major challenges for Turkey. Another striking point of the demographic structure of the Syrian refugees in Turkey is the gender imbalance. Male population accounting for the 54.2% of the population is much higher than female population, and this imbalance is even higher in the youth population. This affects the education policies and services as well as the employment opportunities. Additionally, cultural codes and family structure do not leave much room for women to go out; the male population in the public is higher and therefore particularly

Table 5.1 Distribution by gender and age of Syrian Refugees

DISTRIBUTION BY AGE AND GENDER OF REGISTERED SYRIAN REFUGEES RECORDED BY TAKING BIOMETRIC DATA			
AGE	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
TOTAL	1.978.313	1.668.576	3.646.889
0-4	258.180	241.149	499.329
5-9	260.017	244.426	504.443
10-14	202.466	187.526	389.992
15-18	149.512	123.652	273.164
19-24	312.230	229.989	551.219
25-29	208.987	147.891	356.878
30-34	172.934	126.217	299.151
35-39	122.508	96.070	218.578
40-44	80.964	71.131	152.095
45-49	59.981	57.043	117.024
50-54	48.680	46.318	94.998
55-59	33.941	34.078	68.019
60-64	23.841	24.396	48.237
65-69	15.822	16.294	35.116
70-74	8.985	9.570	18.555
75-79	5.058	6.238	11.296
80-84	2.800	3.501	6.301
85-89	1.565	2.024	3.589
90+	842	1.063	1.905

by the date of 14 03 2019



Source: DGMM, Ministry of Interior

vocational AE programs need to be planned for men. However, as our findings show, this is also complicated as men prioritize working over attending AE programs.

When we look at the indicators on education, they illustrate the depth of the vulnerability of the young adult refugees. Their educational attainment is based on their self-declaration during their registration. According to a self-declared data, 33% of the Syrian population is illiterate with 13% stating that they are literate but with no school experience, displaying the very low education level of the population (Ministry of Development 2016). The school age children (5–17) are over one million and 65% of them were enrolled into schools in 2019. This can be regarded as a great success on the one hand, but the remaining 400 thousand are great nominees to become members of the much feared “lost generation”. Another crucial fact is the high level of drop outs and the decrease of schooling rates in the later ages. While the enrolment rate in primary school is 95%, in secondary school it drops to 45% and in high schools it is 25%. Schooling rates for girls and boys harbour significant gaps in favour of boys – the only exceptions being the primary school.¹ In 2018–2019 there were 50 thousand students attending the last year of their high school education.

¹(377.765 Female Students – 351.231 Male Students)- Kindergarten (34.584 F – 93.791 M), Secondary School (140.638 F – 272.819 E) and in High School (57.528 F – 258.359 M)

Almost 1.2 million which is 32% of the Syrian population in Turkey is between 15–29 years old (Ministry of National Education 2019). Therefore, this group is the target group for the AE programs since they missed the formal education opportunity both in their country and in Turkey. Their socio-economic status is also low which directly increases their vulnerability. In the mid and long term this profile is very crucial for the new AE policies. It is necessary to make a well-planned LLL strategy and a high level of AE supply in the coming years. At this point, there is another difficulty that will be faced by policymakers: To increase the quality of the program, a strong finance, which on the one hand requires the re-consent of the society in Turkey about distributing sources as well as an effective management of the international financial resources/opportunities. However, conjectural developments in both contexts are unfavourable. All these testify for the fact that Syrian refugees in Turkey are vulnerable in many more ways than one and providing them with high-quality adult education programs is an extremely difficult yet vital challenge.

In terms of adult education, the law on foreigners has measures under the articles regulating harmonization of immigrants. Article 96 states that “The Directorate General may, to the extent that Turkey’s economic and financial capacity deems possible, plan for harmonization activities in order to facilitate mutual harmonization between foreigners, applicants and international protection beneficiaries and the society as well as to equip them with the knowledge and skills to be independently active in all areas of social life”. Article 96 goes on to state that “Foreigners may attend courses where the basics of political structure, language, legal system, culture and history of Turkey as well as their rights and obligations are explained. The Directorate General shall promote the courses related to access to public and private goods and services, access to education and economic activities, social and cultural communications, and access to primary healthcare services and, awareness and information activities through distant learning and similar means in cooperation with public institutions and agencies and non-governmental organisations”.²

Temporary Protection Regulation has a whole part on “services to be provided to persons benefiting from temporary protection”, health services, education services, access to labour market services, social assistance and services, interpretation services (Erdoğan 2014, 2018). Article 28 refers to education services. “Education activities for foreigners under this Regulation shall be conducted inside and outside temporary accommodation centres under the control and responsibility of the Ministry of National Education [...] In that regard: language education, vocational courses, skills trainings and hobby courses addressing all age groups may be organized depending on the demand. The first piece of legislation regulating matters of immigration and international protection in Turkey, the Law on Foreigners and International Protection,³ was passed in 2013. This law included rather vague

²Law on Foreigners and International Protection (2013): Article 96: [https://www.goc.gov.tr/files/files/law%20on%20foreigners%20and%20international%20protection\(2\).pdf](https://www.goc.gov.tr/files/files/law%20on%20foreigners%20and%20international%20protection(2).pdf)

³Full text of the Law is available in 11 languages at http://www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/11-dilde-yukk_327_328_1174_icerik

provisions about education of legal aliens in the country, assigning the authority to make necessary arrangements to the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) (Articles 34 and 59).

Gender equality in education is guaranteed by the constitution and related legislation in Turkey. Basic Law of National Education states that “education institutions are open to everybody regardless of language, race, gender and religion. No privilege shall be granted to any individual, family, group or class” (Article 4). Equal opportunity in education is provided for men and women (Article 8). Nevertheless, the “gender gap” in literacy is quite wide according to many sources including World Economic Forum Reports. Access of Syrian women to adult education is relatively high compared to formal education, however the content and the quality of education are questionable, which does not help much with empowerment of women in active citizenship (Unutulmaz 2019, 13–14).

Historical Development and Current State of the Turkish Adult Education System

The development of the Turkish AE System is an inseparable part of the Turkish modernization experience. The latter is described in the literature as one of the most radical versions of non-western and late modernization. This section identifies the significant periods that have shaped Turkish AE in each of the historical periods from the proclamation of the Turkish Republic in the year 1923 until today.

In the twentieth century, the social structure of Turkey has undergone radical change. In 1927 Turkey’s population was less than 14 million. In 2018 it exceeded 82 million. Until the 2000s the country’s annual population growth rate has usually been over 20%. While in 1927 the proportion of the urban population was around 24.2%, this ratio increased to 92.3% as of 2018 (Table 5.2) (Icduygu 2012). In 1955 the rate of adults employed in agriculture was 77.4% (TurkStat 2012: 27–28). Until 2018, this ratio decreased to 18.4%. On the other hand, the employment rate in the service sector has exceeded 54%. These data will help to understand when, why and in which direction adult education policies have changed in terms of purposes, target groups, and priorities. Against this background, it can be argued that the newly urban population, moving from the rural to the industrial regions has been traditionally the major target group of Turkish AE, supporting their socio-cultural, economic and political integration into urban society.

Table 5.2 Population, annual growth rate of population, province/district centers and town/villages population

Census year	Population	Annual growth (%)	Rate of urban population (%)	Rate of rural population (%)
1927	13,648,270	–	24.2	75.8
1940	17,820,950	17.03	24.4	75.6
1950	20,947,188	21.73	25.0	75.0
1960	27,754,820	28.53	31.9	68.1
1970	35,605,176	25.19	38.5	61.5
1980	44,736,957	20.65	43.9	56.1
1990	56,473,035	21.71	59.0	41.0
2000	67,803,927	18.28	64.9	35.1
2010	73,722,988	15.90	76.3	23.7
2018	82,003,882	14.7	92.3	7.7

Source: TurkStat 2012, p. 4–5 and p. 9 and Results of Population Censuses, 1927–2000 and results of Address Based Population Registration System, 2007–2018

AE in the Republican Revolution and in the Early Republican Period

The history of modern adult education in Turkey dates back to the late nineteenth century.⁴ AE was both institutionalized and popularized during the early Republican era, which started with the proclamation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. Adult education was one of the leading means of construction and consolidation of the culture and identity of the citizens of the young republic. The strategic importance of adult education for the young Turkish State was paramount as it made a strong impact on citizens in a short time. The main institution in charge of adult education from 1923 to 1950 were the “people’s houses” (*halk evleri*), offering education to large masses to bridge the differences in lifestyles among the Turkish people, and to adopt a national(ist) art, worldview, and culture (Sayılan and Yıldız 2009).

The foundation of the Directorate General of Public Education under MoNE in 1960 was an institutional milestone for the Turkish adult education system. From the 1970s to the 1990s, the priority of the Turkish adult education system has shifted towards vocational-technical education corresponding to the requirements of the “industrial society” and the massive increase in Turkey’s urban population (see Table 5.2). Since the 1990s, with the transition to the “information society” in the context of globalization and neoliberal economic transformation (Sayılan 2001), vocational skills have lost their priority in adult education. Instead, lifelong learning, which aims to develop basic skills to increase participation of the person in all areas of society, has become the priority of adult education.

⁴See for the developments in the modernisation process of Turkish adult education before the proclamation of the Republic Okçabol 2006 and Yayla 2009.

The developments in Turkish AE in the 1990s ran in the same direction as the developments in Europe. As it is mentioned in the first Chapter of this book in the most recent decade, developments and policies related to adult education have been strongly influenced by the market-oriented approaches of social inclusion. The market-oriented vision of AE aims at strengthening the employability and entrepreneurship. Neo-liberal trend in the development plans of Turkey for 1990–1994 and 1996–2000 changed the priority in adult education policies to address the human resources requirements of the market and had the objective of ensuring a flexible restructuration of the educational system to allow internal and external transfers between formal and non-formal education. Adult education was turned into a dynamic sector that was open for various forms of cooperation among national, local, international, public, private and civil players and that required a diversity of programs (EAEA 2011). The General Directorate in charge of adult education was finally renamed as Directorate General of Lifelong Learning (DGLLL) in 2011. Restructuring the Public Education Centres (PEC) and vocational course centres of local administrations as lifelong learning centres, and qualitatively and quantitatively improving the educational activities on basic skills at these centres was set as an objective of public policy under the 10th Development Plan (2014–2018).

AE in Turkey Today: Framework, Basic Statistics and Challenges

According to EUROSTAT data from 2013, LLL participation rate in the EU is 9% on average. This rate is only 3.2% in Turkey. As a result of this deficiency, Turkey's Lifelong Learning Strategy Paper 2014–2018 identifies the following two priorities of Turkish AE policy: increasing LLL culture and awareness and increasing the access to LLL opportunities.⁵ Further, increasing the participation of vulnerable groups in adult education programs appears to be of great importance. All policy documents related to adult education include the category of “disadvantaged”. The category “disadvantaged” was defined in official documents of Turkish AE very similarly to “vulnerable”, one of the key concepts of the EduMAP project. The category of disadvantaged includes the disabled, women, the elderly, ex-convicts, juveniles and young people at risk of crime or long-term unemployed, unemployed youth, seasonal workers and refugees.

⁵ <https://ec.europa.eu/epale/en/resource-centre/content/turkey-national-lifelong-learning-strategy-paper-2014-2018-0>

Framework and Basic Statistics

In the actual landscape, there is a diversity of actors in adult education in Turkey. Turkish Statistical Institute's Non-Formal Education Statistics 2016 has classified these actors as ministry and affiliated institution, university, municipality, confederation or union, foundation and society, and listed the numbers of courses, participants and graduates for the years 2015 and 2016 (Table 5.3).

Among all of the actors in the Turkish adult education sector, the DGLLL under the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) is in a privileged position. It produces services and is also in charge of developing a national strategy for adult education, ensuring coordination between the stakeholders in adult education, and overseeing relevant activities. Across Turkey, 990 PEGs and 20 Maturation Institutes are operating under the DGLLL. As of 2017, a total of 340,000 courses have been given across 299 branches, and approximately seven million people were registered for these courses.

Turkish Employment Agency (İŞKUR) is one of the leading public actors in adult education services. The Agency has a high capacity for developing international cooperation for employment and education projects and for using foreign funds. Also the concepts and target groups of the AE programs organized by the İŞKUR are obviously in line with the active citizenship (AC) vision in Europe. There are many programs aiming at the active participation of young adults in the economy and their empowerment in this way. NEET is one of the population groups that İŞKUR is trying to reach through AE programs. With the concept of "Active Workforce Programs", İŞKUR organizes "entrepreneurship training programs", "on-the-job training programs", and "vocational training courses." According to recent data, more than 50% of the participants of these courses are women, approximately 50% of all participants are aged between 15 and 29, and most of the participants are dropouts. Migrants and refugees are one of the relatively new target groups of İŞKUR. In this context, the priority for İŞKUR is to generalize its vocational and

Table 5.3 Non-formal education activities by institutions and organizations

Institution/ organization	Number of courses		Number of course participants		Number of participants completed the courses	
	2015	2016	2015	2016	2015	2016
Total	71,127	72,167	5,711,116	7,611,505	5,526,014	7,425,138
Ministry and affiliated institution	37,358	35,367	2,856,478	4,686,269	2,802,955	4,650,878
University	4671	4748	321,065	415,502	304,262	384,771
Municipality	19,115	18,571	1,450,945	1,781,471	1,346,538	1,666,217
Confederation or union	618	781	62,908	85,141	62,847	85,071
Foundation and society	9365	12,700	1,019,720	643,122	1,009,412	638,201

Source: TurkStat Newsletter August 24 2017, Issue: 24678

career consulting services and active workforce programs among refugees (İŞKUR 2017: 50, 73–74).

In adult education, there is a diversity of service providers and of the forms of cooperation among these actors. They predominantly work together in project-based and time-limited cooperation activities. The PEGs with their infrastructure, trainers and educational materials, are one of the most important business partners in adult education programs and/or social responsibility projects that are developed by these actors and other social constituents. DGLLL has signed 114 cooperation protocols which are still valid as of 2019.⁶

Challenges

EduMAP project aimed to answer the following research question: What policies and practices are needed in the field of adult education to include young adults at risk of social exclusion in active participatory citizenship in Europe? The size, composition and other characteristics of young people that are Neither in Education nor in Employment or Training (NEET) in Turkey is crucial to understand the background and need for AE among young adults. As Susanli (2016: 44) emphasizes the youth labor market in Turkey is characterized both by high levels of unemployment and inactivity. But while many studies investigate the problem of youth unemployment in Turkey, very few of them take into account the NEETs. See Göksen et al. (2016) for a comparative research of NEET status by gender and migrant status in EU on the base of EU-SILC (European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions).

Turkey has the highest NEET rate among OECD countries. As Table 5.4 shows according to the Education at a Glance Report 2018 in all following age groups, 15–19, 20–24 and 25–29, is the NEET rate in Turkey still more than two times above the OECD average, despite the positive developments in the last decade.

On average across OECD countries, 14.5% of 18–24 year-olds are neither employed nor in education or training. As we see in Table 5.5 in Turkey, the share of NEETs among 18–24 year-olds exceeds 30% (Erdoğan et al. 2017: 5–7). The percentage of NEETs includes both those who have not managed to find a job (unemployed) and those who are not actively seeking employment (inactive). EAG

Table 5.4 NEET rate (%) in Turkey and the OECD average by year and age group

Age groups	OECD 2006 (%)	OECD 2017 (%)	Turkey 2005 (%)	Turkey 2017 (%)
15–19 years	8.3	6	37.7	15
20–24 years	16.4	16	47.2	33
25–29 years	18.4	18	42.2	35

Source: EAG 2018, Fig. A2.3 and Table C4.2A

⁶<http://hboprojeler.meb.gov.tr/protokol-liste.html>

Table 5.5 Percentage of 18–24 year-olds not in education, by work status (2017)

Country	Not in education				
	Not in education total	NEET			Employed
		Unemployed	Inactive	Total	
Turkey	59.3	8.9	22.3	31.1	28.2
OECD	47.4	6.0	8.4	14.5	32.9
EU 22	43.7	6.8	7.4	14.3	29.4

Source: EAG 2018, Table A2.1

2018 notices that in Turkey approximately 45% of the female population in the age group of 18–24 has the status of NEET. This rate is far above the OECD average of 15%. Moreover, more than 80% of these women are in the status of inactive NEET. The OECD average is around 65% (EAG 2018, Figures A2.2 and A2.5.). In today's Turkey the group of women NEETs with extreme high rate of inactive young women represents one of the major challenges for the AE System. This challenge acquires a new dimension and dynamic with the recent inflow of refugees to Turkey.

How Does the AE Sector in Turkey Respond to the Inflow of Syrian Refugees?

Since 2016, the Republic of Turkey follows a policy aimed at co-ordinating and monitoring the whole area of adult education organised both by non-governmental actors and the public authorities. In this background, new institutions, new legal regulations and new statistical data have emerged. Legal and institutional changes became necessary to ensure that refugees can benefit from adult education services (Bircan and Sunata 2015; Emin 2016; Unutulmaz 2019).

The Ministry of Interior, Directorate General of Migration Management signed a cooperation protocol with the DGLLL on 25 April 2016 to organize Turkish language courses, vocational courses and social skills courses for foreigners under temporary protection in Turkey (Emin 2016). In relation to this, the Department of Migration and Emergency Training was established under DGLLL on 16 May 2016 to “develop, implement, monitor, and evaluate policies on training in migration and emergencies” (DGLLL 2016). Responsibilities of the department include ensuring coordination of national and international training projects on migration and emergencies, cooperating with national and international institutions and developing the relevant training materials. One of the most important measures that DGLLL has taken in relation to education of foreigners/refugees was to ensure effective public promotion of the services in the community of refugees. To do this, one million brochures, short texts containing information on open schools, vocational courses and other AE programs, were distributed across Turkey in Arabic language.

In principle, Turkey acts on a vision to ensure that all members of society can participate in all education modules under equal terms, and to develop a system that allows adults to gain a new vocation or obtain diplomas for their existing vocations. The most important outcome of the efforts to bring necessary changes in the legislation because of the refugee flows has been the Directive on Lifelong Learning Institutions which came into force on 11 April 2018.

Statistics Concerning AE Programs Attended by Syrians

Numerous civil initiatives on education of Syrians have been developed between April 2011 and July 2017. Yet there does not exist data that provides a sound overview of these activities. Since July 2017, local, national and international actors in civil society can offer educational services for refugees legally only on the condition that they sign protocols with DGLLL. The DGLLL justifies this decision with improving efficiency of trainings and preventing any abuse of educational activities that may lead to problems of security.

Directorate General of Lifelong Learning announced its most detailed data on the participation of refugees under the title of “foreigners under temporary protection” in its Monitoring and Evaluation Reports 2017 (DGLLL 2017). As can be seen in Table 5.6, more than 28,500 Syrians from all age and gender groups participated in the Turkish language courses. 14,200 participants were women over 18 years old, which represents a significant percentage. According to Table 5.7, approximately 66,000 people attended other courses than Turkish language courses, including 55,000 students in “general courses” and 10,500 students in “vocational-technical courses.” However, the number of students by year demonstrates that the number of women and men has been constantly decreasing in all courses since 2015. For example, the number of people who attended the Turkish language courses in 2015 was 70,000, which went down to 62,000 in 2016 and to 28,000 in 2017 (Table 5.8). The decrease in the participation to vocational-technical courses is even more dramatic: there were 61,000 students in 2015, and the number fell to approximately 16,000 in 2016 and to 10,000 in 2017 (Table 5.9).

DGLLL did not make any explanation in its 2017 annual report regarding the systematic decrease in Syrian refugees’ participation in courses. However, the reasons for the systematic decrease in the participation of Syrian refugees in DGLLL-controlled educational activities should be examined in multiple ways.

Table 5.6 Turkish courses by age groups, Syrian trainees data (2017)

Gender	Age 6–12	Age 13–17	Adults	In total
Men	2408	330	9070	11,808
Women	2249	296	14,212	16,757
Total	4657	626	23,282	28,565

Source: MEB DGLLL 2017 Monitoring and Evaluation Report, p. 131

Table 5.7 Number of Syrians in Non-Turkish courses (2017)

Gender	Vocational and technical	General	In total
Women	7,113	32,346	39,454
Men	3,166	23,094	26,260
Total	10,279	55,440	65,719

Source: MEB DGLLL 2017 Monitoring and Evaluation Report, p. 131

Table 5.8 Turkish courses given to Syrian trainees by years (2015–2017)

Year	Turkish as foreign language		
	Women	Men	In total
2015	40,904	28,639	69,543
2016	35,985	26,201	62,186
2017	16,757	11,808	28,148
Total	93,646	66,648	159,887

Source: MEB DGLLL 2017 Monitoring and Evaluation Report, p. 131

Table 5.9 Vocational technical courses by years (2015–2017), Trainees data

Year	Vocational and technical		
	Women	Men	In total
2015	36,229	25,115	61,344
2016	11,124	4421	15,545
2017	7113	3166	10,279
Total	54,466	32,702	87,168

Source: MEB DGLLL 2017 Monitoring and Evaluation Report, p. 133

AE for Refugee Integration: How AE Programs Are Designed to Address Refugees with Multiple Vulnerabilities for Social Integration

As explained above, the Syrians in Turkey present a quite complicated case because of their massive number and low education level for AE policies aiming at integration of refugees and enhancing their active citizenship capacities. To reiterate very briefly, this is mainly because of several characteristics of the Syrian refugee population in Turkey: Demographically, it is very young; socio-economically, it is generally un-educated, poor, and without qualifications; socio-psychologically, it suffers from being uprooted and traumatised by an on-going civil war; legal and politically, it has an unclear future in Turkey, which is reflected in their legal status which is ‘persons under temporary protection’.

The AE programmes bear special significance in the Turkish case regarding the integration of Syrian refugees and helping them obtain APC qualities for several reasons. First of all, as it was discussed at length, the immigration of a massive number of Syrians in Turkey took place in a quite short period of time. Considering the demographic characteristics of these new arrivals and the fact that Turkey

already has a large and young population itself, the burden placed on the national education system was enormous (Erdoğan 2014). In addition, the perception and expectation of temporariness of Syrians in Turkey has meant that Turkey did not begin to adopt long-term education policies from the outset (Kirisçi 2014; Icduygu 2015). When the permanent settlement of a large number of Syrians in the country became undeniable, the government did start to take decisive steps to integrate as many school-aged Syrians into formal schooling system as possible. At this point, however, it was quite late for a large number of Syrians, who, in the absence of such a comprehensive education policy addressing their particular conditions, had not had access to formal schooling in the Turkish national education system. It should be noted that the initial perception of temporariness was mutual, being both on the part of the Turkish government and the Syrians themselves, which made it further difficult for many Syrians to have, or demand, access to education in Turkey (Unutulmaz 2019).

Moreover, at the time of writing, around 55% of the registered 3.6 million Syrians in Turkey are beyond the age 18 (Table 5.1). In other words, even if it can be assumed that all school-aged Syrians could be fully integrated into the formal education system, there is still a large number of adults who will need AE opportunities. It also needs to be remembered that the Syrian refugees in Turkey are forced migrants, who were displaced by a bloody civil war that still continues into its ninth year. There are obvious psychological implications of such life experiences, which would be the subject of another paper. The fact, however, that their lives are interrupted by the war and by the eventual move to another country needs to be remembered. In a context where even the most educated and highly-skilled are suffering the implications of moving to a completely different system where their qualifications mean very little, if at all; those with interrupted educational backgrounds and no qualifications crucially need AE programs. This has been even more harmful for the Syrians in Turkey since, as suggested earlier, they already have relatively low educational attainment levels (see the section on ‘education indicators’ of Syrian refugees above).

