Rui Vieira de Castro
Amélia Vitória Sancho
Paula Guimarães

(Editors)

Adult Education
New Routes in a New Landscape

Contributions by

Alberto Melo, Amélia Vitória Sancho, Barry J. Hake,
Brid Connolly, Bud L. Hall, Darlene E. Clover, Ekkehard Nuissl,
Henning Salling Olesen, Herman Baert, Jim Crowther, Mae Shaw,
Ian Martin, Katleen De Rick, Katrien Van Valckenborgh, Licínio C. Lima,
Maria Clara di Pierro, Paula Guimarães, Pep Aparicio Guadas,
Peter Jarvis, Sérgio Haddad, Rui Vieira de Castro

University of Minho

Unit for Adult Education

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Contents

Contents

Foreword

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Globalisation, Knowledge and Lifelong Learning

Peter Jarvis (University of Surrey, England)

Society's structures are largely determined by the powerful forces operating at its centre, a place which education has never occupied. But education's content and functions have always responded to the demands of the centre. With initial education, for instance, the content of curricula has always reflected those forms of knowledge that the individuals at the centre determined to be worthwhile for transmitting to future generations.

However, there has been one notable exception to this in the history of education; adult education has, until very recently, sought to respond to the needs of the people rather than to the social system. Indeed, in Western Europe and North America for many years, adult education was regarded as having a "needs-meeting" approach. It was both educational and developmental – much of it was designed to assist people develop their own lives and communities. But in recent-years even this form of education, like almost all other forms has been changed and the education of adults and higher education have seemed to be converging as education for employability and for employees continuing to keep abreast in the ever-developing world of commercial knowledge is beginning to dominate the educational scene.

Consequently, this paper will examine the way in which knowledge has been appropriated and used in the globalised economy of contemporary society. Finally, it will point to the way that lifelong learning has emerged. It has three parts: the first examines globalisation and the knowledge society, the second the nature of knowledge in the knowledge economy and, thirdly, the processes of lifelong learning.

Globalisation and the knowledge society

Globalisation is a much used word with a variety of meanings but which I want to use here in a specific socio-economic manner. It is inappropriate to explore the various theories of globalisation in any depth here, but Weede (1990) has isolated three other approaches: Galtung's (1971) "structural theory of imperialism"; Wallenstein's (1974) "world system approach" and Bornschier's (1980) idea of "investment dependence". In a way all of these relate to the power of those who control the sub-structure of society – both the financial and intellectual capital and who employ technology, especially information technology, to produce desired outcomes. I want to introduce you to my own understanding of globalisation which, to some extent, incorporates each of the above ones. It is neo-Marxian in some ways, although it is also in line with other forms of critical theory.

Figure 1
A Global Model of Societies

Sub-structure

Multi-layered superstructure

Sub-structure

Multi-layered superstructure
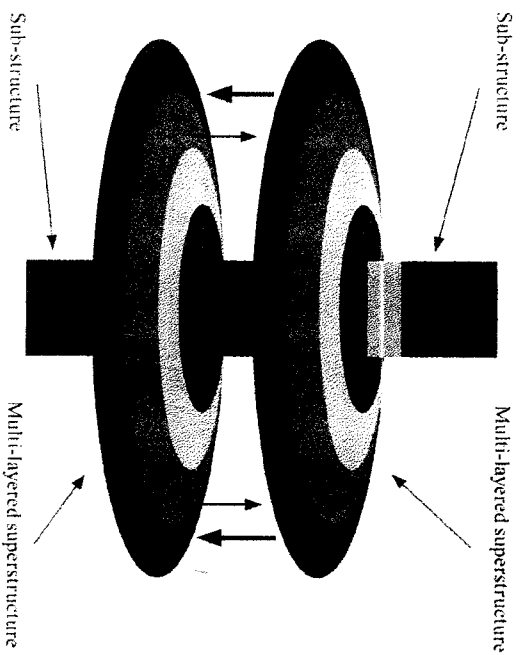
The significance of this model is that there is a global sub-structure represented here by the core running through all the different countries – it exercises a centralised power over each of the countries and, in this sense, it is

force for convergence between the different countries of the world. It consist first, of the economic system but also of the technological one, especiall information technology. Those who control it exercise global power and th control rests with large transnational corporations whose directors are un elected and very powerful throughout the world through the power they exercis in controlling their countries. But these forces are supported by the one supe power, the USA, and so it would be possible to place the USA at the top of th hierarchy of countries, represented by the hierarchical multi-coloured discs c as part of the sub-structure. I personally regard the USA as part of the globa sub-structure, at this moment in history, although its position could change.

Power, then, resides in the global sub-structure but it can also b exercised between countries through political, trade, aid and other inter-nationa mechanisms.

The large downward pointing arrows illustrate that there is a relationshi of power between the 203 countries of the world (this is the number recorde by UNESCO 2006), while the two small black upward pointing arrows depic the resistance to the forces of globalisation. However, it would be true to sa that there are probably blocks of countries at different levels of the global powe structure, with the G8 countries (except the USA which is so powerful that see it as part of the sub-structure) being the most powerful stratum. Howeve the global meeting point for these economic and technological forces is "Th World Economic Forum" held in Davos, in Switzerland, in the winter (sk season!) each year. In the above diagram each layer represents a country whicl is penetrated through the centre by the sub-structure, and each country ca now be represented in the following manner.

Figure 2
Multy-Layered Model of Society

Economic/technological/American political sub-structure

International   National   Local   Individual
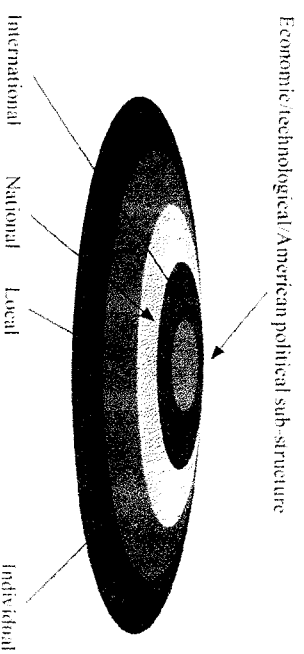
It would have been quite possible to put a few more circles around the layers to illustrate the complexity of the whole but for the sake of charity, however, we have retained a simpler model. At the same time, we have depicted the layers hierarchically in order to illustrate that it is not merely a geographical matter but that there is also a hierarchy of power stemming from the core to the periphery, although, although it has to be recognised that power is not a one-way process since, by the nature of democracy the "lower orders" can and should be pro-active as well, but we are also aware of passive resistance amongst individuals to the pressures coming from the hierarchy. Naturally, individuals can exercise more power but only within an organisational context in one of the other layers of society. However, we can see that individuals' social position and the power that they can exercise within society as a result does depend to some extent on their relation to the sub-structure, but this is neither a determinist position nor is it a simple class one since society is so much more open than it was when Marx wrote.

The first thing to note about these two diagrams is that the sub-structure is united and runs through all the different countries, and we must recognise that there are over two hundred countries, and so the two layers here depict only a few of the many, that have to negotiate between themselves in order to cooperate. Now this core is united in a manner that the individual countries are not – it runs through each making similar demands on each – as Beck (2000) puts it, it criss-crosses national boundaries. At the same time as there is an apparent unity of the core, there is also internal competition since each transnational company that makes up the core is competing with every other one in order to produce products that can be marketed in nearly all the countries of the world. The fact that there is internal competition means that the speed of change within the core is fast, driven by the demands of the market which it is both creating and to which it is seeking to respond. It is, therefore, changing faster than those aspects of the global system that are not so market-driven. Additionally, it is necessary to recognise that change is neither gradual nor even, since new discoveries tend to generate change in fits and starts. At the same time, change itself has profound effects on lifelong learning, as we shall see below. The second fact to recognise is that these companies, and this technological-economic core, are protected by the political and military might of America and the institutions over which it exercises hegemonic control — such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. There is considerable confusion within America itself between the core and the political - this confusion has been exacerbated during the presidency of George W. Bush whose government does not always

seems entirely divorced from the corporate sector and which seems always act in favour of the economic system of the core. The third factor to note is th because the core controls information technology, as well as technology f production, and so on, it has the power to advertise its products globally an generate both a huge market for its products but also to produce a considerab degree of standardisation across the globe. Fourthly, each society is a separa entity and consequently, co-operation between countries/states is a matt of political negotiation and agreement, something that takes time as th working of the United Nations and the European Union show. However, I hav show a separate international layer since it is not only governments which a internationally but also non-governmental organisations. Nevertheless, it clear that countries are less able to change as rapidly as the global core and s there is almost an international global situation of "divide and rule", with th global core exercising a degree of dominance. This means that law, democrac and civil society are all exposed to another source of power, other than th State – that of the global market, a transnational civil society is still a long wa from a reality, even though we live in a world society (Beck, 2000). Haberma (2001: 61) suggests that:

> There is a crippling sense that national politics have dwindle
> to more or less intelligent management of a process of force
> adaptation to the pressure to shore up purely local position
> advantages.

