LIFELONG EDUCATION AND SOCIAL POLICY: IDEALS AND REALITIES

by

ANDREA FRANCES KASTNER

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
Administrative, Adult and Higher Education

We accept this thesis as conforming

to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

October, 1988

© Andrea Frances Kastner, 1988
In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the head of my department or by his or her representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.
ABSTRACT

Many claims have been made about the potential of Lifelong Education, when implemented as a social policy, to bring about a more just society. However, the assumptions underlying these and similar claims have seldom been critically scrutinized. For this reason, there is in the literature a concern that the concept of the "learning society" simply means lifelong schooling and is the rhetoric of social control. In this view, the potential of Lifelong Education as a transformative force for the development of a participatory democracy and a more equitable distribution of resources remains a utopian vision.

In this work, an analysis of the assumptions, it was expected, would bring to light the ideological position embedded in Lifelong Education as a social policy tool.

This research therefore, offers a systematic critical analysis of the expected outcomes of Lifelong Education policies. This required the development of a theoretical framework which built upon: 1.) Paulston's model of social change; 2.) Rawls' and others' concepts of justice and equality; and 3.) perspectives on the role of education in society outlined by Aronowitz and Giroux. This framework was employed to analyze 1.) selected publications of UNESCO on Lifelong Education, 2.) Canadian Association for Adult Education and Canadian Commission for UNESCO documents, and 3.) contemporary Canadian federal and provincial education policies. The findings of this analysis were compared with various models of social policy.

Five principle findings emerged from the study. First, the literature, for the most part, reflects a view of society characterized by homogeneity and consensus. The model of social change is evolutionary, and avoids the structural
conflict perspectives. Second, a number of assumptions are made concerning some elements of a theory of justice, but no unified comprehensive theory of justice supports the literature's claims. Third, adopted in the literature is an ideal view of the role of Lifelong Education as a means of producing change in society. The absence of a critical perspective leaves Lifelong Education in the role of reproducing inequalities in society, vulnerable to application as a mechanism of manipulation rather than emancipation. Fourth, the social policy models implied by the literature are not models which are significantly redistributive in their aims. Finally, projected normative outcomes such as "the good society", "improved quality of life", and "a more just society" lack precise definition thereby leaving unexpressed the ideological position on which they are premised. This deprives the field the means of evaluating these policies.

It is argued that if the role of educators in the development of democratic active participation of citizens in the collective formation of public policy is to be taken seriously, the ideological position of Lifelong Education must be more carefully defined and developed so that citizens can reflect on its principles, compare them with alternate ideological positions, and make their choices from this more informed position.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT .................................................................................................................... ii

Acknowledgements ........................................................................................................ vii

I. INTRODUCTION: LIFELONG EDUCATION AND SOCIAL POLICY .......... 1
   A. Lifelong Education ............................................................................................. 1
   B. Social Policy and Lifelong Education ................................................................. 2
      1. Social Policy .................................................................................................. 2
      2. Lifelong Education as Social Policy - Ideals and Realities ...................... 3
   C. The Importance of a Normative Study of Lifelong Education:
      Citizen Participation in Social Policy Formation ......................................... 4
      1. Two Premises .............................................................................................. 4
      2. Ideology in Lifelong Education ................................................................... 5
   D. Lifelong Education and Ideology ..................................................................... 6
   E. The Historical Context of the Analysis .............................................................. 7

II. OVERVIEW OF THE METHODOLOGY ................................................................. 9
   A. Choice of Literature ........................................................................................... 9
   B. Statements of Social Goals in the Literature ..................................................... 10
   C. Development of a Framework for Analysis of the Social Goals ...................... 10
   D. Analysis ............................................................................................................ 10
   E. Implications ....................................................................................................... 11

III. THE SOCIAL GOALS OF LIFELONG EDUCATION ........................................ 12
   A. INTRODUCTION .............................................................................................. 12
   B. UNESCO SOURCES ....................................................................................... 12
      1. The Faure Report ......................................................................................... 12
      2. The Lifelong Education Series .................................................................... 14
      3. Conference Declarations, Proceedings, Recommendations ................. 17
      4. Gelpi ............................................................................................................ 17
      5. Lengrand ..................................................................................................... 19
   C. CANADIAN SOURCES ..................................................................................... 20
      1. Federal Government .................................................................................... 22
      2. Provincial Governments ............................................................................ 25
      3. Council of Ministers of Education Canada ................................................. 28
      4. Canadian Association for Adult Education ................................................. 30
         a. The Learning Society as a Social Goal .................................................... 31
         b. Specific Goals of the Learning Society ................................................... 32
      5. Canadian Commission for UNESCO ......................................................... 33
   D. SUMMARY OF THE SOCIAL GOALS ............................................................... 38

IV. ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK .................................................................................... 39
   A. INTRODUCTION .............................................................................................. 39
   B. THEORIES OF JUSTICE .................................................................................. 41
      1. Introduction .................................................................................................. 41
      2. Elements and Issues in Theories of Justice .................................................. 42
      3. Rawls’ Theory of Justice ............................................................................. 44
      4. Critiques of Rawls’ Theory of Justice .......................................................... 46
V. ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIAL GOALS IN THE LITERATURE

A. INTRODUCTION .................................................. 64

B. THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN SOCIETY .......................... 64
   1. The Social Role of Lifelong Education: The Faure Report ... 65
      a. Findings ................................................. 65
      b. Analysis .............................................. 66
   2. The Social Role of Lifelong Education: Other UNESCO Work ............................................ 72
   3. The Social Role of Lifelong Education: Canadian Sources .... 72
   4. The Social Role of Lifelong Education: Gelpi ............. 75
   5. Conclusion .................................................. 76

C. THEORIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE .................................... 78
   a. Findings: Perspectives on Conflict and Power ............ 79
   b. The Dominant View of Social Change in the Literature .... 80
   c. Conclusions ............................................... 82

D. THEORIES OF JUSTICE ............................................ 83
   1. Findings .................................................. 83
   2. Analysis of the Conception of Justice in the Literature ... 86
   3. Conclusion .................................................. 89

VI. DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL POLICY .......... 90

A. SOCIAL POLICY MODELS .......................................... 90
   1. Overview .................................................. 90
   2. Titmuss' Three Models of Social Policy ..................... 91
      a. The Residual Welfare Model .......................... 92
      b. The Industrial Achievement-Performance Model ....... 92
      c. The Institutional Redistributive Model ............. 93

B. LIFELONG EDUCATION AND MODELS OF SOCIAL POLICY .......... 93

C. CONCLUSIONS ...................................................... 95

REFERENCES .......................................................... 98
LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1 ......................................................................................................................... 76
Figure 2 ........................................................................................................................... 82
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The story is told of how in Russia in 1903 my great-grandfather's library was burned. The pursuit of truth founded upon the firm articulation of values was not lost in that act however. It has been passed down to me as a heritage to honour. I am thankful for this gift from my family. I also thank Erin for her steadfast respect for my work and for her humour; my supervisor, Kjell Rubenson, for the gift of intellectual room; and Jim Allison, my avatar and friend. Above all, I acknowledge the hope and uncompromising rigour alive in the work of the women scholars around me. In their intellectual and personal lives I witness and gain daily courage and mercy in the continuing guerra di posizione.
I. INTRODUCTION: LIFELONG EDUCATION AND SOCIAL POLICY

A. LIFELONG EDUCATION

While the idea of Lifelong Education is not by any means a new one, the use of the term to denote a movement, or a guiding master concept for educational planning came into being in the mid-1960's, mainly through the initiatives of UNESCO. That organization has since those years invested resources in clarifying and developing the concept and in researching its implications. It is in this sense - as a perceived educational philosophy serving as a basis for policy-making - that the term Lifelong Education will be used here.

A review of the literature reveals a variety of definitions and uses of the term "Lifelong Education", and reflects the considerable debate concerning its core and crucial characteristics as distinguished from its contingent features (Wain, 1987, chap. 2). For the purposes of the present work, the following definition is adopted, constructed from Dave's (1975) listing of "concept characteristics": The concept proposes that education is a lifelong process encompassing and unifying not only the formal sectors including pre-primary, primary, secondary, and tertiary, but also the non-formal and informal sectors. It is rooted in the family and the community both of which perform major educative roles. It seeks continuity and articulation along its vertical dimension, and integration at its horizontal and depth dimensions at every stage in life. It is based on democratic, universal principles rather than elitist notions. It represents a dynamic approach to education characterized by flexibility and diversity in content and methods, and of time of learning. Learning, rather than teaching is its focal point. It integrates general and vocational components of education which are seen as
interactive. Lifelong education provides individuals and society with the opportunities to both adapt to change and to innovate, and is intended to correct the shortcomings of the existing system of education. Opportunity, motivation, and educability are the three major prerequisites for lifelong education. At the operational level it is an organizing principle for all education, providing a total system. Its ultimate goal is to maintain and improve the quality of life (pp. 51-52).

B. SOCIAL POLICY AND LIFELONG EDUCATION

In the literature of Lifelong Education it is clear that lifelong education is thought of as an instrument of social policy. To gain an understanding of what is meant by this it is useful to review the definition of social policy.

1. Social Policy

In liberal democracies there is a fair degree of consensus that there ought to be some level of social responsibility for the well-being of the members of society. Despite this agreement however, there exists considerable controversy over the scope, form, and consequences of that social responsibility. Positions vary on the relationships between social policy and economic and political policy, and on the proper object of public policies - positions which are ultimately founded upon divergent moral, political, and ideological stances. These factors make it difficult to arrive at a tidy, consistent definition of social policy. It is often defined in terms of services such as health care, income maintenance, housing, and so on, sometimes including education and sometimes not. But as noted above, since there is disagreement over the scope of social policy, this approach to a definition is
not an adequate one. Finch (1984) suggests that depending on one's ideological position, social policy can be variously defined as "action designed by governments to engineer change; as a mechanism for identifying human needs and devising the means of meeting them; as a mechanism for solving social problems; as redistributive justice; as the means of regulating social groups" (p. 4).

In order to incorporate the several factors involved in the definition, Weale's (1983) approach is adopted here. He proposes that social policy is "the deliberate attempt by governments to promote individual and social welfare in certain specific dimensions using any suitable policy instruments" (p. 5). This definition is preferred because it permits consideration of varying points of view adopted by particular political and ideological positions concerning which services will be offered; of whether they will be provided by government directly or indirectly through, for example, the voluntary sector; and of differing emphases concerning the objective of policy: is it to be for the benefit of the individual, or for the common good (see Griffin's 1987 discussion, pp. 4-6). This definition also recognizes the potential for debate over the variety of points of view around the relationship of economic policy measures to social policy.