The AE policies and programs could help such refugees in a great number of ways to adapt to their new social surroundings, obtain and develop APC skills, and integrate in their new society. One of the most important of such ways is language acquisition, which is absolutely crucial for integration (Eroğlu et al. 2017; Erdoğan 2017). While Turkey has been in its ‘migration transition’ for years preceding the arrival of Syrians in 2011, in which it has been transforming from a mainly emigration/origin country into an immigration/destination one, it still lacks the necessary legal and institutional infrastructure to respond to this change (Kirisçi 2014). Thus, for instance, there are no widespread and accessible Turkish language courses designed for immigrants and refugees. This is quickly changing in Turkey and AE programs and initiatives, such as the ones scrutinized in the EduMAP project, are an essential aspect of this. The importance of learning the language in the host context cannot be emphasized enough. It is not only a minimum requirement for integration for refugees; it is a basic survival skill. Without the necessary minimum language abilities, the refugees will inevitably get isolated and excluded from the society, be

pushed into a life in segregated enclaves, and marginalisation becomes a likely destination.

Almost as important as language is the ability of refugees to financially support themselves (Erdoğan 2017). While various support mechanisms could be developed by the state, and they are in place in the Turkish case through several public programs as well as EU funding, these can only be temporary half-measures. In the medium and long-run, refugees need to improve their employability in a new labour market where their skill sets and qualifications might not match the demands. Here, as well, the AE programs are of crucial importance. Mainly through Vocational Education and Training (VET) programs that could be designed according to the profile of the targeted Vulnerable Young Adults (VYA) population and the demands and requirements of the local labour markets, the AE programs provide the necessary flexibility and effectiveness, as the Turkish case also demonstrates. It needs to be stressed that even though the VET programs might not immediately and/or directly lead to paid employment, they improve not only the human capital of refugees but also their social capital as well as self-confidence.

Lastly, AE programs are essential for integration because they provide convenient channels through which refugees interact with their wider community as well as the mainstream society (Eroglu et al. 2017, 213). Social interaction serves as a virtuous cycle whereby more social interaction leads to increased language fluency, greater social capital, and extra cultural capital of the host context as well as more social interaction. As it will be further described in more detail below, a majority of AE programs that target Syrian refugees in Turkey are designed in a more comprehensive approach on social inclusion and usually delivered by community centres that establish trust-based relations with the refugees. In other words, the AE programs are usually seen not merely as tools for education on their specific issues of focus, e.g. language learning or vocational training in hairdressing; they are rather designed to be an element in a more holistic program. These programs usually include extra-curricular events aiming to increase social interaction with the native society, to teach various cultural norms and values, and to prepare the Syrian refugees for a more independent life in Turkey through empowerment (see below for details).

How Are AE Programs Designed in Turkey to Address the Multiple Vulnerabilities of Syrian Refugees

To help Syrian refugees develop their APC skills and effectively integrate in Turkish society, a plethora of AE programs are being designed and implemented. In the framework of EduMAP project, Good Practice cases involving the so-called community centres were identified and investigated. While naturally there are many other programs, the AE programs discussed in this study are the ones coordinated by these community centres as part of an integrated, holistic approach.

The term Multifunctional Community Centre (MCC) is used to describe various institutions in different contexts. Therefore, before moving further into the specificities of AE programs, it is necessary to define what a community centre is in the Turkish context. A MCC is one that aims to provide an integrated and holistic service approach to become the single address that these groups would go to for a wide variety of services. These centres also aim to respond to the specific and special needs of the vulnerable target groups. In addition, they typically offer their services on an open-access manner whereby targeted individuals could simply walk in. In addition, these centres usually establish a trust-based relationship with the targeted individuals. Lastly, they collect data from the individuals through their registration and create an extensive database, which helps them to design and revise programs.

In our case, the idea at these MCC is the following: provide the most basic and urgent services for the refugees such as health services, psychological counselling, legal advice, financial support, and, of course, education programs in one convenient place. Once refugees arrive at these centres, they are welcomed at the reception by experts who register them while learning about the needs, requirements, and demands of the refugees. Then, this person directs the refugee to relevant departments depending on their needs. Starting from this first encounter, a continuous relationship is built between the refugee and the centre through means of constant communication, which fosters trust through time.

AE programs are a crucial part of the integrated services approach. While the Turkish language courses for all age groups continue throughout the year, specific VET programs take place at specific times on relevant subjects to increase the employability of the refugees. The subjects of the programs as well as details concerning scheduling of the classes etc. are determined by taking account of the specific needs and requirements of the refugees. During registration as well as at the later encounters, the information flows from the refugees toward the AE coordinators. Crucially, information also flows in the opposite direction whereby information about the existing and prospective AE programs are disseminated to the target VYA groups. And lastly, the continuous communication and trust-based relationship allows for the coordinators to receive valuable feedback about the AE programs thereby giving them the opportunity to revise and improve programs (see Fig. 5.2).

It needs to be highlighted here that the flow of information between the refugee VYAs and the community centres is continuous and bi-directional. Therefore, as it can be seen in Fig. 5.2, there is a continuous flow of information from the VYA learners in the form of requests, demands, and needs, which are either collected by the community centres during registration or afterwards using various channels, repeatedly. So, it is not just a one-off assessment but a dynamic process of collecting information continuously. Also remarkably, once the VYA learners realise that the community centres are open and welcoming for their demands and suggestions, they become more active parties of this process through coming up with ideas and requests of their own, even when they are not directly asked about them. The same applies for information from the VYA learners in the form of feedback on how the various AE programs they participated worked. They provide the community

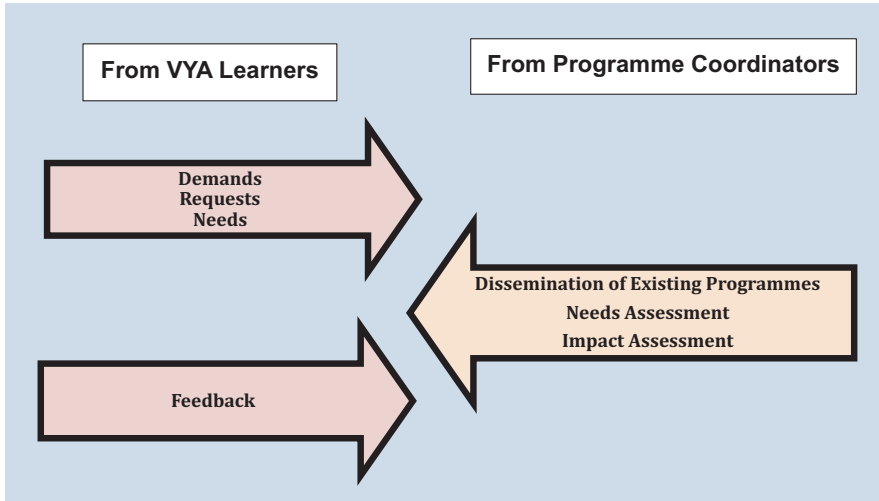


Fig. 5.2 Flow of information regarding AE programs between refugee VYAs and program coordinators at the community centres

centres with invaluable information about the usefulness, effectiveness, and overall success of the programs so that program coordinators could use this information to improve the existing programs and design more effective ones. On the other direction, there is a continuous flow of information from the program coordinators at the community centres towards the targeted VYA groups in the form of dissemination of existing or upcoming AE programs, their assessments of the needs of the VYA learners, and their own assessment of the impacts of various AE programs.

The crucial point here is that the program coordinators neither assume that they know what is good, useful, and/or necessary for the targeted VYA learners; nor do they simply try to provide exactly what is requested by these learners. Instead, they try to create an atmosphere in which the VYA learners are active participants in the planning, design, and implementation of the right AE programs, at the right time, with the right people. This is a mutual learning process and a collective effort, often frequent trial-and-error sequences, which is made possible by the described continuous and mutual flow of information.

In the next part, a more detailed description and discussion of various specific AE programs from the Good Practice cases will be provided.

The Holistic View on Social Inclusion and Development of APC Skills

The above described and discussed integrated service approach where AE programs occupy a central place offers significant benefits for the VYAs as well as the policy makers. First of all, considering the fact that the refugees don't know the system and institutions in their new host context, refugees tend to remain in regular contact with a centre that provides several services and that acts as a guide and advisor concerning the services that it doesn't provide itself. This creates strong and stable communication between the refugees and the centre, as discussed above. This communication is the bedrock on which effective and useful AE programs on language, VET or hobbies could be designed, advertised, and implemented.

Secondly, the benefits acquired from these AE programs are not only related to their specific subject matter. To the contrary, particularly concerning specific VYA groups such as the women refugees, the main benefit of these programs is reported to be the acquired sense of confidence. Many respondents suggested that through taking part in these programs, they realised what they are actually capable of doing. In the words of one Syrian women respondent "before coming here I was afraid of even going out of my house. Now, I feel like I can do anything by myself. I can earn my own living, I can stand on my own."

This sense of confidence acquired was closely related with the sense of being independent that was mentioned by many Syrian women. Accordingly, while they used to feel dependent on either their fathers or husbands in the past, through participating the AE programs, they feel much more independent. This sense of empowerment surely helps APC competences to develop.

Another important characteristic of MCC and their AE programs is their flexibility. Such community centres are based in the local context and are very active in the field. Therefore, they are aware of the local peculiarities. They are, on the other hand, in constant cooperation with national and international stakeholders, which include the state, national civil society, international organisations such as UN bodies or the EU, and INGOs from across the globe. This makes them perfectly situated to channel both the resources from the international and national levels to the local, and to customize projects and programs designed by these stakeholders depending on the local conditions.

Lastly, the MCC are perfect candidates for serving as intermediary actors between the thousands of VYAs that they serve in their localities and the state as well as the above-mentioned other actors. Again, here the bridging role of the community centres would work in two directions: on the one hand, they provide a gateway for the above mentioned national and international actors to reach out to and engage refugee VYAs. On the other hand, it assists the refugees themselves to learn about and interact with the outer world.

Concluding Remarks and Future Prospects

This chapter utilized the EduMAP project findings in the Turkish field study to discuss how the Turkish AE sector have responded to the Syrian refugees and what role it does and could play in their social integration and enhancement of their APC skills. This concluding part will briefly summarize and recap the main parts of the chapter and will underline its main findings and arguments.

While the official discourse is still talking about the temporariness of the Syrian immigrants in Turkey and their eventual return to Syria, it is becoming increasingly clear that a significant number of Syrian refugees will remain in Turkey permanently no matter what happens in Syria and beyond (Erdoğan 2017). Even though the legal status of Syrians, i.e. ‘persons under temporary protection’, and political discourse about them imply otherwise, the Turkish government and state institutions are also increasingly, albeit not explicitly, acknowledging this fact (Eroglu et al. 2017; Unutulmaz 2019). Social integration of refugees is one of the hottest topics in the political agenda in Turkey, as it is in many different countries around the globe. This chapter has attempted to show that AE policies and programs already are, and will increasingly be in the future, one of the most effective, versatile, and flexible tools to use for the social as well as economic, cultural, and eventually even political integration of Syrians by a diverse set of policy makers at different levels.

Adult Education has a long history in Turkey, as it was described above, and it has long been seen as an important tool for the policy makers to address various vulnerabilities, particularly illiteracy and failure to access education. It is also relevant for the topic of this paper that AE has been seen as an important tool not merely for education and technical training per se, but also for construction of certain identities and upholding certain norms and values, i.e. those of the republic for constructing good citizens (EAEA 2011). Today, similarly, the AE programs are seen as one significant part of a more comprehensive approach targeting social integration of a large population of refugees. The review in this chapter amply demonstrates that the potential of AE as this effective, versatile, and flexible tool is fully acknowledged.

There is, certainly, a lot to be improved in Turkey in terms of how AE programs are used for the social integration of VYA refugees. However, there is a number of very significant lessons to be learned and successful examples to be drawn from the Turkish experience, as well. Arguably, one of the most significant of these is the holistic approach that is seen in the MCC model in Turkey. Acknowledging the fact that refugees bear multiple vulnerabilities and suffer from complex disadvantages, this integrated service approach which includes guidance and consultancy, financial support and psychological counselling, legal advice and medical attention, among other things, helps establish a strong and trust-based relationship with individuals and communities at the local level. What is more, these centres also function as trusted emissaries and bridging institutions between these VYA groups and the Turkish state institutions, in other words between the local and the national levels.

A second crucial lesson from the Turkish case is on the importance of communication and healthy information flows between the AE program coordinators and the VYA groups. This can be seen as a mundane point to make, yet the importance of

establishing open, dynamic, mutual, and continuous communication could not be overstated. Since the importance of local context is equally universally acknowledged (Hovil 2014), it must not be forgotten that the ‘recipe for the perfect AE program’ that will work equally effectively everywhere cannot be created. It is much safer to argue, however, that the custom-made AE programs that will work at a local context need to be the product of a combination of what the program coordinators have, e.g. a strategic vision, pedagogical tools, measurable objectives, and so on, on the one hand; and what the target audience of those programs needs and requests. Here, it needs to be highlighted that what the VYA learners request is quite easy to find out, through simply asking them. More important part, however, is figuring out what they need and it should be beyond what the VYA learners subjectively believe they need. The Turkish experience is a good example showing how the open information channels help the coordinators to better understand what the VYA learners need and combine this information with their own strategic vision and objectives in designing AE programs that would be more likely to work.

Turkey is facing many challenges in terms of social integration of Syrian refugees in the country and its use of AE programs requires improvement with many respects. First of all, it needs to be acknowledged that the numbers of the refugees are highest in the world. Nevertheless, there is an urgent need to formulate a stronger long-term vision concerning the future and social integration of Syrians in the country. The actual place and significance of AE policies and programs, and their local implementation, could only be properly mapped out within such a macro-level national strategic vision. Secondly, in a related manner, the AE programs addressing social integration of VYA refugees could be much better coordinated. Such coordination could decrease the waste of financial, physical, and human resources, as well as enhancing the success of AE programs by learning from each different case. Thirdly, there is a need for better cooperation with different actors in the AE field. So far, the contribution of universities, the ties with the private sector companies, and the constructive involvement of NGOs and INGOs appear to be very limited. Further involvement of and cooperation among these and other potential stakeholders are necessary. Lastly, designing and implementing effective AE programs is costly. As mentioned above, it involves financial costs as well as use of physical buildings and material, and human labour. While Turkey has done an exceptionally good job of devoting a significant chunk of its budget to costs created by the current refugee situation, the longer-term question of social integration will pose further strains on the country financially.

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Chapter 6

Adult Education as a Means to Social Inclusion in Nordic Welfare States: Denmark, Finland and Sweden



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Introduction

Denmark, Sweden and Finland represent the Nordic welfare state model that in a historical perspective has put a heavy emphasis on the role of education in enhancing active societal participation of its citizens. In particular, the folk high schools have marked a particular “Nordic” phenomenon and aspiration to bring all citizens within the range of post-compulsory education. What later became known as a universal right to life-long learning can be traced back to the initiatives of folk edification as early as the nineteenth century’s national movements in predominantly agrarian societies.

In the Nordic countries, the role of adult education in building the modern state welfare systems refers above all to developments of 1950s and 1960s after the Second World War (WWII), the decades of rapid industrialisation and the enactment of comprehensive legislation to secure the citizens’ well-being and social security. Even today, adult education is considered as an essential means to enhance social inclusion (EC 2018; OECD 2019; de Greef et al. 2015). Simultaneously the social outcomes of the liberal market economy during the past few decades have put the continuity of this model in question. Globalisation and ubiquitous digital technology, humanitarian migration (Mouritsen et al. 2019) and immediateness of ecological threats (Shapiro Ledley et al. 2017) have introduced remarkably new kinds of challenges for education. The complex challenges of preventing social exclusion and identifying diverse vulnerabilities should be addressed and attended by various society actors and means, including adult education.

This chapter scrutinizes the role of adult education in the Nordic countries as the means of social inclusion of young adults living in vulnerable situations and at risk of marginalization. Social inclusion is fundamentally linked to participation in

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societal activities on local and global levels. We define social inclusion here as active participatory citizenship (APC) encompassing its social, political and economic dimensions (Pitkänen 2017; see Chap. 1 in this volume). This definition was used in the following analysis of three adult education cases in Denmark, Sweden and Finland during 2016–2019. Two of the selected cases dealt with education of newcomer young adults and one with national basic education offered online for students with special needs. We collected the data during 2017 by interviewing policy makers, practitioners and students. Most interviews were conducted face-to-face individually some via skype or by email. In Denmark, some students participated in a focus-group interview. In total we interviewed fifteen policymakers and fifteen practitioners that had participated in design or provision of the programmes, and twenty-eight students that had participated these studies in Denmark, Sweden and Finland. The findings pertain to *the possibilities, challenges and contradictions of adult education in enhancing the social inclusion and active societal participation of young adults who are recognised as living in vulnerable life situations in contemporary Nordic societies.*

History of Social Inclusion Through Adult Education

Although adult education has evolved in the societal and national contexts of each country, there are historical features that underpin the “Nordic” model associated to the democratization of societies and to social inclusion requested in different times. The following historical reviews of adult education in Denmark (Olesen 2014), Sweden (Fejes et al. 2016; see also Laginder et al. 2013) and Finland (Pantzar 2007; Koski and Filander 2013) illuminate the country-specific phases during the past approximately two centuries.

In Denmark, three main types of adult education have developed as educational traditions in their own right as Olesen (2014) points out. The first type includes basic literacy education, such as reading, writing and numeracy. An agricultural reform in the second half of the eighteenth century and a general school legislation in 1814 were landmarks of this period although, in practice, basic schooling remained very limited in the rural areas. The second type of adult education was represented by community and popular education, learning within, from and for a community or a social movement. The first folk high school established in 1844, was based on the education concept developed by the Danish philosopher and pastor Nikolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783–1872). Grundtvig identified a growing democratic need in society – a need of enlightening the often uneducated and poor peasantry. The aim of the folk high school was to help people to become qualified as active and engaged members of society, to give them means to change the political situation from below and unify across social borders. The movement based on popular culture became one of the leading forces in the Danish democracy. The third type was education and training for work, such as continuing education, retraining and upskilling. In the beginning of the twentieth century, class

movements secured the implementation of the constitution. A committee that drafted a new framework of adult education synthesized the education traditions of folk high schools and the working class evening schools in a national ideology of “popular education”.

After the WWII training of workers developed as an essential part of welfare state policies in Nordic countries. In order to facilitate the transition from agriculture to urban employments, a completely new adult education and training system was initiated with a tri-partite governance, and was mainly funded by the state. In the period of crisis and stagflation in the 1970s, continuing education was redirected towards a more long-term competence development for the more vulnerable segments of the labour force, e.g., women and young people without vocational qualification. (Olesen 2014). Presently, researchers have directed attention to the changing status of adult education. Adult education has a long history as part of state policy for enhancing public enlightenment and leisure, continuing study and vocational and professional competence development, whereas the focus today is increasingly on vocational education and, as the researchers discuss, the state-driven policy has been replaced and relocated by networks linking the state and the social partners (Rasmussen et al. 2019).

Sweden’s history of adult education was summarized by Fejes et al. (2016) when they analysed the marketization development. In Sweden, the institutionalised adult education dates back to the foundation of the first folk high school in 1868. The main forms of the popular adult education stem from this period covering public lectures, study associations, study circles, correspondence courses, and libraries. After the WWII there was a remarkable need to supply industry with competent workers. As a consequence, in 1953, the government created possibilities for adults to participate in evening courses, and then take exams for a school qualification (on compulsory and/or upper secondary level). In 1968 formal adult education became institutionalised in Sweden, as municipal adult education (MAE, *Komvux*) was established to study for acquiring a qualification at compulsory and upper secondary school level. The basis was on individual motivation but due to political pressure from the Swedish trade union confederation, MAE emphasis was directed towards those who were furthest away from the labour market, as well as towards those with the lowest level of education. A statutory right to have a study leave from work and study loans allowed the workers real opportunities for daytime studies; MAE took a form very similar to upper secondary school.

Later, the 1990s reforms were labelled by the trends of new public management and marketization. On the initiative of the social democratic government in 1991, there was a shift from the state to the municipalities as the funder of education. A procurement system was introduced in MAE in the mid-1990s, further supported through the Adult Education Initiative (AEI) between the years 1997–2002 targeting those who had the lowest level of education. The initiative brought 15% of the labour force into adult education and new providers were encouraged to offer adult education. Fejes et al. (2016) consider these market-like solutions as a means to create tighter couplings between policy, management and teaching practices. In many Swedish municipalities MAE is currently organized as franchises for the

public sector. The transactions are regulated by the Purchase Act, which is used to establish procurement processes. In adult education, marketization means municipalities purchasing education from either public (municipal) or private providers through a procurement system, on short-term contracts. The number of students enrolled with non-public providers had increased, from 14.7% in 1997 to 45.7% in 2014 (SNAE statistics 2015 according to Fejes et al. 2016).

Following a similar pattern Finland's history of institutional adult education started from the development of popular adult education in the second half of the nineteenth century. The milestones and promoters of liberal adult education of this period were the Finnish Lifelong Learning Foundation (Kansanvalistusseura, founded in 1874), folk high schools (1889) and adult education centres (työväenopisto, kansalaisopisto, arbetarinstitut, 1899), and the associations of popular education. Characterized by modernization, national romanticism and national awakening, the general intentions were the improvement of the educational level of population coupled with the enhancement of the ideological-political interests under the rule of Russian Empire, and the awakening of national (Finnish) culture. When Finland declared independence in 1917, national ideology was in many ways the leading force until the 1920s (Pantzar 2007; Koski and Filander 2013.) On institutional level the period from independence to WWII marked the expansion of adult education. The target group extended from those deprived of education to the whole population; emphasis was on general and civil subjects. (Pantzar 2007; Koski and Filander 2013.)

The basic structures and forms of the present adult education in Finland were created during the 1960s and 1970s social and education policy reforms. The development of the welfare state in the 1960s is according to Koski and Filander (2013) the second turning point in the relations between adult education, individuals and society. The term 'adult education' was stabilised as the main subject area where the former liberal civic education was one sub-category among others. The Parliamentary Committee of Adult Education established in 1971 defined adults as persons who 'usually act or have acted in the working life' (Koski and Filander 2013: 591), which, besides representing a notably narrow concept of adults, reflected the tendency to match adult education with the needs of labour market and material production in contrast to the former national-spirited ideals of personal growth. Resulting not only from the vocational emphasis but also from the rise of neo-liberal politics the status of liberal adult education remained relatively weak compared to vocational adult education in the turn of millennium (Koski and Filander 2013).

Recent increase in immigration and a growing number of asylum seekers has assigned novel tasks to adult education providers. Concluding from the historical analysis, Finland's adult education has always targeted sub-populations that in a given time have been considered to be in need of academic improvement. Inclusion of minorities and groups under the risk of marginalization, for instance the national minorities, Samí and the Roma, have been addressed through education (e.g. Tarkiainen 2016). Currently the increasing transnational migration and globalisation have challenged the idea of a uniform population, thus transforming these ideals towards diversity. As a consequence, expectation to adult education has become

to target most variable groups and subcultures. In fact, the concept of active citizenship in a wider sense may capture this challenge better than the traditional terms ‘popular education’ or ‘folk edification’ (Heikkinen et al. 2019), even though critical voices deem active citizenship under the more narrow conditions of politico-economic liberalism to represent a new mode of hegemony (Brunila et al. 2018; on citizenship, see Helve 2015).