The fifth factor to recognise is that some societies are more accessibl to this process than others, so that social change does not spread completel evenly across the globe, with countries like those of sub-Saharan Africa an Nepal not able to respond to the changes at the same speed as does the Unite Kingdom, and so on. These poorer countries get poorer whilst the richer one prosper — indeed, enticing them into the World Trade Organisation may not b altogether beneficial to them in the long run since they lose their own protectio against the might of the global powers. However, it should also be noted that eve in the first world, the poor continue to be excluded and get poorer. In the USA for instance, 16.5% live in poverty, 20% of the adult population are illiterat and 13% have a life expectancy of shorter than 60 years, according to Bauma (1999) citing a United Nations development report.

In a sense, then, we can see that the core is the driving force of eac society — to some degree or other, but we have to recognise that within th national and local cultures there are both wider interests and concerns tha

those to be found in the core and also some instances a degree of resistance to the changes that are occurring and these are to be found at every level, including the international.

Indeed, we can see that each country relates to others and although this diagram has depicted only two countries, we could have put over two hundred different ones in relation to each other. The external arrows now take on major significance because they represent unequal relationships between each country. For instance, the dominant downwardly pointing arrow represents trade, aid, consultations, and so on. The development of information technology, rapid travel, and so on means that people throughout the world are much more aware of what occurs elsewhere and are much more able to affect it. It is possible, therefore, for people at different levels in the hierarchy to communicate across national boundaries electronically and to travel rapidly and cheaply between different countries, so that there is inter-cultural sharing. Nevertheless, there is probably more giving from the more powerful to the less powerful countries. In this was it still depicts a hegemonic relationship in which the dominant cultures of the West still export their culture and commodities though a different mechanism. At the same time, the less dominant cultures have more opportunity to resist the process and have more chances of retaining their independence. The relationships that exist at this level are more diplomatic and interactive, and open, on occasions, for the less powerful cultures to export aspects of their culture to more dominant cultures – much of this comes through international migration of people in search of employment and the better life – although we know others flee from political persecution, and so on. Hence the second, smaller arrow upwards in the diagram illustrates this process.

That there can be some cultural exchange is important and through this political mechanism there is greater respect for cultural diversity than there is through the change that is introduced through the global technical-economic sub-structure. Respect for individual cultures still plays a significant role in the political trade and aid relationship. Such a relationship calls for informed dialogue (Crossley, 2006) between countries enabling the bridging of cultures and a greater exercise in relationship.

As we can see, power need not be exercised in a simple one-dimensional form, but that there are three dimensions and Lukes (2005: 29) suggests that the three dimensional view of power means that it can be exercised over decision taking and by controlling the political agenda, over issues and potential issues, in observable and latent conflict and in subjective and real interests. It is in these different ways that the sub-structure (core) exercises power over super-

structure (the international, national, local and individual); in the same way that national does the same over the local and the individual, and the local over the individual. Consequently, countries can still be studied as individual entities and we can see how hierarchical power results in social and cultural reproduction and education has traditionally played a major role in this process. For instance Bourdieu (1973: 84) wrote:

> By making social hierarchies and the reproduction of these hierarchies appear to be based upon the hierarchy of "gifts", merits or skills established and ratified by its sanctions, or, in a word, by converting social hierarchies into academic hierarchies, the educational system fulfils a function of legitimation which is more and more necessary to the perpetuation of the "social order", as the evolution of the power relationship between classes tends more completely to exclude the imposition of a hierarchy based upon the crude and ruthless affirmation of the power relationship.

At the same time, individuals know that they have the ability to resist the social pressures if they have the confidence, courage, commitment, and so on – they are also able to forms groups and organisations that do the same as studies of social movements demonstrate.

It is important to note here that economic competition – the market – is at the heart of the global substructure. In addition, a variety of peoples and societies are resisting this process by endeavouring, to differing extents, to retain their uniqueness and independence which has given rise to our understanding of the phenomenon of glocalisation (Robertson, 1995). The additional dominant factor in this process has been the tremendous advances in information technology that have facilitated the global processes. Consequently we can see that the forces of globalisation exercise standardising pressures on all societies and Beck (2000: 11) actually suggests that globalisation is "the processes through which sovereign national states are criss-crossed and undermined by transnational actors with varying prospects of power, orientations, identities and networks (italics in original). Once the power of the State has been seen to be diminished it is hardly surprising that the public recognises that the State is forced to respond to the demands of the substructure (see Korten, 1995; Monbiot, 2000 and begins to lose respect for its politicians, as the European Commission (EC 2001) has recognised.

Indeed, when this is combined with rapid transport systems, the worl

has been changed into a global village, although the term "village" is also a little misleading since the world cultures are far less homogeneous than those of a single village. Even so, the capitalist system and the international division of labour do affect the cultures of the world. In many ways, there is a process of standardisation (Beck, 1992) or McDonaldization (Ritzer, 1993).

It is those societies, however, that are at the centre of economic globalisation and these might be seen as knowledge societies: it was these that Daniel Bell (1973) first called the post-industrial societies. For him, knowledge was the fundamental resource for such societies, especially theoretical knowledge (Bell, 1973: 14) and, as Stehr (1994: 10) later pointed, out when these societies emerge they signal a fundamental shift in the structure of the economy, since the primacy of manufacturing is replaced by knowledge. It is not knowledge *per se*, however, that is significant to the knowledge society but scientific – including social scientific – knowledge (Stehr, 1994: 99-103) since this underlies the production of new commodities and services and, consequently, has economic value. Knowledge, as such, has no intrinsic value; it is only its use-value as a scarce resource which is significant. Indeed, new knowledge is a scarce resource valuable for what might be produced through using it. Hence, research and development are at the heart of the productive processes. Every marginal addition to the body of scientific knowledge is potentially valuable in the knowledge economy. Not all societies, however, are knowledge societies: some are agricultural and others manufacturing, which has produced an international division of labour, whilst others – such as sub-Saharan Africa – are to be located in the realms of social exclusion.

It is widely recognised that transnational companies relocate their production in the countries that are most likely to generate greater returns on their capital investment, but with the development of information technology and rapid transportation, they are able to operate as single entities in policy terms. At the same time, this has not occurred totally: no manufacturing company, for instance, has totally deserted the first world for the third, for a variety of reasons – one of which might be the standard of education and training of the work force.

Reich (1991) has divided work into three main categories: routine production services (repetitive jobs following standardised production procedures), in-person services (person-to-person supervised service occupations) and symbolic analysts (knowledge workers, researchers, designers, and so forth). The first undertake routine production, the second are involved in the service occupations and the third are knowledge-based workers. In the

West, the knowledge-based jobs are growing in number and as a proportion of the workforce, but since it is also a service society there is also a growth in these occupations, many of which are still extremely routine and highly monitored. This has entailed a shift to mass higher education – in UK, for instance, the political need to get 50% of school leavers into higher education, although Livingstone (2002) argues that there is considerable under-employment in the work force. However, there has also been a considerable increase in people elsewhere in the world where salaries are not as high as they are in the West such as India, who are prepared to perform knowledge-based occupations and who have received a sufficient degree of education, and this becomes important for transnational corporations who need to survive profitably in the competitive global market.