2. Lifelong Education as Social Policy - Ideals and Realities

The relevance of this discussion of social policy becomes clear when it is recognized that in the literature of Lifelong Education, claims are indeed made that Lifelong Education can promote individual and social welfare, and that it ought to be adopted by the state as a means of bringing about specific social outcomes. In reference to Weale's definition, these claims distinctly cast Lifelong Education as a policy instrument.
Gelpi contributes to the field the following definition of "lifelong education policies" which will be used in this work:

By "Lifelong Education" policies is meant policies developed by the various ministries involved (Education, Labour, Agriculture, Industry, etc.), as well as by social and economic forces (unions, co-operatives, cultural movements, etc.), regarding the education of children, youth and adults in initial and further training in the formal and non-formal sectors of education. (1980, p. 17)

C. THE IMPORTANCE OF A NORMATIVE STUDY OF LIFELONG EDUCATION: CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL POLICY FORMATION

This thesis, as a normative study of Lifelong Education as social policy examines the values, traditions, and ideology implied in the policy as presented in a selection of the literature. It is an investigation into the ends to which the policy is directed. The study attempts to develop some clarity of distinction between the ideals surrounding the social aims of Lifelong Education, and the realities with which its proposed role must contend. It undertakes to do this by means of an analysis of the statements in the literature concerning the expected social outcomes of Lifelong Education, and of the assumptions underlying these goals.

1. Two Premises

The purpose of the enquiry into Lifelong Education as an instrument of social policy is linked to the two premises upon which the thesis is based. One is the conviction that, in the words of the Canadian Association for Adult Education’s Declaration on Citizenship and Adult Learning, "people have, within themselves and their communities, the spiritual and intellectual resources adequate
to the solution of their own problems." This means therefore, that citizens can, and ought to be encouraged to exercise their capacities to act on their world by participating in the envisioning of the kind of society in which they would like to be members, and in the creation of the public policies which will bring that vision to reality. Such a process entails an ongoing contestation over the range of different visions of society and over the appropriate strategies to be employed: some choices preclude other choices.

The second premise is the Freirian argument that there is no neutral education. This suggests that explicitly or implicitly in the literature of Lifelong Education there exists an ideological position. In order that citizens can participate in the process of reflection, comparison and debate that ought to inform the public formation of educational and social policy, the fundamental principles and ideological positions of policy options must be clearly identified. The difficulty, however, is that in the literature of Lifelong Education, as in policy statements in general, these important components are not easily seen.

2. Ideology in Lifelong Education

This problem has several consequences. First, citizen participation in the formation of public policy, especially in the vital initial process of establishing goals of policy, is seriously hampered. Comparison of Lifelong Education's objectives with those of other policy choices becomes impossible; active participation is therefore undermined. Public discourse is thus reduced potentially to mere apparently "objective" discussion regarding the means to some prescribed ends. The vital recognition of the value-ladenness of both the instruments (policies), and the ends to which they are applied is lost. (See Fay's (1975)
Second, this lack of clarity leaves Lifelong Education itself in a vulnerable position: it can be appropriated as a means of achieving quite conflicting ends. Because of the scope of Lifelong Education, and its objective of establishing all of society as a learning environment, Allan Quigley's (1988) observation regarding the field of adult education is even more significant in the case of lifelong education:

If, as Bernstein (1971, p. 47) maintains, the way 'a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control', it would be fair to say that the field of adult education has more often played the role of willing accomplice for policy implementation rather than either informed advisor or full participant in policy formation. This situation has had its deleterious effects . . . in both industrialized and developing countries. (no page)

The purpose here then, is to uncover some of the ideological foundations of the educational reform movement called Lifelong Education in order to facilitate authentic participation in the policy formation process on the part of not only the professionals in the field of adult and lifelong education, but also by the citizens served by those professionals.

D. LIFELONG EDUCATION AND IDEOLOGY

Sabrosky (1979) has analyzed descriptive and functional approaches to the definition of ideology in the works of Marx, Manneheim, Mullins, and others and has constructed a comprehensive synthesis useful in a theoretical analysis. It is this definition of ideology which will be applied in this work. Cutting through the perjorative uses of the term, she defines ideology as:
a body of thought that incorporates the following elements: (1) a set of beliefs about how the political, social and economic environments operate that is constructed from analyses and evaluations made of the societal system; (2) a set of desired goals that purport to change the existing system . . . derived from the application of normative and moral values to existing society and define . . . which changes should take place to make society more consistent with the values delineated; and (3) a program of action that would best implement the goals - best in terms of being feasible, and in terms of this means being consistent with the desired ends, that is, consistent with the normative values that initiated desires for change. (p. 13)

E. THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE ANALYSIS

One further comment is required, and it concerns the importance of the consideration of the historical context in which the documents studied were generated. The literature from which the data were collected for the most part comes from the decade 1972 - 1982. These were times challenged by the student dissent of the 1960's and early 1970's. Formal education had been seen all over the world as the key to economic equality amongst individuals and amongst nations. There were huge increases in expenditures on education. As the decade progressed, some small voices of disillusionment were beginning to be expressed in a few circles as the great hope in education's efficacy in solving social problems was being challenged by the evidence. For most of the decade economies were booming but poverty persisted. Disparities between the North and the South were growing. National debts grew alarmingly, and the population exploded in the parts of the world least able to support the increase. At the same time, popular awareness of the rate of technological change and its social implications was growing and social institutions such as the family struggled to adapt. International organizations like UNESCO recognized the growing crisis, and its educational planners sought the solution to these problems in the major
reform that Lifelong Education represents.

Although this study is built upon the work of the scholars and policy planners involved in the reform effort, it is based upon a worldview which reflects changed economic and political realities. The purpose of this paper is to extend the true contribution of this early work with the additional insights of the more critical paradigm accepted to a greater extent today.

The thesis is organized in the following way: Chapter Two is a description of the methodological approach used in the research. It is followed by an outline in chapter Three of the expected social outcomes of a lifelong education policy found in the selected sources. Chapter Four is a description of the analytical framework that was developed in order to analyze the literature. The analytic framework is applied to these statements of expected outcomes and the results are reported in Chapter Five. Some conclusions are drawn and implications of the findings are discussed in the final chapter.
II. OVERVIEW OF THE METHODOLOGY

In this chapter a short description is provided of the approach taken in this conceptual analysis.

A. CHOICE OF LITERATURE

The first step was to review the literature of Lifelong Education in order to gain an initial sense of what outcomes for society are expected through the implementation of Lifelong Education policy. The next part of the process was to select the particular sources to be studied more closely. Two major groupings of literature were decided upon. One is the literature of UNESCO, including the Faure Report, the Lifelong Education series of titles published by UNESCO's Institute of Education in Hamburg, various international conference proceedings, and the work of two significant contributors to the field, Ettore Gelpi, and Paul Lengrand. It was felt that study of this substantial literature from the organization which originated the modern concept and research of Lifelong Education was essential.

The UNESCO sources set a background for the study of the second major group of literature, Canadian sources. These sources were selected as an example of how one of UNESCO's Member States has applied the concept of Lifelong Education as a social policy in its unique national context. Materials examined include the Occasional Paper series published by the Canadian Commission for UNESCO, samples of journal articles, reports, and discussion papers from the Canadian Association for Adult Education, and documents from both levels of government. Federal government documents focus on manpower and skill development. The provincial sources include annual reports of Ministries of
Education, reports of Task Forces, Advisory Committees and Commissions to education ministries, and discussion papers. Documents in French were not included.

B. STATEMENTS OF SOCIAL GOALS IN THE LITERATURE

An examination of this selected literature followed. The question guiding this examination was: "What claims does this literature make concerning the expected social outcomes of the implementation of Lifelong Education policy?" A list of explicit statements was compiled, and a separate record kept of implied social outcomes.

C. DEVELOPMENT OF A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIAL GOALS

In order to then make a close systematic study of these expected outcomes, an analytic framework was developed. Incorporating theories relevant to the claims made in the literature, its purpose is to make some of the presuppositions underlying those expected outcomes more explicit, and therefore more available for reflection, comparison with alternate premises, and evaluation.

D. ANALYSIS

The framework was then applied to the social goal statements. In the process assumptions were surfaced and critically examined in the light of theory. The world views and ideological positions supporting those assumptions were brought to light, and are presented, in part, using two-way figures. The ideals and the realities surrounding the notion of Lifelong Education as an instrument
of social policy are discussed.

E. IMPLICATIONS

Lastly, a provisional comparison was made of the results of the analysis and three normative social policy models. This comparison is undertaken in order to highlight the substantial ideological choices involved in the application of Lifelong Education as social policy, and the importance of such clarity for not only public participation in the formation of public policy, but also for further research in Lifelong Education.
III. THE SOCIAL GOALS OF LIFELONG EDUCATION

A. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the explicit statements in the literature concerning the expected outcomes for society of a policy of Lifelong Education. It includes a review of statements found in both the UNESCO and the Canadian sources.

B. UNESCO SOURCES

1. The Faure Report

_Learning To Be_, as the Faure Report is formally titled, is the report of the International Commission on the Development of Education, a group of men of different backgrounds and national origins. It was commissioned in 1971 by the Director-General of UNESCO in order to investigate the problems in the development of education around the world, and to make recommendations on how these problems might be solved. UNESCO had been developing for about a decade the concept of lifelong education as the master concept for all its educational planning, but it was not until the publication of the Faure Report that the idea became more widely known. Edgar Faure, the chairman of the Commission, outlines in the preface the four assumptions with which the group began its investigations. The first premise, he says, is agreement on

the existence of an international community which, amidst the variety of nations and cultures, of political options and degrees of development, is reflected in common aspirations, problems and trends, and in its movement towards one and the same destiny. . . . [There is] fundamental solidarity of governments and of peoples, despite transitory differences and conflicts. (p. v-vi)
The other assumptions he lists are: a belief in democracy; the aim of development is the complete fulfillment of man; and the belief that that the ultimate aim of education is the self-fulfillment of each individual. The Faure Report throughout is quite consistent in its view concerning this ultimate aim. However, the Commission views outcomes of education for individuals as closely associated with goals for society: reforms in education, it is recognized, must have social and economic objectives (p. 61). Two general goals surfacing throughout the Report are: a harmonious and co-operative society, and a just and democratic society. "One specific aim of education", say the authors, is to help people "learn to communicate with each other, to co-operate in common tasks" (p. 156), to develop a "spirit of social responsibility" (p. 158), and the capability of "shouldering his share of the joint responsibility involved in the destiny of the human race". A system of Lifelong Education would produce, it is believed, a well-informed citizen who cannot be duped by the State authorities into supporting national aggression and conquest. Education assists individuals to overcome the personal psychological factors which cause hostility and "then by logical extension, it will be able to develop in all human beings a profound aspiration for peace - for everyone, everywhere; to form people ready to refuse wars of aggression and conquest" (p. 153).