In all Nordic countries under investigation, adult education traditions have significantly contributed to the building of the countries’ welfare systems. In all cases, the transition from traditional agricultural monarchy to modern industrialized democracy was enhanced and inspired by awakening of humanistic thoughts and idea of the *folkbildning* influenced by enlightenment and connected to nation building (Andersen and Björkman 2017, 179; Salo 2007). The historical reviews above show that although the practices of liberal adult education movements have varied according to the socio-political demands of each society, some strands can be traced back to the Grundtvigian humanistic ideas of personal development of educationally deprived population and the democratisation of society. This adult education tradition was born in the second half of the nineteenth century and still prevails having presumed new educational tasks and roles, as will be discussed later in this chapter. In this discussion adult education is contextualised in other societal conditions of the Nordic countries. Olesen (2014) emphasises “the combination of a long lasting and comprehensive influence of the free adult education – based in popular education and liberal school pedagogy – and the welfare security systems which are necessary to support a ‘quality social demand’ in a capitalist labour market” – based on a broad view on employees’ needs in various life spheres.

The post-WWII adult education development in the Nordic countries has leaned towards state-regulated and publicly funded policies with the focus on the vocational and work-related training and employment of various population groups. In addition, the current trend referred to as neo-liberal, or market-driven policy is manifested in the policy documents of the European Union and OECD. These international actors affect the predominantly national education systems of the member states, Denmark, Sweden and Finland, among others.

New Needs for Adult Education

Both Denmark, Sweden and Finland have high scores in adult participation in learning compared to many other countries. According to the Adult Education Survey (AES), over 50% of respondents in these countries reported participation in adult education during the past 12 months, hence demonstrating that the adult education programmes have been successful in engaging adult learners (Eurostat 2016b). Thus, it seems that the Nordic adult education and training system is relatively well prepared to meet various educational needs (Hovdhaugen and Opheim 2018). However, closer exploration reveals that the learners regarded as “vulnerable”, with low motivation, lacking opportunity or resources, are not among those, who are

likely to participate in adult education nor to respond to surveys concerning participation.

In the current global migration (Eurostat 2019) young people form a high number of those who are forced to leave their homes and seek decent living in another country. Young adults with refugee background have often suffered from war and ignorance and may have fled persecution and terror. These newcomers and their needs challenge the reception policies and the acquisition of active citizenship in the democratic destination countries. This was especially visible in the case studies we conducted in Denmark and Sweden. These countries are well-known of their principles of equality, but nevertheless many newcomers are faced with barriers to active societal participation. The discrepancy exists between the expectations towards the skills level of foreign arrivals and opportunities to skill development provided within the national education systems. When entering a new country the newcomers are often faced with demands of upgrading their achieved or interrupted education. Our findings suggest that the competences that had sufficed in the country of origin seem to remain widely unrecognised in the destination countries (on Recognition of Prior Learning, RPL, see ILO 2017). In addition, as the population education level has risen in the Nordic countries (and in Europe in general), the general policy interest has moved to higher education levels. This is reflected in EU strategy, that has currently set the minimum education level for entering labour market to upper secondary level (ISCED 3). However, due to increasing immigration from countries with lower education level and the various educational backgrounds of refugees, the need for provision of basic level education, including literacy studies has simultaneously increased (e.g., Støren and Børing 2018).

In addition, there is a need to pay attention to the specific needs of those young adults who have not succeeded in their initial education but have interrupted education due to multiple reasons. Even if these young people may become defined in statistics as “early school leavers” or “school-drop-outs” by the indicators that are used in policy-making, the system does not identify or specify their often manifold life-situations that have caused interrupting education (Kuusipalo and Alastalo 2019). As a complex phenomenon, early school leaving is not well enough understood; and thus despite multiple policies and programmes tackling the problem it is not easily solved (Smyth and Hattam 2004). Particularly in Finland, the lack of basic and secondary education has been identified as one of the major risk factors of marginalization of youth (Toiviainen et al. 2020).

Upgrading and recognising education attained in another country and remedying early school leaving are cases that represent challenging situations for those who seek social inclusion through education – particularly so in the countries of overall high level and quality of education. Somewhat paradoxically education paves the way to participation in society, but even accessing the education system requires mastery of defined norms and regulation, which entails learning of certain civic skills. Uncertainty of the future employment is diminishing motivation to participate in lengthy education programmes, however necessary they seem for admission to working life, since education alone is not a guarantee to getting job.

In assessing the possibilities, challenges and contradictions of social inclusion we used three dimensions of active participatory citizenship (APC) in the studies conducted. We explored to what extent and how these dimensions became materialised in the adult education programmes under analysis. At best, we wanted to discover novel practices that enrich the adult educational legacy appearing along (1) the social dimension referring to the development of communication and social competences (2) the political dimension encouraging civic and political participation and neighbourhood activities, and (3) the economic dimension relating to employment, employability skills and access to social benefits.

Emerging Practices

The following section presents the three case studies under investigation in this chapter. They were among the 40 “good practices” identified in EU (20 countries were investigated in this part of the EduMAP research 2016–2019) and Turkey. The findings reflect the challenges of adult education in the face of the emerging educational needs of young adults discussed above. The presentation of concrete cases of newcomers (Denmark, Sweden) and low-educated (below ISCED3) young adults (Finland) provides a lens to the conditions of social inclusion in Nordic welfare states and the potentially meaningful common history and tradition of “folkbildning” in these countries in face of present challenges. The findings imply that regarding the refugee integration programmes, the societal needs as well as national politics are in flux. The programmes analysed reflect the exceptional situation in the aftermath of 2015 reception of high number of asylum seekers in Europe. We recognized these cases as good practices that still exist in a modified form and scrutinized them in broader socio-historical contexts of adult education. The case descriptions are based on the EduMAP reports on Denmark (Kuusipalo et al. 2018a), Sweden (Kuusipalo et al. 2018b), and Finland (Niiranen and Hyttiä 2018).

Refugee Integration in Denmark

In Denmark we examined a refugee integration programme for young adults. The organiser, a municipal language centre, negotiated with local authorities and tailored the programme to meet the diverse learning needs of young refugees. The organiser also cooperated with a local activist network that strived to connect them with the local community.

The programme was tailored for young refugees (18–25) or family members to support them to get necessary skills for entering Danish labour market and further studies. An application of a national integration programme combines work and language training; the weekly programme consists of three days of studies at the language centre and of two days at a workplace (internship). The programme includes mathematics, IT, English and

job/education directed activities alongside Danish language. The language centre has focused on encouraging students' authentic language use by inviting the volunteers (Venligboerne) in the activities and allowing them to organise a language café at the school premises.

Students are allotted to the integration programme as soon as they register at the municipality. The municipality caseworker receives information from the national immigration service about the persons that will be placed in the municipality. An individual integration plan ("contract") is made with each person. The refugees' placements in courses and the design of the integration contract are administered and monitored by the municipality office. Internships and placements in the language centre are negotiated by a municipality worker ("mentor") that works with the employers, the language centre and the students. The language centre accepts new students non-stop.

APC-related goals: Gaining basic Danish skills and knowledge about the society is necessary for the citizenship exam required to get a permanent residence status in Denmark. Learning about Danish citizenship is included in the curriculum, covering many aspects of citizenship from practical living matters, healthcare and education to duties and rights. Gender equality protected by legislation is emphasised.

Teachers explained the society's systems and its basis on participation, taking responsibility and being active, and encouraged students in pursuing their own goals and becoming self-supportive. Supportive counselling and mentoring services are provided as well as municipality allowance to cover the living costs during training and internship.

A learner from the programme (translator explains):

...his focus is on the Danish, but all is connected. When he's studying Danish, he's also studying [Danish] in math and in computer science, and all that. Danish is beneficial to those other subjects. And that he sees as a good thing. [And he sees] that the school gives you the foundation for the rest of your life in Denmark, [like for] social interactions. And all the places where language is used, that school is the foundation for that. (Kuusipalo et al. 2018a)

The programme emphasised the importance of learning Danish language and culture and enhancing employment. The structure of the programme was based on language skills testing and guidance to language learning modules at different skills levels. Economic support from public resources was provided both for education organisers (funding for activities) and participants (free education and financial support to cover living expenses). The analyses revealed that the public spending is closely monitored based on contracts, constant assessment of the activities, and daily follow-up reports of students' attendance in the programme. Moreover, the students are obliged to seek work and accept work offers as part of the "activity policy" that concerns all registered unemployed in Denmark.

The perspectives of the leadership and the teachers further opened up the intentions and outcomes of the programme. It became evident that the aim of young refugees' integration programme was to implement the integration objectives established by the state authorities, and to provide a curriculum that would enable the students to improve their academic skills for entering the Danish education system. The overarching vision that guided the school instruction was to work holistically with the young refugees by discussing their individual goals and engaging them with

local actors. The school leadership encouraged the teachers to take a stand in empowering the students and supporting them in pursuing their individual goals. The educators' job was considered to "*prepare them to become able to manage by themselves in different arenas and have responsibility and to know what to do*". The educators described their way of thinking of education with the Danish concept "*dannelse*", referring to a holistic view of education as a way to develop as a human being, to become a person and a member of the society. They claimed that this philosophy, originating from N.F.S. Grundtvig's thinking and ideals of folk high school movement still affects the whole Danish education system.

The underlying principle for educational activities, that of promoting equal opportunities, unfolded similarly in the educators' and policy makers' accounts of their policy and actions. For instance, the educators and policy makers declared no gender differences in the way they treated students. The local activists, on the other hand, pointed out that gender issues were dealt with regularly. Thus, the education organiser following the official state policy and the activists who had personal contacts with the refugees expressed different views. The conceptual difference was evident in the contradicting interpretation of equality as sameness vs. equality as sensitivity to difference, and as gender neutral vs. gender specific approach. These observations echo the critical studies pointing out that by highlighting "sameness" and equal opportunities, the multicultural positions are excluded from the public educational policies. The dominant culture perspective was taken for granted as the basis of knowledge and socialization and the dominant language as the preferable medium for learning and communication (Horst and Gitz-Johansen 2010).

The educators expressed their concern of the strong emphasis of employment as the prior aim of integration. They tended to think that high quality education in youth, as such, is the key to self-realisation and membership in the society and referred again to the Grundtvigian ideal of "*dannelse*". In practice, the municipality and government involvement were strong in the programme implementation stretching as far as to the choosing the work placements for refugees. For students this caused confusion and even frustration; the students were instructed to take responsibility for their learning process, but simultaneously lacked autonomy to choose internship. This kind of dilemmas are often discussed related to the welfare system: how to balance providing support and protection without removing agency and autonomy from the individuals.

Integration Education, SFI in Sweden

Sweden has a long history of active and welcoming migration policy. During 2015 the EU Member States received a record number of over 1.2 million first time asylum seekers (Eurostat 2016a). Related to the size of population, Sweden was among the countries that received the highest number of asylum seekers. Those arrivals who were granted residence, participated in integration education programmes.

The work-oriented integration training is intended for persons who wish to learn Swedish and work simultaneously. It is organised under the umbrella and coordination of the regional administration in cooperation with the job centre and the regional branch of the National Board of Forestry. The education is provided by a folk high school (FHS). The full-time course combines (1) practical work in nature reserves, supervised by a forestry professional, (2) vocation-oriented language learning, (3) developing of facilities for applying and keeping a job, and (4) Swedish for Immigrants (SFI) at individual level and track. The FHS has a steering document for equality principles that is regularly updated by staff and practiced in daily work.

The programme is targeted at newcomers with refugee backgrounds who are entitled to participate in the integration programme. Recruiting criteria are not only academic but also linked to the student's former work experience and interest to work within the park and forestry field. The National Board of Forestry cooperates with the job centre nationwide to also engage other groups than newcomers with refugee backgrounds in internship training organised in cooperation with local education providers. The students are recruited or guided to integration courses by caseworkers at the job centre. The students meet a counseling teacher to make an individual study plan.

APC-related goals: Linking practical work to classroom studies, developing Swedish language skills and knowledge of the society naturally in conversations and encounters, and respectful interaction in school and work were important factors. Participants got practical lessons of employer and employee's responsibilities at the workplace. During the internship, they were paid a salary. Depending on students' skills, the training could also provide formal qualifications and lead to shortened paths to work and being self-supported. Students also attend "society studies" focusing on social and societal issues of a democratic society. Mother tongue teachers were involved in language learning and in supporting understanding of course contents. The teachers worked in and outside the classrooms, providing help for students in their practical problems.

Learners from the programme:

...it's not just theory but also practical. And there one learns how to work in the forest, how to work with wood, how to trim and you learn a lot.

...I came into contact with other people, the Swedes who work there. It encouraged me to speak Swedish and to listen. I liked a lot this forestry education. (Kuusipalo et al. 2018b)

The integration programme that we examined was combined to traineeship in branches suffering from labour shortage. The case under study was run by a folk high school that was specialised in low-educated migrants. The school had some interesting features from the point of view of social inclusion. First of all the organiser had adopted a multi-lingual approach in all its activities and was recruiting staff that could teach both in Swedish and in the students' mother tongues. The programme was designed in cooperation with various social partners and employers in the branches that were suffering from recruitment problems. The aim was to find a match between students and employers already during the initial phase of integration.

In Sweden, the public actors have statutory obligations to enhance the newcomers' chance to become active participative citizens and getting integrated in the Swedish society. The policy makers interviewed expressed the main issues of migrant integration in Sweden as "*to understand and practice their rights as citizens and to have a job*". It seemed that the definition of integration, or being an active citizen, was not unanimous but had been debated among the actors. For instance, one of the policy makers was asking, "*is it enough to have job, even if you*

never use the language, nor meet Swedish people, nor have a contact with the society? Does activity mean that you are busy doing anything?" The respondents elaborated further that in Sweden, the society is understood as an entity of many involved players that need to work together to enhance a successful future for Sweden and all its residents. Cooperation between actors was seen as a key in enabling to steer society's development in the right direction and having the newcomers to see their role in this development.

Because of a record number of asylum seekers, the organisers had been given a considerable amount of resources for integration education. According to the education provider the challenge of competing for recruiting competent teachers was one consequence of the record-high newcomer population and exceptionally wide offering of integration programmes. The organiser reported that the staff policy of recruiting from immigrant communities and supporting their professional teacher qualification was a good solution in this situation. They had even recruited from their student population and supported the assistant teachers to qualify and get more permanent positions. Because of the strong commitment to diverse staff, the school management emphasised multicultural atmosphere and respect for each other in the school activities.

Another interesting feature was, that the programme included on-the-job learning at workplace combined with classroom learning. The students moving constantly between school and work required close teacher-employer cooperation which had challenged customary teaching methods. As teaching and language support expanded from the classroom to the fieldwork, language tuition had to be adjusted to the specific vocabulary and authentic situations of and at the workplace. For instance, the students used their mobile phones for recording and taking pictures and brought material to classroom encounters. They used mobile phone apps that supported language learning. At the workplace migrant students and local peers worked together in small groups, which enabled language use in everyday situations. This case is considered a concrete example of a popularized idea of "learning by doing", which in the folk high school tradition includes the interpretation of teachers as learners – an interpretation that emerges in the practices of liberal adult education, but challenges teaching in formal settings in major periods of change.

The programme aimed at getting workforce in the fields that suffered from labour shortage in the region. Nevertheless, after finishing the education only few students got a job. Those who did not, were naturally disappointed but for some the attendance in the programme was the way to realise the need for further studies. Regardless of the outcome and unfulfilled expectations, the students interviewed seemed to value the social aspect of participation. They connected with local people and experienced affection and belongingness in relationship with their fellow students. This social dimensions echoes Grunttdvig's ideal of a folk high school as a place for experiences through which "students gain personal familiarity with greater or smaller parts of the country, the people and the daily life of its citizens" (Knudsen 1976: 155).

Online Basic Education in Finland

In Finland, the online basic education programme exemplified adjusting the national curriculum on the lowest education level for specific student needs to enable attendees: to achieve basic formal education and eventually enter the labour market.

The programme is designed to enable the completion of basic education for adults and to qualify for entering upper secondary education. AE practitioners include teachers, student counsellors, product owners and other technical staff. Courses and communication are provided through a tailor-made virtual learning environment. The students follow individualised study plans. The student counsellors monitor and encourage the students' progress throughout the programme. A student can participate in the Virtual School either for the entire curriculum or choose to take courses one at a time.

Anyone over the age of 16 and without a comprehensive school diploma can enrol. The students enrol independently through the programme's web page. At least one face-to-face or phone call meeting with a study counsellor in the beginning is advised. Separate programmes for students under 16 act against early social exclusion of those not able to physically attend school. The staff aims to improve the programme to better serve dyslexics, visually impaired and non-native Finnish speakers.

APC-related goals: Failing compulsory school often leads to unemployment and dependence of benefits. Resuming basic education is seen as the first and necessary step towards inclusion and active citizenship in the Finnish society. Focusing on independence, critical reflection and information retrieval skills as natural aspects of operating in a virtual learning environment simultaneously develop APC competences. Students are encouraged to increase their chances of societal participation through group work and phenomenon-based courses.

Learner after finishing basic education:

And to get myself a professional degree, like before it wasn't possible no matter how I tried. To get it different ways. ...now, finally, you get a profession and you can really move on in life towards something you want and not just to accept choices you've been given by chance. (Niiranen and Hyytiä 2018)

The programme under investigation was a tailored online course for those young adults who had dropped out of school before finishing the compulsory lower secondary education level. School dropout is a rare phenomenon in Finland; during the last two decades only 0.17 to 0.75% of each cohort have failed to finish the compulsory school (Official Statistics of Finland 2019). From this vantage point the Finnish school seems to be efficient in meeting different pupils' learning needs and supporting them in studies. On the other hand, those who are unable to finish schooling, even if proportionally a small group, have notably difficult life situations; they are young people who may suffer for instance from social isolation, mental health problems or addictions, thus being unreachable by traditional recruiting and education methods (Järvinen and Vanttaja 2013: 518). In a society of high value on education the school dropouts may become stigmatised.

In Finland, national legislation guarantees free basic education for adults and it is possible to finish school by independent studies and taking exams. Since the absolute number of such students is quite low, organised studies are not widely available nor easy to access. The online comprehensive school (also online upper

secondary school) that we studied was a solution for this marginal student group. The folk high school had developed the platform and provided the virtual basic education programme which allowed anyone and anywhere to get instruction and support for finishing interrupted schooling. The application allowed studies that are not tied to a strict timeframe or a set place and space.

According to the tutoring teachers, for many of the students their unfinished school had caused feelings of shame, and their previous discouraging school experiences were linked to low self-esteem and unwillingness to return to studies. Some of the students interviewed reported that for them it was safe to attend school at home through personal computer. The students reported other benefits of the online course, for instance, they had a chance to regulate the rhythm of study and avoid stressful social interaction. Those students who suffered a severe physical condition or had care duties also reported benefitting from this kind of arrangements. The virtual school was claimed to be more than just an ordinary “online course”. The teachers were available for instruction and personal guidance via a study platform or other media. Moreover, a professional team of teachers and technical staff constantly developed both the platform, application and online pedagogy.

The policy makers and educators interviewed pointed out that the support and growth towards active participatory citizenship entails learning of both the curricular content of the basic education and generic ideas of participation, communication and responsibility for one’s studies. They suggested other support services, for example rehabilitation and education be combined to the virtual school studies to provide information of education opportunities and encourage students’ learning in various life situations. It was expected that the regained student identity would enhance the students’ expressed need to be recognised as a person and not as a member of a group of “low-educated” or a “carrier of a condition”.

Conclusion

Our discussion on adult education as a means to social inclusion in Nordic welfare states is a contribution to the overarching thematic of this book – what is the potential of adult education to address young people at risk of exclusion? Does adult education play a role in enhancing active participatory citizenship among young adults? The cases from Denmark, Sweden and Finland demonstrate, first, how practices in the emergence of new needs can be built on existing structures of legislation, educational provision and resources. Secondly, integration programmes and second-chance education potentially implement the ideal and policy of equal opportunities in society. New programmes draw on the cooperation between policy makers, educational practitioners and social partners, who may readily embrace education as a forum of developing the various dimensions of active participatory citizenship. In addition, there may be small-scale innovations in place in recruiting multilingual staff, matching course offering with local labour needs, and exposing the trainees to the contacts with local population and everyday experience.

The challenges of practical implementation of educational initiatives are nevertheless significant. Education for “migrants” or for “drop-outs” without holistic integration and inclusion policies can still leave the students outside the recognition as “young adults” of society. Our findings imply that educational goals coupled with the needs of quick employment reveal the discrepancies between education policy and integration policy; migrants seen solely as workforce challenge the role of educators in a marketized situation. The research conducted revealed several challenges. Among them are the economy pressures from EU and national policies, urgency of students’ individual needs, and the tacit knowledge of those working with students, facing their needs and realising that more could be done to answer the needs. Evaluation of the social inclusion programmes revealed underlying contradictions of democratic societies. The following questions arose: Is the ideal of equality leading to the requirement of “sameness”? How can a learner’s or citizen’s autonomy be respected when setting conditions for accepting any study course or job opportunity available? Education is introduced as the way to full membership of society, but for individual students in a vulnerable life situation participation in education is often taking place parallel and simultaneous when struggling with uncertainty and experience of powerlessness.

The current possibilities, challenges and contradictions of the Nordic welfare states, in particular their adult education systems, in enhancing social inclusion and active societal participation of young adults at risk of marginalization are entangled with the historic development and humanistic values of the adult education tradition, enlargement of the market-driven economy to areas that have been at the core of welfare system (such as education), and challenges of citizenship in the era of migration. Many academics like Castels and Davidson (2000) have highlighted the importance of granting cultural citizenship for foreign newcomers, which is access to language and cultural inheritance of hosting society while maintaining original language and culture, right to different lifestyles, educational equality and intercultural communication.

In many instances cultural, social, economic and political citizenry overlap, linguistic skills being a good example. Integration programmes tend to emphasise the importance of learning language as a precondition of employment and citizenship; but without access and participation the restricted learning possibilities are rare. Horst and Gitz-Johansen (2010) talk about the deprivation paradigm, namely, the way of presenting ethnic diversity and underachievement in education as a case of minorities lacking cultural, linguistic and social resources. This kind of interpretation and placing the problem within ethnic minority communities is a way to protect educational institutions and mainstream dominant society from criticism, and furthermore provide legitimacy for political interventions that seek remedies, in this case mastering the Danish language and achieving qualifications from the Danish schooling system, for persons who represent minorities, they argue. Grundtvig in the nineteenth century Denmark formulated the goal of popular education as “thinking and speaking in Danish, to love and know their country and its fundamental laws as well as the best among their peers” (in Knudsen 1976: 155). The idea of social

inclusion is clear, however, the current adult education agencies struggle to reformulate the message in the age of globalisation and cultural diversity.

The aspect of cooperation was evident in all the different cases. In complex societal situations the organisers will have to take up multiple tasks to succeed in their basic task: organising quality education. They should constantly develop and market their expertise, be on top of the changing legislation and, at least in Nordic countries, often participate in the very process of law amendments and policy development. In addition, they expressed concern for the increasing demands to network with various authorities who make decisions concerning the students' access to studies, their livelihood, health or family issues, and with employers who provide practice and eventually jobs for the students. In all of the studied cases, the tradition of popular education was present: the organisers in both Sweden and Finland were folk high schools and in Denmark the educator representatives brought up the values of Grundtvig's 'dannelse' when they discussed the role of municipal language centre contra the private language schools as competitors. Both the policy makers and educators were carriers of these humanistic values but also aware of and tied to the market-driven system. It seemed that by developing their "product", a quality programme addressing the specific learning needs of a minority group within larger framework (migration integration or basic education programmes), they had been successful in competing their more market-driven rivals. This was also due to the conscientious policy-makers who valued quality over low price.