As Stehr indicates, it is only certain forms of knowledge that are crucial to the knowledge society and his analysis is in accord with the predictions for higher education made by Kerr et al. (1973: 47):

> The higher education of industrial society stresses the natural sciences, engineering, medicine, managerial training – whether private or public – and administrative law. It must steadily adapt to new disciplines and new fields of specialization. There is a relatively smaller place for the humanities and the arts, while the social sciences are strongly related to the training of managerial groups and technicians for the enterprise and the government. The increased leisure time of industrialism, however, can afford a broader public appreciation of the humanities and the arts.

Of course, they were wrong about the nature of society but they were right about the emphasis being placed on scientific and useful subjects, albeit in the post-industrial society. The dominant discourse about knowledge in the knowledge societies is scientific, so that it appears that all knowledge has to be scientific, or at least social scientific.

The nature of knowledge in the knowledge economy

Epistemological issues have, naturally enough, been at the heart of educational philosophy and whilst it is inappropriate to enter many of these discussions here, there are some that are important to our understanding of th

guiding the nation towards its emancipation, but to supply t... system with players capable of acceptably fulfilling their roles the pragmatic posts required by its institutions.

role of universities in this contemporary world. As early as 1926, for instance, Scheler (1980: 73) tried to classify types of knowledge according to the speed by which they change. He produced seven categories, of which the final two were positive knowledge of mathematics and natural sciences and humanities and technological knowledge, and the other five were: myth and legend; knowledge of natural language; religious knowledge; mystical knowledge; philosophical-metaphysical knowledge. The final two he regarded as artificial since they changed so rapidly and never had time to become embedded in a society's culture before they disappeared, while the other forms of knowledge were embedded in the culture and changed more slowly. These other forms of knowledge have, consequently, been relegated to a less significant place in capitalist knowledge societies, and there are considerable pressures on universities to focus their programmes almost entirely on researching and teaching on these rapidly changing forms of knowledge, as Kerr et al. suggest. We can argue with Scheler's typology in many ways, including the fact that there may be some forms of knowledge that do not change, e.g. values, the basic thesis is, I believe, valid for contemporary society.

However, if knowledge changes so rapidly, how can we decide whether it is correct? Traditionally, there have been three ways of legitimating knowledge: by rational argument, empirical discovery and pragmatism (Scheffler, 1965). All are valid, but underlying the competitive global market is the need to generate new knowledge that the transnational global corporations can be use in the production of commodities that can be sold. Consequently, for so long as knowledge is useful, pragmatic, it takes preference over the other forms of knowledge. This is the "performative" knowledge that Lyotard (1984: 41-53) understood to be at the heart of this late-modern age. Consequently, the nature of research becomes directed by the need to supply new commodities in the market so that it must always be changing and, in Scheler's sense, artificial.

But the teaching function of universities has also changed. Institutions of higher education are expected to create a work force through their teaching i.e., they are expected to produce Reich's symbolic analysts, or as Lyotard (1984: 48) wrote:

In the context of delegitimation, universities and institutions of higher learning are called upon to create skills, and no longer ideals – so many doctors, so many teachers in a given discipline, so many engineers, so many administrators, etc. The transmission of knowledge is no longer designed to train an elite capable of

This, then, is the other aspect of "performative" knowledge – practic knowledge, or "knowledge how". Flew (1976) suggested two others – "k nowled that" and "knowledge of". Traditionally, universities have based their teachin on "knowledge that" and they have eschewed practical knowledge as trainin and we only have to recall the work of Peters (1967) to see the intensity of t discussion at that time. Indeed, they still do to a great extent and the trainin of personnel for their various pragmatic posts has been largely in the cogniti domain in educational circles. However, this has been a false dichotomy an practical knowledge is much more complex than this. Elsewhere, I (Jarvi 2001b) have argued that knowledge underlying any action contains at least sev dimensions: content knowledge; process knowledge; everyday knowledg tacit knowledge: beliefs, attitudes, emotions and values; skills; repressed an suppressed knowledge, emotions, and so on. This last one is important becau we live in an irrational society seeking to be rational rather than a ration society. Significantly, these forms of knowledge are totally integrated rath than academic discipline-based. In other words, it is the whole person who ac and it is the whole person who reflects on action. Practical knowledge involv the whole person but teaching has rarely been regarded in the universities having this perspective on knowledge. University teaching is being confront with a new approach to knowledge, practical or performative knowledg which it needs to incorporate into its programmes at both undergraduate ar postgraduate levels. In addition, research into learning is beginning to foc on this broad experiential perspective (see Jarvis, 2006)

Interestingly we can see opposing trends in this process: in research, th pragmatism of the market is demanding a more restricted and focused researc programme whereas in teaching performative knowledge is demanding a broad approach. Since this global society has a substructure that is both econom and competitive, we can see that this agenda has to be played out in a learnin market in which universities might be seen as the purveyors of knowledg commodities. But, as we noted at the outset, the other part of the substructu is information technology and so innovative pedagogies have also become significant factor in the process.

Lifelong learning

There is a sense in which the knowledge society demands a learning society and so the term "lifelong learning" has come to the fore, and given the social conditions of the global world, lifelong learning in some form is almost an inevitable outcome. The concept has two fundamental forms, both of which are relevant to our discussion here. The first of these is much more institutional while the second is individual and I want to focus primarily on the former one here and we can see how adult education underwent several metamorphoses during the latter half of the last century.

Over the past quarter of a century we have seen major changes in the way that the term "education" has been used. I think that the best way to illustrate this is by using the concept of "adult education". By the 1980s, we were using the term "education of adults" which reflected the fact that adults were now beginning to be seen as part of main-steam education. But we were also using other terms — lifelong education, continuing education and recurrent education. OECD adopted the idea of recurrent education in the 1970s but, gradually, it assumed something of radical connotation — the idea of education entitlements throughout life. OECD quickly dropped the idea. Continuing education became the term for lifelong education — adults were part of main-stream education and, gradually, this form of education was taking on a more vocational perspective — so we had continuing professional development and more recently human resource development. Additionally, since knowledge was changing rapidly and the market was driving research for new knowledge to produce new commodities, and also new forms of organisational structures in order to make the corporation more efficient. Consequently, the work-force and those seeking entry to it had to master is rapidly changing knowledge — which meant that undergraduate training had to change and that post-graduate education had to be extended considerably to cope with these demands.

Post-school education had to change with great rapidity to keep up with these changes — new courses, new degrees, new research, and so on. But education has always been slow to change — it has also taught the cultural forms of knowledge, as well as the artificial (scientific) ones and so it had to be forced into it. Education had another, a new student body and a new agenda. Education was for work-life now. But forcing education to change rapidly became a political and economic problem which was perhaps best solved by endeavouring to make universities responsive to these demands which meant that it had to become part of the market — these new courses and so on had to

be turned into commodities and sold. Campbell (1984) records how there are more adults than young adults in total in Canadian universities and that this has been the case since 1974.

Consequently, government funding was curtailed in UK (and in several other countries) and educational institutions had to earn a considerable proportion of their income. But what would happen if they did not change — well, those institutions which are financially weak "go to the wall" and we are beginning to see mergers and take-overs happen in order to create more efficien educational institutions. In addition, a new phenomenon has emerged — the corporate university (Jarvis, 2001a). Not only have the traditional universitie had to become corporations functioning within an educational market, but the corporations have begun to start their own universities, so that we now have Disney University, Hamburger University, Motorola University, and so on. At present there are little competition between them but as these universitie start awarding their own qualifications, so the educational competitive marke will intensify.

But with the development of new information technologies it als became clear that learning could occur outside of the educational institution and so in the 1990s the term "education" itself began to take second place i the educational vocabulary and it was replaced by "learning". Now we have th learning society, the learning city/community, the learning organisation anc of course, lifelong learning.

