

## WHAT COUNTS AS ADULT EDUCATION?

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In all likelihood you come to this text with certain notions of adult education, informed by your own experience as a learner and perhaps as a professional, as well as what you have heard about adult education from relatives, friends, associates, and the media. If you have previously enrolled in a course on adult education, you are among the relatively few adult educators for whom this is true. In this chapter we share definitions of adult education as they have evolved over time, as well as other terms that have been used to refer to adult education activities. You are likely to encounter conceptions of adult education that do not correspond to your current understandings of the field; they may even challenge your conceptions of the field. If you are reading and discussing this text with others, you may not all arrive at exactly the same place. But we hope your understanding of the field will be affected by the information shared here.

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### **Early Use of the Term *Adult Education***

Certainly forms of adult education have existed since the beginning of time in all societies and cultures. As authors of this survey text serving the professional field, our interest is in sharing the evolution of the concept of adult education as the field of study evolved. Our primary emphasis is on that

evolution as it occurred in North America, although parallel developments elsewhere will in some cases be noted. Stubblefield and Rachal (1992) described this evolution in their article titled “On the Origins of the Term and Meanings of Adult Education in the US.” They maintained that though the origin of the term *adult education* to describe the field of practice is frequently traced to the 1919 Report by the British Ministry of Reconstruction and said not to have come into usage in the United States until 1924 with the birth of the American Association for Adult Education, the term was used by at least five Americans prior to this time. They credited its original usage to Joseph Henry of the Smithsonian in 1875, when he used the term to describe how local scientific societies could carry on the tradition of amateur scientists. Herbert Baxter Adams is said to have used the term next in 1891, in an article referring to the university extension movement. Henry Marcus Leipziger is reported to have used the term at least twice in 1898, first in addressing a conference of librarians and later in addressing the American Social Science Association. Finally, Bradford Knapp is reported as using the term in 1916 to refer to the work of his father, Seaman Knapp, as a farm demonstrator. Thus, Stubblefield and Rachal (1992) concluded, “By the 1900s several people had used the phrase to describe particular activities, and a few were beginning to see the emerging term as a broader rubric for different types of education for adults” (p. 112). The diverse mix of activities referred to as *adult education* by this point in time can be seen as indicative of the state of the field to this day.

It is important to note, however, that the term *adult education* was not immediately adopted as the best term to describe the range of activities we now think of as adult education. Stubblefield and Rachal (1992) discussed three other terms that vied for acceptance: home education, popular education, and educational extension. They also noted that Melvil Dewey (of library cataloguing fame) introduced the term *home education* at a conference to refer to the education of adults outside of schools and colleges, and Herbert Baxter Adams, who also referred to *popular education*, wrote a monograph in 1901 about *educational extension*. They noted that by 1904 the term *extension* acquired such acceptance that it was used as a label for one of three sections of the *History of Education in the United States* written by Edwin Grant Dexter. Yet, they contended that the growing prominence of the term adult education during the second decade of the twentieth century was apparent when an entire section, consisting of fifteen articles, was devoted to “The Extension of Opportunities for Adult Education” in the prestigious *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*.

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## Defining Adult Education

Defining the expansive field of adult education had already become a challenge by the time the first professional organization in the United States focusing broadly on adult education, the American Association for Adult Education (AAAE), was established in 1926. There is still not a universally accepted definition today. Nonetheless, certain trends can be observed in how the term has been defined over time, with common themes influenced by developments in society as well as within the field itself.

Eduard Lindeman, writing at the time that AAAE was founded (Lindeman, 1926), painted a vision of adult education with a broad stroke, noting “The whole of life is learning, therefore education can have no endings. This new venture is called adult education—not because it is confined to adults but because adulthood, maturity, defines its limits” (p. 6). In contrast to the prominence of work-related adult education in many contexts today, he added:

Secondly, education conceived as a process coterminous with life revolves about non-vocational ideals. In this world of specialists every one will of necessity learn to do his work, and if education of any variety can assist in this and in the further end of helping the worker to see the meaning of his labour, it will be education of a high order. But adult education more accurately defined begins where vocational education leaves off. Its purpose is to put meaning into the whole of life. (p. 7)

Equally broad in scope, but in seeming contrast to Lindeman’s notion of adult education as embedded throughout all aspects of life, Bryson (1936), as cited by Hallenbeck (Hallenbeck et al., 1955), suggested that “adult education includes all the activities with an educational purpose that are carried out by people outside the ordinary business of life” (p. 3). Hallenbeck embraced Bryson’s broad definition, and added the interpretation that adult education encompassed three key elements: (1) it is purposeful and orderly, (2) participation is voluntary, and (3) participation in adult education is supplementary to adults’ main responsibilities. In the same article, Sheats (Hallenbeck et al., 1955) stressed that adult education includes at least three elements: purpose, planned study, and organization. These definitions share a common emphasis on *orderliness* that was to become even more apparent as the field became increasingly professionalized.

Furthering this trend, a frequently cited definition offered by Verner (1964) preserved the emphasis on planning reflected in the definitions of Sheats and Hallenbeck, adding that adult education is supplementary to the main business of adult lives as articulated by Hallenbeck, but also stressing the role of an *educational agent* as the person responsible for organizing adult education. He defined adult education as

a relationship between an educational agent and a learner in which the agent selects, arranges, and continuously directs a sequence of progressive tasks that provide systematic experiences to achieve learning for people who participation in such activities is subsidiary and supplemental to a primary productive role in society. (p. 32)

Yet, it should not be assumed that the increasing emphasis on planning and organization found in definitions offered during the period of heightened professionalism during the 1950s and 1960s was universal among spokespersons of the field. For instance, in the compendium of nine invited brief essays on adult education in a 1955 issue of *Adult Education*, the journal of the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A. (AEA/USA), which featured the definitions offered by Hallenbeck and Sheats, not all the perspectives shared emphasized orderliness as a common feature of adult education, or even the unique “adulthood” of adult education. R. J. Blakely’s essay took the position that “since growth is the essence of education, no useful distinction can be made between what is educational for the physically immature and the mature” (Hallenbeck et al., 1955, p. 142). He added, “So I would take the adjective off ‘adult education’ and preserve the unqualified noun *education* for the process of deliberately educed growth, regardless of the age of the person” (p. 143). This definition reflects the persistent diversity of perspectives within the field. This “big tent” approach within the profession is praised by many as a strength of the field, although others interpret this as a failure to find unity in the field.