In the EU the high educational level of population and the rising requirements for skills standards in working life are highest on the policy agenda. Our research shows how marginal groups with lower levels of education and less "value" for the market-oriented policies need a lot of advocating to become heard. Teachers and policy makers are promoting these students' needs, but in instances where individuals are only valued as a quick cure for labour shortage or a reservoir of fully capable workforce for economy, the potential of many individuals is left unnoticed. Thus, other aspects are needed for policy guidance to secure quality education for all. The ethos of the adult education research is to bring to general awareness and remind the policy makers of the universal right to education. It is an underlying rationale highlighting that skills that are provided by education system are not only for benefit of labour market but also to protect individuals from social evils and exploitation (Arajärvi 2006).

In the Nordic countries individuals' autonomy is generally respected; educators tend to build on and encourage the learners' self-directness and independence. This may form a challenge for students who have a background of strong family-ties and other community belonging, and for those who have over-generational experiences of living dependent of social security in margins of the society. This and other points of view discussed here call for a need to create alliances between professionals in different service sectors as well as having the students' own voice heard for continuous improvement and renewal of the role of adult education. For instance, studying and engaging in education could be promoted as a way to integration and ordinary life despite of sickness, imprisonment, parenthood or whatever the situation in young person's life. Formal learning opportunities and resources for guidance could

be promoted as ways to support youth *while* in difficult situations, not as something that becomes possible only after recovering, release from prison, or raising the children. Education should not be considered as a reward after proving one's motivation but as a necessity for all those who have been denied access to or have dropped out from school. These aspirations reflect the primary tasks of adult education rather than that of being a policy instrument of economy. Many actors in the field still strive, as Grundtvig in his time, for adult education "open to all, helping to solve life's problems and promote purposeful living" (in Knudsen 1976: 153–154).

In the light of our findings, today's adult education providers face competing expectations and interests that shape educational practices. The work takes place under conflicting pressures of the European and national policies, the market economy and the diverse students' needs. The demands of the state and market colliding with humanistic tradition of adult education can be further analysed through the themes of employment, language, cultural norms, and activism. This leads us in our future study to scrutinise the narratives of mediation and communicative practices in the intersection of the values and aspirations of official policies, funding agencies, social partners, teaching staff and students themselves (see Kersh et al. 2019; Toiviainen et al. 2019).

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Chapter 7

Promising or Compelling Future in Hungary?



Judit Tóth, Éva Szirmai, Norbert Merkovity, and Tamás Pongó

Introduction

Adult education (including formal, informal and non-formal) has been considered as a direct tool for serving short-term, ad hoc or local labour market needs in Hungary. At the same time, in the EU, adult education has emerged as a means of individual self-fulfilment, facilitating the adaptability to the globalization and the democratic values in a changing (work) environment. This chapter considers why this paradigm shift does not succeed in Hungary, when we take into account the broader socio-economic context and the components of adult education policy.

In Hungary, public education, vocational education and training, higher education and adult education have been undergoing institutional, content and funding transformation since 2011. These reforms have resulted in taking away the voice of local communities, and undermining their participation in management and governance. Due to centralization trends affecting public administration of all educational levels, there is no independent evaluation, quality control and effective enforcement organization to protect the interests of students/consumers in the education and training context. Some new regulations have been introduced in recent years, and

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public spending on education has been significantly decreasing. At the same time, education and training related costs for families and employers are increasing in both formal and non-formal education (e.g. university tuition fee/credit, learning a foreign language, training for novices, etc.). Various international rankings and national statistics are only available in fragments.

Confused Competitiveness

Lifelong learning focuses on the development of a new learning culture and the spread of competence-based education. It aims to provide individual access to learning and to foster diverse forms of learning, for example learning outside school settings. Therefore, the concept – as it appears in various EU documents – considers learning to be a personality-building experience beyond formal school-based learning, including other contexts such as everyday life experiences, for example the workplace, family or media experiences. Therefore, LLL sees the ability to learn essentially in the context of the complexity of economic competitiveness, sustainable development and dignified individual life and social well-being (Jenkins and Wiggins 2015). Additionally, this complex ability is related to the problem of migration and the integration of migrants, who are moving where prosperity and happiness are greater than the place from where they emigrate (English and Mayo 2019). The Hungarian data indicate the lack of this complex ability.

Hungary's competitiveness includes comparing dozens of parameters and indicators with other countries, involving factors that limit adult education and activity of citizens. In the 2018 ranking of *Global Competitiveness Report* (Global Competitiveness Report 2018), Hungary ranked 48th out of 140 countries, with 64% performance, while the 10-year average GDP growth rate was 1%. Estonia ranked 32nd, Slovenia 35th, Bulgaria 51st, Romania 52nd and Croatia 68th. The post-socialist region is therefore quite diverse, with 30 positions among the best and the worst. Hungary produced very uneven performance in this field. For example, in the institutional affairs (Pillar 1) ranked 66th (103rd in the field of judicial independence, the 134th in the efficiency of legal framework in challenging regulations, 108th in the property rights) and it was the 121st in the conflict of interest regulation; in innovation capability (Pillar 12) its rank was 39th, and in the health care (Pillar 5) 69th. Moreover, Hungary achieved rank 83rd in the labour market (Pillar 8, including the active labour policies in 63rd score and 136th in the area of internal labour mobility). The country reached rank 49th in training (Pillar 6), with 75th rank in the critical thinking in teaching, and 100th in the extent of staff training. Similarly, the 115th position in digital skills among population, 124th in quality of vocational training, and being 138th in finding skilled employees is regrettable. All of these rankings indicate that there is an internal tension between education supply and employment demand, i.e. employment and training/education policies and related regulations with institutions are not suitable for coordinating them. For this reason, the competitiveness of the economy and society cannot improve.

The IMD *World Competitiveness Ranking* evaluates 63 countries, among them Hungary was ranked at 52nd place in 2017, and 47th in 2018 with 66 points. Such result shows some improvement, especially in the area of economic indicators.¹ However, in the *ranking of digital skills and development*, which also materially determines economic and civic activity, Hungary stood at 36th place in 2014, 44th in 2017, and 44th in 2018, with 57 points.² This is an international scoreboard, which defines digital competitiveness in three key factors: (a) Knowledge, such as know-how necessary to discover, understand and build new technologies; (b) Technology, including overall context that enables the development of digital technologies, and (c) Future readiness indicating the level of country preparedness to exploit digital transformation. Fifty criteria are weighted by researchers during the ranking of these three factors, and in the future readiness factor, Hungary dropped to its highest: from 36th place in 2014 to 58th in 2018. For example, it includes adaptive skills and attitudes that is ranked 62nd in 2018 indicating that there is a great trouble in adapting the economy and society, including adapting to the challenges of globalization. *Talent management* also shows the country's adaptability. The international ranking³ examines three main categories: (a) investment and development, (b) appeal and (c) readiness. The three categories assess how countries perform in a wide range of areas, including education, apprenticeships, workplace training, language skills, cost of living, quality of life, remuneration and tax rates. In 2018, Hungary was ranked 49th with 48 points, which is an improvement compared to 2017, but a decline compared to 45th in 2014. The slightly worsening trend is also explained by the fact that the state budget resources have not increased (total public expenditure on education was 4.2% of the GDP, and the governmental expenditure on education per student means 22.8% of GDP per capita in the secondary education). Moreover, the employee training is not a high priority in companies, because it ranked at 57th, the skilled labour readiness rank was 63rd, while the language skills were not really meeting the needs of enterprises as rank 59th suggests.

Focusing on adult education, are the indicators in Hungary better? Global Reports on Adult Learning and Education (GRALE) are a series of reports that monitor progress on Adult Learning and Education promoting actions and solutions. GRALE plays a key role in meeting UNESCO's commitment to monitor and report on countries' implementation of the Belém Framework for Action in five areas of adult education and training: policy/governance, financing, participation,

¹IMD World Competitiveness Ranking <https://www.imd.org/news/updates/the-us-overtakes-hong-kong-at-first-place-among-worlds-most-competitive-economies/> (15 March 2019).

²IMD Digital World Competitiveness Ranking <https://www.imd.org/wcc/world-competitiveness-center-rankings/world-digital-competitiveness-rankings-2018/> (15 March 2019).

³IMD World Talent Ranking <https://www.imd.org/wcc/world-competitiveness-center-rankings/talent-rankings-2018/> (15 March 2019).

inclusion/equity, and quality.⁴ The recent report says that 2–4% of public education spending currently goes to adult education and learning between 2009 and 2014, in a decreasing rate. Participation rate of adult education and learning was 15% in 2014, but about 66% of the adult education and learning structure (mainly regarding the number of participants) has a VET character because of employment reasons. Therefore, courses are at least in the ratio of 30% funded by employers. Moreover, cultural and social resources, democratic values, solidarity and peaceful co-existence are improved to a small extent through the adult education (GRALE 2015). The mid-term evaluation of results recommends further efforts to Hungary. Accordingly, Hungary must establish a real LLL system, recognize the importance of non-formal adult learning, create a cross-sectoral governance structure, increase dialogue with stakeholders, support civil society, prioritize and increase investment in adult learning, collect comprehensive data on adult education and learning costs/finance, reach out to and empower disadvantaged and under-represented groups, as well as Recognition, Validation and Accreditation (RVA) is a key tool in order to promote lifelong learning. The national report clearly demonstrates that there is an urgent need to prioritize, promote and invest in adult learning for all. There is still a demand for a holistic attitude towards the benefits of education, beyond qualifications, certifications and economic benefits, acknowledging that education often impacts at the individual level, and in workplaces and communities. Hungary needs a ‘learning world’ where everyone can and wants to participate in learning (Kozyra et al. 2017).

In sum, analyses of different methods and geographies (based on statistical data and surveys) are unanimous that there are *structural problems in the operation and development of human capital in Hungary*, which have become increasingly evident in training, learning and employment issues after 2011. Educational transformation, centralization and changing legal regulation have not helped society to adapt to the requirements of the globalization and democratic involvement of citizens.

Getting Away from the Goals Set for Education?

The EU Commissioner for Education underlined that, according to various indicators of the *Education and Training Monitor* in 2018, Member States’ education systems have advanced towards the EU 2020 goals, except for Hungary.⁵ In 2000, the EU launched its comprehensive development program, connecting to the Lisbon Strategy. Some target numbers have been identified that need to be achieved in 10 years, and the Member States (MS) divided, who would contribute more or less

⁴This Framework was adopted by 144 UNESCO Member States at the Sixth International Conference on Adult Learning and Education (CONFINTEA VI), which was held in Belém, Brazil, in 2009.

⁵Education and Training Monitor 2018 https://ec.europa.eu/education/sites/education/files/document-library-docs/et-monitor-infographics-2018-eu_en.pdf (10 March 2019).

to them, and then, all of this has been swept away by the economic crisis. Taking the lessons learned, the EU2020 strategy has set two goals for education: the proportion of graduates need to be raised to 40% (Hungary has undertaken only 34%), and the proportion of early school leavers should be reduced to 10%, also in Hungary. According to the European Commission, the reason for the deterioration in education may be explained by the lowering of compulsory school-leaving age from 18 to 16 years. This means that in many poor families, young people do not continue to study after the age of 16, thus they do not acquire qualifications, so they do not work on the real labor market, but only on community work (organized by the state/municipality where wages are paid at the official minimum wage). Unfortunately, community work is a segmented employment that does not include adult training. Therefore, these unskilled young people will be passive throughout their lives and will not survive without social support. Furthermore, if the child of a poor family continues to study after the age of 16, the amount of family support (unchanged since 2008) does not help the family. The entry of young people into higher/tertiary education has become more and more difficult in recent years (introduction of tuition fees in several disciplines, higher of maturity exams, high housing and travel costs, reduction of scholarships, and introduction of foreign language exam in regulation). Therefore, social mobility is minimal, members of poor families cannot afford to learn either as young or as adults. Comparing Hungary with CEE countries, and Estonia implementing a major education reform, it can be seen that the PISA survey values have deteriorated in the past 4 years: the rate of underperformance at the age of 15 has also fallen in several areas between 2014 and 2017. While in 2014, only 1,5–2% of Hungarian students were left out of the EU28 average in sciences and reading, by 2017 the distance increased. In regard of reading, from 19.7% to 27.5%, and the proportion of poorly performing pupils increased from 18% to 26% concerning sciences. Compared to the CEE countries, Hungary shows that values have deteriorated almost everywhere in 2014–2017, yet there are big differences. It is a special feature that there are significant differences between the performance of Hungarian schools and this indicates strong selectivity. Namely, students from the better and the worse socio-cultural backgrounds are segregated very early in the school system, because 37% of students go to schools, where the disadvantaged children are in majority (it is the second worst in the EU). Hence, disadvantaged students in Hungary are much more segregated from non-disadvantaged pupils/schools than in other countries. According to the PISA survey, the socio-economic background of the 15-year-old is the most deterministic in Hungary concerning school performance, and the school is hardly able to compensate the study disadvantages of disadvantaged learners (Education at a Glance 2018). Consequently, the quality of training for disadvantaged people, especially Roma students, and their access to general integrated education with the children of the majority society should be improved.

The OECD and EUROSTAT data show that poorly performing pupils are concentrated in vocational schools (Szabó 2018). Two-thirds of the members of the 14–18 age groups are admitted to vocational training schools and one-third to

grammar school.⁶ In the former, they provide minimal general knowledge and barely develop their learning abilities (for example, 15-year-olds studying there have a lower reading competence than the national average of 12-year-olds) and young people with vocational training are unable to get into tertiary education. At the same time, students with higher social status, and therefore better results, can be admitted to grammar school with reduced capacity in recent years, and its training formally entitles the students to university education. If the parents can afford it, they have a genuine chance to take part in special preparatory courses before enrolling at universities (Szabó 2017). Consequently, where families cannot afford private teachers, those students have a less chance of enrollment in the grammar schools, and developing general skills, since they were born in the wrong place, in a poor family.

It is a modest result that in the age group 15–29, young people who are neither studying nor working (NEETs), there has been some improvement by 2017. Thus, their proportion (14%) is only slightly higher than the EU23 average (12%) among native born young people. On the other hand, since immigration is low, NEETs have a share of only 12%, compared to 19% of EU23 (Education at a Glance 2018). It is also possible to increase the number of young people without work and school, since the government decreased the number of grades in vocational schools from 4 years to 3 in 2012. The number of classes serving vocational preparation has not changed, so the number of hours for general education has dropped by half. Therefore, without general skills, learning ability and vocational training, young people may be inactive (Nahalka 2018).

The proportion of those participating in adult education is very modest and could only be doubled in 4 years, from 2.9% in 2017, to 6.2%, but it is still far from the EU28-average of 10.9%. In 2017, Estonia was among the Member States, where the participation rate in adult education (see Chap. 8), in last 4 weeks, already exceeded the 15% benchmark. By contrast, Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Slovakia and Poland reported adult learning rates of 4.0% or less. In 2017, women recorded higher participation rates than men in all EU Member States, except for Romania or Slovakia. Typical forms of informal learning are taught learning via coaching or guided visits or it can also take place as non-taught learning, e.g. self-learning or learning in a group with friends or colleagues. In 2016, 40.6% of adults, in the age of 25–64, reported participation in any informal learning in the last 12 months preceding the interview, but the average of EU28 was 60.5%. Participation in informal learning ranged from below 35% in Lithuania and Poland, to over 90% in Croatia. However, the rate of formal and non-formal training/education for adults in age 25–64 was 15.1% in Hungary, in the last 12 months in 2016.⁷

⁶Megvannak a 2018-as kompetenciamérés eredményei: elszomorító teljesítmény a szakközépiskolákban [Poor results of students' test on competences attending vocational schools in 2018] Education Office, Eduline/HVG, 23 June 2019.

⁷Eurostat: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Adult_learning_statistics#Providers_of_non-formal_education_and_training_activities

Table 7.1 Four education-driven indicators in Hungary

Year	Rate of early school leaving (%)	Rate of tertiary education attainment in age 30–34 (%)	Rate of under-achievement in basic skills according to the PISA survey on 15-year-old students (%)	Rate of adult participation in learning in age 25–64 (%)
2011	11.4	28.2	17.0	
2012	11.8	29.8		2.9
2013	11.9	32.3		
2014	11.4	34.1	19.0	
2015	11.6	34.3		
2016	12.4	33.0		40.6 (informal education in last 12 months) 15.1 (formal and non-formal education in last 12 months)
2017	12.5 (EU28 average: 10.8)	32.1 (EU28 average: 39.9)	27.0 (EU28 average: 19)	6.2 (EU28 average: 10.9)
2020	EU28 average < 10.0	EU28 average > 40.0	EU28 average < 15.0	EU28 average > 15.0

Summarizing the data from Table 7.1 and the results of monitoring on schooling, the differences in learning outcomes and accession to learning have increased in Hungary. Reducing inequality could help poor, rural, Roma and young people with disabilities to become active citizens, and even more broadly, could contribute to social cohesion, if political intentions and budgetary resources would be concentrated on this aim. However, instead of developing general skills/competences in formal and non-formal education, the government's goal is to produce a *simple disposable (manual) worker or service providing labour force*. Improving equal access, equalities in education results, social mobilization and talent management are therefore marginal.

More Centralization, More Control and Less Money

Centralization in public administration and operation of public services, as well as stronger control, could, in principle, facilitate the effective integration of well-developed policies (social inclusion, anti-discrimination, employment, education, adult training, etc.), building on each other, and multiplier effect. However, legislation is not based on impact assessment, targeted surveys or research of the necessary public funding. These characteristics also apply to legislation on the public education system. Moreover, *centralization in numerous fields* of education was introduced, not only at ministerial, but at strategic and financial level as well. For

instance, local governments could no longer be the owners and maintainers of schools, a central state bureau received the tasks of control. Moreover, centralization and control together have been extended to the field of curriculum, to the employment of teachers and textbook market, too.

Modest results have been achieved in the EU, using relatively large amount of money, because in 2016, *public funding for education* increased by an average of half a percent in real terms compared to 2015. However, the share of public spending on education in Hungary has been stagnating or slightly decreasing, and falls well short of EU averages in nominal and absolute terms. In 2010, 5.5% of government spending went to full public education compared to 4.7% in 2012, 5.1% in 2015 and 4.9% in 2016 (when the EU average was 4.7%). Another problem is how to spend the budgetary money. For example, the government has forced vocational training against a grammar school that provides better basic skills, as well as the centralization of public education (the establishment of the necessary gigantic managing authorities and consolidated institutions, the liquidation of smaller schools, the elimination of alternative education programs) and the decrease of age limit for compulsory schooling to 16 years. Adult training grants have been channelled to the community work/jobs to give unemployed people compensation, which is lower than the lawful minimum wage for the community employment, but without providing any effective adult training program. The aim was to improve unemployment statistics in parallel with the reduction of social benefits. For these reasons, budget priorities have changed since 2011.

The funding of Hungarian education is one of the lowest in the OECD countries (Varga 2017). It means that Hungary spends little money on education in proportion to its economic power, and since the implementation of this limited funding is not efficient, serious discrepancies can be revealed in the system. In Hungary, the cumulative expenditure per student aged 6 to 15 by educational institutions in 2013 was 47,229 USD, while in Slovenia it was 92,850 USD, and in Croatia 50,722 USD.⁸ In 2015, Hungary spent only 3.8% of its GDP on primary, secondary and tertiary education, while the EU23 average was 4.6%. On the other side, the total public expenditure of all government expenditures (on primary, secondary and tertiary education) was 6.9%, but the EU23 average was 9.6%.⁹ The total expenditure on upper secondary educational institutions per full-time equivalent student by programme orientation was 6110 USD for general programme (EU23 average was 9235 USD), and 9794 USD for vocational programme (EU23 average was 11,115 USD). In the same year, the total expenditure on educational institutions per full-time equivalent student by level of education at primary was 5089 USD (the EU23 average was 8512 USD), at secondary was 5879 USD (the EU23 average was 9882 USD) and at tertiary (excluded R&D) was 7068 USD (the EU23 average was 10,919 USD).

⁸ <http://gpseducation.oecd.org/CountryProfile?primaryCountry=HUN&treshold=10&topic=PI>

⁹ https://read.oecd-ilibrary.org/education/education-at-a-glance-2018/hungary_eag-2018-49-en#page1

These unfavourable phenomena are reflected in the situation of pedagogical research in Hungary (Csapó et al. 2017). However, for the scientific support of development, comprehensive pedagogical research programs have been launched around the world (in particular, reading/mathematics/science education, social studies, civic education and foreign language teaching). In the subject-pedagogical research program launched by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (2016–2020, with the involvement of 19 research groups), all of these major research areas appear. The improvement of the international competitiveness of the Hungarian education system cannot be achieved without the development of educational research, but its finance has remained limited in fact.

Instead of purely employer-specific knowledge, transversal skills are getting more and more important. The definition of transversal competencies has six domains that are not related to the required skills to a particular job: critical and innovative thinking, interpersonal skills, intrapersonal skills, global citizenship, media and information literacy, and others, such as competencies, physical health or religious values.¹⁰ Effective “human capital” development (which is increasingly interpreted as one of the main pillars of modern labour law theory) can be mostly improved by generally useful skills. Labour law must play a role in ensuring meaningful human capital formation. The logic of “risk sharing” is in the focus: *who bears the burden of LLL?*

Burden-sharing in Hungary places a disproportionate burden on employers and citizens, as follows¹¹: (a) employers, because they pay training tax to the Employment Fund, and according to the decree of the minister, they can receive grants for vocational training, as well as for adult education (state training institutions and public foundations) and even for adult training research; in addition, companies can reduce their training taxes to the Employment Fund by the amount of training organized for their employees within the framework of ministerial decrees; (b) the state bears responsibility towards the local governments to ensure the minimum LLL conditions in the settlements of more than 1000 people, primarily by means of a folk high school, and to establish or operate public cultural institutions with a symbolic grant, as stipulated in the ministerial decree; (c) civil organizations which may apply for training and programs for EU and other sources; and (d) citizens who pay for the training in professional or formal training institutions or in informal training.

From case studies and interviews, it can be concluded that companies are primarily looking for work-related training and are involved in organizing and supporting them in Hungary. Based on the analysis of Hungarian employment policy

¹⁰UNESCO: School and teaching practices for twenty-first century challenges: lessons from the Asia-Pacific region, regional synthesis report, Bangkok 2016.

¹¹Act CXL of 1997 on Public Culture amended by the Act LXVII of 2017, Act LXXXVII of 2013 on Adult Education, Act CLXXXVII of 2011 on Vocational Training, Act CLV of 2011 on the Statutory Contribution to the Vocational Training and Support for the Development of Training, its implementation by the Ministerial Decree No. 16 of 2016, May 27 (NGM) and Ministerial Decree No. 21 of 2013, June 18 (NGM).

instruments, it can be said that it does not strongly support LLL (Homicsko 2017). Therefore, a change in the legislator's approach would be necessary.

What are the two main components of LLL in Hungary? (a) Adult training is a form of learning outside the school system, in which the participants are not in a student relationship with the training institution because it is course-specific, it does not necessarily provide any formal qualifications, the participants pay the costs and the service is realized on a market basis; (b) adult education is – at least in part – state-supported vocational training in a school system. Naturally, the tertiary education is related to both, but with own regulation.¹²

Companies and entrepreneurs have to pay vocational training tax¹³ to provide resources to VET that the state (somehow) distributes or uses, e.g. supports vocational training workshops or pays scholarships for young people's undergoing training. School-based and state-recognized vocational training is provided by law,¹⁴ while non-school adult training courses are governed by the Act on Adult Education.¹⁵ According to the latter, adult training institutions can issue a state-recognized qualification, and may organise language training, if they have been accredited by the state (they have received a training permit from the authority). The fee for adult training is basically paid by the student, unless a company spends part of its vocational training tax on its own employee, or training for disabled adults, which can be supported by budget/EU funds as defined in the Budget Act (up to two courses within 2 years for the same person). Exceptionally, the Minister can also provide adult education support. Regarding the active employment policy instruments, the costs of professional/adult training are only partly or entirely borne by the labour office, but under very strict conditions (the applicant is a job-seeker, of a certain age, cares for a child/family member or has a minimum level of education). However, there is no income provided for the duration of the training, only if they are in a crisis situation (severely deprived and only in minimal amount). Consequently, continuing education, supporting professional change, upgrading competencies and technical knowledge is not part of public employment policy task, but a matter for companies and workers or civil organizations.¹⁶

In the LLL process, the majority of citizens intend to become involved in a part of tertiary education. The world of tertiary education is no longer the prerogative of the elite, and higher education is increasingly linked to formal and non-formal learning, adult education, further training, self-development, public/civil organization activity, and competence development (by additional, supplementary, ordinary, retraining, summer or senior courses). As citizens, we need to be well informed when it comes to issues such as the financing of higher education by community, business or private individuals, or its effectiveness. For instance, access to learning

¹²Act CCIV of 2011 on tertiary education.