The sub-structural processes generating globalisation have inevitabl affected the educational institution and what we have tried to do here is to trac this process and see the institutional changes that have occurred. Howeve there is another element to it since learning is also an individual process. Th world of rapid change has also generated a world in which individuals are bein forced to adapt all the time — they are being forced to change, forced to learn a the time. Almost incidentally, individuals are forced to adapt and learn as nev commodities appear on the market — just think of buying a computer — whic model and when?

In addition, we are also seeing that ideal of many adult educators — peopl should have opportunity to learn from the cradle to the grave. Individual lifelon learning has become more of a reality and, now we are seeing an increasin recognition that individuals can and do learn in later life (Jarvis, 2001b). W are seeing the growth of the Third Age Universities and these lay beyond th curricula demands of the global market and they are perhaps assuming th mantle that traditional adult education aspired to many years ago.

However, the individual aspect of lifelong learning is also inevitable since all the changes in society, many of which stem from the power exercised from the global care generates constant social change, so that individuals are forced to respond to these changes in every aspect of their lives but these elements of lifelong learning get lost in the dominance of the institutional changes that have been introduced over this period.

Conclusion

While many educational documents might suggest that the changes that are occurring in education are mostly initiated by educational leaders, it would be much truer to say that such leaders respond to the sub-structural global forces and that all educational institutions and individuals are greatly affected by them. Two forms of lifelong learning have appeared — one institutional and which is essentially, but not entirely, work-life learning, while the other is individual and life long. While adult educators have always envisaged a society that provided learning opportunities for all, it could only occur when the "time was ripe" or when the global pressures enabled it to happen.

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2

Late Modernity and the Learning Society: Problematic Articulations Between Social Arenas, Organizations and Indiv

Barry J. Hake (Leiden University, The Netherlands)

"What are you doing?" said the little prince to the adult educato
planning the education of the people", the adult educator answ
"And how do you know what kind of education the people need.
know them so well?" the little prince asked.
"I am also a human being, so...." the adult educator said to th
prince. "...but I have also learned about this at university". I
enumerated eighteen different subjects in his course of study c
lifelong learning.
"Oh, that is a lot", the little prince said. "But may I ask if the
connection with the people? Should I need education, I would find.
and travel with him for a long while. That is how we would exp
what we need in life".

Loosely based on Le Petit Prince by Antoine de Saint-Exu

Every age is destined for learning, nor is a person given other y
learning than in life itself.

Comenius (1987)

Introduction

In this paper, I intend to raise questions with regard to the po
contributions of lifelong learning to the emancipation and autonomy
individual in late modernity. My argument is that lifelong learning in later
societies has become a structural necessity which poses new challenges
survival of social institutions, organizations and individuals. I develop the arg
that the learning society is a risk society and that this is clearly visible in the

and cultural dimensions of the personal life-world. Attention is focused on the social arenas in which structures of opportunity are created or closed, the emergence of learning organizations as a major arena for the social allocation of individuals, and the possibilities for individuals to acquire the key competencies required to survive in the learning society. My line of argument leads to the conclusion that the individual in late modernity is constituted as a "permanently learning subject" who is required to acquire competencies which enable him or her to be capable of designing a self-regulated learning career in order to survive in the learning society (Dumazedier, 1995). The key question remains, however, as to whether this is a lonely task for the individual or the organization of learning in a culture of authentic sociability and mutuality?

Lifelong learning: à la recherche du temps perdu?

Since the mid-eighteenth century, progressive European intellectuals have regarded "modernization" in terms of the relationship between social progress and individual emancipation. They have perceived the so-called "Enlightenment project" in terms of laying the foundations for the improvement of society and individual autonomy. Modernity has been associated with the assumption that society could be changed for the better and that social interventions could promote the common good. Recurrent themes in Enlightenment discourse focused upon issues such as social order and individual autonomy, regulation and emancipation, democracy and liberty. Education and learning featured significantly among the social interventions favoured by spokesmen of the Enlightenment, who regarded these as instruments to promote both the social integration of the individual in society and opportunities for individual self-realization. The eighteenth-century *philosophes* and their successors have viewed education and learning as the necessary preconditions of social and individual improvement which were based upon knowledge and self-responsibility rather than habitual dependence on superstition and tradition. From the proposals first made by Condorcet in 1793 onwards, the representatives of the Enlightenment project have sought to create public forms of educational provision where both young people and adults could pursue their intellectual, social and personal development. If there was any self-doubt surrounding the Enlightenment project this focused on reconciling the perhaps irreconcilable aspirations of securing both social order and individual liberty (Hake, 1987).

Self-doubt within modernity itself has been superseded by the sense of crisis in late modernity. From their modern-day French salons, the post-modern *philosophes* pronounced that modernity had passed into history and that the grand explanatory narratives of the Enlightenment project have become redundant (Wildemeersch & Jansen, 1992). These narratives are said to have lost their explanatory power, while adherence to shared values and norms is in retreat. The certainties of the Enlightenment project have been replaced by the ambiguities of late modern society. More to the point, perhaps, one can argue that we are entering a new phase in modernity where the very conditions of modernity itself — the historically evolved conceptions and institutions of modernity — are themselves subjected to critical analysis. This is expressed in ambiguous responses to the erosion and fragmentation in all areas of social life, while the questioning of traditional sources of solidarity and social cohesion in the late modern society gains ground. Traditional frames of reference for meaning, thinking and acting loose their hold and individuals are confronted with unexpected option formation gains ground. Traditional frames of reference for meaning, thinking and acting loose their hold and individuals are confronted with unexpected option are required to make choices, and are expected to take responsibility for their own life-planning.

The idea of lifelong learning has been a recurring feature in the intellectual firmament in Europe since the Renaissance and received a new impulse during the Enlightenment. Shakespeare was convinced that learning was an essential dimension of "the seven ages of man". Both Erasmus and Comenius developed their pedagogical ideas and practices based upon this understanding. The Protestant Reformation in Central and North-West Europe, during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, gave rise to the lifelong habit of reading the Bible. Based as it was on the invention of the printing press and the availability of the Bible in the vernacular languages of the people rather than Latin, the Reformation led to the development of mass elementary schooling, high levels of adult literacy, and the original form of organized adult learning in the Bible-reading circle. During the eighteenth century, the pedagogical literature of the Enlightenment was imbued with the recognition that adults should continue to learn in order "to improve" themselves and society. Much of the subsequent progressive literature related to adult education during the nineteenth and early twentieth century was also clearly based on the recognition that adults should be encouraged to continue their learning in relation to their participation in all aspects of social life. This addressed in particular the "social question", the provision of adult education for the working class, and responsible citizenship during the struggle for the right to vote (Hake & Marriot, 1992; Marriot & Hake, 1994; Hake, Steele & Tiana, 1996; Hake & Steele, 1997).

The practice of lifelong learning is likewise far from being a new phenomenon. In France, Condorcet was the first Minister of Education in Europe to propose legislation to support the self-directed nature of lifelong learning in 1793. Self-directed lifelong learning has long been a reality for many adults who have sought access to knowledge and skills in order to improve their situation in society. Whether transmitted to them by others as "useful knowledge" in order to improve themselves or acquired by their own efforts as "really useful knowledge", adults have long been engaged in learning (Hake, 1994, 2000, 2004). Whether cajoled by their betters to attend public lectures and read improving literature, learning in the mutuality of the company of their own kind in a reading or study circle, or in the isolation of the autodidact reading self-selected texts, adults have demonstrated a quite remarkable and often resilient capacity to learn throughout their lives (Simon, 1990). In the terms of the comparative history of adult learning, learning has often been a necessity in order to survive in "changing times" for many a generation. Recognition of this socio-historical reality of adult learning throughout life was translated into policy formulations for "lifelong learning" in the period of social reconstruction in the 1920s following the ravages of World War I. It became submerged and repressed in the horrors of Fascism and dictatorships in the 1930s (Hake, Glastra & Schedler, 2004).