Lifelong Education also leads to democracy, according to the Commission. It offers to learners a vision of the world in which individuals are not merely producers and consumers but active members of society participating in the decision-making processes (p. 65). Democratizing education specifically is a major objective. The Commission emphasizes:
Whatever power education has, or has not, to alleviate in its own domain inequalities among individuals and groups, a resolute social policy to correct unfair distribution of educational resources and effort is the obvious pre-condition for any progress in this respect. (p. 73) (italics in original)

They take pains to distinguish equal access from equal opportunity: everyone must have an equal chance of success. "The aim can be defined not just as equal educational inputs but equal educational outcomes (again, for groups, of course, not individuals)" (p. 72). This implies changes in the direction of more democratic access to education, student-teacher relationships, and administration of educational activities.

In order for these outcomes for society to be achieved, changes to both social and educational structures are required (p. 79). Lifelong Education, it is proposed, might:

provide learners with better weapons to seek more just social patterns, new conceptions of power and authority, and more effective means of communication and participation. (p. 144)

2. The Lifelong Education Series

The Lifelong Education Series of titles is published by the Institute of Education in Hamburg which was set up by UNESCO in order to study and implement the idea of Lifelong Education at the policy level. The series is a result of a number of research projects investigating the implications of Lifelong Education. Several of the titles take up general considerations, (Dave 1976, Cropley 1980) while a majority of the volumes address implications for schooling in terms of integration and evaluation of the curriculum, encouraging self-direction in learning, and teacher training. Many of the statements of the aims of
Lifelong Education refer to improvement of individuals' quality of life. However, some social goals are suggested, describing the vision of society to be created through the implementation of Lifelong Education as policy. Here is a sampling:

* The harmonizing of human relationships and the creation of community by counteracting the divisiveness of knowledge. (Ingram, 1979, p. 101)
* The development of the ability to generate and direct change. (Skager & Dave, 1977, p. 126)
* The tackling of social problems such as over-population, urbanization, the creation of national identity and an international outlook. (Goad, 1984, p. 161)
* Development of "organic solidarity". (Goad, 1984, p. 173)
* Achievement of a new quality of life which will necessitate a global civilization implying the building of a non-violent social order, the implementation of human rights, application of the principle of democratization in all aspects of society. (Dave, 1976, p. 346-7)
* Ability to co-operate in groups for common ends. (Dave, 1976, p. 347)
* A society that has achieved peace and democracy, that offers its citizens freedom and happiness, which functions with efficiency, but without suppressing the spirit of man to the point of alienation. (Dave, 1976, p. 366)
* Helping learners not only "meet new challenges of change, but also to become an active and judicious participant in the process of bringing about change itself. (Skager, 1984, p. xvi)
* To lay the foundations for profound changes of human aspirations. [It] will influence the outlook on life and on the world, and they will also create a new kind of social consciousness; [it] will form community feeling. (Suchodolski in Dave, 1976, p. 91)
* The role of the planner in Lifelong Education is as a producer and disseminator of information through carefully selected channels aimed at generating higher social welfare levels. (Schiefelbein in Cropley, 1980, p. 68)
* Knowledge of the factors and mechanisms of social change "should be used to understand... changes in education in the lifelong perspective which will save individuals and social systems from painful or even disastrous upheavals. (Janne in Dave, 1976, p. 136)
* Only the principle of Lifelong Education could help to deal with this problem [of equality of educational access failing to result in a modification of the privileges of the ruling class or the hierarchical structures of society]. . . . It is . . . designed to compensate for social inequalities. (Janne in Dave, 1976, p. 151)
In addition to these explicit statements, some of these themes are taken up and expanded upon in various volumes. One theme is the democratizing of institutions, including educational institutions and the workplace. Pineau, for example, (in Dave, 1976, p. 109, 128) suggests that the application of Lifelong Education principles in such settings would lead to increased questioning by students and workers of the closed, bureaucratic hierarchical nature of their organizations. In the volume edited by Dave (1976), Vinokur states that Lifelong Education in the workplace can promote a challenge by the workers of both the reproduction of the relations of production, and of their own union's policies (p. 325). The goal is the transformation of the social division of labour in the direction of self-management.

Another theme surfacing in this part of the literature is the frequently referred to principle of "horizontal integration" in which learning is linked to everyday processes of all life: in the home, the school, the workplace, and in leisure. The linking of the institutions, organizations, and informal networks of society through learning means, according to Dave (1976), that not only will educational institutions be re-structured, "but that society itself becomes a source of learning experiences - the whole societal structure will become a learning structure" (p. 377).

These themes, along with the explicit statements, summarize the thinking of a wide range of theorists in the field of Lifelong Education concerning outcomes for society of the implementation of Lifelong Education policies.
3. Conference Declarations, Proceedings, Recommendations

UNESCO Conference Declarations, Proceedings, and Recommendations are another group of documents in which statements of the social goals of Lifelong Education can be found. It is clear in the documents of the decade following the publication of the Faure Report that its recommendations influenced the deliberations of a number of regional and international meetings addressing specific issues in education. For example, at preparation meetings for the 1976 Nairobi Conference, differing opinions were expressed concerning the social goals of Lifelong Education as they related to adult education. More will be said of Canadian contributions to this discussion in a following section. Similarly, the ideas presented in the Faure Report were referred to at the International Colloquium on Participation and Self-Management in Education in 1975, and at the 1977 Intergovernmental Conference on Environmental Education.

4. Gelpi

Ettore Gelpi heads the Lifelong Education Unit of UNESCO. The social goals of lifelong Education advocated by him to some extent echo those found in the Faure Report. But Gelpi's unique contribution to the discussion on social goals is that he places more emphasis on them, and more importantly, locates them in an international economic and cultural context. This adds a layer of detail useful in the conception of social goals. Gelpi, along with the Faure Report authors and many other writers in the field, emphasizes the necessity for the democratizing of education in its accessibility, methods, content and administration (1985, p. 13). Though he specifically addresses structural obstacles to be overcome, he believes that Lifelong Education has, in fact, the potential to
democratize all social structures (1985, p. 9; 1979, p. 31). One of Gelpi's main interests, for example, is the link between education and production. Concerned about the need to overcome the division of labour, Gelpi believes Lifelong Education's principle of analyzing the production, as well as social and cultural realities of people's lives, is a necessary factor in this process. Self-directed learning, especially of a collective nature in grass-roots initiatives, is recognized by Gelpi to be a crucial enterprise in bringing about his social vision (1985, p. 9, 11). In calling for "positive discrimination in favour of particular social groups, ethnic minorities, and the most underprivileged populations and countries" (1985 p. 13), Gelpi is also calling on educators of all kinds to assist in the empowerment of these groups as groups, in an effort to enable them to not only maintain their own culture's distinct contribution to society at large, but to also gain equal benefits as members of society. (1979, p. 107; 1985, p. 5, 183). This is clearly one of the objectives of Lifelong Education, says Gelpi: "Lifelong Education . . . could enable us to become more and more committed to the struggle against those who oppress mankind in work and in leisure, in social and emotional life" (1979, p.1). Certainly respect for individual and collective human rights figures as a strong theme in Gelpi's writings. Lifelong Education policies, he believes, can be of significance in the pursuit of "greater justice in economic and cultural international relations" (1985, p.189). They can work toward the elimination of inequalities between classes, cultural groups, and countries by addressing "unemployment, lowering of housing standards, loss of liberty, drugs, prostitution, racism, and by integrating [these issues] into everyday educational activity" (1985, p. 13). Gelpi's chief themes of democracy and human rights are made explicit here:
Lifelong education can be an instrument (but not the only one, and itself ambiguous) [toward achieving] democratic transformation of these societies in respect of human rights, both individual and collective (from war to peace, from unemployment to work for all, from marginalization to the full participation of all in the life of society, from repression to the individual and collective fulfillment of all individuals and peoples). (1985, p. 187).

Clearly, Gelpi offers some distinct and detailed propositions concerning the potential of Lifelong Education as an instrument of social policy.

5. Lengrand

Lengrand's position concerning the goals of Lifelong Education is similar to the strong emphasis on outcomes for the individual expressed in the Faure Report. (Indeed, Lengrand was a member of the six-man Secretariat of the International Commission on Education which produced the Faure Report.) His point of view concerning outcomes for society is more difficult to discern because he does not separate individual and collective goals of education. At the same time, however, Lengrand declares, "there are structures which favour and others which inhibit the flowering of the personality . . . . Working for the construction of a society that will assure its citizens a broad and equitable share in both consumer goods and cultural resources is synonymous with working toward spiritual betterment" (1975 p. 59). The construction of such a society is achieved in part according to Lengrand, through political and social education. Strongly influenced by his World War II experience in worker education in the Resistance in southern France, he appears to place great importance on citizenship education, so that informed, effective participation in such organizations as unions, co-operatives, associations for popular culture, women's clubs, and political parties
can flourish (1975 p. 69). The ability to participate in common struggles (p. 14) is part of Lengrand's description of the qualities in people that educators can help develop. Lifelong Education is an instrument of equality, says Lengrand. "As the notion of Lifelong Education takes root and influences structures and institutions, the artificial differences between men will tend to disappear" (p. 154). This conceptual linking of the rediscovery of commonalities amongst people, change in social structures, and the implementation of Lifelong Education is what forms Lengrand's position on social outcomes.

These are the points of view from the various UNESCO sources concerning the expected outcomes for society of the implementation of a Lifelong Education policy. For consideration next is the Canadian position.

C. CANADIAN SOURCES

The Canadian documents are of a different type of source for the investigation into the social goals of Lifelong Education than the UNESCO sources just reviewed. While the UNESCO literature arises from research and promotion by an international organization of Lifelong Education as a governing concept, the Canadian literature selected is a reflection of a particular nation's response to the UNESCO work. The response therefore reflects Canada's own history of educational development, political arrangements, and economic and social choices. This section looks at various sources where one might expect to find Lifelong Education and its outcomes discussed: documents of the Federal and Provincial governments, the Canadian Commission for UNESCO, and the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE).