Continuing our time-travel analysis of the evolution of definitions of the adult education, at least two definitions offered during the 1970s deserve mention. Houle’s (1972) brief and seemingly simple definition stresses the process of adult education, whatever form it takes:

Adult education is the process by which men and women (alone, in groups, or in institutional settings) seek to improve themselves or their society by increasing their skill, knowledge, or sensitiveness; or it is any process by which individuals, group, or institutions try to help men and women improve in those ways. (p. 32)

This definition seems to suggest a reversal of the prominent trend in definitions published in the 1950s and 1960s toward a narrower notion of adult education, emphasizing planning activities supervised by “educational agents” and institutions. It emphasizes the process of improvement experienced by adults, whether those processes are guided by institutions, groups, or individuals acting alone. Notably, this mention of individuals planning their own learning marks the emergence within the field of an interest in the learning of adults as a means of self-education (Knowles, 1975). Continuing in the direction of more expansive definitions a few years later, Knowles (1980) built on Houle’s description of adult education as process, but delineated two other meanings: adult education as a set of organized activities, and adult education as a movement or field of social practice.

Authors of the two most recent foundational texts focusing on adult education in the United States also offered definitions. In *Adult Education: Foundations of Practice*, Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) offer the following definition:

Adult education is a process whereby persons whose major social roles are characteristic of adult status undertake systematic and sustained learned activities for the purpose of bringing about changes in knowledge, attitudes, values, or skills. (p. 9)

This definition can be seen as inclusive regarding the settings and contexts for adult education and leaves the door open for inclusion of self-educative activities. Yet the definition is bounded by the expectation that adult learning must be systematic and sustained to be identified as adult education. Unlike many previous definitions, and in contrast to the definition proffered by Blakely in 1955, it is also explicit about who is considered an adult: Those whose social roles are characteristic of adult status (Hallenbeck et al., 1955). It would seem to exclude the full-time college student, and might inadvertently exclude other adults not currently engaged in expected adult social roles, whether by choice or circumstance, such as adults who have difficulty becoming employed because of a disability (Gerber, 2012; Shier, Graham, & Jones, 2009) or adults who return home to live with their parents during a weak economy. Merriam seems to have addressed this concern in the definition offered in the foundations text *The Profession and Practice of Adult Education* that she coauthored with Brockett several years later (Merriam & Brockett, 1997, 2007). There, adult education is defined as “activities intentionally designed for the purpose of bringing about learning among those whose age, social roles, or self-perception, define them as adults” (2007, p. 8). The comparison of

these two definitions by the same author illustrates how the concept of adult has evolved over time as the field evolves along with the social context in which it exists.

Lest you leave your reading of this chapter in dismay at the number of definitions that have been offered for adult education, consider the following quote offered by Courtney in a chapter in the 1989 *Handbook of Adult and Continuing Education*:

A facile definition may tell us, not that we have become more skilled at the practice of definition, but that we have socially, politically, and philosophically so confined what adult education is allowed to be that definition is made easy. (1989, p. 23)

In this same chapter, Courtney makes the point that the business of defining adult education has been more an ideological than a conceptual activity. He continues:

It is possible to argue that while the many definitions of adult education often appear as if from nowhere, and bereft of personal, historical, and cultural contexts, they are essentially products of these contexts, these value systems, each of which embodies its own ideological tension and compromise. (1989, pp. 23–24)

As you continue your reading of this text, you will see that adult education is a field that has wrestled with various ideological tensions over the decades since its emergence as a professional field. Still, despite the urging of many that the field might attain greater unity and higher professional status if only those who lead the field would agree on its definitions, purposes, settings, and qualifications for entry, the field of adult education continues in its “big tent” tradition, welcoming all who seek to support the learning of adults as individuals as well as in groups, organizations, and communities. If you are reading this text you may have already found your place in the tent, but as you read on, you will become better acquainted with other sectors of the tent. If you have not found your place in the tent yet, we hope your reading here will help you find that place.

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## Typologies of Adult Education

Another approach to explaining the scope of adult education has been through the development of various typologies, including those that focus on forms (Coombs & Ahmed, 1974), purposes (Rachal, 1988), functions

(Verner, 1964), providers (La Belle, 1982; Merriam & Brockett, 1997; Schroeder, 1970); formats (Houle, 1972); and funding sources (Apps, 1989). In several cases these typologies evolved over time, much as did the terminology used to refer to the core activities of the field.

## Forms of Adult Education

Although not unique to the education of adults, three forms of adult education are frequently described in the literature of the field: formal, non-formal, and informal. Most frequently cited in describing these concepts are Coombs and Ahmed (1974). They began their discussion with a focus on informal education, remarking “education can no longer be viewed as a time-bound, place-bound process confined to school and measured by years of exposure” (p. 8). They continued:

Informal education as used here is the lifelong process by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes, and insights from daily experiences and exposure to the environment—at home, at work, at play; from the example and attitudes of family and friends; from travel, reading newspapers and books; or by listening to the radio or viewing films or television. Generally informal education is unorganized and often unsystematic; yet it accounts for the great bulk of any person’s total lifetime learning—including that of even a highly “schooled” person. (p. 8)

In contrast, they defined formal education as “the highly institutionalized, chronologically graded, and hierarchically structured ‘education system,’ spanning lower primary school and the upper reaches of the university,” while they defined nonformal education as “organized systematic, education activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children” (p. 8). Among the examples they shared for nonformal adult education were agricultural extension programs, adult literacy programs, occupational skill training outside the formal system, and various community programs of instruction in health, nutrition, and family planning. Additional examples include correctional education, military training and development, museum education, and many faith-based adult education programs. They noted that formal and nonformal education have similarly been organized to augment and improve upon informal learning. You may note that their definition of informal education extends beyond the scope of even some of the

more inclusive definitions of adult education shared previously, as it seems to encompass naturally occurring learning that would be more accurately described as incidental than intentional. In discussing community-based learning and civic engagement, Mundel and Schugurensky (2008) used the terms *formal education*, *nonformal education*, and *informal learning* rather than *informal education*. Their description of informal learning, however, can be seen as including intentional learning that is self-directed:

Informal learning is learning conceptualized as a residual category for all other learning activities, to include self-directed learning, incidental learning, and socialization (Schugurensky, 2000). Self-directed learning is intentional and conscious; incidental learning is unintentional but conscious; learning acquired through socialization (usually values, attitudes, and dispositions) is often unintentional and unconscious. (Mundel & Schugurensky, 2008, p. 50)

La Belle (1982) questioned Coombs and Ahmed's (1974) presentation of nonformal, informal, and formal as discrete modes of learning and suggested they should instead be viewed as predominant modes of learning. From this perspective, he argued these three forms of education may exist simultaneously, whether in conflict or simultaneously. He elaborated:

In a formal education situation, for example, the classroom reflects not only the stated curriculum of the teacher and the school but also the more subtle informal learning associated with how the classroom is organized, the rules by which it operates, and the knowledge transmitted among peers. (p. 162)

Although these examples seem to lean more toward the K–12 realm of education, his idea of co-occurring forms of education applies well to discussions appearing in adult education literature of contexts such as museum or environmental education (Dudzinska-Przemitski & Grenier, 2008; Heimlich & Horr, 2010).

## Purposes of Adult Education

Though not presented as a typology of purposes, the organization of a section titled “We Need Adult Education,” appearing in *Adult Education in Action* edited by Mary Ely in 1936 (Ely, 1936), revealed some of the many



purposes adult education was seen as serving at that time. The table of contents for this section included the following titles:

- To Educate the Whole Man
- To Keep Our Minds Open
- To Base Our Judgements on Facts
- To Meet the Challenge of Free Choice
- To Keep Abreast of New Knowledge
- To Be Wisely Destructive
- To Return to Creative Endeavor
- To Prepare for New Occupations
- To Restore Unity to Life
- To Insure Social Stability
- To Direct Social Change
- To Better Our Social Order
- To Open a New Frontier
- To Liberalize the College Curriculum
- To Improve Teachers and Teaching
- To Attain True Security
- To Enlarge Our Horizons
- To See the View

According to Rachal (1988), one of the earliest intentional efforts to describe the purposes of adult education was made in the same year by Lyman Bryson, who classified adult education purposes as *remedial*, *occupational*, *political*, *liberal* (concerned with increasing the breadth of understanding through the humanities), and *relational* (aimed at achieving an understanding of ourselves in relation to others). Rachal noted that Grattan, writing in 1955, modified Bryson's typology, preserving Bryson's liberal category (adding the social and natural sciences to the humanities), relabeling *occupational* as *vocational*, combining Bryson's political, relational, and remedial categories into a new category of *informational*, and adding a new category of *recreational*. Writing thirty years later, Rachal (1988) offered his own typology, depicted as a tree, with its roots representing the various settings in which adult education exists and the limbs representing the purposes. He preserved the liberal and occupational categories included by Bryson and Grattan, noting that in the 1980s occupational purposes were clearly dominant in reports of adult education participation. He explained that his third category—self-help—was similar to Bryson's political and relational as well as Grattan's recreational and informational. It encompassed learning for fun and well as learning how-to. He offered the following definition for

this category: “Self-help refers to the myriad of learning activities where individuals seek knowledge, information, skill, or recreational learning in order to better adjust to their environments especially outside of the work environment” (p. 22). As his fourth category he renamed the term *remedial as compensatory*, and described it as including adult basic and secondary education. He added a new category for his fifth category, referred to as *scholastic*. He used this term to refer to graduate study in adult education.

It is possible to compare Rachal’s typology and the categories used to classify adult participation by the National Center on Education Statistics in the *National Household Education Surveys* (NHES) conducted by that organization between 1991 and 2005; doing so allows ascertaining the most common categories of participation in adult education (Snyder & Dillow, 2011). For the purpose of the NHES surveys, adults are defined as people age seventeen and over who are not enrolled in high school; adult education is defined as all education activities involving an instructor, excluding full-time enrollment in postsecondary education. Two response categories in the NHES survey related to the occupational category of Rachal (1988). Most notably, in 2005 participation in career or job-related adult education, as well as apprenticeship education, was reported by 28.2 percent of respondents, constituting the most frequently reported type of adult education activity. As the next most common, 21 percent of respondents to the 2005 survey reported participation in adult education related to *personal interest*, corresponding most closely to Rachal’s category of self-help. Similar to Rachal’s category of compensatory adult education, 1.3 percent of adults reported participating in Basic Skills/GED classes in the 2005 survey; less than 1 percent reported participating in English as a Second Language (ESL) classes, sometimes organized with GED classes, although many individuals taking ESL classes have previously completed secondary and even postsecondary level education in their home country. Five percent of adults participated in the seventh category of participation in the NHES surveys: part-time postsecondary education. There is not an equivalent category in Rachal’s typology or those of Bryson or Grattan, although some of the adults participating in postsecondary are pursuing majors that align with Rachal’s liberal adult education category (that is, humanities, social sciences, natural sciences).