Lifelong learning did not reappear on the policy agenda in Europe until the late 1960s and early 1970s. It was propagated by the Council of Europe in the form of *education permanente* (Council of Europe, 1970) during the late 1960s, the 1972 UNESCO report *Learning to Be* (UNESCO, 1974) and the European 2000 Project of the European Cultural Foundation (Hake *et al.*, 1974). The OECD introduced the idea of *recurrent education* (OECD, 1973), based upon Swedish practices during the early 1970s. Developed in a period of economic growth and social optimism about the potential contribution of learning throughout life to social and individual emancipation, such ideas again disappeared from policy agendas when economic recession and high levels of unemployment hit European economies in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Compared with that earlier period of discussions about "lifelong education", the world-wide policy discourse that currently mediates the language of lifelong learning is articulated in a significantly different manner. During that earlier period, there were singularly lukewarm responses by governments and employers to the discourse of social emancipation that was central to the lifelong learning discussion.

Policy discussions today are characterised by the emergence of a "grand coalition" of which includes international economic organisations, trans-national

polities such as the EU, national governments including EU member state employers and trade unions. This grand coalition of stakeholders now warm embraces lifelong learning as the motor of the "knowledge society". Lifelo... learning has indeed returned with no little vengeance to the education ar... training policy agenda since the mid-1990s. It now tells, however, a very diffe... story of lifelong learning in terms of strategies to deal with the challenges... globalization, the competitiveness of economies, creation of jobs, flexib... economies, worldwide migration, multi-cultural societies, social cohesion ar... social exclusion. "Learning for earning" is the name of the lifelong learni... game in the 21st century.

Lifelong learning and the learning society: some theoretical notes

The almost unopposed return of "lifelong learning" to the policy agenc... since the mid-1990s certainly justifies asking the question as to "Why now?" I hav... argued above that the historical conjunction of the invention of the printing pre... and the reading of the Bible in the vernacular languages contributed to the rap... expansion of literacy, primary education and adult learning during the period... "early modernity" in the Protestant areas of sixteenth century Europe. This wa... not the case in those areas of Europe which continued to be dominated by the no... literate and oral liturgies of the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox religion... These were questions of the relationship between material technologies and th... organization of social communication in the form of learning. We now need ... pose the question as to the contemporary relationships between new technologi... and the emergence of lifelong learning in late modern society.

In this section, I explore some of the theoretical perspectives which ha... informed recent work in the social sciences with regard to the understandir... lifelong learning in late modern societies. This demands at least a rudimenta... acquaintance with the core ideas associated with the work of sociologists such ... Anthony Giddens in the United Kingdom, Ulrich Beck in Germany, and Pier... Bourdieu in France. Their ideas have contributed new insights into the kind ... questions which need to be posed with regard lifelong learning in late mode... societies. Three core concepts guide current understanding of the dynamics in la... modern societies and the centrality of lifelong learning in these societies. The... ideas relate to: a) the *globalization* of access to communication and informatio... b) the *detraditionalization* of social life, and c) the need for *reflexivity* in a...

aspects of life in the so-called "knowledge society". How can these core concepts help us to arrive at an understanding of the necessity of learning as one of the core consequences of globalization and the key characteristic of late modernity (Hake, 1999)?

For Giddens, the cultural dimension of "globalization" is characterized by the emergence of instantaneous communication without regard to national borders and the subsequent availability of knowledge without respect for space and time (Giddens, 1994). The rapid development of information and communication technologies means that we can have access at any moment in time to sources of information from anywhere in the world. This leads Giddens to argue that the increasing availability of information is responsible for the "detraditionalization" of social life in late modernity. This means that distant sources of information may exert as much influence upon our actions as the traditional sources associated with nationality, social class, neighbourhood, region, religion or race. Social life is consequently disembedded from traditions as globalization of knowledge erodes traditional values and habits. This brings Giddens to argue that "reflexivity" and the routine application of knowledge to social life is the most dynamic feature in the organization and transformation of social life at all levels. When the application of knowledge becomes the constitutive element of late modern societies this results in continuous processes of "institutionalized reflexivity".

Giddens" discussion of the structural necessity of reflexivity provides one way of understanding why learning is a permanent feature of social life in late modern societies. His case is that globalization, detraditionalization and institutionalized reflexivity lead to the centrality of learning in all social relations; from the cabinet-room, through the board-room and into the bedroom in his own formulation. Reflexivity becomes inherent to all forms of social interaction and learning comes to pervade the whole of society. Globalization confronts social institutions, organizations and individuals with new learning challenges as they struggle to cope with and survive in a rapidly changing and unstable environment. Late modern societies are typified by learning challenges and their highly developed commitment to learning. The necessity of lifelong learning is a structural characteristic of these societies.

Beck has introduced, however, a new dimension to our understanding of the necessity of learning in late modernity. There is now no question of opting out if one is to survive in the learning society (Beck, 1986). For Beck this means that late modern society is also a so-called "risk society" in which institutions, organizations and individuals are "at risk" with respect to their chances of survival in the face of change, uncertainty and ambiguity. This directs attention to the

possibly negative consequences of the all-persuasive emphasis upon learning in late modern cultures. Access to learning opportunities and survival skills may be unevenly available in late modern social formations. This has important consequences for those "at risk" and carries with it the potential of social exclusion (Giddens, 1994). These ideas about the structural necessity of lifelong learning in late modernity have important implications for research. If "lifelong learning is late modern society" (Antikainen et al., 1996), this indeed has important implications for the development of research perspectives at the macro, mezzo, and micro levels and the complex inter-relationships between these levels of analysis.

Lifelong learning and social allocation mechanisms in social space

It is of vital importance at the macro level to adopt a long-term and comparative perspective towards the processes of modernity and late modernity and their consequences for the organization of education and training. Following the American and French Revolutions and the subsequent development of national states during the nineteenth century, the construction of national systems of education became inherent to the modernization process in European societies. These national systems of "public education" were legislated in terms of their role in the education of respectively "citizens", "subjects", or "burghers" and a the recognised social arena for determining the social allocation of individual in the social order.

Within a comparative perspective, the historical development of the availability of education and training for adults can be best understood as the social organization, by others for adults or by adults themselves, of structure of opportunities for them to acquire knowledge, skills, attitudes and values. In comparison with the development of systems of public education as the major institutionalized structures for social allocation, the historical expansion of learning opportunities for adults constituted an alternative channel of social mobility through non-formal routes (Arvidson & Rubenson, 1992). To a large degree, early forms of adult education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries constituted an alternative system of social allocation running in parallel with, but distinct from, formal (continuing) education. It was only in the most exceptional circumstances that these non-formal routes provided access to formal qualifications which largely remained the prerogative of the public education system (Hoghielm & Rubenson, 1980; Arvidson, 1995).

Recognition of the social allocation functions of adult education and training entered the public policy sphere in Europe during the late 1960s and early 1970s. They became an important aspect of government policy as a "compensatory" social (re-) allocation mechanism in the forms of "second chance" and "second way" general education for adults. This was part of a broad temporary alliance in support of educational reform between social-democratic parties and the capitalist drive to modernize both itself and society (von Friedeburg, 1994). In this sense, the education and training of adults became an integral part of the expansion of social space in the sense of "simple modernization" (Beck, 1986). The relationship to vocational education and on-the-job-training remained indistinct, however, and this manifested itself at best in arrangements for paid educational leave for employees in a number of European countries. These reformist initiatives of the early 1970s contributed to the expansion of the structures of individual opportunity for social mobility and the opening up of social space in European societies (Bourdieu, 1979). This opening up of social space produced new structures of social allocation which modified the opportunities for significant segments of the population to secure a place in an expanding labour market. An end came to this process during the late 1980s when growing unemployment and cuts in educational expenditure effectively worked towards a closure of social space and the structures of opportunity provided for adults by public education.