It should be noted here that many Canadian sources consulted in fact use
the terms "lifelong learning", "continuous learning", and "the learning society" more frequently than "Lifelong Education". In some documents, though the substantive underlying concepts of Lifelong Education are apparent, the specific term is not employed. Several explanations may be offered. The term "Lifelong Education" and its accompanying aims seem to invite considerable and contentious debate. Since Canadian discourse on the subject of educational aims, it has been remarked, tends to suffer from some neglect due to controversy, (OECD Report, p. 102) it may be that controversial terms have been avoided in favour of less inflammatory terms such as lifelong learning. Perhaps more obviously, as suggested above, the documents selected for study are of a type which examine the more specific aspects and applications of general Lifelong Education policy approaches of the UNESCO sources. This means that terms referring to discrete components and policies within Lifelong Education, such as "post-secondary education", or "paid educational leave" are likely to be used more frequently. Finally, several influential figures in adult education in Canada, for example Alan Thomas, have strongly and persistently campaigned for an emphasis on "learning" rather than on "education" [Gordon Selman, Personal communication July 12, 1988]. This focus on the learner's autonomy and responsibility also carries the strong intention to re-direct attention and resources toward non-formal, non-institutional settings - a reflection of the spirit of the UNESCO "horizontal integration" concept. Whatever the explanation for the variety of terms, every effort has been made to search out legitimate and relevant references to Lifelong Education policy and its outcomes for Canadian society.
1. Federal Government

With education in Canada falling for the most part under provincial jurisdiction, the role of the federal government regarding education lies mainly in its manpower training responsibilities, and in its partnership with provinces in mutual consultation on educational matters through the Council of Ministers of Education.

The 1984 Consultation Paper on Training "describes the trend toward lifelong learning. It underlines the importance of this trend for the roles and responsibilities of the training partners (the federal government, the provinces, workers, and employers) for innovation in training and for the financing of these efforts" (p. v). The implications of moving away from a school/work/retirement model toward a lifelong learning model include the establishment of mechanisms for greater consultations amongst those concerned with training through new advisory bodies at local, regional, and national levels; encouragement of innovatory projects in worker education; the development of educational technology; and increased educational leave options (pp. 10-11). The need, this paper emphasizes, is for flexibility and responsiveness in the training of workers. It proposes that implementation of policies supporting horizontal integration of training opportunities in both formal educational institutions, and on the job meets these needs. Related documents on skill training (the 1982 Federal Occupational Skill Development Policy for the 1980's, for example) highlight the role of non-governmental organizations in providing employment training at various levels, especially for the employment-disadvantaged groups.

The 1983 two-volume Report to the Minister of Employment and Immigration Canada by the Skill Development Task Force, titled Learning a
Living sets the education and training of Canadian workers explicitly within a Lifelong Education context, referring directly to the work of UNESCO, Paul Lengrand, and Roby Kidd. The Report emphasizes the necessity of learning through all of life in order to maintain "social harmony" and a "dynamic social balance" (p. 24). These values were protected in the aftermath of the Depression and World War II by massive education and training, and, the Report suggests, can continue to be supported by adopting a Lifelong Education policy. Can we afford the social costs of inaction?, it asks (p. 25). A number of effects of a national policy in worker education and training are outlined in the first volume. They include:

* greater involvement of individuals, the community, labour, and management in shaping increased access to vocational training (p. 19).
* improved production capacity "to utilize the resources of the education system in strengthening the industrial base" (p. 51).
* improved Canadian competitiveness in the world market by "linking training and education goals and practices to the economic and employment aspirations of working Canadians" (p. 20).
* faster, more efficient technological innovation and application (p. 19).
* participation of people in the shaping of the "form, content, and timing of technological change" instead of mere submission "to all the supposedly inevitable negative effects on employment, deskilling, or health and safety" (p. 19).
* equalization of access to education and therefore to the labour market for youth, parents of young children, language minorities, handicapped people, older workers, dislocated employees, and women, "not only to ensure a more just society, but also to make this a society which taps and uses the talents and abilities of all our people". (p. 117)

This overview of expected outcomes for Canadian society highlights the clear link made by the Task Force between an educated Canadian work force and national prosperity. The implication is that increased prosperity for the nation translates
automatically into benefits for all its citizens; the benefits of investment in vocational training in the context of Lifelong Education outweighs the nation's social costs of not promoting Lifelong Education.

A National Advisory Panel on Skill Development Leave, appointed by the Minister of Employment and Immigration in 1983 reported back to the Minister in 1984. This report, Learning for Life: Overcoming the Separation of Work and Learning "deals with the acquisition of and dissemination of knowledge, and therefore wealth in Canada" (p. ii). In recognizing the federal government's obligation to oversee the equitable distribution of opportunities amongst Canadians, it supports a number of the social goals proposed by the Skill Development Leave Task Force. It too calls for "equity in extending to all the earned right and access to skill development which is now available only to the priveleged groups". (p. 4) The Panel also points out that an educational leave policy "represents a means to reduce employment" (p. 6). In order to bring about the "learning society", it urges greater consultation and co-operation not only between local, provincial and federal governments, but also with business, labour, and the voluntary sector in formulating and financing educational opportunities. The priority, they believe, is assistance to two groups: First, the most educationally disadvantaged groups who through some degree of illiteracy are handicapped in their social and economic participation (p. 10), and second, those in need of retraining due to job loss and skill obsolescence (p. 16).
2. Provincial Governments

There is wide recognition in the documents of the provinces of the need for developing in children and adults the skills and attitudes required for learning throughout life. The 1984-85 Annual Report of the B.C. Ministry of Education, for example, says clearly that curriculum revisions in schools are reflecting the move away from an emphasis on content knowledge, and toward development of thinking skills, problem-solving, and analysis of issues. A 1984 Saskatchewan government publication Goals for Education in public schools, and the 1987 Report of the Technical-Vocational Education/Comprehensive High School Review Committee include development in students self-direction and motivation for lifelong learning. Indeed lifelong learning is "an explicit goal" of the new proposed curriculum (Directions, p. 45). Various sources from Saskatchewan, Alberta, Ontario, and B.C. in both K - 12 and post-secondary education refer to the need for greater co-operation amongst educational institutions, business and industry, and government departments for enlargement of the range and better articulation between learning opportunities wherever they may be situated. Co-operative educational programs "to break down the barriers between school and real life" are recommended by several provincial reports. These aspects surface as indications of the adoption of some of the aspects of Lifelong Education principles.

A few social goals can also be found in this literature. For example, in his 1983 Discussion Paper titled The Development of Educational Policy in the Context of Lifelong Learning, Des Berghofer, the then Deputy Minister of Advanced Education in Alberta, called for lifelong learning to become the governing concept for all educational policy. The chief challenge, he argues, is:
to shift the emphasis from the current preoccupation with the production and acquisition of analytic knowledge and technical skills towards the development of a knowledge system which recognizes the importance of holistic human development in harmony with nature. . . . expanding human consciousness rather than extending the proprietary claim of professional groups or promoting the unquestioning support of commercial interests. The ultimate objective, of course, would be to make commercial wealth producing activity synonymous with human well-being in the largest sense of that term. (p. 17, 18)

In addition to the implication for transformation of the knowledge system, Berghofer also suggests that a lifelong learning approach under the conditions of long-term reduction in the provision of traditional paid work opportunities also will mean significant changes in training for the work force and in the very definition of work. At the very least, he believes, lifelong learning can provide opportunities for people to understand and debate these changes in society, and to learn skills required to create new forms of gainful employment. In meeting these and other challenges of a post-industrial society, Berghofer makes the case that the implementation of lifelong learning policies can contribute toward solutions which are of collective benefit to all mankind:

[Lifelong learning] would be pursued by all citizens all of their lives with a sense of responsibility to share freely their knowledge with other members of their community to the benefit of all . . . . The distribution of the resources to support it would increasingly become a matter for collective decision making rather than the implementation of labour-management practices. (p. 29)

In 1972 the Minister’s Advisory Committee on Community Colleges in Saskatchewan, chaired by Ron Faris, outlined some additional social goals for Lifelong Education as it applies in community college policy. Noting the strong concern expressed by young adults around issues such as pollution, conservation
of nature, poverty, and peace, the Committee urged the college system to offer the tools to enable those adults to improve the quality of life at home and abroad (p. 16). This role, inherent in the lifelong education approach but not practiced in other parts of the education system, they suggested, builds upon the sense of community and community participation which are among the province's most valuable attributes (p. 7).

The report of this committee, as well as a number of other documents, stressed equality of educational opportunity as a goal of lifelong learning policy. Making educational opportunity more widely available especially to special needs groups like native people, women, and the poor, through other than formal education institutions, and by distributing educational resources so that people in rural areas of provinces have access equal to that of people in urban centres, is a social goal appearing frequently. The consistent implication in the literature is that the benefits resulting from greater equality of access and opportunity will be equally distributed amongst the population and regions.

Finally, one of the expected outcomes of a Lifelong Education approach to education in the provinces is greater citizen participation. While this outcome does not surface as frequently as does the democratization outcome, it does receive some attention. The goal for the general education system in B.C. for example, is to encourage and provide lifelong opportunities to continue education so that British Columbians will have a fuller life and make greater contributions to society, the economy, and the labour force (p. 87). In another example, the British Columbia Task Force on Community Colleges in 1974 stated that a lifelong learning context for community colleges should "aid in the development of effective citizens who can participate fully in society and their community" (p.
11). In Saskatchewan the emphasis on lifelong learning in the community college will add a community development dimension which, it is anticipated, will have the following effects:

Individuals will be encouraged to ask: "What is happening to our community?" "Is there anything we want to do about it?" "What can we do?" Often communities will need more information before making this last decision. This information is part of their community educational needs". (1972, p. 44)

The Wright Commission (1972) in Ontario echoes this concern for extension of participation. Lifelong learning as a key concept can encourage innovation, critical analysis of ideas, structures, and activities of society (p. 32) and involvement in educational decision making (p. 21).

There appears to be agreement amongst these provincial documents that, in the words of the Wright Commission, "continuing education is a transforming concept whose time has come and whose bracing impact will be felt" in society (p. 22).

3. Council of Ministers of Education Canada

The Council of Ministers of Education Canada (CMEC) was set up in 1967 to provide a means for provincial ministers of education to consult and co-operate on matters of mutual concern. In the years since its formation, especially since the mid-seventies, it has acknowledged more and more some of the principles of Lifelong Education. Its gradual increased liaison with federal government departments is an indication of the recognition of the relationship of education with manpower training, communications technology for application to education, especially distance education; and with international trends in education
and economics. Indeed the CMEC's involvement with international organizations such as UNESCO and OECD has increased dramatically over the years of its history, and its relations with the federal department of External Affairs, and with the Canadian Commission for UNESCO have therefore expanded. At the same time, the CMEC, like similar bodies in other developed and developing nations, has expanded and become more complex as an organization as educational budgets, particularly in the post-secondary sector, increased and as the links between post-secondary education and manpower training grew stronger. Growing awareness of international perspectives on education and economic realities and relationships through this increased involvement with international organizations has influenced the gradual recognition by the CMEC of educational issues beyond those of initial schooling.