## Providers of Adult Education

The most frequently referenced typologies of adult education are those focusing on providers. According to Stubblefield and Rachal (1992), Melvil Dewey offered the first typology of adult education in 1904, listing five types of adult education: libraries, museums, study clubs, extension teaching, and

tests and credentials. Writing in 1955 (Hallenbeck et al., 1955), Sheats referred to organizations with adult education as their primary purpose (public adult schools, university extension divisions, libraries, museums, and agricultural extension) and those with adult education as a secondary purpose to achieve other institutional goals (labor unions, business organizations, and voluntary associations). Not many years later, Knowles (1964), as cited in Rachal (1988), continued along similar lines, suggesting four categories. These were Type I: organizations concerned initially with education or youth, with education of adults as a secondary (for example, public schools and colleges); Type II: agencies devoted more or less exclusively to adult education (for example, agricultural extension programs and proprietary schools); Type III: agencies serving both educational and noneducational community needs (for example, health care agencies); and Type IV: agencies that offer adult education for their own members to further other organizational goals (for example, churches, government, and business and industry). A typology proposed by Schroeder (1970) has been more frequently cited than that developed by Knowles in 1964—that typology is essentially the same as the one proposed by Knowles, except for the reversal of Types I and Type II. This sequence more logically orders the types of institutions in descending order in terms of centrality of the adult education function. Darkenwald and Merriam (cited in Merriam & Brockett, 2007) further refined the typology developed by Schroeder (1970), giving the four types labels that are clearer and more descriptive. The four agency types they identified were (1) independent adult education institutions, such as the Highlander Center for Research and Education, which, as the title suggests, exist for the primary purpose of providing learning opportunities for adults; (2) educational institutions such as public schools and postsecondary institutions that exist primarily to provide education for children and youth but also serve adult learners; (3) quasi-educational organizations such as museums and libraries, where education is viewed as an allied function to the organizations' primary mission; and (4) noneducational organizations for which adult education is provided as a means of achieving the organizational mission, as true in business and industry, the armed forces, and correctional institutions.

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## **Social Forces Contributing to the Expansion of Adult Education Today**

However adult education is defined or categorized, wherever one looks, adults are engaged in adult education today. According to the National Household Education Survey (Snyder & Dillow, 2011) referenced earlier

in this chapter, the overall rate of participation in adult education in the United States increased from 33 percent in 1991 to 44 percent in 2005. In 1984 the National Center of Education Statistics reported that only 13.5 percent of adults participated in adult education (Snyder & Hoffman, 1991, p. 319). Several forces have contributed to the increase in adult education both in the United States and worldwide, including demographic changes, the continuing expansion of technology, globalization, and changes in the nature of work and the economy. These forces are all interrelated, making it challenging to identify the best point to begin this discussion.

### Technological Expansion and the Emergence of the Knowledge Society

One of the key developments of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries that has spurred the growth of adult education, both directly and indirectly, is the rapid expansion of technology. Although not writing specifically about adult education, Spring (2008) identified at least three ways in which technology has influenced the transformation of education. He noted, (1) education is needed to enable learners to continually adapt to a work world where technological innovations are occurring almost daily, (2) information technology in turn makes it easier for learners to access the world's knowledge, and (3) technological advances affect the educational process. Spring observed that technology can be seen as a major driver in the emergence of the postindustrial economy first discussed in the 1970s. Bennett and Bell (2010) pointed to the evolution of terms, including *information economy*, *information society*, *knowledge economy*, and finally *knowledge society*, that have been used to describe the continuing changes in the nature of work and the economy. They maintained, "Codifiable information, primarily accessible to information technology specialists, is but one form of knowledge alongside intuition, judgment, and expertise" (p. 413). Yet, an observer in the second decade of the twenty-first century need not look far to see how technical innovation continues to rapidly transform the ways in which adults work and learn. Citing the growing use of mobile technologies (also called m-technology) in business and health organizations as well as the lack of scholarship literature on m-learning, Peters (2007) conducted a study seeking to discover how employers and educators reported using mobile technologies for work and learning. Separate interview protocols were used to collect data from four manufacturers/software developers, six businesses of varying sizes, and nineteen education providers representing high schools, universities, private training, industry skills council, and Technical and Further

Education (TAFE); the largest public provider of vocational education and training in Australia. Businesses were asked about the use of m-technologies for standing business and training, although educators were asked both if they used m-technologies and if they discussed their use with students. Business interviews suggested m-technologies were used for

- Flexibility, speed, and efficient networking around the world
- Provision of efficient customer service
- A more efficient work environment with less paperwork
- More efficient training
- Improved storage and backup of data
- Saving time and money
- Creating greater responsiveness to change. (Peters, 2007, para 36)

Approximately one-half of the educators and trainers interviewed for the study reported discussing m-technologies with their students. Relatively little integration of m-technology into teaching or learning was reported, with cost (of ensuring student access to employed technologies) and underdeveloped infrastructure support cited as barriers.

As further evidence of how m-technologies have influenced the work environment, Felstead and Jewson (2012) examined European data documenting shifts in locations of work. They examined data on work outside of conventional workplaces (defined as offices, factories, and school), including work at home, work on the move, and work in collective offices, with an interest in identifying the skills needed for each of the nonconventional work environments. They ascertained that those who work at home (1) must establish spatial and temporal regimes for work and interaction with family members, (2) must establish boundaries with the outside world (that is, participation in work-based chat rooms and building in short breaks), and that (3) some who work at home fear being overlooked for promotion and otherwise, sometimes compensating in various ways. They defined *work on the move* as both work while in motion (cars, planes, and trains) and at stationary points in transportation systems. They found that workers “on the move” must develop such skills as learning how to work in proximity to strangers, learning how to minimize distractions, preparing and taking along all devices and kits (laptop, tablet, and phone), not knowing what the situation may involve, and making use of familiar stop-offs where they know what to expect (that is, in terms of connectivity), and learning to establish “territories of the self” to limit conversations with strangers. One of the authors of the current text recently experienced a serendipitous encounter

illustrating how such workers both establish and deliberately interrupt territories of the self to establish social contact when she was mistaken as a member of a local meet-up group of remote workers who agree to work at specified times in a local coffee shop. The author had initially assumed this was a group of college students working on a team assignment for class at a nearby university. A chance conversation with a member of the meet-up group revealed the true reason for the fluid composition of the group, as individuals rotated seats in the crowded coffee shop as they came and went through the afternoon, maintaining their territories of the self much of the time, but periodically interacting. Technology can also be seen as enhancing adult learning. Conole (2012) described five phases of technology development, with the last three including those technological media that can be easily be seen as relevant to evolving delivering systems for adult education in recent decades. The third phase was the first wave of technological media: radio and television; the fourth was the emergence of networked and Internet-based technologies; and the fifth (and current) is referred to as *cyberinfrastructure*. Among the key characteristics of fifth-generation technologies that support learning, she noted that (1) openness and sharing are key facets that encourage transfer of knowledge, (2) content can be multimodal and distributed, (3) they enable user participation; and (4) many of the tools and services enable peer critiquing. She referred to her own earlier work with Alevizou (Alevizou, Conole, & Galley, 2010) on ten types of Web 2.0 technologies, recapping the list below:

- Media sharing
- Media manipulation
- Instant messaging
- Online games and virtual worlds
- Social networking
- Blogging
- Social bookmarking
- Recommender systems
- Wikis and collaborative editing tools
- Syndication

Categorizing pedagogies as associative, constructivist, and situative, she noted that situative pedagogies are well supported by Web 2.0 technologies. “These include: cognitive apprenticeships, case-based and scenario-based learning, vicarious learning, collaborative learning, and social constructivism” (Conole, 2012, p. 223).

## Globalization

According to Merriam (2010), globalization can be “conceptualized as the movement of goods, services, and information across national boundaries and as a borderless marketplace shored up by what is being called the knowledge economy” (p. 402). Spring (2008) credited the origins of the term globalization to Theodore Levitt, who used the term to describe changes in global economies affecting production, consumption, and investment. Spring explicated four different interpretive models that can be found in discussions of globalization as it applies to education: (1) *World Cultures* model: all cultures are viewed as slowly integrating into a single global culture. The Western school model is said to have globalized because it is viewed as the best model. (2) *World Systems* model sees the globe as integrated, with two major unequal zones; the *core* zone (including the United States, Europe, and Japan) dominates nations in the *periphery* zone. In this model the core seeks to legitimize its power by inculcating its values throughout the world, and various aid agencies are seen as complicit in this process. (3) *Postcolonial analysis* views globalization as a contemporary form of cultural imperialism, promulgated by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and multinational corporations alike. The influence of Western thought is a function of political and economic power. (4) The *Culturalist* perspective emphasized cultural variations and the borrowing and lending of educational ideas within a global context. Valuing multiple knowledges, this perspective shares with postcolonial analysis a concern with the subjugation of some knowledges.

Spring (2008) also reviewed several discourses embedded in discussions of global education, including the discourse on lifelong learning. In contrast with the humanistic and broad vision of lifelong learning put forward in UNESCO’s Faure Report in 1972 (Faure et al., 1972), he asserts, “Now lifelong learning is considered essential for individuals to keep pace with the constantly changing global market and technology” (Spring, 2008, p. 339). Fenwick’s description of the worker that adult education is called upon to help produce, echoes this view:

As workplaces are restructured, adult education has refocused on forming worker identities that elicit individualism, market responsiveness, flexibility, and innovation. Organizations, both public and private, desire self-reflexive entrepreneurial workers who thrive on uncertainty, are measured by innovation, and accept responsibility for the risks attending their actions and choices. (Fenwick, 2004, p. 257)



Using political economy as a theoretical lens, Sumner took an explicitly critical view, describing corporate globalization as a “set of structures and processes that build the private wealth of a very few people” (Sumner, 2008, p. 31). Noting numerous examples of how all sectors of education, including adult education, have been compromised by neoliberal policies that protect the free market while abandoning the public good, she asserted that in this environment knowledge itself is viewed as something to be privatized, packaged, and sold. Her concern was that adult education’s role is increasingly seen as preparing skilled workers through programs financed through learner fees. Reminding readers of the strong social justice legacy of Canadian adult education and citing Horton and Freire (1990), she called upon adult educators to resist the money values reflected in education packaged as a commodity, choosing instead to embrace and promote *life values* in keeping with the liberatory roots of adult education.

Toepfer (2004) similarly pointed to values of democracy, peace, and human rights reflected in the education systems of Western European countries, and issued the following clarion call for adult educators to support global social movements:

As adult educators, we are obliged to develop and administer adequate frameworks and settings that convey those values through program such programs as development education, peace education, human rights education, education for a democratic society, intercultural education, ecumenical or multi-faith religious education and ecological education. (p. 22)

She recommended that adult educators respond to “globalization from above” with global/local education that aims to assist students in understanding and resisting the exploitation of human beings and nature.

## Demographic Changes

At least three areas of demographic change can be seen as substantially impacting adult education: rising levels of educational attainment, an aging society, and increasing population diversity, including brain drain or brain circulation associated with globalization. Many readers are no doubt familiar with the term *brain drain* as used to refer to the global migration of highly educated citizens from developing countries to more developed and wealthier nations. More recently the discourse on globalization has referred to the developing phenomenon of *brain circulation*, whereby



skilled professional workers move among wealthier nations, or return intermittently or permanently to their homeland after migrating to another country, sometimes in response to enticements (Bennett & Bell, 2010; Merriam, 2010; Merriam & Bierema, 2014; Spring, 2008).

Surveys of adult education participation have for years pointed to a linear relationship between participation in adult education and previous educational attainment, with those adults having completed the highest levels of formal education exhibiting the highest rates of participation in adult education, at least for that of a formal variety (Johnstone & Rivera, 1965; Snyder & Dillow, 2011). Contrary to social justice goals proclaimed by many in the field who hope that adult education may act to level the educational playing field, data suggest that education (through the secondary and postsecondary levels) begets more education (among adults), for reasons that are discussed in further detail in Chapter 2. According to the *2010 Digest of Education Statistics*, 87 percent of the US population twenty-five years old and over had completed at least high school, and 30 percent had completed bachelor's or higher degree (Snyder & Dillow, 2011, p. 4), creating a large base of well-educated adults who are more likely to participate in some form of adult education than those who have not completed high school. This compares to 69 percent of adults having completed high school in 1980, at which time only 17 percent had completed four years of college or more (Snyder & Hoffman, 1991, p. 6).