Since the mid-1990s, European societies have entered a new period when the management of social space and opportunities for social mobility are increasingly associated with significant changes in mechanisms for social allocation and access to the labour market. On the one hand, the social structure continues to demonstrate a remarkable conservatism in terms of inequalities in the distribution of educational opportunities between the social classes. Nonetheless, the coherence of the social classes is today less distinctive than in the past as cleavages have appeared, for example between the "traditional" and "modernizing" working class. These cleavages within social classes are marked by the differentiation between traditional and modernizing milieus with their own distinctive *habitus* which includes different ways of "thinking" through the significance of education and learning (Vester *et al.*, 1993). On the other hand, class origins no longer provide individuals with a clear sense of social destination, while the new emphasis upon self-realization, also by way of education, enhances the need for individual reflexivity. Social origin now provides but one of the many sources for working upon individual modernization and no longer provides a guarantee of social integration in late modern society.

Late modernity has apparently lost faith, however, in the grand narratives of modernization associated with the Enlightenment project. Globalization and individualization now seem to lead inevitably away from collective interventions towards the deregulation of markets, consumer choice and individual flexibility as the keys to successful survival. This also impacts upon education and training. It is at exactly this point that changes in social allocation mechanisms assert their importance in the distribution of opportunities and risks. Greater stress upon the market and individual choice led to increasing differentiation in the capacities of individuals to manage their own social allocation as part of the "individual modernization" process (Vester *et al.*, 1992). This can threaten social integration and the potential implications for social exclusion are expressed in the "one-third, two-third society" debate (Berger & Sopp, 1995). For one part of the population, individualization can lead to greater opportunities to make choices, to the differentiation of life-worlds, milieus and life-styles, and to greater variety in individual life courses. For another part of the population, the tyranny of individual choice turns into a risk situation. Detraditionalization and detachment from traditional sources of individual identity can give rise to disorientation and anomie which Beck has termed "anti-modernity" (Beck, 1993). In conditions of economic, political and social dislocation in all European societies, we find this most clearly reflected in the retreat to pre-modern sources of identity such as nationalism, regionalism, localism, racism, ethnicity and xenophobia, and religious fundamentalism. This ambivalence of the late modern social formation raises the issue as to whether late modernity, on the one hand, creates new forms of social participation and identity formation or, on the other hand, is itself a source of the fixation of traditional identities and potential social exclusion.

Within an understanding of lifelong learning as demanding a radical rebalancing of investments in education and training throughout the life course attention must be given to the development of new social allocation mechanism which emphasize the market, individual choice and a calculating consumeris orientation towards education and training. Of interest here is the question as to the empirical distribution of opportunities and risks in a structured an institutionalized manner, and in particular the contribution of education an training to social allocation throughout the life course. We need to devote far more attention to these structures of opportunity and allocation mechanisms, whethe within or outside educational systems, which facilitate or hinder the access of adults to learning opportunities. Given demographic pressures, this must als focus on older workers who will no longer be excluded from paid work and for whom new education and training arrangements are required. All this require study of the learning taking place outside of formal education, the significanc of work-based learning, and flexible learning routes for adults.

Despite the trends towards the globalization and Europeanization of social space, the nation state remains a significant player in maintaining or transforming the structures for education and training. It is necessary to examine these structures in the degree to which they differentiate between the public and market sectors in the creation of structures of opportunity to acquire qualifications and access to the labour market. The implications of globalization for education and training are subject to many constraints at the national, regional and local levels. In a number of European countries, there is still a dominant socio-political consensus which regards education and training as a "public good" rather than a "private good" in the marketplace. This leads to significant differences in the allocation of the respective responsibilities of governments, firms and individuals for investment in education and training. The relevance of such analysis will be directly obvious with regard to current policy debates about government responsibility for "start qualifications", employers' responsibilities in response to the flexibility of conditions of employment, and the growing emphasis on the individual's own responsibility for investments in education and training in order to maintain their "personal employability". There is also a major need to examine policy responses to the development of the European Union. Ethnic responses to the basis of immigration from outside of the European labour markets on the "the other" in labour market and training policies have to be examined in terms of their effects on the closure of social space, displacement and social exclusion.

Taken together, the emergence of more complex social arenas for the organization of differential social allocation mechanisms in late modern societies demands further analysis of policies towards lifelong learning and the organization of opportunity structures and allocation mechanisms at the European and national levels.

Lifelong learning and the learning organization as a social arena

The development of increasingly complex social allocation mechanisms leads to the need to focus attention upon the analysis of social organizations as increasingly significant social arenas for the structure of opportunity available to adults to engage in education and training (Hake, 1999). Organizations, including public and private enterprises, voluntary associations and social movements, became increasingly important locations for learning activities in modernizing societies. The term "social organization" is employed here very

broadly to refer to all manifestations of "organizational reflexivity" (Morgan 1986). The "learning organization" now commands the high ground of current discourse about organizational reflexivity. It is of some significance here tha many examples of organizational reflexivity have often been drawn from the are of civil society – such as voluntary organizations and (new) social movement (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991) – rather than from governmental organizations o business enterprises (Field, 1995). Indeed the worlds of business and governmer organizations should be regarded as specific and limiting historical instances o learning organizations. In this respect, educational organizations also constitu important learning organizations. When pressed, however, one could argu that many educational institutions have still to discover themselves as learnin organizations. Although the notion of organizational reflexivity is a relativel recent concept in the work of Giddens and others, the notion of the learnin organization can be traced to the early work of Schön (1971) and others in the earl 1970s (Schön, 1983; Argyris, 1982, 1990; Argyris & Schön, 1974, 1978; Argyri Putnam & McLain Smith, 1985). Since that time, the literature on human resourc management has generated a glut of managerial concepts about organization learning (Argyris & Schön, 1978; Huber, 1991) with an array of terms such a the "thinking organization" (Sims, Gioia et al., 1986), "learning enterprise" (Perelman, 1984 "corporate classroom" (Eurich, 1985), "learning company" (Pedlar, Burgoyne d "learning community" (Marsick, 1987), "learning organization" (Senge, 1990), "intelligent organization Boydell, 1991), "learning organization" (Senge, 1990), "intelligent organization (Pinchot & Pinchot, 1995), "knowledge-creating company" (Nonaka & Takeuch 1995). From Schön onwards, these often vacuous and empirically empty concept have been informed by the valid but often poorly formulated understanding th social organizations are "socio-cognitive structures" which can organize learnin and generate knowledge.

Given the influence of globalization, there has been a significant mov towards the recognition of a permanent interface between productive an learning processes in organizations. Handy (1990) has described the "learnin organization" in terms of

> (...) organizations which encourage the wheel of learning, whic relish curiosity, questions and ideas, which allow space fo experiment and for reflection, which forgive mistakes and promo self-confidence.

This is manifested in the demand for more or less permanent learnin activities which support organizational reflexivity.

Emergence of the "knowledge organization" has more recently become the most specific manifestation of globalizing tendencies and the dynamics of organizational reflexivity (Winslow & Bramer, 1994). According to Perelman (1984), the rise of the knowledge sector with knowledge organizations and knowledge workers entails that organizations become powerful learning environments (Marsick, 1987). In knowledge organizations, learning becomes the central unifying focus, indeed the lubricant, of organizational activities (Gibbons et al., n/d). The idea of a learning organization as a powerful learning environment thus presupposes a network of dynamic interactions between individuals, teams and the organization (Duffy, Lowyck & Jonassen, 1993). As Nordhaug (1995) points out, however, the contribution of learning to the generation of individual, team and collective competencies in organizations remains an area much in need of further theoretical development and empirical research. One relevant perspective is that of actor-network theories of organizational learning, where

> The actor-network is reducible neither to an actor alone nor to a network... An actor-network is simultaneously an actor whose activity is networking heterogeneous elements and a network that is able to redefine and transform what it is made of (Callon, 1987)

In such a learning environment, human resource development in the form of periodic injections of education and training as updating skills no longer prevails. Employee and staff development activities are no longer questions of investment in individuals but in the organization as a social unit. The emphasis in this powerful learning environment is focused on learning whereby individuals and groups acquire, interpret, reorganize, change or assimilate a related cluster of knowledge, information, skills and feelings. This learning environment must provide opportunities for experimentation, risk-taking, initiative, creativity, and participation in decision-making with regard to the overall problems of the organization (Senge, 1990).