¹³Act CLV of 2011.

¹⁴Act CLXXXVII of 2011.

¹⁵Act LXXVII of 2013.

¹⁶Act IV of 1991 and Ministerial Decree No. 30 of 2000, Sept 15 (GM).

is influenced by the ratio between public funding and private financing (Temesi 2012). However, in 2015, the share of expenditure on tertiary education financed from the public budget was 63%, while the EU23 average was 76%, and private expenditure meant 37% (the EU23 average was 19%). In other words, the subdued state funding is replaced by families and students/learners, while a public to private transfers are missing (EU23 average was 5%). Learning opportunities determine employment and earnings, in which the gender gaps are considered the main equity challenges by the OECD.

Strategic Thinking?

Focusing on the 2014–2020 period, the EU's financial planning term, the government has developed a *National Adult Training Strategy*. (NATS)¹⁷ The main message of NATS is that acquired competencies can increase the employability of the individual and hence the societies and the economic significance of adult education. The new Adult Education Act, in line with employment policy objectives, aims to increase competitiveness, improve employability, and integrate disadvantaged people into the labour market. The law intends to incorporate safeguards into the adult education system, in order to provide participants with quality knowledge from subsidised adult education, and to ensure that the obtained certificate has the same standard of qualification as acquired in the school system. Otherwise, adult education meets the requirements of transparency and consumer protection, and the needs of labour market.

In this target system, chambers of commerce also play a role in complementing the authority's authorization process. The aim of the transformation is to increase the adaptability and competitiveness of the employees, to increase employment, to promote the employment and sustainable employment of disadvantaged job seekers and inactive people, especially people with low education, the long-term unemployed, the Roma, the elderly, the young mothers and young adults.

In brief, the strategy focuses not on the complex development and expansion of the individual's talent management, human capital and knowledge. Therefore, the reference to LLL is very formal, while the implementation is basically planned from the EU funds, with the coordination of public policy directions by the ministry. The 108-pages-long document contains only generalities about the material, organizational, and coordination tools of implementation.

The *Strategy for Social Cohesion and Inclusion* is also based on the EU's financial planning period, so it is for the years of 2011–2020. In the 126-pages-long

¹⁷The framework strategy of lifelong learning policy for the period of 2014/2020. <http://www.kormany.hu/download/7/fe/20000/Eg%C3%A9sz%20%C3%A9leten%20%C3%A1t%20tart%C3%B3%20tanul%C3%A1s.pdf>

document,¹⁸ there are some sections about adult education. The objectives of the Strategy are linked to the Europe 2020 strategy to combat poverty, including the reduction of child poverty. For this reason it promises support for families with children, the reduction of the gap between the Roma and non-Roma population (schooling/pre-schooling of Roma, 60 second-chance courses). Moreover, it offers public work programs with simple vocational training, to integrate the long-term unemployed people to the labour market, including the Roma. The Strategy wants to reduce territorial handicaps and segregation. In other words, the three million people living in poverty and exclusion must be integrated on the basis of these priorities. However, people with disabilities, young people, the low-skilled or people in need of formal education receive marginal attention in the Strategy.

According to the Strategy, the coordination of sectoral measures and programs serves complex developments, and financed primarily from the EU funds. The framework agreement between the Government and the National Roma Self-Government facilitates the implementation of the strategy (e.g. professional and university training for 35,000 young Roma people).¹⁹ However, there is no guarantee for control and transparency in absence of ethnic data on Roma, in addition to scientific surveys and research. Although, they set out to develop some guarantees and deadlines of the implementation, all government reports on the Roma are in doubt.

Vocational training and adult education are managed jointly by the Strategy as a competitiveness and economic issue. According to this, there is a need to encourage a supply of training that flexibly adapts to the needs of the economy, and also, enterprises should consider training for employees as a rewarding investment, and engaging employees in training is crucial, in order to adapt to the ongoing social and economic changes. Among the priorities of adult education, the development of digital literacy and the expansion of access to the opportunities provided by the information and communication technology will be a priority. On the other hand, adult education should be placed on a new basis to provide the proper framework²⁰ for LLL: be effective in controlling, filling in school deficits, worn out competences, contributing to social cohesion (e.g. by making 85,000 Roma economically active). Unfortunately, no calculations are included in the document about their costs and personal conditions.

*Lifelong Learning's first Strategy*²¹ for the 2007–2013 period was the complex development of human resources, defining deadlines and responsibilities. Two ministers had to report every 2 years between 2006 and 2010, regularly scrutinized legal

¹⁸Nemzeti társadalmi felzárkózási stratégia (Mélyszegénység, gyermekszegénység, romák) 2011–2020, [National Societal Catching Up Strategy (Deep Poverty, Child Poverty, Roma)] Budapest, 2011. november, KIM Társadalmi Felzárkózásért Felelős Államtitkárság.

¹⁹Government Resolution No. 1136 of 2011, May 2 and Government Resolution No.1338 of 2011, Oct 14 determines the detailed tasks and cooperation.

²⁰Its element is the integrated training and education centers in regions defined in the Ministerial Decree No. 3 of 2011, March 11. (KIM).

²¹Government Resolution No. 2212 of 2005, Oct 13.

and financial instruments for efficiency. In 2014, a new social inclusion strategy was developed, together with the *new LLL policy document*, the new concept of public education development, and the early school leaving strategy. The strategies adopted at the same time had to be integrated into the existing different professional development plans. Finally, in line with the EU's financial timetable for the 2014–2020 period, the government has adopted a new *LLL strategy action plan* to improve the employment of segregated, Roma, disabled and NEET youth, and to develop their key competences.²² Teacher training, targeted actions, developing non-formal and informal learning opportunities (e.g. e-learning, distance learning, workplace training) were some examples. This activity was reported annually by ministers.

Overall, the *strategic plans approach education and adult education too narrowly* – as the Adult Education Act does not cover all relevant areas (Farkas 2013). These do not provide sufficient resources, and the government cannot effectively coordinate closely related measures, without any partnership or dialogue with the professional, civilian, and municipal actors, nowadays. The government wants to resolve everything with administrative tools, and only from EU funds. Meanwhile, all indicators show deteriorating results to the average of EU28.

Two Good Initiatives

The two examples – as documented – apply to people with severe disadvantages, such as Roma and people with disabilities, and are able to show the relevant contradictions in the region, not only in Hungary: (a) the successes in the examples remained isolated and unchanged the trend, lacking coordination and monitoring of impacts, so that, based on their experiences, good local initiatives can be sustained and followed elsewhere; (b) the two projects confirm that cumulative disadvantages (segregated social groups in depressed settlements, labour shortages, low levels of education and lack of democratic traditions) can only be compensated by complex programs that simultaneously develop the local community, transparency and social participation; (c) the two examples show that prevention can hinder the reproduction of social disadvantages, but if this is lacking in adult education and other sectoral policies, there is no long-term, strategic social program-setting as long as the government focuses only on tackling rapid, short-term economic problems. In other terms, democracy cannot function without widespread democratic thinking, active citizens and NGOs fighting for rights, because the formalism of above-mentioned government strategic documents is not enough.

²²Government Resolution No. 1603 of 2014, Nov 4, and Government Resolution No. 1705 of 2016, Dec.5.

Disabled People's Advocacy Organizations

According to the census, 9% of the 15-year-old population with disabilities graduated from university, 20% had a secondary education, 17% got a qualification (vocational training), and 54% graduated from primary school at most, but did not have any qualification. At the same time, only 6% of them study full-time, while 14% are employed, i.e. their economic activity and autonomy are very low compared to their 46% level of education, while 80% live in *quasi* isolation (at home or in institutions for the disabled people).²³ Meanwhile, the number of people under guardianship was about 54,000, and 60% of them could decide in nothing regarding his/her life, and 40% have the right to decide in some questions, because, according to the law, their guardian appointed by the authority (62% family members, friends, 30% professional agents) act, decide or arrange.²⁴ This is barely visible that approximately half a million people with disabilities living between walls and their voices are not being heard by decision-makers.

Disabled people's advocacy organizations and NGOs do not only demand independent life, but its social respect for self-determination.²⁵ They have also developed a number of complex suggestions of how to implement the UN Convention on Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) in domestic legislation,²⁶ through the various sectoral strategies mentioned above.²⁷ The basic principle of CRPD, such as equal access to public services (e.g. education, training, employment, adult education, electoral rights), is severely restricted today, in Hungary. Therefore, the guardianship, that is fully restrictive regarding the ability to act, must be abolished immediately in Hungary, the exclusion of disabled people from the right to vote shall be eliminated, the current functioning of the supported decision-making system established in 2013 does not comply with the requirement of pre-eminence under Article 12 of the CRPD. It was suggested, how Article 29 of the CRPD could be complied with it, i.e. to repeal the legislative provisions allowing for the restriction of the right to vote of persons with disabilities (Art.13/A in Act XXXVI of 2013). At the same time, it was indicated that the specific national level regulation of Regulation 651/2014/EU for the worker with disabilities is rather opaque and lacks regulation of developmental employment in Hungary. Their recommendations were available for the public and were handed over to the responsible ministry, to launch a public discourse.

²³ Central Statistical Office, KSH Népszámlálás, 2011. http://www.ksh.hu/nepszamlalas/tablak_fogyatekossag

²⁴ Statistical Mirror, 2011. <https://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/stattukor/gondnoksag11.pdf>

²⁵ Önrendelkező életet élni. [Living a self-determined life] Mozgáskorlátozottak Egyesületeinek Országos Szövetsége (MEOSZ), Budapest, 2017.

²⁶ Government Resolution No. 1653 of 2015, Sept 4 on action plan of national programme on disabled persons to the period of 2015–2018.

²⁷ Fogyatékkal Élők Jogaiért Felelős Tematikus Munkacsoport Javaslati, [Recommendations of the Thematic Working Group Responsible for the Rights of People with Disability] 8 November 2017.

For years, NGOs have been organizing actions to promote social inclusion and decision-making for people with disabilities, but petitions and demonstrations have not caused a turn. The initiated dialogue is therefore a modest result of social learning.

Motivation Student Mentoring for Roma Students

Two-thirds of the 18–24-year-old Roma youth were early school leavers in 2017, with at most primary education. The proportion of early school leavers from early school age increased between 2014 and 2017, from 57% to 63%. However, not only Roma youth, but all 18–24 year olds have increased the proportion of primary school graduates in Hungary, from 11.4% to 12.5%. 80% of the active-age Roma have only primary education, compared to a total population of only 22%. Due to the low level of education of the Roma, their employment prospects are also much worse than the average, according to data. The proportion of early school leavers in the overall young population is also rising: the EU average was 10.7% in 2016, rising from 10.49 to 12.45% in Hungary between 2010 and 2016, where men are over-represented.²⁸

The Motivation Workshop²⁹ supports the social integration of disadvantaged people, especially children and young people, by motivating, empowering and sensitizing society. Since 2007, the *Motivation Student Mentoring Programme* has prepared Roma secondary school students for university studies through individual mentoring by trained mentors (about 200), who were volunteers recruited from the university; but mainly for disadvantage-compensating and talent-care education programmes, as well as research and expert activities in the field of equal opportunities for education, with the collaboration of members of three NGOs in Szeged and its surroundings. One is running the Tanoda Platform, a network of 70 second-chance schools run by a non-governmental organization, based on local features, voluntary participation by children and young people. They provide a complex service of personality development for children and young people, who are not appropriately recognized in the education system, and who are in need. Tanoda Platform is also an expert group.

Second-chance schools (Tanoda) have become part of the child's basic care services since 2019³⁰ as a great achievement. These are run by the municipality, the church or a civil organization to fight early school leaving and learning inequality. These special schools have been in operation for more than 20 years and 280 are already operating across the country. However, the operation of schools is subject to state licensing, if they want to receive state subsidies for the poorest children to catch up studies, especially for Roma and deviant children. However, state support

²⁸ G7, EDULINE 2018, February 28., EDULINE 2018, November 29.

²⁹ <https://motivaciomuhely.hu/en/our-activities/current-projects/> (15 March 2019).

³⁰ Act CXVII of 2018 and Act XL of 2018 on Child-care system.

is delayed for 196 schools because the government coordination of social inclusion has been transferred to the Ministry of Interior from the Ministry of Human Capacities, and so caused a fraction to hundreds of thousands of disadvantaged children in need, namely about 6000 students cannot learn without interruption.³¹ These two examples of volunteering have promoted social groups (people with disabilities, Roma youngster) from isolation, helping their social integration, with volunteers being prepared only by adult training and NGO and professional collaboration for project work. In other words, adult learning – in the absence of money – is an increasingly spread form of social responsibility actions in Hungary. Minimizing public funds often inspires an increase in social innovation.

Conclusion: The Postponed Change of Paradigm

The chapter has shown how Hungary has been in the past years looking for a place for adult education and training. On the basis of statistical data and international comparison, the condition of human capital has weakened; competitiveness, adaptation to globalization and environmental crisis, and social solidarity would require much more investment in all institutions of training. The big question remains, when will the government recognize that learning is a complex ability to adapt, to change, to exploit change, and to individual self-realization. It is already recognized that an adult training that responds to tight labour market needs is an improvement in the complex ability to learn, instead of the knowledge-transferring forms of teaching.

Based on the constructivist approach to theory of learning (Bada 2015), the ability of lifelong learning autonomously requires a *balance between traditional teaching and new (personalized, differentiated, networked) teaching* (Nahalka 2018). At the same time, responsibility for learning failure is pushed to students and their parents in CEE, which is well suited to the fears of teachers that they do not have the appropriate tools. In this region, it is a question of when this paradigm shift in pedagogy and educational institutions will take place, if there is neither political priority nor money. The expansion of social adaptability and learning potential is slow.

Furthermore, the government is struggling to cope with the *learning ecosystem*, and is far from the governance by learning outcomes model. However, EU education policy has been moving in this direction since 2002 with the open coordination mechanism, i.e. the setting of common goals, the monitoring of the achievement of objectives, and the intensive exchange of experiences on the objectives. State regulation is so overweight that it hardly leaves any room for self-regulation, so there is no balance in this aspect (Toth et al. 2016). In CEE, the government has a strong ambition to formalise complexity, but to suppress it substantially (Rado 2017); e.g. rigid central curriculum regulation in Bulgaria, increase in efficiency gaps for Roma

³¹ NEUBERGER, E., Abcúg/EDULINE, 13 June 2019 (15 June 2019).

students in Slovakia, radical centralization and political control in Hungary, mistrust towards teachers, inability to manage change.

Now, the social development of the region has been halted due to autocratic inertia, while globalization has led to an identity/sovereignty fear. Hungary has moved away from the international trend, returning to a non-market-driven, indoctrinating, legally over-regulated system.

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Chapter 8

Transforming Adult Education from Neo-liberal to Holistically Inclusive Adult Education in Baltic States



Kai Pata, Irina Maslo, and Larissa Jõgi

Introduction

In this chapter, we explore the data of nation-wide adult education programmes in three Baltic states. These programmes incorporate informal learning elements from the perspective of active participatory citizenship (APC) and, therefore, this provision aims to enhance opportunities for young adults in vulnerable positions. We posit that the concept of active participatory citizenship (EduMAP Concept Note 2017) that aims at developing young adults' politico-legal, socio-cultural and socio-economic proactiveness could be used for illustrating these educational programmes from the holistic education aspects (Jarvis and Parker 2005). Holistic approach to adult education (AE) denotes that knowledge is a multi-faceted social construct which intertwines explicit, implicit and emancipatory (transformative) learning. Individual, social and organizational learning activities can unify persons' conceptual, perceptual and affectual knowledge facets for personally meaningful learning (Yang 2003, 2006). According to Biesta (2015) education has multidimensional purpose: qualifying individuals with necessary knowledge, skills and dispositions, socializing them into social, cultural and political practices, and enhancing their own initiative and responsibility.

As the starting point, the chapter gives an overview of the historical trends in adult education in the Baltic states, and the interpretation of the concept of lifelong learning and adult education. Next, it opens up the two case studies conducted in

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Estonia and Latvia during the Horizon 2020 project EduMap fieldwork undertaken in 2018. The chapter describes two national adult education practices that target all age groups, but we narrow our analysis down to highlight how these programmes promote learning *for* and learning *through* active participatory citizenship (APC) among young adults from vulnerable groups. Since the programmes have not been designed merely to aid the vulnerable adults, we posit that focusing on how the needs of this target group have been addressed, might highlight the general gaps of the programmes to offer holistic adult education for all. In both practices, we explore how different dimensions of APC are manifested in legal acts, programme documents, and among different stakeholders' (policy-makers, adult educators and the young adults) viewpoints about the programme provision. The interviews with policy-makers, adult educators and the young adults from risk groups have been used to identify the holistic adult education approaches and the gaps in supporting young adults to become active participating citizens.

Historical Trends in Adult Education in Baltic Countries

The Soviet period in the Baltic states (1940–1992) was characterised by socialist humanistic educational goals. Soviet people were considered a “nation of students”, emphasizing everyone’s freedom to learn and access to learning but also thereby purposefully shaping the socialist attitudes, the acquisition of interests, and the formation of convictions for developing the intrinsically motivated need and values to be educated for taking responsibilities in the Soviet society (Ross 1960). Education followed the principles of Soviet patriotism, the communist attitude towards work as a matter of honor, fame and heroism. Other significant principles included collectivism, socialist humanism and consciousness based on the foundations of Marxism-Leninism, materialist world view, and military training (Kera 1996: 31–32). To promote social justice and cohesion various forms of adult education were provided free of charge, through evening schools for adults, correspondence courses, Palaces of Culture, People’s universities, as well as at workplaces through so-called evening tuition circles, and at Sunday universities. Yet, encouraging learning for vocations was the main approach, and, as a result there were constraints in personal choices, which contributed to in the intellectual and cultural values of education and learning being somewhat undermined.

Despite historical and regional closeness, the three Baltic states have undergone different adult education (AE) development paths after regaining their independence. Each country’s system of lifelong learning and adult education has been the result of specific national developments and traditions, but there have also been strong international trends and influences. Since the 1990s, the role and possibilities of adult education and professional training for adults have been growing rapidly in all three states. In the sections below we take a brief look at the trends in adult education in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania during the last two decades (2000–2019).

After regaining independence and entering the market economy, the Baltic states as well as other European Union countries went through the neo-liberal changes resulting in adult education taking the main direction in mobilizing people for continuous learning and transforming learning into a desirable consumer commodity (Saar et al. 2013). The Baltic states have been members of the European Union since 2004, which contributed to a more stable social, cultural, political and economic environment. In the post-soviet period (1991–2007) the discursive space for adults in the Baltic states has decreased enormously with regard to learning for other reasons than labour market competitiveness (Saar et al. 2013). In the neo-liberal discussion on active citizenship, the importance of employment and effective economic and societal participation, and citizens' entrepreneurial attitudes have been stressed and encouraged beyond the personal development goals in learning (Brooks and Holford 2009: 11–12). The next sections will consider some emerging trends in adult education and lifelong learning in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, over the past 20 years.

Estonian Republic

During last 20 years, the process of economic, political, social-cultural and technological changes had a major impact on the developmental trends of adult education practices and legislation in Estonia. The main changes in the Estonian society that can be looked upon as challenges to adult education and lifelong learning policy are the following: transformation to market economy, transition to democratic society, maintenance of national identity and moving towards an information society. The period 2000–2019 was characterised by several trends in the development of adult education. The implementation of new legislation has contributed to reshaping both the content of training and structure of educational institutions, as well as, stimulated further changes in the organisation of education system. In addition, different forms of international co-operation were growing and the role of non-governmental organisations has increased significantly (Jõgi 2005). Formal educational system has been more and more relying on adults' self-development, and there is an economic pressure on individuals to continue their learning. Learning and training opportunities for adults have been promoted through formal, non-formal and informal levels of adult education (Aava 2009; Country Report 2011; Helemäe et al. 2000; Jõgi and Märja 2000; Estonian Human Development Report 2001; Lifelong Learning Needs Analysis 2001; Saar et al. 2013). Workplace learning, work-related courses and vocational training for adults, as well as participation in lifelong learning have increased during the last 10 years reaching to 20% of the population. Estonia is ahead of the European average when it comes to the number of both women and men participating in life-long learning (Adults participation in learning 2019). There is a strong focus on the development of digital competences of adult learners (Education and Training Monitor 2018). The resources from the European

Social Fund have significantly improved the education opportunities for adult learners.

In the context of Estonian labour market and population trends, the need for upskilling and reskilling has been considered particularly important (MoER 2015). A human capital model, where lifelong learning connotes continuous work-related training and skill development to meet the needs of the economy and employers for a qualified, flexible and adaptable workforce, still dominates in Estonia (Aava 2009). The greatest expectation in society is related to both the economic development and growth, and therefore the significance of personal success and education is not widely seen as relevant to it (Jõgi et al. 2007).

The person-centred advancements in the forms of adult education and lifelong learning during the socialist period were partially reversed in the beginning of post-socialist era (Saar et al. 2013) when workplaces became the major drivers of adult learning (Roosalu and Roosmaa 2010). At the same time, paradoxically, some surveys (Ernst and Young 2017) have shown that 38% of those who participated in the courses were not satisfied with workplace-based learning opportunities and 22% were not satisfied with their study programmes. As a recent trend in adult education in Estonia, adult participation in learning continues to increase, however, the need for reskilling and upskilling is high especially among young adults. The group of young adults (15–29) not in education, employment or training (NEET) comprises 12.5% of this age group (2015). The importance of non-formal and informal learning as a means of social inclusion of young adults from vulnerable groups into active life was also emphasized in the Estonian Youth Work Development Plan for 2014–2020, adopted at the end of 2013. The latest two trends in Estonian adult education are related to both the growing educational opportunities for adults and growing focus on the quality of training providers in nonformal learning in connection with workplace innovation, re-skilling and up-skilling of people (ET 2020). While vocational competences are mainly provided through training programmes, youth organisations, youth centres and hobby schools provide opportunities for acquiring social and digital competences (ET 2020).

Latvian Republic

The paradigm of pedagogy in Latvia started to change in the 1990s, involving transition from the authoritarian action towards human collaboration, in which the transformation of the best practice patterns developing self-experience with new knowledge, skills and attitudes were highlighted (Spona 2018:18). This stemmed from the cultural-historical learning principles developed by Lev Vygotsky in the 1930ies. In Latvian post-soviet era, from 2003 to 2007 AE served as a foundation of lifelong learning (Koķe 1999). It functioned with well established and mostly publicly (by state and municipalities) funded regional adult education centres, evening

schools for second chance education, Folks High schools, etc. all over the country. Following the economic crisis in 2008, the public funding breakdown has resulted in the closing of AE centres, evening schools, Folk High-schools (Kārklīņa and Papule 2017), and opening of evening classes at the premises of mainstream schools. Currently Latvia is again moving towards “education for adults” (instead of “adult education”), considering that “formal, non-formal and informal learning of adults” would provide benefits to learners themselves, employers and the wider community (EC 2016). There are some opportunities for young vulnerable adults including on-the-job training, second chance education, validation of informal education and informal competences (Procedure for the Validation of the Professional Competence Acquired Outside Formal Education System, Republic of Latvia, Cabinet Regulation No. 146. adopted 22 February 2011).