Rising levels of educational attainment can be expected to affect adult education participation in another way during coming years. Throughout the world, numerous countries are experiencing an aging population. According to a report of the World Economic Forum (Beard et al., 2011):

In industrial countries, the share of those 60-plus has risen from 12% in 1950 to 22% today and is expected to reach 32% (418 million) by 2050. In developing countries, the share of those 60-plus has risen from 6% in 1950 to 9% today and is expected to reach 20% (1.6 billion) by 2050. (p. 4)

The 2010 *Census Brief on Age and Sex Composition* for the United States indicates that the fastest-growing age group from 2000 to 2010 was adults 60 to 64 years of age, with an increase of 55.6 percent, followed by those 55 to 59 with a growth rate of 46 percent; this compares with an increase of 2.6 percent in the population under age 18 (Howden & Meyer, 2011, p. 2). Given this same demographic—part of the Baby Boom—has experienced rising educational attainments, they can be expected to be

active participants in adult education in coming years. Programmatic responses to their adult education needs can be seen in the development of numerous campus-based programs catering to older adults within the postsecondary education system, including Elderhostel, Institutes for Learning in Retirement, Osher Lifelong Learning Institutes, state-supported tuition-waiver programs, and educational programs and retirement communities developed in recent years by individual colleges and universities (Bernard Osher Foundation, 2005; Kressley & Huebschmann, 2002). Yet, while as providers of adult education many universities have found an expanding market in well-educated elders with disposable income to invest in lifelong learning, the learning needs and desires of elders who are not as well resourced present an arena for the pursuit of social justice goals of adult education that has not garnered much attention. For instance, Townsel (2013) studied the learning needs, strategies, and networks of African Americans ages sixty-five and older residing in rural Texas. She found their learning interests were numerous and diverse, although options for pursuing those interests were constrained by limited resources and perceived racial barriers.

Increasing racial and ethnic diversity constitutes a final demographic dimension that creates both growing opportunities for and demands for adult education. The 2010 Census reveals the nation's changing racial and ethnic diversity during the first decade of the twenty-first century (Humes, Jones, & Ramirez, 2011). Following 1997 revisions to the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), race and Hispanic origin (ethnicity) are treated as separate identifiers; thus individuals were asked to report their ethnic status of *Hispanic or Latino* or *Not Hispanic or Latino*, as well as identifying their race according to one of five racial categories: (1) White, (2) Black or African American, (3) American Indian or Alaska Native, (4) Asian, or (5) Some Other Race, including all responses not included in one of the other categories. For Census 2010, as in Census 2000, individuals were presented with the option of self-identifying with more than one race—allowing for fifty-seven possible combinations. Some findings shared regarding changes between Census 2000 and Census 2010 (Humes et al., 2011) include:

- More than half of the growth in the total population of the United States between 2000 and 2010 was due to an increase in the Hispanic population (p. 3).
- The Asian population grew faster than any other major *racial* group, increasing to 5.6% of the population, a growth rate of 43%

(pp. 4, 7). (Keep in mind that Hispanic origins were not coded as a racial category.)

- The *Black-alone* population exhibited the smallest percentage growth outside of the *White alone* population (rising from 12% to 13%).
- Although still the largest group, the only major racial group to experience a decrease in its proportion of the total populations was the *White-alone* population. This group decreased from 69% to 63% (p. 3).

Although the 2010 Census Brief on race and Hispanic origin does not provide any information regarding possible relationships between changing population demographics and recent immigration to the United States, other sources provide information on immigration and naturalization trends that contribute to the demographic shifts. Table 1.1 summarizes data extracted from the *2012 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*, reporting on numbers of persons obtaining legal permanent resident status in the year 2010.

These data on immigration patterns and growing population diversity in the United States, along with increasing diversity of the workforce in

**TABLE 1.1 PERSONS OBTAINING LEGAL PERMANENT RESIDENT STATUS BY REGION AND SELECTED COUNTRY OF LAST RESIDENCE: FISCAL YEARS 2000–2010**

Region and Country of Residence	2000–2009	2010
Total	10,299,430	1,042,625
Europe	1,349,609	95,429
Asia	3,470,835	410,209
America	4,441,529	426,981
Canada	236,340	19,491
Mexico	1,704,166	138,717
Caribbean	1,053,357	139,389
Central America	591,130	43,597
South America	856,508	85,783
Africa	759,734	98,246
Oceania	65,793	5,946
Not Specified	211,930	5,814

Source: US Department of Homeland Security. (2013). *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*. Table 2. Washington, DC: Homeland Security, Office of Immigration Statistics.

multinational companies, point to growing opportunities for adult education of at least four types:

- Instruction in English as a Second Language (Larrotta, 2010)
- Considering student culture in the teaching-learning process (Baumgartner & Johnson-Bailey, 2008; Tisdell, 2006)
- Adult education related to intercultural communication (Ziegahn, 2001)
- Professional development promoting cultural competence and culturally responsive instruction in several professional arenas including human services, the health professions, and—as suggested by recent peaceful protests and civil disobedience in communities following the deaths of unarmed citizens of color—law enforcement agencies (Cornett-DeVito & McGlone, 2000; Gedig, 2011; Zeigahn & Ton 2011)

These data also suggest the importance for those institutions developing adult education programs to consider strategies for reaching, serving, and retaining adults from groups that have historically been underrepresented in adult education (Johnstone & Rivera, 1965; Snyder & Dillow, 2011).

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## Some Key Questions Surrounding Adult Education

As we close this introductory chapter, we surface some of the questions posed regarding adult education, both within the field and often from the outside. We do not attempt to provide comprehensive responses to these questions at this point; some are addressed in further detail in subsequent chapters; others relate to conversations and debates that are ongoing in the field.

### What Constitutes Knowledge?

One common set of questions focuses on the relationships among knowledge, adult learning, and adult education. In defining adult education, some emphasize the importance of knowledge acquisition by adults. In recent years, however, adult education scholars have called for greater reflection on the assumptions *about* knowledge that are embedded in our research and practice. We are encouraged to consider which ways of knowing and forms of knowledge are privileged and which are not, who gets to determine what is legitimate knowledge and who does not, and finally to

ask questions about knowledge for what purpose (Freire, 1970/2000; Merriam & Brockett, 2007; Merriam & Kim, 2008; Sheared, Johnson-Bailey, Colin III, Peterson, & Brookfield, 2010).