Such learning takes place through everyday interaction and experience within the organization, and it is often self-directed and self-monitored in informal learning by individual and groups rather than being organized and delivered by a teacher or trainer. This may be understood in terms of learning as an activity contextualized in space and time, and how learners become part of durable, flexible and inclusive networks (Nespor, 1994). This approach can be criticized, however, on the grounds that "these (human) communities are treated as bounded, strictly local settings seemingly unconnected to other spaces

and times" (Id. ibid.). Learning need not be restricted to face-face interaction (Callon, 1987). Given the globalization of communication and learning, open and distance learning – now known in European polyglot as "e-learning" – can also be understood in terms of learners' interactions with distant sources that have been transported into local interaction in the workplace. This offers a broader perspective on the organization of learning environments in space and time, and how learners can become part of global, national, regional and local e-learning networks.

These characteristics of the learning organization as a powerful learning environment organized in virtual time and space relationships are now receiving more focused attention. The emphasis is upon the most important dimension of the social organization of learning environments in space and time, and of the barriers to organizational development in this direction. On the one hand it is necessary to examine learning in organizations which is based upon autoformation in the form of informal learning, self-directed learning, active learning and critical reflection by both individuals and groups in powerful learning environments. This needs to be complemented, however, with studies of learning networks contextualized in space and time which are no longer restricted to the social space for learning at the local level of the workplace. On the other hand, it is also necessary to address barriers to the demands of the powerful learning environment such as the potential tension between organizations requirements and the time made available for individual and group development the ability, willingness and readiness of individuals and teams to engage in self-regulated learning; and the organizational problems of initiating, managing developing, and evaluating learning environments. It is also necessary to examine autoformation in different kinds of social organizations, whether in the state sector, the market economy or civil society, and their respective capacities to generate powerful learning environments (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991).

The most important question, however, is whether organizations are able to generate powerful learning environments which include all their employees. There are clear tendencies in the literature to recognize three distinct groups of employees: a) the permanent core, b) the contractual fringe, and c) the flexible periphery (Nasta, 1993). This division of in-company labour has be regarded as the new class structure in the knowledge society. Such an important company division of labour has important consequences for the work place, an increasingly significant arena for social allocation and the distribution learning opportunities among different categories of employees. We encounter here the tension between investments in lifelong learning and recent trends

in organizations towards the reorganization of work processes, flexibility of employment practices and the individual's responsibility for his or her own "employability". Changes in employment practices lead inevitably towards the flexibilization of employment in the form of fixed-term contracts and part-time working. This has led to the ongoing emphasis upon "employability" which is predicated upon the willingness of employees to accept their own individual responsibility for education and training.

On the one hand, these developments have negatively affected the investment in older workers. There is a significant wastage of human capital among older workers, whose active rates of participation in education and training, especially among men, have significantly declined in the last decade (Hake, 2005). On the other hand, the growth of participation by women in the labour force has been manifested above all in the expansion of low-qualified part-time work on short-term contracts and without rights to paid holidays, pensions, and training. Furthermore, in many countries there are significant barriers which prevent the ethnic minorities from gaining access to the labour market. In both public and private enterprises, there is widespread evidence of discrimination in recruitment, promotion and investment in their education and training (Glastra & Schedler, 1996). In a broader sociological perspective, these exclusionary mechanisms are the manifestation of the development of risk situations associated with migration processes, the encounter with late modernization and potential marginalization. This suggests that the main causes of the social exclusion of ethnic minorities in Europe are not to be found among the social excluded themselves but by those who regard ethnic minorities as "the other". This highlights the need for continuing research into the diversity dimensions of organizational learning in multi-cultural societies.

The proneness of capitalist management practices towards rapid shifts in fashionable concepts becomes clear in the current rapid switch from the hegemony of "down-sizing" towards "loyalty" as the core managerial ideology. Enterprises give priority to the gold-collar élite of knowledge workers – the "symbolic analysts" (Reich, 1991) – while at the same time they externalize investment in education and training for the growing number of flexi-workers. This means that they put education and training out to the flexi-workers themselves, in their own time and at their own cost. How can firms secure loyalty, when the majority of employees are regarded as flexible and, by definition, disposable? The trend is to place less emphasis on the narrow focus of the investment in human capital and to recognize the question of social capital in organizations. This is important in that it shifts the focus from learning as an

essentially cognitive activity towards learning as an affective aspect of social relationships in organizations. Organizations not only require the multi-skilling of their employees in the traditional sense of human resource development, but that they also need to invest in the creation of social capital which is seen as vital to improved communication and interpersonal skills. In these terms, "Learning ceases to be the sole process for the gaining of knowledge... it involves acquiring the knowledge of how to collaborate effectively" (Shotter, 1993). This echoes Giddens view of late modern society as reflexive modernization where "(...) social bonds have effectively to be *made*, rather than inherited from the past (...) It is (...) recentred upon new forms of interdependence" (Giddens, 1994). This opens up questions of organizations as "clarifying learning environments" (Skruber, 1987), "co-operative learning cultures" and as "learning communities" (Marsick & Watkins, 1987), where meaningful learning is related both to the development of individual identity and group cohesion. Whether the current trend in public policy towards individual responsibility for education and training is able to develop the social capital appropriate to successful participation in organizations is open to doubt. It seems more likely that the new division of labour within organizations will be reflected in the division of learning opportunities to acquire social capital and the consequent threat of social exclusion.

Learning to survive in the learning society: individual reflexivity and biographical competencies

An important corollary of organizational reflexivity in the process of late modernization is the necessity of individual reflexivity. This mean that individual identity – the sense of self – becomes a reflexive project for the individual. Giddens (1991) regards this in terms of the individual's own understanding of him or herself within the framework of his or her own life story. According to Giddens

Self-identity (...) forms a trajectory across the different institutional settings of modernity over the duree of what use to be called the "life cycle" (...) Each of us not only "has", bu lives a biography reflexively organized in terms of social an psychological information about possible ways of life (ltd., ibid)

The dynamics of late modernity raise immediate questions in this respect. Institutionalized socialization into standard biographies has been

disrupted to a large degree by the impact of individualization processes. Nation, class, gender, ethnicity, and religion were important as traditional sources of biographical identity. Their usefulness is denuded, however, by the expansion of more pluralistic biographical resources. This only adds to the expansion of risk situations at the level of individual identity. Individual biographies understood as "trajectories through social space" (Bourdieu, 1987) are losing their firm contours. There are no longer any ready-made answers to questions such as "Who am I?", "Where do I come from?", "Where do I belong?", and "Who do I wish to become?" Individuals are increasingly required to assume their own personal responsibility for formulating their identities.

Furthermore, standard biographies of the individual life course (Kohli, 1986) in terms of the "preparation phase in education", the "activity phase in paid employment", and the "withdrawal phase into retirement" apply increasingly to fewer individuals. While the institutionalized transitions between these phases have become recognized as risk situations, the modernization process adds to the number of transitions in the life course and this has introduced new risk situations. The life course, with its focus upon educational, employment and retirement careers, is increasingly eroded. While the youth phase has been progressively extended through longer formal schooling, the "late adulthood phase" has been both brought forward and prolonged. An active phase of employment has declined in importance within the life course at the same as the structure of economic activity is also changing. Furthermore, more complex combinations of periods of work and non-work are becoming increasingly significant in the everyday lives of adults. It can be argued, however, that this was always a feature in the life courses of women and less well qualified men (Dausien, 1996). This has led to the suggestion that the life course is being "feminized", and that greater participation by women in education, paid employment, particularly in part-time and less qualified work, is enhancing this development. The complexity and differentiation in women's employment careers are now becoming the new norm for men. Furthermore, the lives of the elderly appear to manifest a growing heterogeneity in life courses, which will be enhanced by trends towards greater variation in active engagement in employment and flexible disengagement into more active forms of retirement. These developments contribute to the expansion in the number of transitions, status passages and risk situations in late modern societies (Glastra, Hake & Schedler, 2004).