Lithuanian Republic

In Lithuania AE has been a secondary concern of education system reformers in the post-Soviet era, as they tended to give more prominence to “mainstream” education while underestimating the importance of both access to higher education for adult learners, and lifelong learning goals. Education has been first and foremost viewed as an important vehicle for the nation-building and fostering economic and political stability. Through reviewing Lithuanian education strategy and reforms, it has emerged that at recent years Lithuania has been making active efforts in the entire education system in the direction of lifelong learning (Taljunaite et al. 2010). The interests of the state, employers and individuals focus on adequate qualifications to compete in the labour market (Dromantiene and Žemaitaityte 2014). One of the purposes of National Qualifications Framework of Lithuania (2007) is to facilitate the recognition of various forms of learning and to encourage lifelong learning. In relation to informal training, there exist the legal preconditions for the recognition of informally acquired competences (The Law on Non-Formal and Continuing Education accepted on the first January 2015), but the practices of assessment and recognition of these competences are only in the piloting stage and are not widespread.

The Baltic states are currently in the neo-liberal state of educational provision, targeting mainly socio-economic aspects, however there are some trends to facilitate informal modes of learning and training. In particular, Latvia and Lithuania have made steps to promote informal forms of education for gaining socio-economic competences, and are generally directed towards holistic forms of offering adult education.

Lifelong Learning Concept and Strategies in Adult Education Policies

The greatest influence on adult education policy in the Baltic states has come from European Union Lifelong Learning and Adult Education policies. Adult education policy in the Baltic states has been designed according to the education development guidelines set by the following European educational policy documents: *Lisbon Strategy*, *Bologna Process*, *European Commission Memorandum on Lifelong Learning*, *UNESCO program Education for All*, and *European Commission work programme Education and Training 2010*. Its use continued after discussion of the *Memorandum on Lifelong Learning, Making a European Area of Lifelong Learning a reality*, drafted and adopted by the European Council and Lisbon European Union Conclusions, in which it is pointed out that lifelong learning is an important precondition for a successful transition to a knowledge based economy and society (Jõgi and Gross 2009). The concept of lifelong learning (LLL) came into active use in educational policy after 1996. The purpose of lifelong learning in educational policy documents was economic policy dependent and highly job-related (Aspin et al. 2012: 7).

Baltic National Acts and programmes have largely adopted the European concepts of lifelong learning, however, the development differs in how these countries have operationalized the LLL concept, for instance in the legislation and the educational policy documents. According to Holford et al. (2007) the LLL concept in European Union educational policy has become constrained by its vocational orientation, having the needs of the economy and employers in mind. Our desk research has indicated both similarities and differences in the national conceptions and interpretations of LLL in the Baltic States.

The Estonian Lifelong Learning National Strategy 2020 (LLL 2020) determines LLL narrowly and instrumentally, in relation to the skills, knowledge and job competencies from the *labour market perspective*. The main trends in AE include on-the-job training as a form of vocational training, flexible transfer between study levels, bringing young adults not in education, employment or training (NEET) to education and work, and social cohesion programs (LLL 2020). However, according to Estonian LLL 2020 the following principles are significant in developing lifelong learning, i.e. learner's active participation and responsibility; cooperation and learning from each other; the quality, flexibility, transparency and trustworthiness of learning opportunities; gender equality; prosperity of the Estonian state, its language and culture as well as sustainable development (LLL 2020: 4). Despite the strong focus of digital competency and incorporation of digital culture into the learning process (LLL 2020: 14) the agendas lack the attention to the holistic view of LLL and non-formal and informal education in LLL discourse. The holistic self-directed educational development for own transformation, and the emancipatory development in collectivist and social contexts are underestimated compared with socio-economic related development goals. Learning at work contexts is supported with some work-embedded vocational practices, but the validation of the

competences from non-formal and informal education for obtaining formal qualifications has not become a mainstream practice.

In Latvia, the notion of LLL for AE is based on the concept of “*adult education*” for continuing personal and professional development rather than on the concept of “*education for adults*” in civil society targeted on adult learners’ benefits. The latter concept is the future objective of Latvian adult education in its national agenda. Several opportunities for young vulnerable adults exist, but active changes are taking place in the context of on-the-job training, second chance education, and validation of non-formally obtained competences. The most prominent trend in the Lithuanian LLL concept in AE, sets goals through the concept of “*education for adults*”, that is targeting building social capital, supporting people in advancing themselves and their personality through LLL to contribute to society, and fostering social cohesion. Several laws and programs focusing at informal learning have created the basis for accrediting informally obtained competences. In state policies, in Lithuania, informal education is seen as the tool for aiding vulnerable adults. In comparison, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have already taken some legislative steps to fortify adult education and LLL goals and means, thus moving beyond training adults primarily for employment and labour market.

Active Citizenship Concept in Adult Education

“*Learning for active citizenship*” was stated as one of three major pillars in LLL (Commission of the European Communities 2000). Active participatory citizenship (Kalekin-Fishman et al. 2007; EduMAP Concept Note 2017) has the following dimensions (see also Chap. 1):

Socio-cultural dimension sets informal education into a particular role in learning for inclusive citizenship. It is about exercising tolerance and democracy in interaction between individual people’s voluntary activities and self-development, and public sector activities.

Politico-legal dimension aims at channeling persons’ political agency so that democratic practices would be ‘owned’ by citizens. It is not just voting (responsive citizenship) but becoming engaged in policy-making (active citizenship) so that the specific socio-political order can be democratically reproduced.

Socio-economic dimension is about making individuals less dependent upon the state, mobilizing them for transforming learning into a desirable consumer commodity. It targets thin government services and active citizens’ services (e.g. social enterprises) and entrepreneurship.

Young persons themselves have voiced active citizenship through their universal status as a sense of membership or belonging to the community, as a respectable economic independence, as a constructive social participation taking the constructive stance towards the community, as social-contractual relation with the community related with persons’ rights and responsibilities, and as their right to have a

voice (Lister et al. 2003). These are aspects that may contribute to overcoming vulnerability and exclusion of young adults from the everyday life, and should be addressed in the attempts for providing holistic education inclusively.

Learning *for* active citizenship is seen as part of LLL in which a person constructs the crucial links between learning and societal action linking formal and informal learning, individual and collective actions and making dynamic connections between citizenship as *status* and citizenship as *practice*. Learning *through* citizenship is learning active citizenship mainly by practicing it in various areas of social life: civil society, work, and what is usually designed as the private sphere (Kalekin-Fishman et al. 2007).

In the remaining sections of the chapter we are using active participatory citizenship (APC) concept dimensions as a lens in two case studies of adult education practices collected during the EduMap project (2018) in Latvia and Estonia. We are looking at how learning *through* active citizenship is achieved at providing adult education for vulnerable young adults, and whether learning *for* active citizenship has taken place. We aim to discuss whether and how the cases indicate towards holistically inclusive approaches in Baltic states' adult education.

Overall, based on our analysis of educational acts in Baltic states, active citizenship concept has been operationalized in educational acts largely through the focus on developing citizens' entrepreneurial attitudes and individuals' abilities to be less dependent upon the state. There is a clear direction indicating less reliance on the government-provided services and complementing those by active citizens' services (e.g. social enterprises) and entrepreneurship.

Estonian Republic

In Estonian legal acts (Legal documents database: <http://riigiteataja.ee>) the concept of active citizenship in Government acts is rare and it is prevalingly not defined. The focus lies in the citizen's capability and willingness to have a positive impact in the society (*socio-economic dimension*). The active citizenship concept appears in multidimensionally defined way in national curricula. Neo-liberal views can be seen in the ways the national curricula treat citizenship at both basic and secondary levels. The concept of 'active and responsible citizen' is used in the Curriculum for basic schools (Art. 11), in which it is named as one of the democratic competences to be achieved (*politico-legal dimension*), and the Curriculum for secondary level (Art. 5) highlights 'civic initiative and entrepreneurship', aiming at students to become active and responsible members of the society (*socio-economic dimension*). In High school acts and specific universities' acts, active citizenship is defined through the ability to demonstrate individual initiative (*socio-economic dimension*). The Adult Education and Hobby Education Acts do not define active citizenship concept. Estonian Lifelong Learning Strategy (2020) defines active citizenship indirectly through the key competences. Estonian Social Acts use the concept of participation in social life (*socio-cultural dimension*). The Citizenship Act defines new

citizens by coping in society and through language competences (*socio-cultural dimension*). We may conclude that the approach in Estonia is separating the active participatory citizenship dimensions between educational, civic and social domains.

Latvian Republic

In the Latvian legal documents the citizenship concept is not directly defined. Generally, the Educational law highlights the development of independent and developed personality, conscientious and responsible member of democratic society, participating in social and public life (*socio-cultural dimension*). The concepts of active citizenship is at present in the roadmap for Sustainable development 2030 document in the democratic activism in decision-making context (*politico-legal dimension*). In Latvia the concept of ‘active and responsible citizen’ plays an important role in the policy document of Sustainable Development Strategy of Latvia until 2030, which claims that “[E]veryone will have the opportunity to feel safe and belonging to Latvia, everyone [here] will have the opportunity to achieve his or her goals” (*socio-cultural dimension*). Apart from seeking to achieve their own goals, active citizens are important actors for the ambition of Latvia to ‘become the leader of Europe in the introduction of innovative government mechanisms’ (*politico-legal dimension*).

Lithuanian Republic

The Lithuanian previous Law of education emphasized the development of individuality, humanistic values, democracy, sense of civic duty to family, society and nation (*socio-cultural dimension*), and participation in social, economic (*socio-economic dimension*) and political life (*politico-legal dimension*). The new version of the legislation has included a number of changes. In particular, it emphasizes that the citizens ought to be independent, responsible and patriotically-minded (*socio-cultural dimension*) and develop several related competence areas; the citizens ought to develop professional qualifications for labour market, they ought to support sustainable development of the country (*socio-economic dimension*), preserving cultural identity but also creating openness (*socio-cultural dimension*). In addition, there are expectations of an individual to be a competent citizen of the Republic of Lithuania, a member of the European and global community, as well as, of a multi-cultural society (*socio-cultural dimension*). Lithuanian Strategy 2030 has a special focus on happy society that is *open* to the ideas of each citizen, enabling everyone to pursue their favorite activities. It highlights social responsibility which contributes to the national success, openness to different views, responsibility for actions taken, morality, active concern not only for themselves, but also the environment, community and the country at large (*socio-cultural dimension*). The substance of

citizenship is mainly discussed in the Lithuanian Progress Strategy 'Lithuania 2030'. The concept of 'active citizen' is not explicitly used in this document, but citizens are described as proactive, enterprising, trusting their fellow-citizens, (*socio-cultural dimension*) creative in their solutions and ready to take risks (*socio-economic dimension*). Ideally, citizens would assume responsibility not only for themselves but also for the others and for the society, with a strong feeling of national ownership (*socio-cultural dimension*). The image of the citizen as an active and responsible actor, demonstrating 'growing civic maturity' (*politico-legal dimension*) is connected with the ideology claiming that the government must reduce areas of intervention, thus enabling citizens and communities to take responsibility into their hands (Lietuva 2030: 10, 25). The Lithuanian Progress Strategy is a pure example of a neo-liberal view of the society. Active citizens are needed, because of the desire to diminish the role of the state in favour of private entrepreneurship.

Considering the three countries' approaches to define the concept of active citizenship, we can conclude, that in comparison with Estonian legal acts, the future agendas in Latvia and Lithuania already consider broader active citizenship concepts.

Informal Education Cases for Young Adults from Vulnerable Backgrounds

Changes towards recognizing holistically inclusive adult education have brought attention to the significance of informal learning in the context of adult education in the Baltic States. Informal learning is also seen as a means of supporting young adults from vulnerable groups in becoming active citizens. Below we introduce two case studies from the EduMap project representing good practice cases of informal education in Estonia and Latvia. The cases were selected on the basis of their potential in supporting the active participatory citizenship (*socio-economic dimension*) of young adults specifically through employing the informal and work-embedded educational practices. Both cases were nationwide educational practices in the vocational education in 2018. As in Estonia and Latvia, there is a large percentage of Russian speaking population. The programmes aim to encourage this target group to engage with the programme and take courses either in Estonian and Latvian languages. In addition, in some vocational institutions the programme is also offered in Russian. In both cases, we interviewed individually the policymakers (11) associated with the programme development, adult educators (10) who teach in these programmes and the young adults (16) who had taken part in the programme. The data were coded using the Edumap coding framework, where the active participatory citizenship dimensions were among the categories.

The case in Estonia describes the broadly practiced approach of vocational work-embedded learning as the form of adult education. The case in Latvia describes the

case of validating at formal educational institutions the competences obtained at work context and in informal education.

Estonian Case – Vocational Work-Embedded Education

Description of the Programme

The work-embedded vocational education¹ and adult education provision programme in Vocational Education Institutions (VET) in Estonia is provided nationwide by different vocational schools jointly with workplaces. The programme targets young adults with lower levels of education, and offers more suitable and flexible study forms, giving professional qualification to people at workplaces, and it can also introduce young adults to their first jobs. The programme is tailored to the priority goals related to preparing competent staff to the job market and promoting entrepreneurship. This vision mainly supports *socio-economic dimension* of APC. The programme is based on vocational competence standards and ends with qualification exam. The vocational schools, enterprises through the Employers Association (<https://www.employers.ee>) and the Estonian Ministry of Education and Research make the three-sided contract for offering certain curricula at work-embedded mode. The successful vocational institutions organise studies among several enterprises, which provide different type of practice. The agreement guarantees training by enterprise mentors, the enterprises will get payed for mentoring. Fourty percent of the places are planned for young adults without basic education or qualification. The student is engaged with the three-sided study contract where enterprise is part of. The whole programme is curated from the school side. The mentors receive special training, their activities are orchestrated by the mentors' coordinator at school who keeps track of all the students. The students are mediated both by the vocational school, as well as, by the workplace mentors. Studies are largely conducted under the guidance of mentors at workplaces during actual work practice, additionally, a week in a month or a day in a week is held at vocational schools with the VET educators. The enterprise mentors have to grade competence development of learners – often the provision of vocational exam is divided into step by step smaller graded tasks – so people do not need to do the big exam and extensive studies for it. The digital- or paper-based portfolios are used for reporting the learners' success. The studies are module-based – usually there is a career planning module, economy and entrepreneurship module (*socio-economic dimesnion*) among others. The studies are blended with digital materials accessible usually in Moodle environment, but rather the face-to-face mode is preferred, and Moodle is used (not in all vocational institutes) to maintain portfolio approach of reporting of the progress of learning competences at workplaces. In many cases, learners use paper-based

¹<https://www.innove.ee/haridusprojektid/prom/>

practice diaries instead, where students must reflect on their own progression and development. Learning at a vocational institute is group-based, the particular learning needs of language minorities are considered such as providing Russian language worksheets, providing additional help – the learners are usually with the basic education, also students with specific educational needs may be taken in to some of work-embedded programmes (such as gardening, hotel work etc.). For vulnerable young adults, it is critical that the mentor and the curator introduce them to the workplace, and are further monitoring if the student is sufficiently self-directed. Some young adults (students coming from special simplified learning programmes) attend workplace learning under the guidance of personal assistants.

The programme provides various supportive means for students. The students under 21 may get free school lunch support, but it was not described in the programme documents how they can get it while at workplaces. Additional financial support (stipend) of 60 euros is provided for higher achieving students, and about 60 percent of students receive this scholarship. The students are also provided with additional language lessons if needed.

Central training programmes for coordinators in vocational schools are arranged. At vocational institutions there are some practical trainings for educators to handle the vulnerable target groups – mainly how to cope with special education needs, and language minorities. The entrepreneurship training programme for educators is on the way. Training for workplace mentors is the VET obligation, usually they train how to fill in the feedback in student diaries, and how to assess competences – main focus is creating harmony in learning outcomes and practices how to teach at workplaces. Tandem training for workplace mentors and VET mentors is on the way offered by Estonian Ministry of Education and Research.

In summary, this national work-embedded AE program in VETs develops practices and distributes different practice models for job embedded vocational training. The practice based learning at work helps young adults from vulnerable backgrounds to know how certain practices must be applied, they get salary while studying, they should receive job and have better understanding of what they want to do in their life. The tailored mentorship helps to improve their self-organization competences. The learning peers become friends and widen the social arena of young adults. The joint activities at VETs tie young adults better to seeing what way society functions.

Target Group

The programme is targeting wide learner groups (addressing the requirement of inclusion of all learners), but does not specifically address vulnerable young people. We have observed that in the actual implementation of the programme, vulnerable jobless young people do not gain access as easily as was envisaged by the programme policy goal. It is challenging for young adults to navigate through digitally

provided VET web-pages and through information portal for vocational education, created by the ministry. The major challenge is to decide what fits to their particular needs in adult education provision, and discover additional social services which are usually provided by the Social Ministry and may be found in their information web-pages or from Estonian X-road of services. The specific adult education programmes offering work-embedded tuition, and their benefit to vulnerable youth, are not so visible at the VET's webpages and on the leaflets of VETs distributed in key areas where young people may receive advice and guidance. There are some means that support young adults from vulnerable backgrounds to access AE. The extra social services (travel support, some scholarship support, rules that support getting salary while studying) and the mentor services (for being embedded to learning and working habits) are provided to address specific discrepancies. Critical gaps exist in how vulnerable young adults are handed over from one mentorship and adviser to another in different educational levels.

The Active Participatory Citizenship Concept in Programme Application

Policymakers' APC Conceptions The policymakers from the Estonian Ministry of Education and Research, vocational education section, were familiar with the APC concept from some strategy documents, but they could not relate it with the concrete agendas of the observed case of on-job vocational training. The policymakers described the compulsory learning modules in vocational curricula related with entrepreneurship as active citizenship training (*socio-economic dimension*). They noted APC as an active engagement, involvement to community and policy-making, and as a quality of being knowledgeable and aware of the issues in society, not being outcasted (*politico-legal dimension*). APC was related with the person who fulfils her/his citizen duties (*politico-legal dimension*). It was also related with economic success of the country through increasing employment (*socio-economic dimension*).

APC in the Work-Embedded VET Programmes From the interviews with the policy-makers we found that in the Estonian case of work-embedded vocational education the active citizenship concept was considered in preparing programmes but not as the explicitly defined, central and clearly addressed goal. The educators in VETs informed us that at vocational adult education programme level (curricula) the *socio-political* (knowing regulations, normatives in the field discipline) and *socio-economic dimensions* (how to get job, how to be actively self-employed, few entrepreneurship courses) were more addressed than *socio-cultural* (this part was left to workplace mentors and was not educationally supported). The *socio-cultural dimension* was not addressed by courses.

Adult Educators' APC Conceptions Adult educators had vague conceptions about APC, and they did not see it related with their workplace learning programmes concretely. APC was related to citizen initiative (*Politico-legal dimension*); the right to receive lifelong education (*Socio-cultural dimension*), but it was considered just broadly relevant in AE context. Rather it was considered in the context of the wider perspective for human development in general (*Socio-cultural dimension*). It was also described as an outcome of being trained. Adult educators considered the following *socio-cultural barriers* to AE and APC: Young persons' age was considered as a restriction to take part in work-embedded AE – young adults with vulnerable background were described as not having self-discipline and ability to plan own life. Lack of self-responsibility was seen as a barrier to AE and indirectly to APC. It was considered critical to have a transmission-mentor for helping the young adults when they are in between different educational and work opportunities (falling out from vocational education) and to provide mentoring for working and self regulation habits both at the AE side as well as at the work-embedded AE situations. Educators pointed to the gap in linking the young vulnerable adults with Unemployment office, and expected that there should be a two-way transition path that the young adults in Unemployment office could find the programme opportunities and employment.

Young Adults' APC Conceptions The APC conception was not clear to some respondents and they had not been thinking of it, and even asked from the interviewer the meaning of it. Some young people related all their life to being a citizen. APC was related with:

Socio-economic dimension: Living and working in the country; contributing to the country such as with taxes, and being an honest taxpayer; paying taxes was also seen as an obligation, a contribution and a commodity to receive other commodities from the country, such as safety and help.

Socio-cultural dimension: APC was also associated with other rights such as health insurance and right for learning; having the aims and aspirations; being respectful to his parents and family.

Politico-legal dimension: It was associated with not being passive, showing interest to the government; providing feedback and ideas to the regional government; participating in elections.

Programme Outcomes for Young Adults from Vulnerable Groups

Young adults claimed that they learned practical competences, and they now know what working means in reality. They had experienced real-life job interviews. They felt they became more independent because they got salary, but the backside was

that students who had not received work were still living dependent on parents (*socio-economic dimension*).

They saw better where they might fit with their competences and had better future aspirations – they felt like finding themselves. They learned to assess themselves, and became more self-organized, self-confident and valued themselves more as part of the society. The students with special educational needs felt more confident in life, but still relied heavily on the help of their personal assistants in coping with taxes, contacts etc. They learned how to communicate better, but still felt not confident in communicating with foreigners (some were not open to communicating with immigrants and other nationalities). Language skills remained an issue for some students. The students appreciated they became better involved in the society, having field trips with the VET. They had made more friends (*socio-cultural dimension*). They did not see that they should participate in civil and political life, since their voice was not considered (*politico-legal dimension*).

Challenges of the Programme

We conclude that the provision of work-embedded vocational education for young adults with vulnerable backgrounds in Estonia should be better organized and orchestrated between different institutions of employers, employers' associations, unemployment offices and VETs in order to ensure the open vacant practice places for the programme applicants who are unemployed.

The programme must become more flexible, regarding the size of study groups and different job-embedded professional opportunities. People need to have a chance to study what interests them; however, this is impossible because they usually live in others' care unable to move to study in other regions because they are financially and socially dependent.

The learners reported learning a lot as a result of engaging in this adult education initiative, and getting aspirations from work-embedded learning (*socio-cultural dimension*). On the other hand, they did not always become independent and find job after graduating – perhaps society should also think of in-service trainings and get-together follow-ups for young adults to keep them engaged in lifelong learning. Secondly, employing all people according to their capabilities, and providing them support and specific services in becoming independent from parents is important. The programme should further develop *socio-cultural* and *politico-legal dimensions* of APC, to ensure activism and tolerance in the society, not tailoring only the job-related goals. Self-development is equally important in the age of digitalization to face multifarious changes during the life course.

Critical Elements for Young Adults to Become Active Citizens

Our data suggest that the practice-based learning at work helped young adults from vulnerable groups to understand how certain practices might be applied. What is more, the learners receive salary while both studying, and working (*socio-economic dimension*), and, therefore, they develop better understanding of their future career choices and what they want to do in their life. The tailored mentorship helped them to improve their self-organization competences. The joint activities with their peers in the context of VET, provided opportunities for teamwork and social communication, thus enabling young adults to understand better the way society functions (*socio-cultural dimension*). Generally, there was the need to increase the self-esteem, aspirations, communication and self-organization competences of young adults from vulnerable backgrounds at work-embedded vocational education – the teachers needed to learn how to facilitate the development of general competences in the work embedded mode. The AE educators should also promote civic-juridical competence development in the programme to prompt activism of young adults in local life (*politico-legal dimension*).