### **What Constitutes Adult Learning?**

Similarly, although adult learning is presumed to be central to adult education, recent theory and scholarship in the field has questioned the nearly exclusive emphasis on cognitive learning that characterized thinking about adult learning for several decades as scholars sought to establish the unique knowledge base of the emerging professional field of adult education (Merriam, Caffarella, & Baumgartner, 2007; Merriam & Bierema, 2014). This has led to a greater interest in the place of the body (Butterwick & Selman, 2012; Lawrence, 2012), the role of emotions (Dirkx, 2008; Lawrence, 2008; Zembylas, 2008), and the influence of spirituality (English, Fenwick, & Parsons, 2003; Tisdell, 2003), among other emerging foci in adult learning.

### **Is All Adult Learning Also Adult Education?**

As definitions of adult education have once again broadened to include forms of adult learning beyond the formal sector, encompassing even learning where there may be no instructor visible in the teaching-learning transaction, some are left to ask, Is there *any* adult learning that is not also adult education? Reading the earliest philosophers of adult education, such as Lindeman (1926), who saw adult education as coterminous with life, one might be left to wonder. Later, adult education came to be thought of as including systematic instruction planned by a teacher or trainer within an institutional or organizations context. Indeed, “person on the street” interviews conducted as a class project by the students of one of the authors, suggest that many in the general population still hold this view of adult education. Broader conceptions of adult education held by scholars in the field today encompass the education of adults in all sorts of settings and contexts, facilitated by educators of adults as diverse as museum docents, home improvement instructors, and autodidacts who act as their own educators—electing when to involve instructors and coaches much as they select learning media and tools. But often those defining adult education in professional literature today assume that there is intentionality involved in adult education, distinguishing it from informal learning of

the entirely *incidental* variety, such as when we learn something new by tuning in to cable news, continuing to surf the Web after we accomplish our intended look-up, observing our children using the latest digital device, or participating in social networks. Although not *all* would agree, this dividing line is reflected in Merriam and Brockett's (2007) definition of adult learning as "activities intentionally designed for the purpose of bringing about learning among those whose age, social roles, or self-perceptions define them as adults" (p. 8).

### What Is Adult Education's Relationship with the Rest of Education?

Some use the term *postsecondary and adult education* as if to view adult education as part of a third sector of the formal education system, following primary and secondary education, in a way that is nearly synonymous with higher education. This raises the question of how adult education *is* related to the formal education system in the United States. Can it be viewed as an extension of this system, or is it something different? Corollary questions might be what benefits may ensue from being seen as part of the educational system, versus what negative trade-offs may attach to this perception of adult education.

In numerous countries around the world, adult education falls under the purview of a ministry of education or an equivalent national system of education, and may obtain some benefits in terms of public policy and financing from this placement. As you may know from experience and as will become apparent as you continue reading this text, adult education in the United States is much more diffuse, with much of it existing outside the arena of any governmental agency, and largely funded by adults themselves or their employers. Where it *is* encompassed in public policy at the federal level, it often falls outside the Department of Education and is instead addressed by programs situated in Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, and so on. Across the various states, it may be situated differently than at the federal level. For instance, *Adult Education and Literacy* is a part of the recently renamed Office of Career, Technical, and Adult Education in the Department of Education at the federal level ([www.usa.gov/directory/federal/E.shtml](http://www.usa.gov/directory/federal/E.shtml)), while in the state of Texas, it is housed under the Texas Workforce Commission. In either case, the scope of programs addressed does not correspond to the broad scope of adult education discussed in

this chapter. The mission of the division of Adult Education and Literacy at the federal level is relatively focused, and is described as following:

The Division of Adult Education and Literacy is responsible for enabling adults to acquire the basic skills necessary to function in today's society so that they can benefit from the completion of secondary school, enhanced family life, attaining citizenship and participating in job training and retraining programs. (ed.gov/about/offices/list/ovae/index.html)

A closer look at the programs administered by the Division of Adult Education and Literacy indicates the following: "The major areas of support are Adult Basic Education, Adult Secondary Education, and English Language Acquisition. These programs emphasize basic skills such as reading, writing, math, English language competency, and problem-solving" (www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ovae/pi/AdultEd/index.html). Thus, it is apparent that the focus of adult education and literacy at the federal level is primarily on those programs aimed at helping adults achieve basic educational skills and some degree of economic self-sufficiency, albeit limited by the employment possibilities available to individuals who lack postsecondary education credentials. Notably, there has been significant interest of late in helping adults who complete publicly funded adult literacy and education programs transition to postsecondary education and gainful employment (Adult Transitions Longitudinal Study [ATLAS] 2007; National Center for the Study of Adult Learning, and Literacy [NCSALL], US Dept. of Education, 2010). Yet, the fact remains that the rather limited range of adult education programs that are referred to as *adult education and literacy* is administered separately from pK–12 education, which is administered at the federal level by the Office of Elementary and Secondary Education, and also separately from higher education, which is administered by the Office of Postsecondary Education, both within the Department of Education. As stated at the start of this paragraph, a number of federal programs relating to the education of adults are administered within federal departments other than the Department of Education. Examples include the Public Housing Family Self-Sufficiency (FSS) program administered by the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (<http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/hudprograms>); the Ready to Work program, administered by the office of Employment and Training Administration office of the Department of Labor ([www.doleta.gov/](http://www.doleta.gov/));



and the CDC Learning Connection, under the auspices of the Department of Health and Human Services ([www.hhs.gov/about/programs/index.html/](http://www.hhs.gov/about/programs/index.html/)).