The CMEC has also made efforts to more frequently and regularly consult with non-governmental groups in Canada who are concerned about education, such as School Trustee, Parent, and University Teacher associations. From the documents, it appears that this effort is partly in response to the acknowledgement that education is not the responsibility solely of professionals in the public system. Equity issues figure more and more frequently in the literature of the Council over time, especially after the mid-seventies. That the above considerations have been undertaken is an indication that Lifelong Education principles have to some extent had some influence.

However, of all the activities of the CMEC, the most obvious and relevant to the present study of expected outcomes for society is the CMEC involvement in the OECD examination of Canadian education which took place in 1975-76. One of the most severe criticisms by the OECD examiners was the neglect by
Canadians of discussion of the overall goals of the education system. The CMEC recognized that its activities, including ramifications for the provinces of a Lifelong Education policy, indeed did require a foundation in a more clear statement of long-term educational goals for Canada. Its response was a commitment to analyze and consult with other educational bodies in Canada in an effort to address this critique. There is no indication in subsequent documents however, that these consultations resulted in the development of a statement of national goals. There are some references to the concept of recurrent education and to the role of the voluntary sector in the provision of educational opportunities as a means of overcoming certain problems in provision. However, despite specific mention in the CMEC 1984-85 Annual Report of the highly effective Canadian input concerning Lifelong Education as a master concept guiding educational policy at the 1985 UNESCO Fourth Annual International Conference on Adult Education, up to the most recent annual report, there is no indication in the annual reports that the CMEC has adopted Lifelong Education (or any other concept) as a foundation for the establishment of long-term national goals of education.

4. Canadian Association for Adult Education

Another Canadian source examined is the literature of the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE), an organization which has had an interest in the concepts of Lifelong Education, Lifelong Learning, and Continuous Learning for many years. The social goals revealed in a sampling of the document of the period from approximately 1972 to the present can be organized into a general overarching statement, and more specific explication of that general
a. The Learning Society as a Social Goal

"The learning society" is seen in CAAE literature as the major social goal to be achieved. "The role of the CAAE in relation to social policy is primarily one of promoting lifelong learning as a social goal", says Teresa MacNeil in her 1984 Discussion Paper, Adult Education and Social Policy (p. 4). She outlines various ways in which the CAAE might "improve the process of social policy formation in the interest of establishing the learning society" (p. 5). The 1985 Declaration on Citizenship and Adult Learning makes the aim clear: "a humane, and just and democratic society - a learning society lead by learning adults". The extensive use of the term "learning society", only suggested by these few excerpts, appears to represent a blending of the emphasis on "learning as an individual activity" noted earlier, with a general concern for Canadian society, but at the same time, a down-playing of "education as the organization of learning". In this respect, the term permits abstinence from committment to particular policies and policy outcomes. It is in this sense that "the learning society" is a general overall social goal, and can be seen in the CAAE view as a precondition for the identification of more specific desireable outcomes.

Capturing a theme of much of the Lifelong Education literature, the CAAE's 1985 Mission Statement declares, "In an age of rapid change -- economic, social, political, demographic -- learning is key to adaptation, to self-help, and survival." "The learning society" as a goal is intimately linked in the view of the CAAE with the involvement of citizens in the formation of public policy on social issues arising from rapid change. The ultimate goal is
improvement in the "adequacy of social policy for the general good of the nation" (MacNeil, 1984, p. 2). Indeed, improvement of the policy formation process itself is therefore an important goal. Increasing opportunities to learn, it is contended, enables the less powerful in society to compete with the more powerful interests for influence of policy. "Increasingly humanizing social systems" are the result of wider, more informed public participation: "It is a well-grounded theory that when individuals and groups are assisted to systematically examine and solve problems, human development is bound to accrue" (p. 3). The CAAE journal Learning in several issues supports this democratic aim. Berghofer, for example, refers to the exercise of the right to learn as "essential for both economic and democratic reasons" (Vol. VI:2, p. 11).

b. Specific Goals of the Learning Society

Some of the more specific goals of the learning society are articulated in the 1987 draft statements of belief of the CAAE Task Groups on various social policy issues. They include these outcomes of learning: a) literacy for all Canadians so all can participate in society, b) a sustainable environment, c) preservation of a distinct national identity, c) local economic development in order to create work and wealth, to make profit for individuals and the community, d) world peace and human freedom through social and economic justice, e) inclusion of women in the workplace, decision-making, and the solving of societal problems; public policies that encourage and support women's learning, especially for women who are native, immigrants, or disabled.

Finally, several social goals surface in the CAAE document regarding occupational training, work, and the economy. In the collection of articles
published in 1976 under the title *Manpower Training at the Crossroads*, Pierre Paquet summarizes the issues around the goals and priorities in manpower training in Canada. He urges in addition to economic growth goals, recognition in policy of the lifelong education goal of "social justice based on equal opportunity to education", community self-help, and development of "the capacity not only to adapt to changes but also to trigger them" (p. 61). Quoting from a speech by Amadou M'Bow in 1975 in Sherbrooke, Paquet stresses that manpower training ought not to include only "purely functional occupational training . . . but it should also strive towards the total fulfillment of the individual, and as part of society in production, political action, culture, and leisure" (p. 63).

Thus, in the statement of the general goal of achievement of the learning society, and in its position on specific social policy and manpower training objectives, we gather an idea of the CAAE perspective on the social goals of lifelong education.

5. **Canadian Commission for UNESCO**

The *Occasional Papers* published by the Canadian Commission for UNESCO provide some insight into its Education Sub-Commission's posture concerning social goals of Lifelong Education. The Occasional Papers are the main means by which the Commission makes available to Canadians the activities of UNESCO, and the Canadian response to those activities. This section will first review some of the themes surfacing in the Papers in general, and then next focus in more depth on three of the most relevant.

Lifelong education, especially adult education as an important component of the concept, is seen in these documents as a significant factor in the solution of
social, cultural, and economic problems; investment in Lifelong Education has an immediate return (Occasional Paper #10, p. 1). The familiar related outcomes of the democratization of education and participation surface here as they have in other sources: Member States are urged to take measures to increase access of workers and disadvantaged groups to educational opportunity "in order that the status and living and working conditions of the labouring classes may be improved by providing them with a continually developing educational system" (#10, p. 8). "The aims of such measures in addition include the fostering of more equitable relations among social groups [#10, p. 6]. Reforms such as extensive participation by parents, citizens, and workers in the local management of education are urged (#18). Adult Literacy in Canada, Occasional Paper #42, published in 1983 makes the case for funding for Adult Basic Education programs in order to enable those with poor literacy skills to participate in Canadian society.

Several papers document Canadian responses to specific UNESCO initiatives concerning Lifelong Education. Occasional Paper # 12 is The Canadian Reaction to the Faure Report. Published in 1973, the paper is an inventory of opinions about the contents of the Report expressed in ten public seminars and at a national symposium. The paper notes that there has been agreement on many of the points of the Faure Report, and that though "a number of the things contained in the Report have been said before, perhaps never has so many been said at the same time so well" (p. 2). It points out that many recent provincial commissions on education in Canada have dealt with the problems and issues raised by the Faure Commission. However, the Paper suggests, Canadians have diverging points of view on how the recommendations of the Report ought to be
implemented, and have concerns that the Report has not taken into account to any serious degree power relations in society and in education, in that it does not examine the structural causes of the inequalities Lifelong Education seeks to redress. The Canadian Reaction to the Faure Report also challenges the implication that equal accessibility and equal opportunity are synonomous terms - a myth, the authors comment, pervasive also in Canadian education. (While the Faure Report does try to establish a distinction, it in fact does not follow through in its argument. See pp. 72-80.)

The implication of these critiques by Canadian educators is that as long as these issues remain unresolved, the expected outcomes of lifelong education in Canada cannot be assumed or even properly identified.

In late 1975 UNESCO requested that Canada, along with other Member States offer back reactions to the Draft International Instrument on the Development of Adult Education. The Canadian Commission for UNESCO subsequently held consultations with a number of government and non-profit bodies concerned with adult education. The Canadian Commission recommendations concerning the draft are of direct relevance to Lifelong Education and its social goals. Their main emphasis revolved around the Commission's insistence that the instrument place adult education explicitly within the context of lifelong education, especially Lifelong Education for community development. The Canadian concern was that a better balance between Lifelong Education for individual benefit and Lifelong Education for society as a whole be reflected in the instrument. The Commission urged:

the highlighting of the community aspect of education which, over and above its immediate significance in individual learning, can be instrumental in social, economic, political, and cultural development. (ED/MD/4 annex 1, p. 6)
Subsequent UNESCO publications show that in nearly every case, the Canadian Commission's observations and recommendations were incorporated into the final draft of the Recommendations on the Development of Adult Education.

Occasional Paper #51, entitled Learning in Society: Toward a New Paradigm, was published in 1985 as a collection of papers delivered at the Symposium on Learning in Society in Ottawa in 1983. In its general agreement with the proposition in Thomas' initial Discussion Paper that learning is an individual activity and his view of the role of the State in education, this collection of papers is distinctly wary of social goals of Lifelong Education. However, a few perspectives on social goals do surface. In the introduction, Gordon Selman includes this quote from the formal Declaration of the Second UNESCO International Conference on Adult Education:

Our first problem is to survive. It is not a question of the survival of the fittest; either we survive together or we perish together. Survival requires that the countries of the world must learn to live together in peace. "Learn" is the operative word.

Thomas' paper briefly takes up this concern for learning as a means of solving social problems including economic survival. He brings up a further issue in the consideration of the outcomes for society of a lifelong education policy:

The increasing dependancy on learning by the modern State... necessitates the maintenance of a new balance in society, with the possible release of individual energy, imagination, and trust on one hand, and the possibility of manipulation, deceit and cynicism on the other. (p. 21)

This statement reflects Thomas' concern about the potential negative outcome for society of Lifelong Education.
Brock Whale's paper in the same collection is an attempt to investigate ways individual learners and the State engage together in "joint venture management of learning" and assumes there is a common cause to be achieved through creation of a learning society" (p. 68). Bert Curtis expresses in his paper concern that more and more universities and colleges are funded through a short-sighted public policy which is directed to short-term economic and political goals. The results of such policies, he contends, include "narrowly skilled people who are susceptible to tyrannical leadership from the right or the left", and the neglect of adults who are educationally disadvantaged (p. 54). The application of Lifelong Education policies, he believes, would avoid these effects by giving freedom of choice of education to all students throughout life (p. 57).