The main barriers to APC were seen by young adults as follows:

Socio-economic aspects: Being unemployed and not finding a job. Being unconfident in presenting oneself. Not ready to live independent life, paying taxes, renting the apartment, making contracts. Not financially coping alone in the society, and having dependency of parents who support them.

Socio-cultural aspects: The Adult education being too much knowledge focused instead of practices. Fear of communicating and particularly the fear of different people who do not master local language. Lack of knowing foreign languages.

Civic-political aspects: The young adults from vulnerable background were sure that their voice will not be considered, if they want to be active at a regional government level.

It may be concluded that Estonian case of work-embedded vocational education in VETs could target both the socio-economic and socio-cultural dimensions of the active participatory citizens' competences among vulnerable groups of young adults. Yet, while adult educators recognized supporting particularly the socio-cultural aspects, these were not well embedded in the programme. The policy documents and interviews with policy-makers revealed mostly the socio-economic dimension of APC lacking holistic orientation.

Latvian Case – Validation of Informal Learning

Description of the Programme

The case of competence validation of informal and non-formal vocational education² in Latvia demonstrates an alternative way to become qualified for low-skilled young adults: they can identify competence gap, get additional studies tailored to their needs, and finally they can take the competence validation test. The approach assumes that the professional competencies acquired in non-formal education may also be formed by knowledge, skills and abilities gained through personal life and job experience. The State on Education Quality Service is responsible for the delegation of competence validation right - the application requirements for competence validation and the methodology are provided by the responsible institution. Organisations that typically run validation of informal vocational education competences are vocational education institutions, competence and examination centres all over Latvia.³ All formal vocational education programmes (up to education level – 03) are governed by Education Law and Vocational Law, and other regulatory acts and licenced by the State Education Quality Service. Educational institutions are entitled to provide non-formal adult educational programmes without obtaining a licence, but other legal persons, which are not registered in Educational Institution Register, need a licence from the local government. “Lifelong Learning Policy Guidelines 2007–2013 state that “formal, non-formal and recognition, validation and accreditation of adult informal learning⁴ are equally important and supplement each other in the lifelong learning policy, thus enriching the learning culture, experience and widening the educational environment on the level of an individual, community and society at whole” (*holistic approach*) (Kārklīņa et al. 2017: 86).

Competence validation of informal and non-formal vocational education (up to competences level 03) is available for unlimited range of professions. The evaluation of professional competencies mastered outside the formal education is based on a test of the corresponding professional standard at the professional qualification examination.

Institutions that carry out public adult education policies go to villages to contact young adults and find out their educational needs for APC and after that, they prepare the education policies. There is an availability of a career counselling for all, independent from their societal status (*socio-economic dimension*). The most successful approach is the availability of the counselling in open libraries, where young

²<https://ikvd.gov.lv/arpus-formala-izglitiba/>

³<https://ikvd.gov.lv/arpus-formala-izglitiba/profesionalas-kompetences-novertesana/>

⁴LR CM, Rules for recognition of competences acquired outside formal education or acquired in professional experience and recognition of learning outcomes achieved in previous education, LR MF regulations No. 505, Riga, August 14, 2018 (prot. No. 38, section 12) ensure the recognition, validation and accreditation of adult informal learning at all educational levels.

adults of vulnerable groups receive advice, support and can receive information of this AE programme.

Learners can get a profession within 1–1,5 years throughout validation of informal learning and/or at the end of the training, complete the 15-week qualifying practice with broad mobility opportunities and take the qualification exam. Competent inter-institutional collaboration is providing them timely support by the need. Young adults have the opportunity to get work-experience while learning, at the same time receiving salary and social benefits. During the qualification practice of 15 weeks students are accompanied by an employer who will need their newly acquired skills, they are payed for travel and accommodation costs up to € 71 per month, payed the civil liability insurance provided with compulsory medical examinations needed for the specifics of the chosen profession. They receive a scholarship from 70 to 115 euros per month, transport/Internet subsidies, and free accommodation during the studies. Childcare services for AE participation are available (*socio-economic dimension*).

Workplace learning is organized mostly by employers at workplaces in cooperation with vocational institution and/or colleges. Work-related subject teaching is done by employer in the workplace to ensure that learners would acquire the useful knowledge and skills for social, cultural, economic and civil life in work-situations. The students can obtain the certificate necessary for the profession, for example, work with a cash register, work with a system for booking tourist services, a car or tractor driving license, etc. The certificates are provided for in the specifics of the chosen profession (*socio-economic and socio-cultural and politico-legal dimensions*).

Learning approach is personalized and individualized: Young adults can access mentors/tutors outside of lessons for not only academically issues, but also for dialogical informal communication/discussions and experiences about social, cultural, economic and civil life exchanges (*socio-economic and socio-cultural and politico-legal dimensions*).

Self-directed learning is promoted through the opportunity to combine studies and work: the organized learning activities are free of charge, providing flexible opportunities to choose the learning time and place. Young adults have the opportunity to access the mentors outside of formal learning activities, online materials, and interactive e-learning opportunities. AE provider has to deliver community learning opportunities in special education, in non-formal education, and in formal adult education to facilitate the sense of community in all types of education and workplace learning through collaboration and communication with peers and in teams (*socio-cultural dimension*). Educational services are provided in nontraditional way by involving young adults into group and community activities to help them see possibilities beyond the limited environment. Individual dimension is important to design for a number of competency complexes to upgrade the result and support the person who is responsible for creating socially significant values (*socio-cultural dimension*).

E-Learning is the key element of this good practice. Information server is provided where all the learning materials are available, as well as, the materials from

the previous years; learners can see all the materials of courses at their own place and pace and may even attend educational activities online. The number of adult learners in groups is small and the individual approach to each learner is taken. Access to the adult educator is provided who may send students e-mail, or call them, and just tell when they are available.

Target Group

The programme targets low-educated and low-skilled adults with low motivation, misunderstanding of learning benefits, who often do not have information about educational programs implemented by an educational institution and the modern vocational education system as a whole – they are not students who are enrolled in an educational institution and have completed vocational education programs, have not been in contact with the educational environment and educators. They are not officially defined as vulnerable groups in legislation, they have no organizational structure or own meeting places. They often have problems how to maintain their life, they are disorientated in life and work situations, and have low self-esteem. The programme targets gender needs by communicating of professions gender neutral ways, it has some tailored means for language minorities, low educated students and students with special education needs.

The Active Participatory Citizenship Concept in Programme Application

Active participatory citizenship is described by stakeholders and by programme as follows:

Policymakers' APC conceptions particularly address APC related with persons' responsibilities and alignment to the nationally stated approaches: "We use the term 'active civic participation' and we are interested for better understanding how this concept/term is defined and used in other organizations as well", "Being an active citizen ... in my opinion is to be a citizen who (a) nevertheless thinks about the country and about education in our horizons; b) takes responsibility for our actions; and c) correct to the principles of disparity, cooperates with the public administration in the particular case. If there is a problem, s/he is very correct and concrete to deal with it" (*politico-legal dimension*).

Adult Educators' APC conceptions also address the conformity requirement of educators as active citizens, but additionally value in decision-makers the personal will and freedom: "Being an active citizen means not being indifferent to issues of general interest and without fear of expressing one's position. I believe that in public

administration, employees have restrictions on being personally civic activists, because they have to comply with decisions taken by the government” (*politico-legal dimension*).

There is not much evidence that the programmes directly contributed to and cultivated APC. In fact, that is because the APC was not mentioned in the country’s normative regulations.

Young adults’ APC conceptions focused rather on themselves, and other persons they interact with in their everyday life and job situations:

Socio-cultural Dimension Friendships are considered important and are associated with social cohesion aspect of APC: “It is important to keep in touch with friends who have kept the church despite the time and geographic location”, “Make new friends”, “Create new relationships participated in sport-teams, dance collectives, choirs, song festivals, music-bands, amateur collectives or by fishing etc.”, “The process of friendship is natural, and only the satisfaction of the social needs is important”.

Communication skills and particularly the increased confidence in communicating is highlighted as an active citizen competence: “Confidence in communication”, “Good Latvian and English language skills, good verbal communication skills”.

Raised self-esteem is noted as one of the important aspects that increases active citizenship: “Definitely raised self-esteem through the improved knowledge baggage”, “More self-confidence and faith in what one is doing”, “Confidence in the desire to work in the chosen profession”.

Tolerance to diversity as an APC component indicates the young adults’ awareness for more cohesive society: “We do not share common traditions or work”, “Experience exchange between the people from diverse cultures. Breaking stereotypes that someone of a different nationality would want to hurt you.”, “Intercultural communication in diverse working/job situations”, “Communication experience with many other religions from all over the world”.

Raised interests to informal self-development was mentioned as a personal APC characteristic: “Increased reading interest”.

Increased scope of informally learnt experiences also associated with APC: “Life-experiences abroad (mobility experiences)”.

Socio-economic dimension of explaining APC particularly highlighted the employment and practical experiences view.

Finding job: “Finding qualified job related to own abilities, interest carrier opportunities and good salary or/and opening own business”, “Using acquired knowledge and skills to find information in competent information survey”.

Wider practical experiences: “Widespread practical experience”, “More opportunities instead of those at current workplaces”, “Using the acquired knowledge and skills in practical work at workplaces and in family life.”

Politico-legal dimension was the only APC dimension were young adults associated themselves with the citizen responsibilities and contributing to their country.

Political responsibility was noted as APC: "I vote".

Active concern was another dimension young adults addressed related with APC concept: "Thinking about what happens in own country, in the area of taxes and legislation, when and why something goes wrong and what happens, thinking about all kind of things that happen in birth- or life place and doing the very best for your own country."

The Outcomes of the Programme for Vulnerable Young Adults

The learners have highlighted the following testimonials as outcomes of learning in the programme:

Socio-economic dimension addresses mainly person's increased opportunities to have job and salary for their families.

"To live and work with the family."

"To have enough money to love own children and wife so that the family does not feel neglected."

"To become competent for a good sustainable job with good salary for having a family."

"To manage financial things to be able to continue their education."

"To receive the career opportunity and access to continued education, and to do something for people and country."

"To acquire the professionally useful knowledge."

"To be competent in their profession."

"To compose their CV."

"To assure a next profession."

However, some learning outcomes are related with open and active forms of learning that increase the opportunities:

"To participate in international professional courses."

"To participate in projects."

"To create a new computer programme in the professional branch."

Socio-cultural dimension highlights the importance of formal education certificates and lifelong learning for young adults.

"To pass the qualification exam."

"To continue studies in Higher education with state financing."

"To get more opportunities in life."

"To get higher education."

"To put some things to the end, not leave unfinished halfway."

Young adults also consider informal ways of learning from other people, such as in travelling important.

"To travel, to meet a lot of people."

Politico-legal dimension mainly highlights the outcomes that relate with the person's ability to conform with the state:

"To orient in the changing legislation."

Programme Challenges

The needs of the adult learners from vulnerable groups are hard to be identified in the national documents about Latvian Lifelong learning guidelines. Accessibility and motivation issues remain critical. Preventively, the conditions should be clarified that allow groups at risk to participate in the social, cultural, economic and civil life. Adults with low basic skills often do not recognize the need for education and are not motivated to become involved. Educational documents do not show clearly defined educational needs in the adult target groups, and the need for active participative citizenship. It is difficult to access the groups, defined as the groups at risk.

The AE local coordinators funding depends on projects. There has been a discrepancy between national regional and local policies in practice. Municipalities are not provided with the sustainable funding for AE and adult learners at risk. Opportunity to get a qualification is provided but it does not offer further education opportunities for young adults from risk groups. Ensuring sustainable workplaces/job during the AE is a challenge. Merely the job related professional competences are validated as learning outcomes in the programme, but not the general competences such as communication, self-directedness etc. The young adults perceive that programmes are not relevant, they find that 20–40% of the educational content is interesting, but 60–80% of the content is boring and there are few connections with social, cultural, economic and civil life. Studies that are conducted mostly in the e-environment exclude the young adults from direct contact with the instructor and the course-mates, which discourages communication skills development in real-life situations. The young adults with families and job find the requirement to attend compulsory classes (to avoid missing lessons and losing their scholarship) difficult.

Programme Outcomes and Challenges for Young Adults

The learning outcomes related with the *socio-economic dimension* were the most addressed ones at the programme courses. The course alumni reported that the programme did not always increase their intrinsic interest to work on the studied job. The programme was successful in promoting their openness to be self-employed. However, they perceived that the programme did not address sufficiently specific entrepreneurship competences, such as, how to find funding for doing own business.

The learning outcomes related with the *socio-cultural dimension* were mainly learnt at informal occasions. The alumni reported multicultural tolerance towards the people they interact with. The young adults with vulnerability background perceived problems related to inclusion. For example, their digital competences were not sufficient to benefit from digitally provided services, and they felt left aside.

Some learning outcomes of *politico-legal dimension* were embedded in the programme. Young adults reported of learning about normatives in specific vocational domains. However, they criticized that real life normatives often constrain

vulnerable people who cannot economically follow the normatives. Despite of programme studies they felt knowing weakly their rights and opportunities. They reported that they became more active as responsible citizens participating in voting, and being active in work unions. They admitted willingness to impact policy-making, but complained that there are constraints that hinder them. Particularly they found that some national laws are made to constrain democracy, demonstration and participation which inhibits exercising the policies that they would like to support.

Latvian case of validating informal competences and training for the accreditation exams may be summarized as follows. In the policy documents and among the policymakers the APC concepts were not explicit. The programme documents, however, explicitly addressed all three APC dimensions. Two of the APC dimensions – socio-economic and socio-cultural – were well tailored into the concrete activities at the programme level and these competences were apparent also in learners' statements about their gains from the program.

Discussion

As a new direction, the Baltic states are considering sustainable and holistic approaches that highlight personal self-development besides their employability goals (LLL 2020, 2014). In Latvia and Lithuania the steps have been made at the level of national acts to move from the “adult education” to “education for adults” concept, which addresses also the persons' self-development in civil society as part of AE goals. However, in Estonia attention is given to the developments of job-related skills and entrepreneurship competencies as the goals for participation in adult education. The latest trends in adult education are the quality of educational providers, increasing the educational possibilities for adults, focusing on the continuing education courses from the labour market point of view, and promoting on-the-job training models.

The analysis of the two presented cases (see Table 8.1) suggests that in Latvian case the learners' group was more proactive, and despite of lacking formal education, young adults have demonstrated some entrepreneurship competences acquired through their experiences. In the Estonian case the target group consisted of young adults with lower cognitive abilities and weak aspirations. The young adults from the Latvian case had gained qualitatively more aspects of the socio-cultural dimension of APC from the programme compared with Estonian young adults whose learning experiences and skills associated more to self-regulation aspects.

Both the review of literature and the consideration of the two cases suggest that to be an active citizen one should be educated not only for the job and participation in labour market, but equipped with the conceptual knowledge, skills and values required to make informed of the decisions in one's life (Koke and Oganisjana 2005: 50). As we observed in our cases, this could happen in learning *through* active participatory citizenship if APC became embedded into the formats of providing adult education (Kalekin-Fishman et al. 2007; EduMAP Concept Note 2017). In

Table 8.1 Comparison of two AE approaches practiced in Latvia and Estonia

Active Participatory Citizenship dimensions	Legislative documents and policy-makers	Adult education institutions and adult educators	Young adults
Estonia	Adult education for vocation and entrepreneurship. Policy documents and interviews with policy-makers revealed mostly the socio-economic dimension of APC. Educational goals for young adults were not holistically oriented.	Promoting on-the-job training models. Continuing education courses from the labour market point of view. Adult educators recognized supporting particularly the socio-cultural aspects, but these were not well embedded to the programme.	Were with weak aspirations and cognitive abilities- they received learning experiences and skills associated more to self-regulation aspects. Were not knowing well their rights and opportunities.
Latvia	At the policy documents and among the policymakers the APC concepts were not explicit. Moving towards the “education for adults” concept addressing also the persons’ self-development in civil society.	Accrediting informally obtained domain related competences but not general competences. Two of the APC dimensions – Socio-economic and socio-cultural were well tailored to the concrete activities at the programme level. Some learning outcomes of politico-legal dimension were embedded into the programme.	Were more proactive despite of lacking formal education and had developed entrepreneurship competences through their experiences. Admitted the need to develop responsibility, self-organization, aspirations and aims. Became more active as responsible citizens participating in voting, and being active in work unions.

both cases the programmes did not specifically highlight the concept of active participatory citizenship, and learning *for* all dimensions of active citizenship was not explicitly demonstrated. Analyzing stakeholders and the programme documents asserted that the socio-economic dimension of active citizenship manifested itself as the most prominent element of the programme. Young adults expressed also the need to gain more competences in politico-legal domain of APC. We may also assure that holistic approach in three inseparable aspects of qualification, socialization and subjectification (Biesta 2015) and the transformative effect of learning (Yang 2003, 2006) could be observed in young adults’ experiences in both cases. Their understanding of active citizenship and expectations in relation to adult education programmes coincided with the aspects highlighted by young adults reported by Lister et al. (2003). The two observed cases blended different forms of learning, from which workplace learning seemed to have had some impact on learners’

socio-economic and some socio-cultural competencies. However, adult educators of the observed programmes were particularly addressing the need to find ways on how to develop socio-cultural competences of the young adults from risk groups. Particularly the subjectification aspects such as responsibility, self-organization, aspirations and aims (Biesta 2015) need to be supported among them. Both programmes were targeting all types and ages of learners and did not have a specific focus on young adults from vulnerable groups, therefore, there was a lack of specific elements that could support such learners. This was particularly evident in the Estonian case of workplace learning. In the Latvian case, we would particularly address the issue that even though this programme is developing and accrediting domain related competences, it fails to develop and evaluate general competences the young adults have acquired from previous experiences.

Conclusion

To conclude, the observed cases in all three Baltic States have already demonstrated the intention to move beyond the neoliberal education model, while applying holistic forms of adult education. The informal learning approaches used in the Baltic States are fit for holistic education goals, but there is a way to go in terms of how to broaden assumptions and operationalise learning for the socio-cultural and also the politico-legal dimensions of active participatory citizenship. Learning for socialization and learning for subjectification are not targeted at action levels in observed programmes for adult learning. The holistic approach needs to be strengthened both as a goal of learning *for* active citizenship that should be directly embedded into policies and adult education programmes. In addition, it should be put in action as learning *through* active citizenship at workplace learning situations where the socio-cultural and politico-legal dimensions of APC might also be practiced.

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Chapter 9

Conclusion: Divergences or Convergences? Facilitating Active Citizenship Through Adult Education Across Europe and Beyond



Hanna Toiviainen, Natasha Kersh, George K. Zarifis, and Pirkko Pitkänen

Introduction

By scrutinising a multiplicity of adult education policies, programmes and actions this book has sought answers to the question: What policies and practices are needed in the field of adult education to include young adults at risk of social exclusion in active participatory citizenship in Europe? Answers to the question were sought analysing the recent policy and practice developments in the field of adult education, social inclusion and active participatory citizenship both within the national, European and wider contexts. Each contribution in this volume has approached the question from original social and educational starting points. The findings of the EduMAP research presented in the chapters indicate that the cultural-historical contexts reflect country- and region-specific developments of social inclusion of young adults who live in vulnerable situations and are at risk of marginalisation. In the following sections we draw different lines together and discuss the findings from the perspectives motivating the EduMAP study. The perspectives stem from the discourses on lifelong learning (LLL) and adult education (AE); adult education as a means to prevent social exclusion; and the implications of this book in terms of the dimensions of active participatory citizenship (APC).

The seven region-specific contributions (Chaps. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8) have highlighted both challenges and strategies of adult education across selected European countries and Turkey related to the inclusion of young adults. Social inclusion, as

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discussed in this volume, is strongly related to three dimensions of participation: socio-cultural dimension, socio-economic dimension and politico-legal dimension, which together have been highlighted as essential elements of active participatory citizenship.

The findings of EduMAP show that the configurations of and approaches to inclusion vary from context to context. Different forms of adult education (e.g. vocational education and training (VET), second-chance and basic skills programmes) were identified as a means to engage and re-engage young adults at risk of social exclusion, improve their life chances and facilitate their social inclusion, thus contributing to their capacity to take a more active role as citizens within their societal contexts. However, some serious challenges associated with addressing the specific educational needs of many vulnerable groups were highlighted within the national and cultural contexts of various countries and regions.

Within EduMAP, analyses of existing research and policy reports as well as educational practices enabled the researchers to consider relevant trends in country- and region-specific contexts and reflect on both convergences and divergences in the developments of adult education and lifelong learning across Europe and in Turkey. In the grouping of the countries stemming from the original project plan of EduMAP, we have utilized the notion of the “regimes of social cohesion” (Green et al. 2009) to provide meaningful points of comparison. We start by brief summaries of regional-specific notions that present the divergences. It is followed by a discussion revisiting the central perspectives – convergences and divergences drawn from the analyses. The key conclusions in the end focus on the possibilities of developing active participatory citizenship through adult education. It summarises the general notions, the convergences, underpinning the findings of the studies in this book.

Regional Divergences

Southern Europe – Greece, Cyprus, Malta, Italy, Spain and Portugal

Adult education (AE) developments in the Southern European and Mediterranean countries have been affected by a number of challenges stemming from the current economic, political and social situation in the region. As Chap. 2 indicates, overcoming the economic crisis has become one of the major challenges for AE in these countries. What is more, due to their geographic location, the Southern European states have been experiencing the consequences of the migration and refugee crisis, which has also resulted in demographic changes across the countries. Because of this situation, migrants and refugees have become a key target group for educational initiatives that focus on inclusion and integration, and this creates some additional challenges. The needs of these groups differ from the needs of the “traditional” key groups, which causes providers to make a great effort in re-structuring measures of programmes and organisations.

As a result of the economic crisis in many Southern European countries, youth unemployment rates are extremely high, as well as the number of school dropouts or NEETs. In addressing these problems vocational education and training (VET) is playing an increasingly significant role in (re-)integration and re-engagement of young adults and improving their life chances: all Southern European countries have been noted to be developing and implementing methods and programmes that are tailor-made for young unemployed adults. However, there is a need to improve the correlation between education and training and the labour market. An emphasis on second-chance education as well as on recognition and validation of non-formal learning is another trend that has been noticeable in the context of developing opportunities for motivating and engaging vulnerable young adults. The programmes to include young adults across these countries have exemplified an indirect rather than direct relevance to active citizenship, and, the process has been characterized by rather low participation rates among vulnerable young adults in the region. As Zarifis' account shows ([this volume](#)), unemployed, low-qualified young adults in Southern Europe are largely under-represented with respect to participation in adult education programmes that focus on active citizenship.

France, Austria and Germany

The traditions of Adult Education (AE) in these countries have their roots in the Age of Enlightenment. Due to different historical and contemporary traditions, the interpretation of AE and Lifelong Learning (LLL) varies from country to country. However, EU policies and developments have strongly influenced national developments in AE in these countries, specifically by promoting a common legal and policy framework in the field of AE and introducing the concept of LLL (Evans 2009; Saar et al. 2013; Jarvis 2012). National AE initiatives and programmes are often addressed to the vulnerable groups of society, with the aim to bolster social inclusion, but different types of vulnerability are not always associated with a specific age group. Traditionally, the distinction made between formal and informal AE has been on the basis of types of institution (e.g. formal schools/institutions, Vocational Education and Training/Higher Education centres vs. outside institutions) or purposes of programmes (e.g. qualification purpose or life-oriented, general AE).

Research has shown that the common trends of contemporary developments and policies of AE have included tendencies towards strong market orientation (and less needs-driven education) and orientation towards employability. Increasing non-formal and informal learning offers, specifically for vulnerable young adults, has also been a prominent feature of the current movements in education in these countries. What further unites the developments is the need to address the problem of refugee and migrant inclusion. Research has indicated that informal (non-institutional) offers often relate to self-organised, volunteering actions that play an

increasingly important role in civic education. In Germany, Austria and France, this has resulted in a high number of courses for migrants and refugees. In general, the higher number of learning offers and opportunities for vulnerable groups have been provided in the VET sector and in a wide range of informal learning offers across the countries.