Globalization tendencies do indeed introduce a profound transformation in the everyday life-world where individuals can chose between diverse sources of identity. The internet opens up great plurality in the variety of available life

styles which can provide alternatives with regard to partnerships, sexuality clothing, diet, health, body shape, and leisure activities etc. In Giddens terms this is to argue that "strategic life planning" is mediated by a choice betwee life styles which help to shape the day-to-day life of individuals and provide th multiple social arenas for their actions. This places a great emphasis upon self growth and self-actualization which might be characterized as the "life politics of late modernity (Giddens, 1991). The emphasis here is upon the mediation o life styles in the available choices and decisions about sometimes temporar choices, often with regard to the most intimate aspects of identity (Id., ibid.) This may be accompanied by the emergence of individual reflexivity which i supported by self-directed learning in the form of internet discussion groups audio-visual learning materials and self(-)help therapeutic texts. Indeed, Alhei (1994) and Scheuermann (1994) argue that life style choices may be "staged and "played" rather than lived as socially interactive forms as explanation an communication. Alheit (op. cit.) refers to this as the "artificiality of biography where blueprints for the construction of authentic biographies are becomin increasingly fragile.

Contemporary trends towards the global mediation of lifestyles ar counteracted, however, by processes of differential local reception an interpretation which may reinforce or undermine the available sources c of learning in relation to the transitions characteristic of late modern society. identity. This suggests that the availability of biographical resources required i order "to work" on the construction of an individual biography is of paramour importance in strategic life-planning in the life course (Pineau, 1995). Accordin to Dominicé (1990) the life course appears to be turning into an experiment sphere where "biographical skills" have to be developed without the help c known curricula. Alheit (1995) argues that the fundamental provocation withi the understanding of "biographical learning" is its insistence on a different wa Despite the universal distribution of threats and risks posed by modernization biographical research clearly demonstrates that individual's differential develop the capacity to organize their own biographies. This "biographica competency" is perhaps the key competency which can enable individuals t cope with the risks associated with transitions and critical life events. Alhe proposes that this can be best understood in terms of the "inner potential c biographicity" — in other words a kind of "autopoietic" or self-creating resourc — which facilitates individual reflexivity and leads to new relations with th life-world in such a way that individual action can shape social contexts (Alhei 1992). Alheit defines this biographical competency as "The ability to attac

modern stocks of knowledge to biographical sources of meaning and, with this knowledge, to associate oneself afresh" (Id. ibid).

Such an understanding of biographical competencies and reflexive biographies opens up challenging questions with regard to learning in organizations and other social settings. These questions involve the empirical manifestations of the relationships between "biographical work" and learning in response to life events and transitions. Also at issue is how participation in formal education can become a key biographical resource for individuals in the strategic life-planning of the individual life course (Antikainen et al., n/d). This directs attention to the ways in which individuals make use of intentional learning, whether in formal and non-formal institutional and organizational settings, to develop the potential of autonomous biographical work. A key characteristic of lifelong learning is that phases of work are increasingly interrupted by new phases of preparation, periods of learning are introduced into active employment, and learning undertaken by adults is related to forms of social participation other than employment. Here we encounter questions with regard to the increasing differentiation of the learning activities undertaken by adults in coping with risks and transitions, indeed to turn more attention to their increasingly diverse "learning biographies" and their learning careers. Such questions can build upon the long tradition of research on the participation and non-participation of adults in learning activities in diverse settings. Its new focus, however, should focus on how individuals make use of formal, non-formal and informal learning as a biographical resource and how they construct their learning biographies. This conjunction of learning and learning settings could throw much light upon learning resources and the learning biographies constructed by adults in increasingly diverse transitions and risk situations. Finally, research must not be restricted to those thought to be most at risk of social exclusion in the late modernization process such as young adults and increasingly young men, those with the least formal education, men in "non-work" situations (Wilson, 1996), "re-entering" women, ethnic minorities, migrants and older (working) adults. It is increasingly important to examine the risks confronting those whose formal qualifications were thought to be a guarantee of "bureaucratic" career security or "jobs-for-life" but who now have to plan for "flexible" careers (Brown, 1995). If the capacity to undertake biographical work is key the capacity required to enable individuals to "learn to live a life" in changing and uncertain times, we need to pay more attention to their survival strategies in the learning society.

Conclusions: learning to survive in the learning society

At first glance there might seem to be' some measure of similarity between the dominant policy narratives about the challenges presented by globalization, competitiveness and lifelong learning and the understandings to be found in the literature on late modernization. Policy narratives talk in terms of globalization as leading to the knowledge society, the need for individuals to accept change an greater flexibility in the workplace, and the priority of personal employability while they also recognize that specific social categories of individuals ar indeed threatened with social exclusion. This has major implications for polic understandings of the organization and nature of work in the knowledge societ and the necessity of lifelong learning. This is now the chorus of every polic paper at European and national levels. The identification of "good practices now dominates policy-formation processes.

A somewhat more challenging view of lifelong learning can be distille from the literature on late modernity with its emphasis on globalization in term of individualization, risk and reflexivity. Given the recognition of reflexivit as the routine application of knowledge to the constitution of social life, th lifelong learning is constructed by learners themselves in the very processes c institutional, organizational and individual reflexivity. It is my own convictio that the analysis of the consequences globalization, detraditionalization an institutionalized reflexivity will enable us to acquire a deeper understanding of the adult learning in late modern societies at the global, European, nationa regional or local levels. A research programme devoted to these dimensions c lifelong learning in the knowledge society is all the more important in that it ca perhaps help us to establish a body of empirical knowledge which can add mor flesh to the more speculative dimensions of the thesis of reflexivity in late moder societies. The focus should be the interplay of macro, mezzo and micro leve processes which either enhance or inhibit the development of the biographic competencies that enable individuals or not to survive in the learning society. other words, the future of research on adult learning has to address the processe through which individuals "learn to live a life in the learning society".

There is a possibility that the greatest danger to the development c biographical competencies is constituted by the "andragogical imperative

which is embedded in the practices of human resource development and calls for uninterrupted participation in "learning for change". This imperative is regularly re-announced by professional trainers, change agents and facilitators of diverse plumage. Axmacher has described this orientation as the call to be:

Authentic, encouraging, charismatic, dynamic, emphatic, feminine, holistic, hedonistic, interactive, creative, pleasure-seeking, communicative, normative, optimistic, participative, rhetorical, spiritual, team-oriented, visionary, truthful, forward-looking. Feeling good, working better (afterwards), but having understood nothing at all (Axmacher, 1990).

This andragogical imperative encourages dependency rather than the creative development of biographical survival skills. Such an individually unreflective engagement by adults in learning to adapt to change is indeed to run a real risk of exclusion in late modernity! It is an even greater risk for the inhabitants of the ex-socialist Baltic, Central and Eastern European countries, who are now struggling to deal with the transformation of their non-reflexive *habitus* as *"homo sovieticus"* into the equally non-reflexive *habits* of *"homo capitalismus"*.

The non-reflexive imperatives of the market and individual choice can all too easily lead to the simplistic acceptance of capitalism understood as individual solutions to public problems. As Margaret Thatcher, the "Iron Lady" and a good friend of Regan and Bush Senior, once mistakenly argued, "There is no such thing as society, there are only individuals". This fundamentally flawed neo-liberal ideological position has caused and will continue to cause great fatal damage to both the social fabric and individual well-being in European societies. The current dominance of neo-conservative ideology threatens to crush any hope of sustainable development for humankind given the terms of its own non-reflexive determination to destroy "the other" by military force.

Lifelong learning demands the development of a *habitus* of reflexivity at the level of social institutions, organizations and individuals which should refocus our attention upon the mutual interrelationships between "the common good" and "individual well-being". This was the original theme of the modernizing message of the Enlightenment project which has yet to be fulfilled. The challenge of late modern society is that we need to learn to live together without distinctions as to nation, language, race, religion, gender and generation in an enlarged Europe and a globalizing world. This is the challenge of lifelong learning for sustainable social and individual development. If we cannot achieve this, we are condemned to the negation of the challenges posed by the original Enlightenment project and a return to the darkness of the pre-modern age.

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