New egalitarian relationships are "both the reflection and the beginnings of new power relationships in a new social order", says Guy Bourgeault in his summary paper. It is up to society to decide, he continues, whether the implementation of the learning society will be the means by which urgent complex social challenges will be met (p. 45). D'Arcy Martin, however, taking issue with many of the assumptions in the papers, asserts that "social analysis should be the starting point for discussion of learning" (p. 101). He argues that society is in transition from an industrial to an information society, and that with increasing concentration of power and the marginalization of "techno-peasants", "learning is the process by which the individual tests the limits imposed by the inequalities of wealth, power, and knowledge (p. 101). Such opportunities, he believes must be made available especially through trade union education and voluntary associations.

This summary of the Canadian Commission for UNESCO's Occasional
Paper on education provides an additional perspective on the Canadian view of the social goals of Lifelong Education.

**D. SUMMARY OF THE SOCIAL GOALS**

This review of the social goals of Lifelong Education reflected in UNESCO and Canadian sources has brought to light seven inter-related themes. The documents suggest that the social outcomes of the implementation of lifelong education as social policy are: 1) the establishment of a harmonious and co-operative society, 2) the solving of social problems, 3) improvement of production capacity, 4) equality of educational opportunity, 5) the transformation of the social division of labour, 6) a just and democratic society, and 7) improved citizen and worker participation in shaping change through institutional and political decision-making processes.

The means by which these goals can be better understood is presented in terms of an analytical framework outlined in the next chapter.
IV. ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK

A. INTRODUCTION

An analysis of the normative social goals expressed in the literature requires the application of relevant theoretical perspectives to those stated anticipated outcomes. The purpose of such an exercise is to discover the presuppositions contained within those goals statements. To this end, an analytic framework was developed. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a rationale for the selection of the components of the analytic framework and a description of their main features.

An initial study of the literature suggested that the social goals of Lifelong Education are concerned with the creation of a just and democratic society. Theories employed to examine such goals must therefore address definitions of justice, political participation by citizens, and the capability of education to effect social change. For this study then, theories of justice, theories of social change, and theories of the social role of education are included as the components of the analytical framework. Theories of justice help to emphasize the variety of meanings possible for the term "a just society". They attempt to define "the good" in society and the principles by which that good will be distributed. Such meanings and principles may inform the enquiry as to the place education has in bringing about justice. Theories of social change look at the origins, ideologies, processes, and outcomes of change and can offer some general insights into planned social and educational reform efforts such as those proposed by Lifelong Education. Finally, some understanding of the relationship between education and society can be gained in an exploration of a range of theoretical
perspectives on the role of education in society.

In some places these components of the analytic framework overlap and link. These connections, it will be seen, add greater conceptual strength to the analysis.

Turner (1986) suggests that there are two basic types of typologies in analytical schemes:

naturalistic/positivistic schemes which try to develop a tightly woven system of categories that is presumed to capture the way in which the invariant properties of the universe are ordered; and descriptive/sensitizing schemes which are more loosely assembled congeries of concepts intended only to sensitise and orient researchers to certain critical processes. (p. 11)

The type adopted here is the latter because the approach in this work is one which argues for the need for flexibility and openness to revision of the way we believe the universe is organized. Thus, while both the theoretical positions of each component of the framework, as well as the conceptual map on which they are located are considered provisional, they are helpful in revealing some of the important concepts in Lifelong Education from which policy is determined.

The theories of each component are presented as situated along a continuum, and represented to be to some degree polar. The use of this continuum structure has both advantages and disadvantages. The advantage is its ability to emphasize the contrasting/conflicting key ideas of polar positions which, when temporarily highlighted, serve to clarify the issues involved. The notion of a continuum also implies the fading of extreme ideas at one end into intermediate positions, and then again toward an opposite extreme. In this, a continuum suggests the location of a set of ideas relative to other sets of ideas, yet implies that in certain places boundaries overlap and blend.
The disadvantage of this approach is that it can tend to reinforce the problems in educational and social theory stemming from forced dichotomies. As Giddens (1984) has suggested, the constituents of many dichotomies, for example "individual-society", "... are not two independently given sets of phenomena, a dualism, but represent a duality" within the same reality (p. 25). It is in this spirit, of recognizing that theories depicted along a continuum are in fact implicated in each other, that the disadvantage is overcome. The use of the conception of a continuum then, is seen as "... a methodological procedure rather than an ontological assertion" (Turner, p. 458). The bracketing out for consideration of one pole of the continuum, and then the other, is only a means by which distinctions can be made for the purpose of analysis.

The first component of the analytic framework to be considered is "Theories of Justice".

B. THEORIES OF JUSTICE

1. Introduction

As we have seen, it is claimed in the literature that lifelong education can bring about a more just society. This is a substantial claim because the suppositions and principles involved in a notion of justice are of pivotal concern in society: they underlie and affect other important dimensions of the social structure. So that an understanding can be reached of what is meant by the claim in the literature, we examine theories of justice.

To be useful in an analysis and evaluation of Lifelong Education as a social policy, a number of elements involved in a theory of justice must be
taken into account. These elements are addressed from a number of different points of view represented by rival conceptions of justice within the field of moral philosophy. However, not all theories of justice do take a position on each of the elements or conceive of them in the same way. Therefore it is not a simple matter to clearly describe or compare these theories one to the other.

In this section first some of the issues relevant to the study of the theoretical foundations of Lifelong Education are reviewed. The intention here is not to attempt to provide a comprehensive or in-depth summary of theories of justice, but instead to indicate some of the important considerations involved in the meaning of justice. Second, a brief overview of one theory of justice is provided. This is followed by a summary of some of the critiques of this theory. Finally, an indication will be made of the potential usefulness of this part of the analytic framework in examining the claims of a more just society as an outcome of Lifelong Education.

2. Elements and Issues in Theories of Justice

Most theories of justice deal explicitly or implicitly with a number of fundamental inter-related questions concerning the nature of man and his capacity as a rational agent. They usually make some statements as well, about "the good" - as defined in material terms such as income, wealth, and commodities, or in non-material terms such as personal virtues or citizenship activities. Some theories are founded on an ethical theory in which the good is defined in terms of rules and procedures which comprise rational action in carrying out a life plan. Meeting the demands of such rationality is considered the highest good. Virtues such as kindness or courage are considered only as instruments in
achieving one's ends. There are other theories on the other hand, which take an ethics of virtues as their base. These, in contrast, view virtues as the highest good, not as a means to private ends.

How the good ought to be distributed is a question which then follows. Some theories take a position concerning distribution based on a principle of equality with respect to needs, while others base their pattern for distribution on a principle of equality with respect to entitlement, or rights. Farrell (1982), though not proposing an ethical or philosophical analysis, provides an understanding of different possible conceptions of equality as they apply to education's role in equalizing life chances. He describes equality of access referring to chances to enter into the educational system and to the type of education available to a student; equality of survival which addresses the probability of students from varying social groupings staying within the system; equality of output describing the possibility that students from different social groupings will learn the same things to the same level; and equality of outcome which deals with the probabilities of students as a result of educational opportunity enjoying equal status, power, income, and other resources (p. 43). Thus, the issues around equality as one aspect of justice, whether thought of in terms of an initial starting point before a distribution of society's goods, or as an outcome of a particular distribution system, are varied and complex.

Interwoven with these elements are the vital issues around the relationship of the individual to society. The individual in some approaches is viewed as able to realize the good on his or her own, while in other approaches the position is that the good can only be achieved where individuals identify their primary interests with a shared understanding of the shared good in community.
Another basic consideration is summarized by this question: Ought a theory of justice be "universal", applying across all societies, or, as Taylor (1988) describes the alternative, "communitarian", that is, at least partly relative to the particular culture and history of the society in which it is being applied. This question points to a fundamental bone of contention in moral philosophy. Traditions on both sides have developed their principles of justice, and arguments for a combination of the approaches have been offered.

These are some of the topics with which a theory of justice must contend. It becomes clear that these elements are not ultimately distinct from one another. Points of view concerning the good for example, are linked to definitions of rationality and human nature, to the place of community, and to the notion of desert.

3. Rawls' Theory of Justice

A synopsis of one influential theory, that of John Rawls, published in 1971, and of the critiques of that theory, will serve as an example of how some of the various possible elements of a theory of justice can be related together in a systematic way. In order to stay true to Rawls' own meanings and to aid in comprehension, Rawls' own words and phrases are employed in this description, and quotation marks are avoided.

Rawls' aim is to discover what principles free and rational persons located in an initial situation of equality, and concerned to further their own interests, would accept as the basis for determining the fundamental terms of their association together. Together they can choose how rights, duties, the benefits of association, and claims against one another will be assigned and regulated (p.
11). The context in which this deliberation would take place assumes everyone has a conception of the good, that these conceptions might conflict, and that people are willing and able to act justly according to whatever principles of justice are agreed upon. Rawls' first concern is to specify the most appropriate conditions under which to choose principles of justice. They include: that no one be advantaged in the deliberations by natural fortune or social circumstance; that principles not be specially tailored to one's own case; and that each individual's own conception of the good not affect the principles chosen. Rawls calls this device of excluding knowledge of these contingencies which are sources of conflict, the "veil of ignorance".

The context and conditions also include the premise that real individuals are self-interested and think of themselves as heads of families with ties to the generations on each side of them (pp. 128-29), and that they co-exist with others much like themselves in a climate of moderate scarcity. They are assumed to be rational, which in Rawls' philosophy means that individuals use their best efforts to advance their own interests or plan of life, though under the veil of ignorance they do not know the details of that plan. To be rational under these conditions means that one would choose a conception of justice that would enable one to gain more rather than lose primary goods. Primary goods are instrumental goods, some of which are natural such as health, intelligence, and imagination, and some of which are social such as rights, liberties, powers and opportunities, income and wealth, and self-respect (p. 62).

Rawls makes the case that under these conditions people would choose the following general conception of justice:

All social values - liberty and opportunity, income and wealth, and the bases of self-respect - are to be distributed equally
unless an unequal distribution of any, or all, of these values is to everyone’s advantage. (p. 62)

and two principles of justice, with the first having priority over the second:

First, each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive basic liberty compatible with a similar liberty for others. (p. 60) Second, that social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both (a) to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged, and (b) attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity. (p. 83)

Injustice in this theory then, is conceived as inequalities that are not beneficial to all.

4. Critiques of Rawls’ Theory of Justice

Many of the critiques of Rawls focus on his “veil of ignorance” proposition. This argument is that in real life we are never behind such a veil of ignorance and therefore a theory based on such an abstract premise is of limited use as people in society struggle to determine the principles by which benefits and burdens of community co-operation are to be shared. This critique is similarly applied to some of Rawls’ other assumptions and conditions such as total social agreement to comply with the principles worked out, and his understanding of rationality. Such critiques stem from a significantly different paradigm in the field of philosophy than the one from which Rawls operates.