UK, The Netherlands and Ireland

The studies suggest the increasing role attached to Adult Education (AE) and life-long learning, specifically for facilitating the inclusion and engagement of vulnerable young adults. Overall, these countries have exemplified the fairly well-developed systems and structures of AE. In spite of existing diversities in both historical and contemporary policies as well as conceptions regarding AE across the UK, Ireland and the Netherlands, there are some shared developments in relation to policies and practices for the social inclusion of vulnerable young adults, influenced by both the economic and the social challenges currently faced by European countries. The countries have illustrated noticeable trends towards the focus on socio-economic participation, developing employability skills and tackling early school leaving. The problems of the young people grouped as 'NEET' (not in education, employment or training), and engaging this group through developing relevant labour market skills, has been specifically emphasised by the UK and Ireland contexts.

The situation of young migrants provides specific challenges in the Netherlands, which has resulted in the development of a range of programmes for inclusion. While some programmes are specifically focused on citizenship across the countries (e.g. programmes for migrants and refugees), often the concept of *citizenship* is not used explicitly but may be embedded in a wide range of other programmes (e.g. ESOL in the UK, Dutch as a second language NT2). European initiatives (e.g. Youth Guarantee) have also influenced country-specific implementation, with a particular focus on some new and existing education and training opportunities for young adults.

Common approaches in tackling issues of social exclusion and enhancing individual life chances are represented by remedial, retraining and basic skills courses aimed to provide learners with skills as well as a formal qualification/certificate. Informal learning has been recognised as a means of facilitating inclusion; however, there were concerns that non-formal and informal education provision (e.g. community education) and universal education services are being neglected over more 'targeted' formal programmes. Strategies and approaches towards the inclusion of vulnerable young adults across the countries have been influenced to some extent by global developments; however, the implementation of special programmes has been strongly related to national, local and regional challenges, problems and concerns.

Turkey

The developments of AE in Turkey have been strongly affected by the influx of Syrian refugees as well as by the unstable political and social situation. The study of Turkey demonstrates that Syrian refugee inflow posed a major challenge for every aspect of public administration as well as the education system. While the ‘traditional’ vulnerable groups are recognised as such in the Turkish context (e.g. women, disabled individuals, school dropouts, ethnic minorities), the past 5 years have seen an increasing focus on the millions of Syrian refugees. In addition, as in Southern Europe EU countries, gender inequities have been noted as one of the challenges in Turkey that need to be tackled throughout AE programmes.

Northern Europe – Denmark, Finland and Sweden

Denmark, Finland and Sweden are Nordic welfare states that historically have put a high value on education as a means to increase equality in the society and providing support for those in need and for special groups and minorities. The Grundtvigian folk high school movement in the early history of liberal-popular AE targeted young adults, and this institute still prevails in non-formal education assuming new societal tasks, such as the integration education for migrants and asylum seekers. The adult educational ethos is today increasingly facing the dominance of the liberal market economies. Generally in all Nordic countries, budget cuts have affected particularly non-formal AE while resources have increased on formal AE of guidance and counselling, transition from basic to upper secondary education and training, one-step-up activities for the low-skilled, continuing training for the workforce, and preparing courses for immigrants ranging from elementary to higher education.

The countries aim to fulfil the EU Youth Guarantee through various initiatives. For Denmark, education is a special focus of the Danish policy concerning unemployed people below 30 years. Finland has launched one-stop guidance centres for youth, which aim to strengthen and simplify services for young people and to eliminate the duplication of activities. Sweden is introducing a 90-day guarantee of education or employment, to address the challenges relating to unemployment of low-skilled young people.

Hungary

Meeting both the democratic changes and needs of a market economy has been a notable development that was strongly related to overcoming unemployment and the reduced economic activity of the adult population. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the former Socialist countries experienced a high degree of

uncertainty and unstable social, political and economic situations. This has resulted in rising numbers of early school leavers, adults with deficiency in basic skills as well as minorities, experiencing difficulties in communication and integration, such as, for example, the Roma. These groups, together with other types of vulnerable adults have been affected by social exclusion and marginalisation. Addressing their needs was regarded as an important trend, following the stage of revitalisation of AE in the 1990s and the later EU accession. In recent years, the principles of AE policy and the interpretation of LLL have been largely determined by European integration. In Hungary the developments have been hindered by problems, such as the wave of emigration as well as the ageing society, largely resulting in a drop in the size of the potential workforce. This labour shortage provides a focus on the training and retraining of unemployed and inactive persons.

Baltic Countries – Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have largely adopted the European concepts of AE and LLL. Despite of historical and regional closeness these Baltic countries have undergone different AE developments after regaining their independence. In the national acts and agendas of the Baltic countries the national language space protection is highlighted, but also means for bilingual AE opportunities combined with the social and cultural cohesion agendas and ecological sustainability means are used.

In Estonia, the market and job-related goal of AE and LLL prevail and the AE focuses on continuing education and on the job training models. Other trends are flexible transfer between study levels, bringing NEET to education and work, and social cohesion programs. There is lack of attention to informal education; the self-directed educational development is underestimated compared with job-related development. Estonia has developed digital service provision that enables discovering the sets of constraints and requirements for supportive allowances, but it is not yet possible to filter the prerequisites of AE services for vulnerable young groups.

In Latvia and Lithuania, the steps have been made to move from *adult education* to *education for adults* concept, which also sees the self-development in civil society as part of AE goals. Latvia has introduced opportunities for young vulnerable adults, but active changes are obviously taking place age-independently in on-the-job training, second chance education, and validation of non-formally obtained competences. Lithuania has enacted laws and programs targeting informal learning to approve obtained competences, and informal education is seen as the tool for aiding vulnerable groups in the state agenda. These are not necessarily age-specific so as to reach young citizens.

Summary

The contributions of this book emphasise both the significance of and the problems associated with lifelong learning and adult education, specifically in relation to facilitating the social inclusion of vulnerable young adults. Both historical developments and national approaches and conceptions towards AE and LLL indicate a range of country- and region-specific variations and divergent historical trends and priorities in LLL and AE. Countries with long-established traditions in Adult Education, such as the German-speaking countries as well as France, can trace the origins of AE to the Age of Enlightenment and Industrialisation. In Nordic EU-countries, Denmark, Finland and Sweden, some significant societal actors of liberal AE were born already towards the end of the nineteenth century in connection with national movements. Education in folk high schools of this early phase was targeted at countryside young people who lacked access to academic schooling. The historical developments of LLL and AE in the three Baltic States has been influenced by their Soviet heritage facing the issues associated with the period of transition from centralised economy to market economy, from a segregated society to the integration in all three countries after regaining their independence in the early 1990s. Some other countries of the Southern region, for example, Greece and Cyprus, have a relatively short history in terms of developing education for adults.

It has become evident that the adult education systems differ regarding the recognition and identification of vulnerability of young people. In some countries it is pointed out that vulnerability is age-independent, whereas in other countries sophisticated educational offering and programmes to young adults have been developed for years. Examples of the former can be found in the accounts of Austria, Germany and Greece, and examples of the latter case are Denmark, Finland, Sweden, UK, and Ireland. The interpretation of the concept of vulnerable young adults has also been strongly influenced by both historical and contemporary developments as well as national conceptions. The research undertaken and reported in this book largely suggests that vulnerable or disadvantaged young adults have been regarded as those who lack some essential capacities or are in need of being engaged or re-engaged in relation to social, political and economic involvement. Typically both the lack of capacities and weak social engagement of young adults require specific approaches in education and training.

Moreover, local or regional developments influence the identification of specific target groups of AE in each country or region. In the UK and Ireland, for example, a high number of young people who are classed as NEET have been defined as a group with particular needs of being integrated into the world of work or education. In Turkey, political unrest and military conflict in neighbouring countries has resulted in a high number of refugees and migrants, with the number of immigrants estimated to be over 4 million. The influx of refugees has characterised, to a greater or lesser extent, a range of other EU countries, and thus 'refugees and migrants' have been considered as a group of vulnerable people whose specific requirements

need to be addressed in order to facilitate their social engagement, integration and inclusion.

Discourse of Neo-liberal Life-Long Learning and Adult Education – Are There Alternatives?

In the critical adult education discussion the juxtaposition of neoliberalism and community-based liberal AE tradition is an overarching theme. The critics that have outlined the narrative of neo-liberal hegemony on LLL and AE are well-grounded particularly in revealing how market logics and state regulation extend not only to formal but also non-formal and informal activities of adult education (Guimarães and de Castro 2009). For example, the analysis of the study associations in Sweden (Åbeg 2013) shows that the organisations adapt to regulation while on the other hand struggle to be true to their popular movement heritage. The organisations import concepts and solutions connected to commercialisation and professionalisation but may simultaneously strive for officially distancing themselves from commercialisation processes (ibid.). The question remains whether it is possible to resist the politically and socially normalised neo-liberal notions of qualifications, competence-based curricula, institutional reputation and expert labour (Zarifis 2019). The debate on the new role and the resistance of European adult education (Tet and Hamilton 2019) echoes researchers' and practitioners' awareness of the contradictory ideas of active citizenship as articulated in the European policy-making, on the one hand, and the pedagogical heritage of adult education, on the other hand.

Being caught between contradictory interests and struggling to maintain the cultural-historically rooted identity of adult education causes “breaches” of activity that open possibilities to expand the policies and practices of adult education and lifelong learning. Particularly when addressing adult education for vulnerable groups of young adults it is necessary to investigate the practices beyond the narrow socio-economic definition of adult education (Huegler and Kersh, [this volume](#)). This book has searched education practices and weak signals of education policies to meet the educational needs of precarious groups in Europe. Thus, in their analysis on the UK, the Netherlands and Ireland Huegler and Kersh reveal how the policy dynamics in the context of the economic crisis and austerity measures tend to focus on the responsabilisation of young people rather than structural reform of educational system. These policies are reflected in the professionals' work on local level where they face the needs of the young who experience unemployment or are classified as ‘NEET’, or young with migrant background. The professionals respond by personalised, flexible and empathetic support based on respectful relationships; they may enhance social integration, activism and mutual solidarity much beyond the assigned tasks of education and training (Toiviainen et al. 2019).

Pata et al. ([this volume](#)) see trends to the discourse that embraces more holistic adult education policy in the Baltic states. The end of the Soviet era meant a breakdown of the dominating ideological narrative of “nation of students” and the neo-liberal turn in overall thinking and policies took over. They point out that the suggested conceptual shift from “adult education” to “education for adults” is to

strengthen the goal of persons' self-development in building the civil society in Latvia and Lithuania.

Kuusipalo et al. ([this volume](#)) discuss that new adult educational trends and needs build on existing structures of civil society, legislation, educational provision and resources. Integration programmes and second-chance education can be seen as enhancing equal opportunities. A closer look at the programmes reveals small-scale innovations that not only aim at a quick (and often unrealistic) employment but a better social integration in local communities.

Zarifis ([this volume](#)) discusses the developments of adult education and social inclusion in southern European member states. In Portugal the stress upon economic development has reflected the ambivalence of the role assigned to adult education, diminishing it to a minor position in the political, social, educational, cultural and civic agenda. In addition, the emphasis on vocational education hampers the awareness of the importance of young adults' non-vocational learning.

The critics of neoliberalism and neoliberal economic interests that extend their hegemonic power to education and humanistic disciplines is directed at formal adult education and education policy on national and European levels. Non-formal and informal actions of adult education are not detached of economic-political regulation. The dominating discourse deals with educational policy issues as embedded in wider political-economic agendas, while overlooking that in major transformations adult education also produces grassroots movement and assumes new working methods. Our field studies show that there is space for learners' and educators' agency and volition to build human capacity and resist the instrumentalisation of vulnerable groups. In the global historical perspective this has been and still is the inalienable societal task of adult education (e.g., MCGray 2015).

Adult Education as a Means to Prevent Social Exclusion – Expectations and Reality

This book has explored the link between adult education and citizenship learning by indicating a positive movement for enlarging the understanding of lifelong learning from the limited focus of economic development to personal, social and democratic development through active citizenship. Nevertheless, a strong case still needs to be made for adult citizenship learning or for lifelong learning for active citizenship. A further enlargement of minds, policies and practices is necessary to widely share and strengthen the citizenship dimension. The objective should be to lift the contradictions, to clarify, focus and exemplify statements and data. There is a need to go "beyond the rhetoric".

While there are strong claims and expressions for a comprehensive approach to lifelong learning aiming at both employability and personal, social and democratic development, the practices continue to show an inclination for the former rather than the latter. Another encouragement in favour of the active citizenship approach to lifelong learning comes from discussions on how to make learning attractive and the identified need for developing a new learning culture. Even though the trends of neoliberalism and increasing state regulation can be observed across countries and in adult education policies implemented in various regions there are significant

differences regarding the needs and even more so regarding the outcomes of the intended policies. This can be seen in answering the educational needs of refugees and asylum seekers where alone the scale of the task is dramatically different and unevenly shared between the south-east and northern parts of Europe.

In Turkey the researchers (Erdoğan et al. [this volume](#)) follow the developments of the integration of refugees by means of adult education and holistic approaches of social work. The outcomes of the work under onerous conditions must be considered successful, while at the same time it is obvious that not all goals to prevent social exclusion can be reached. The situation of refugees is instable, the ethos of adult education as a means of equal opportunity meets the requirements of gender-specific and -limited options; conception of education addressing temporary migration must be further defined when temporariness turns to permanent residence for some, etc.

Organising adult education for groups recognised as vulnerable appears very differently depending on the social and political programmes and existing educational infrastructures and even the cultural-historical developments and backgrounds. The most striking example is presented by the Hungarian researchers Tóth et al. ([this volume](#)). They perceive the adult education and learning in EU positively as the field of individual self-fulfilment and the improved adaptability to globalization and democratic values, and then contrast these trends with the social development of the region in terms of autocratic inertia and identity/sovereignty fear amidst globalisation. “Hungary has moved away from the international trend, returning to a non-market-driven, indoctrinating, legally over-regulated system,” they argue and present extensive data to show how the educational needs of vulnerable groups are overlooked in the political reality unveiled.

In Southern Europe (Greece, Cyprus, Malta, Italy, Spain and Portugal), adult education, in a historical perspective, does not play a leading role as a means to social inclusion and active citizenship (Zarifis, [this volume](#)). Therefore the expectations on the possibilities of AE will have to be politically enhanced and socially constructed in the value system. According to the researcher the key is the development of competence-based AE programmes that appeal to young learners as well as local societies and are strong enough to build the connection between education, social inclusion, most of all in terms of employment, and active participatory citizenship.

Recommendations drawn from all the chapters imply that policy focus needs to be re-calibrated to include both the pressing economic and employment challenges and the role of education in promoting equity and inclusion. Active citizenship entails setting new priority areas that stretch from high-quality knowledge, skills and competences developed throughout lifelong learning, to inclusive education, equality, equity, non-discrimination and the promotion of civic competences. For adult education and training in particular priorities should include more effective governance, significant increases in supply and take-up, more flexible provision, broader access, closer monitoring and better quality assurance.

The citizenship potential was highlighted in most of the studies, often not by recognising it as such, but as a dynamic process that must be continuously

encouraged through a learning-conducive environment. Besides focussing on the learners' needs and motivation this includes the pedagogic support to the participants to engage in critical thinking, acting in an autonomous and responsible manner, and orienting to learning together and social participation.

The crucial question however is how these priorities can be achieved. "Ensuring that children and young people acquire social, civic and intercultural competences, by promoting democratic values and fundamental rights, social inclusion and non-discrimination, as well as active citizenship" (EU 2015, p. 4) is of little help to people who work in the field to achieve what the rhetoric prescribes. The arrival of refugees and asylum seekers with diverse backgrounds is creating a challenge for the education and training sector and its stakeholders throughout Europe. The integration of these people into education and training is a crucial step towards their social inclusion, employability, professional and personal fulfilment, and active citizenship (Bagnall 2010).

Active Participatory Citizenship for the Future? Key Conclusions

Social exclusion and alienation are real problems among many young people of minority groups living in a hybrid space between the mainstream and peripheral cultures. Learning in adult education settings plays an essential albeit only a partial role in creating proper preconditions for social membership and full attention to cultural diversity. Learning for active citizenship is a lifelong and changing process starting already in childhood (Kalekin-Fishman et al. 2007). Several questions and challenges arise regarding the prevention of social exclusion. What policies and practices are used to foster active participation and a sense of citizenship through adult education? What should the key elements in education be as far as vulnerable groups are concerned?

Reflecting on the findings of the EduMAP research we are convinced of the key role of the adult education policies and practices in recognising young adults' needs in the living communities of European countries and Turkey (EduMAP 2018, 2019). The research results also demonstrate that the way from the risk of social exclusion to active participatory citizenship is complex, still largely unmapped and calls for more research. As the study in Germany by Endrizzi and Schmidt-Behlau ([this volume](#)) most clearly articulates, the notion of active participatory citizenship can be explicitly designed in an education strategy, but often is an implicit intention; it is on the cover and undercover. In addition, active participatory citizenship for young adults living in vulnerable situations is promoted in many contexts, such as the Youth Forum in Germany – not only within the identified systems of adult education.

The divergences in the perceptions and policies of effective adult education for vulnerable young adults are attributed to the difference in the historical trajectories and contemporary local challenges of countries and regions. The convergences and common trends in the provision of adult education for vulnerable young people have been influenced in many ways by common global challenges, EU policies and research in the area of adult education and lifelong learning (EduMAP Policy Brief 1 2018). In conclusion, some overarching notions and convergences across national trends can be pointed out.

1. The concept of active citizenship (AC) is used across the EU countries and Turkey with different aims, purposes and interpretations. Policy agendas and country-specific priorities – rather than universally shared human values – define overall objectives and the meaning of active citizenship and the role of education and its promotion.
2. The lack of clarity and definitions of AC in the adult education and lifelong learning literature and policy actions make the understanding, interpretation and role of citizenship/active citizenship somewhat fragmented and patchy, and the concept varies from context to context both nationally and internationally. The controversies and broad interpretation of AC calls for in-depth empirical research to explore the complexity of relationships between adult education, active citizenship and social inclusion.
3. The reviews of research and policy analysis also indicate that the concept of adult education and lifelong learning remains poorly defined and open to various interpretations and, often, with no explicit link to active citizenship.
4. The role of adult education practices in promoting active citizenship for vulnerable groups is unclearly defined across the national adult education systems. Engaging vulnerable young people through adult education has been related to addressing specific problems (e.g. poor literacy level or unemployment), defined by current national political, social or economic agendas.
5. With the exception of programmes for newly arrived migrants and/or refugees, the majority of adult education courses do not demonstrate an explicit focus on citizenship education or skills. However, different dimensions – economic, social and political – of active participatory citizenship have characterised, often implicitly, AE programmes and initiatives across the studied countries.
6. While some programmes are specifically focused on citizenship (e.g. programmes for migrants), the concept itself remains often weakly explicated or embedded in other objectives of a given education. When included in AE programmes, the dimensions of active participatory citizenship (economic, social and political) are often driven by current national policy developments and agendas, rather than by the specific needs of disadvantaged groups.
7. The analyses of AE programmes confirm that the developments and policies of the past decade related to adult education and active citizenship have been strongly influenced both by economic crisis and the influx of migrants across the EU countries and Turkey. These trends have resulted in the prevalence of market-oriented approaches and the integration strategies across adult education programmes.
8. Different types of adult education have become important tools for engagement and (re)integration of young adults into society. The role of AE has largely been associated with providing opportunities for young adults to acquire the range of skills required in order to participate in social, economic and political life. Practically all country-specific studies brought out the significance of the following types of programmes:

1. Basic skills and remedy programmes
 2. Second-chance education
 3. Retraining
 4. Vocational programmes
 5. Informal learning and non-formal learning
 6. Selected higher education programmes
9. Investigated in the context of adult education, the term ‘vulnerable young adults’ remains open to various interpretations. The desk study of documents and even more the oral interview statements by practitioners, policy-makers and young people reveal how different perceptions of vulnerability there are among the stakeholders. For policy-makers the notion of vulnerability may be necessary to address the special target groups in education, whereas practitioners may avoid the use of the term as a labeling one, and still young people may not identify themselves as being vulnerable or in a vulnerable situation, at the outset.
10. Gender is not generally perceived to be a vulnerability, concluding from the studies of this book. There are few gender-specific programmes that focus on the promotion of active citizenship. However, research indicates that in some contexts young adults need specific extra support on account of their gender, which comes out clearly in the chapters from Turkey and the Mediterranean region. Gender differences need to be taken into account in the design of future adult education programmes on national and transnational level.

The research findings, highlighted by the country-specific accounts, underpin two significant conclusions. First, the analysis has indicated that, overall, young adults in diverse situations of risk have positive experiences related to recovering motivations and engaging actively in society by way of attending adult education programmes. The second point, however, is that the providers need to understand and take into account in developing their policies and practices, that engaging young adults through adult education needs to be based on their multi-layered individual needs thus promoting more and deeper active participatory citizenship (APC) engagement (Schmidt-Behlau 2019). Therefore, policies, programmes and actions need to pay attention to young learners’ specific needs, aspirations and risks of vulnerabilities.

The elements of successful policies and practices in re-engaging young people strongly relate to addressing young adults’ specific needs and facilitating their APC, rather than just focusing on addressing current policy agendas (EduMap Policy Brief 2 2019). The cross-cutting elements of meaningful policy and practice approaches, should include the following: (1) relevance and contextualisation: e.g. contextualising APC dimensions in ways that are relevant to young adults’ personal backgrounds and/or professional aims, ambitions, and gender differences need to be taken into account; (2) opportunities and affordances: creating opportunities to exercise active citizenship in all its dimensions and related to young adults’ experiences and personal situations; (3) flexibility and personalisation rather than ‘one size fits all’ approach: ensuring flexible provision that provides personalised approaches in developing educational programmes; (4) the significant role of the

educational professional: the importance of the mediating role of educational professionals needs to be better recognised and taken into account by relevant stakeholders (5) multiculturalism and tolerance: promoting learning in diverse and multicultural groups in a safe environment; (6) resilience and confidence: fostering resilience, confidence, self-esteem and aspiration of young adults; (7) the role of communication networks: promoting communication between different stakeholders. This list is not exhaustive, but it highlights the most commonly cited elements of good practice across country specific contexts. Favourable and supporting policies that recognize vulnerabilities as complex and multifaceted issues, avoid policy responses to put ‘blame’ on individuals (e.g. refugees, in countries affected by refugee crisis, migration or acts of terrorism) and ensure issues of equality and equal access to resources provide a wider context for successful inclusion approaches.

Finally, it is important to consider the historical development and unique legacies in and across the countries. Initiatives that work well in one country may need adjustments when adopted in another. Policy-learning rather than policy-borrowing is at stake. The first approach supports the development of national policies suitable for specific contexts, whereas the latter refers to adopting practices developed in other countries ‘off-the-peg’ (Raffe and Semple 2011). This distinction is critical for policymakers in assessing what practices can have a positive impact in their educational contexts and under what conditions.

In considering the interplay between policy and practice the contributions in this volume bring attention to the ways in which policy and practice developments may either undermine or contribute to cultivating active participatory citizenship for young adults, and what might be learnt from these developments. As part of the EduMAP project’s ambition, the research findings aim to contribute to the complex discussion of the current and future role of adult education as a means to social inclusion, and to advance understanding and further develop both the current and future impact of adult education on learning for active participatory citizenship in Europe and beyond.

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