Those who compare per-student outlays for learners in publicly funded adult education with per-student funding for pK–12 students (which ranges widely) and state-level higher education appropriations per student credit hour may argue that a closer relationship with the rest of the world of education, at least at the governmental level, could potentially result in more equitable expenditures for adult basic education and literacy programs. Proponents of maintaining a relationship of some distance from pK–12 education might argue that decreasing that distance increases the likelihood of transferring controversial educational accountability systems to the work of adult education—although it may already be too late for that argument (St. Clair & Belzar, 2010). An example of a long-standing interface between adult education and pK–12 education can be found in the adult and community education programs offered by many public school systems. For example, the Adult and Community Education Department of Northside Independent School District in San Antonio, Texas, offers programs including Adult Secondary Education/GED, English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL), Title I Family Literacy, and Community Education (with classes in four areas: Profit and IT, the Arts, Mind & Body, and Fun and Play) (<http://nisd.net/ace/community-education-classes>). For many years the Mott Foundation (<http://www.mott.org/>) has funded projects linking schools and adults in their communities, including more recent support for Community Education initiatives linked to its Pathways Out of Poverty grant program (<http://www.mott.org/FundingInterests/programs/pathwaysoutofpoverty>).

In recent years the relationship between adult education and higher education has become more complex as the boundaries traditionally assumed between the two related fields have become somewhat more permeable. There are a number of forces influencing this trend. One is a growth rate in higher education enrollment by students twenty-five and older that has exceeded that of students under twenty-five in recent years (43 percent to 27 percent between 2000 and 2009), with an even greater disparity in growth in enrollment projected from 2010 to 2019 (23 percent to 9 percent) (Snyder & Dillow, 2011, p. 281). Additionally, numerous recent documents have pointed to the existence of a large number of students in higher education who have been referred to as “nontraditional” and share characteristics with adult students, such as being financially independent, being employed full time, and having dependents, even though the students are not over twenty-four, such that nontraditional



students, including those who are nontraditional in age, are the new majority in higher education (Advisory Committee on Student Financial Assistance, 2012; Choy, 2002). Although this is not an entirely new development, with numerous adult degree programs dating to the 1970s (Maehl, 2000), this recent surge in enrollments of adult students in higher education has fueled the concomitant growth of both nonprofit and for-profit higher education programs recruiting adult learners (Kinser, 2006; Tierney, 2011), the growth in popularity and acceptability of online education (Parsad & Lewis, 2008), and the growing interest of higher education faculty in adult students (Carey, 2011). There is also a growing body of literature addressing the intersections of adult and higher education (see, for instance, Halx, 2010; Jacobs & Hundley, 2010; Kasworm, Polson, & Fishback, 2002; the *Journal of the Association of Continuing Higher Education*; *Continuing Higher Education Review*; Adult Higher Education Alliance newsletters; various issues of *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*). Yet, there is much evidence, such as separate professional associations and scholarly journals, that adult education and higher education continue to exist as distinct fields. Some may question this continued separation, given significant convergence of interest in adult learners in higher education. Many others would argue this is for the best, both for serving the interests of adult students in higher education, and given that this overlap represents just one part of the broader field of adult education, a closer association runs the risk that others may equate the two fields of study.

### **What Is Adult Education's Relationship with Human Resource Development?**

The degree to which adult education and human resource development are distinct professional fields, and/or their relationships to each other, has been another point of discussion. Historically, discussions of work-related adult education have been included in the literature of the field (Ely, 1936; Kasworm, Rose, & Ross-Gordon, 2010; Stubblefield & Keane, 1994). Recall, as well, that previously in this chapter it was noted that according to data from the National Center for Education Statistics, 28 percent of adults participating in adult education in 2005 reported participation in career or job-related adult education as well as apprenticeship (Snyder & Dillow, 2011). Yet, in recent decades, the field of human resource development (HRD) has emerged as a related, but arguably distinct, field of practice.

Based on the findings of a Delphi Study eliciting the perspectives of thirteen experts in the field of HRD, McGuire and Cseh (2006) reported the identified constituent components of HRD to be workplace learning, employee development, training and development, and organizational development, suggesting common bonds with adult education as a field in at least the first three of these areas. McGuire and Cseh also asked the experts consulted what they considered to be the interdisciplinary bases of HRD. Although the researchers acknowledged the responses were divergent, as evidenced by high standard deviation scores, the top ranking disciplinary bases were (1) adult learning, (2) systems theory, (3) psychology, (4) organizational development, and (5) adult education. Further evidence of linkages between the two fields can be seen in the tie ranking of the publication of Malcolm Knowles's *Modern Practice of Adult Education* (1980) and Len Nadler's *Developing Human Resources* (1970) when the same experts were queried about key milestones in the field of HRD. Yet, along with points of convergence between the two fields, points of divergence are also evident. For instance, Hamlin and Stewart (2011) drew on twenty-four published definitions of HRD found in scholarly journals and key texts in the field concluded that the intended purposes of HRD could be placed in four categories, with most definitions containing at least two of the four:

1. Improving individual or group effectiveness and performance
2. Improving organizational effectiveness and performance
3. Developing knowledge, skills, and competencies, and
4. Enhancing human potential and personal growth

From this list, organizational effectiveness can be seen as a purpose not commonly associated with adult education. This and other points of divergence, including differences in philosophical orientations, have contributed to the development of separate paths for the two fields, marked by growing internecine squabbles during recent decades (Smith, 1989/2006); this has led numerous authors to analyze the basis for these squabbles while simultaneously pointing to commonalities that may provide the basis for greater cooperation between the fields, including a common interest in learning and an increasing number of scholars utilizing critical perspectives (Akdere & Conceicao, 2009; Bierema, Ruona, Watkins, Cseh, & Ellinger, 2004; Hatcher & Bowles, 2006; 2007/2013; Reio, 2007).

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## Summary

This chapter attempted to give the reader an idea of how the notion of “what counts” has varied over the years, influenced by a variety of social and demographic changes, as well as by those who get to do the defining. Various typologies of adult education have been introduced, showing how the kaleidoscope of adult education can change depending on which lens you look through, and at the same time, introducing the complexity of the field, derived in part from its multiple origins. Social forces contributing to the expansion of adult education today have also been a focus of discussion, touching just a few of those key forces, including demographic changes, globalization, and the intertwined explosion of technology and information. The chapter ended by posing several arguably philosophical questions surrounding adult education that the reader may want to consider as he or she continues reading, regarding what constitutes knowledge, whether adult learning and adult education are synonymous, what is adult education’s relationship with the rest of education, and what is its relationship with human resource development.

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