Craig (1976) and others of similar orientation base their critique on an argument that Rawls starts from a liberal-individualist bias. Craig maintains that Rawls treats a number of assumptions as unproblematic: the view of protection of individual liberty as the most important political task - indeed, of the
individual as the focus of ethical and political analysis; the definition of reason as the main instrument for evaluating means; that minimum conditions for pursuit of the good can be agreed upon despite the belief that individual preferences define the good; and so on (p. 25). If these assumptions can be challenged, says Craig, the theory developed from them becomes quite weak. Following similar traditions basic to this critique, Taylor (1986) points out that it is possible to see society either as a better means of fulfilling personal individual aims determined independently from society than solitary action, or alternately in a more social view of human good which, in contrast, holds that what is to be gained from society is "the very possibility of being an agent seeking that good" (p. 38); that is, we are not fully human unless we are in association with others. This approach to the understanding of contrasting conceptions of the human good and how it is determined establishes Rawls to be more of the "atomist" position than the social view, and therefore more inclined to establish a theory of justice based on an ethics of rules and procedures for pursuing individual goals than an ethics of virtues to be sought and preserved only in community (Taylor, 1988; MacIntyre, 1981). For our purposes here, more generally, this analysis underlines the fact that an understanding of justice can be founded on quite different ideas of the good and of the aims of society.

Another critique of Rawls' theory is that it sets aside notions of desert. MacIntyre's (1981) assessment of this position is of interest. He establishes that:

the notion of desert is at home only in the context of a community whose primary bond is a shared understanding of the good of that community and where individuals identify their primary interests with reference to those goods. (p. 233)

He further argues that since Rawls places individual identification of the good as
primary, before construction of moral or social bonds, he therefore cannot take into account the idea of desert in relation to varying contributions to the common tasks of community in pursuing shared goods. The distribution of goods therefore in Rawls' account cannot be based on any idea of desert. Taylor (1988) argues that real human beings in real societies do however, take desert seriously and that this reality must be considered in the discourse about principles of justice.

It can be argued that a more socially determined set of principles than those proposed by Rawls is hardly possible in a fragmented, pluralistic society where no moral consensus can in fact be reached. In such a society, says MacIntyre "where government does not express or represent the moral community of the citizens, but is instead a set of institutional arrangements for imposing a bureaucratised unity on a society . . . , the nature of political obligation becomes systematically unclear" (p. 236), and therefore many of the virtues around citizenship are threatened. It would appear then that a theory of justice focussing on a more individualistic-procedural view, despite its weaknesses, is the only recourse. Taylor and MacIntyre in their work do in fact show that this is the tendency in modern society. However, they also show that in following this path real dilemmas remain concerning what kind of equality a just distribution of goods is supposed to bring about. Using the example of regional equalization policy in Canada, Taylor (1988) poses the question of whether attempts at equalization are meant to achieve equality between individuals or between communities. An ideal theory like Rawls', he contends, cannot take into account the actual understandings of the good in real historic communities - a cultural understanding most relevant in real-life policy-making.
Since neither individualistic nor socially-oriented theories of justice suffice completely in meeting actual political and social dilemmas arising out of conflicting views of the good, Taylor (1988) proposes that a new theory is required which makes the notion of a transcendant highest good compatible with freedom, reason, and with other goods implicit in real historic practice. Taylor's acknowledgement of the difficulty of such a project is reminiscent of one of Walzer's conclusions:

Justice is not likely to be achieved by the enactment of a single philosophy of justice, but rather of this philosophical view and then of that one, insofar as these views seem to the citizens to capture the moral realities of their common life. And the enactment is always . . . "in confusion" — justice is not an instant and exact order; it isn't the end of political contention. (p. 149)

5. Summary

These statements bring us back to the central point of this section: There exist a number of conflicting points of view about what justice means, many of which have their source in quite fundamentally different interpretations of human nature and the aims of society. Understanding some of the distinctions can help in determining to which of the meanings the literature of Lifelong Education subscribes.
C. ROLES OF EDUCATION IN SOCIETY

1. Introduction and Rationale

The implication in the literature that the implementation of lifelong Education can bring about a significantly changed society, raises questions not only about social change in general, but also about the role of education in society. Does education follow or respond to change in society, assisting its members to adapt? Does it function as an initiator of change (that is, is education seen as a means of bringing into reality some social vision)? Or does education interact dialectically with change in society, both influencing and influenced by society?

In order to gain a sense of which of these roles is reflected in the literature, it is useful to investigate some of the theories of the social role of education in general. One approach to this investigation would be to review the range of conservative, liberal, and radical views of the role of education in society. For the purposes at hand, however, and to make more transparent the assumptions of Lifelong Education and their logical consequences in social policy outcomes, it is more appropriate to adopt a critical education theory perspective. The critical theory approach has the strength of offering a multi-dimensional systematic examination of the specifically social context and aims of education. Aronowitz and Giroux (1985) have organized these theories of education into two general categories: Reproduction and Resistance. In the Reproduction category, they cite three constituent models which represent the dimensions of this approach. These theories and the theory of Resistance-Transformation are summarized below.
2. Reproduction

Theories of Reproduction argue that the role of education in society is the reproduction of the existing distribution of power and both material and non-material resources in society through the influence of the economic, cultural, and political structures controlled by the ruling class. These theories represent a critical view of consensus theorists like Parsons whose view of the social function of education has been summarized by Rubenson (1988, p. 6). In this synthesis Rubenson notes that Parsons sees schools as instruments of selection and socialization into appropriate labour positions in society. The notion of socialization includes the development of commitment to both the overall values of society and to the performance of a specific role in that society. Selection for the various roles required takes place through a selection process in the family and the school and is based on achievement. This system of allocation of human resources, according to Parsons, is a fair one since it is based on the widely shared values of the society. Parsons says:

> Probably the most fundamental condition underlying this process is the sharing of common values by the two adult agencies involved, the family and the school. In this case, the core is the shared valuation of achievement. It includes, above all, recognition that it is fair to give differential rewards for different levels of achievement, so long as there has been fair access to opportunity, and fair chance that these rewards lead to higher-order opportunities for the successful. Parsons, 1959, p. 30 (cited in Rubenson, 1988)

It is the exact nature of these social functions and the assumptions held within them that critical theorists interested in the reproduction of power structures through education seek to examine and critique. Three different dimensions of the reproduction model of education are outlined below.
a. Economic Reproduction

In the economic sphere, investigated by Bowles and Gintis, Althusser, and others, education plays a role in the reproduction of the social and technical division of labour. According to Ferrarotti (1979), education and the media are the means of organizing social consent to the arrangement of society into two classes: those who buy labour and own the means of production, and those who sell their labour-power. (p. 122). This is in contrast to the liberal view, as Willis (1983) points out:

Far from productive roles in the economy simply waiting to be "fairly" filled by the products of education, the "Reproduction" perspective reversed this to suggest that capitalist production and its roles required certain educational outcomes. (quoted in Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985, p. 70)

Those outcomes are the maintenance of structured inequalities in society. Schecter (1977) illuminates these functions in his history of educational reform in Canada. At the time of the transition to industrial capitalism, he argues:

The social control functions of schooling were twofold. On a specific level the reforms were designed to discipline the nascent labour force for industrial capitalism. On a general level they were designed to legitimate that social order in such a way that the upheaval it brought could be dealt with without questioning the social order itself. (p. 379)

b. Cultural Reproduction

In addition to economic models of reproduction in society, a model of cultural reproduction has been developed by Pierre Bourdieu. It is characterized by a politicized view of knowledge and culture in which "certain forms of knowledge, ways of speaking, and ways of relating to the world" are legitimized through the education system to support existing unequal social and economic
arrangements. (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985, p. 80-81). Through the schools, through non-formal, and higher education, and through the media, dominant culture "functions to portray the economic and political interests of the dominant classes, not as arbitrary and historically contingent, but as necessary and natural elements of the social order" (p. 80). A main contribution of the cultural model is the notion that dominant ideology is not reproduced only through the exercise of power of the elite in the economic sector, but also through the wider, more subtle, and pervasive appropriation of culture. It also offers insight into the "hidden curriculum" which legitimizes the dominant classes’ values concerning work, production, and consumption.

c. Political Reproduction

Lastly, political factors must be taken into account along with the economic and cultural mechanisms of reproduction, in order to understand the role of the state in influencing education. There is much current debate over the exact definition and nature of the role of the state in this matter, but certainly the inclusion of theories of the state and of political hegemony is an essential aide in the provision of deeper insight into how dominant classes maintain their position. Despite some differences, the theories do agree that a view of the state as a politically neutral administrative structure must be rejected. The work of such people as Poulantzas, Gramsci, and Therborn makes more clear some of the state’s mechanisms. Therborn (1982) for example, includes as ideological mechanisms of the state a number of systems which are of great interest in the examination of the role of Lifelong Education in society: the formal education system, the family, the mass media, on-the-job training, and the workplace. These
are all sites in which the potential for non-formal and informal learning is emphasized by Lifelong Education. The role of the state in these systems, suggests Therborn, "is not in legitimizing the prevailing system, but rather in a differential shaping of aspirations and self-confidence and in a differential provision of skills and knowledge" (p. 246). It becomes quite clear why control over the production and distribution of knowledge, not just in the formal education system, but also in the various other sites of potential learning in society, is therefore a vital means to this end.

Aronowitz and Giroux note however, in their overview of Reproduction theory, some of the limitations these models present. The main deficiency is the inherent mechanistic, deterministic, and pessimistic view of the potential for change through education. In this, and in its sole focus on the macro- and structural view of society, human agency is underestimated. Most of the theories of reproduction, claim Aronowitz and Giroux, tend toward a characterization of relations, both within and between (due to the effect of hegemony) classes as containing no contradictions. This characterization does not take into account the proposition that hegemony is never total, that opposition does in fact surface out of the very real contradictions contained within reproductive mechanisms: change does indeed occur. In the few places where contradictions are acknowledged, they are lodged in an abstract conception of the structure of society, rather than in the daily lives of the working class, women, minorities, and the poor; in the continuous production of their own culture in which inequalities are identified and opposed.
3. Resistance, and Education for Transformation

These limitations are the source of the development of a theory of Resistance. This approach is an attempt to link together the insights of Reproduction theory concerning the influence of social structures, with a serious study of human agency. It recognizes that contradictions exist both within dominant ideologies and institutions, and within subordinate groups. It is in these contradictions that human agency, the capacity to reflect and to act to create a different cultural logic persists. In this view, the role of education is firstly, to assist citizens in general, and members of subordinate groups in particular, in the analysis of the culture of subordinate groups to discover its potential for resistance of the hegemony of dominant culture. Secondly, its role is to encourage the development of the tools for social transformation. Aronowitz and Giroux suggest that "the concept of resistance must have a revealing function that contains a critique of domination and provides theoretical opportunities for self-reflection and struggle in the interest of social and self-emancipation." (p. 105).

And further, they emphasize the collective nature of resistance:

The ultimate value of the notion of resistance must be measured not only by the degree to which it promotes critical thinking and reflective action but, more importantly, by the degree to which it contains the possibility of galvanizing collective political struggle . . . around issues of power and social determination. (p. 107)

Shapiro (1985), taking an historical perspective, identifies the present day origins of the collective political struggle. Referring to the increase in access to education in the 1960's, Shapiro argues that individual expectations also increased and have "confronted the economic realm with growing pressures to ensure its responsiveness to popular demands . . . [as evidenced in] the struggle for control
of non-material resources in capitalist society; the dissemination of cultural symbols and meanings" (p. 29). These pressures are particularly evident in the face of the growing success of the neo-conservative agenda, where, he argues, citizens begin to recognize the failure of the promise of greater equality in the distribution of resources through increased educational opportunity. These contradictions have underlined for society the importance of control of culture, and have sharpened recognition that this control is fundamentally lodged in education. The resulting demand in the 1980's for extension of citizenship has, suggests Shapiro, certain implications:

The struggle for the 'hearts and minds' of young people, [and, one could argue, of adults] whether in school or in the increasingly important wider circles of informal socialization (T.V., etc.) must inevitably politicize (i.e. subject to democratic accountability) social and economic structures previously immune from popular scrutiny. (p. 30)

With Lifelong Education so clearly concerned with non-formal and informal education, Shapiro's observation is particularly important.

Aronowitz and Giroux (1985), Giarelli (1986), Apple (1982), and others echo a similar logic in their contributions to the development of the theory of resistance and their arguments for a transformative role for education.

In these fundamental characteristics of Resistance theory can be seen both the emphasis on the importance of cultural production and its link to education for political action for social transformation. It is in the notion of education for citizen participation in the transformation of society that resistance theory becomes truly constructive. In the evolution of resistance theory this concept of active citizen participation in the formation of public policy has come to be the keystone, and therefore in the following pages we will refer to resistance theory
as education for transformation, or more concisely, transformation theory.

Another feature of transformation theory is the emphasis it places on the inter-relationships between home and school and the workplace so that the roots of resistance and transformation can be seen to be within all these locations, in the lived experience of students and workers. Rather than viewing educational opportunities as occurring in discrete locations, it sees them as linked through the participation of real people who move between home, the workplace, and educational activities, carrying with them their beliefs, attitudes, and experience. It is, as has been suggested earlier, within and between these sites that contradictions are detected, providing opportunities for reflection, critique, and action - the very principles of education for transformation.

In addition, transformation theory addresses the problem of the social construction of needs. It provides an analysis of how the consumer mentality is promoted for the purpose of shaping a perception of needs that is consistent with what the market produces, and with the values of competition and individualism. Education for transformation not only analyzes these mechanisms, but investigates a different view of needs consistent with a "shared goods" view of production and distribution of goods in society, and with values of social solidarity and ecological harmony (Aronowitz & Giroux, p. 103). Another feature of the approach of transformation theory is its aim to take into account not only aspects of class domination and submission, but also issues of gender and race. The study of these forms of oppression and resistance provides a wider understanding of the vital alternative constructions of the social world, important in the process of social transformation, offered by women, racial minorities, and other subordinate groups.
In summary, this outline of the features of Reproduction and Resistance/Transformation theories provides an overview of critical education theories concerning the role of education in society. Such an overview gives an additional tool for the analysis of the claims in the Lifelong Education literature concerning the influence of education in effecting social change.

**D. THEORIES AND MODELS OF SOCIAL CHANGE**

1. **Introduction and Rationale**

   In its aims of creating a society with such characteristics as participatory democracy, a non-violent social order, and a breakdown of the division of labour, the literature of lifelong education calls for a significantly changed society. In order to understand and evaluate both the potential and the limitations of a proposed policy such as Lifelong Education to bring about such major social change, it is important to take into consideration the body of knowledge concerning the dimensions and dynamics of change in society. An understanding of theories of social change helps clarify the origin, rationale, scope and processes, and expected outcomes of any planned change effort. It can also help determine the degree to which power and ideology are taken into account within these dimensions. To include reference to these constituents of a theory of social change is to strengthen the legitimacy of Lifelong Education's implicit claim of effecting major social change.

   While a paradigm presupposing social equilibrium has been influential in the historical development of social and educational theory until relatively recently, the state of theory today is built upon a critique of the evolutionary and
functional character of this paradigm. Paulston, Livingstone, and Giddens, amongst others, make the case that analysis requires the consideration of theories which explicitly include perspectives about conflict. Paulston (1978) for example, points out:

...as major educational reforms always involve a political process with implications for the redistribution of power, the lack of reform analysis from conflict perspectives has seriously limited our ability to either understand or predict the outcomes of educational reform efforts. (p. 58)

Livingstone (1979) has also emphasized the need for conflict perspectives in understanding educational and social change:

While equilibrium perspectives typically were presumed in such theoretical concepts as did appear in comparative education in the post-war expansionary period, the economic stagnation dominating the capitalist world in the current decade has made discrepancies between the prevailing ideology of democratic opportunity and the actual opportunities of the majority of people increasingly manifest, and has led to the growing consideration of a variety of conflict perspectives. (p. 6)

2. Social Change Models as an Analytic Component

a. Two Paradigms

There are a variety of ways knowledge about social change can be organized. Here Paulston's conceptual framework (1977) is adopted. For current purposes, its strength lies in its linking of educational change with social change, and its distinction between two paradigms, "Equilibrium" and "Conflict". The Equilibrium paradigm, sometimes referred to by others as the "Consensus" paradigm, encompasses a number of theories of social change. In evolutionary theories, social and educational change are viewed as following a biological
analogy in which cultures become more and more differentiated and specialized over time in a linear progression. Functionalist theories emphasize incremental change within and between the institutions of society and are constantly in the process of seeking harmony and balance in the social system. Education, in this theoretical position is a means through which adaptation and socialization can be achieved. It includes the adaptation of educational systems to economic development needs through the application of human capital theory. In systems theories, also part of the Equilibrium paradigm, the focus is on the means by which the relationship between institutions in society, especially education and socio-economic components, can work most efficiently. Paulston refers to its rational decision-making, needs assessment, and research-and-development features. In these theories grouped within the Equilibrium paradigm, cultural values are assumed to be commonly held, conflict is viewed as temporary, pathological, and due to systems malfunction. In the Conflict paradigm, on the other hand, theories of social change associated with it emphasize the inherent nature of conflict in human association. They address therefore the origins and processes of various manifestations of that conflict as they appear in economic, cultural, political, educational, and social institutions. Paulston includes Marxist, Neo-Marxist, Cultural Revitalization, and Anarchistic-Utopian theories of social change within this paradigm. In it changes in educational systems are aimed toward the achievement of a more egalitarian society which possesses a greater sense of community; solidarity, participation, and local control of resources.

In his conceptual framework, Paulston examines the assumed preconditions, rationale, scope and processes, and outcomes sought in general planned educational change efforts within each of the theories. These analytic categories
closely match the dimensions of social change advanced by Giddens (1984): origin, momentum (rapidity of change), type (how intensive and extensive the change), and trajectory (direction of change) (p.245).

It is proposed that the application of such a model to Lifelong Education as it is represented in the literature helps to bring to light some of its theoretical foundations. It should answer the question: does an examination of the literature using this framework of social change theory reveal assumptions of structural continuity and harmonious unilinear development characteristic of the Equilibrium paradigm, or the discontinuity, the propensity for change, and the conflicts of values and interests fundamental in the Conflict paradigm?

b. Additional Features of the Social Change Analytic Component

There are some limitations and additional considerations in the adoption of this framework. First, there is no doubt that the rigid classification of theories of social change represented in Paulston's model has been challenged and blurred by advances in theorizing in the years since it was published. Giddens (1984) for example, notes that there are both functional and evolutionary characteristics within Marxist analysis and explores the limitations imposed by them. (pp. 242-43). For example, in grouping Marx, Weber, and Simmel as theorists analyzing inequality, power, and domination, Turner (1986) notes that he does so "only with the important qualification that this label ["conflict theory"] embraces very different types of theoretical activity - ranging from dialectical and functional theories of conflict processes to more encompassing philosophical schemes about the state of human oppression and domination in the modern world" (p.132). Appelbaum (1970) offers similar cautions about the dualism in the
equilibrium/conflict construct. (p. 9-10).

However, Paulston himself recognized this limitation and sought "a new dialectical viewpoint drawing on both the equilibrium and the conflict paradigms" (p. 393), and acknowledged efforts toward this end already underway. Employed here, this duality of equilibrium and conflict proposed by Paulston is useful in the investigation of the social theory assumptions within Lifelong Education in its highlighting of these two essential features.

There are a number of dimensions of social change that ought to be considered as adjuncts to those presented in Paulston's model. The first centers around the meaning of "conflict" and its relation to power. Within the various theories of social change that take conflict into account, there are a number of confusions among and between the definitions of conflict, its preconditions and causes, actual conflict acts, and the consequences of conflict. The variations within conflict theory arising from this multi-dimensional field makes analysis of Lifelong Education from this perspective challenging indeed. Second, diverse understandings of the relationship between conflict and power is an additional variable to be recognized. Giddens (1984) outlines two distinct views: Both the utilitarian/liberal and the Marxist/socialist perspectives view power as necessarily tied to conflict. This premise is untenable, he says. Rather, he suggests, "Power is not necessarily linked with conflict in the sense of either division of interest or active struggle, and power is not inherently oppressive. . . . Power is the capacity to achieve outcomes" (p.257). In any event, the increasing variety and clarification of views concerning conflict and power helps to deepen our understanding of social and educational change.

Lastly, the conception and relative place of human action in effecting
social change is an essential dimension. It is a pivotal issue whether action by individuals or by a collective is conceived as a result of forces that actors cannot understand or control, as passive, self-serving performance of a role, or, on the other hand, as reflexive, creative, active.

These adjuncts to Paulston's conceptual framework are significant. They represent a number of dimensions of social theory important in understanding the dynamics of change, and strengthen the analytic potency of a theory of social change. They also serve to underline the major point in the rationale for the inclusion of theories of social change in the analysis of lifelong Education: they surface just the sort of questions that must be asked when it is claimed that the outcomes of Lifelong Education include significant social change.
V. ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIAL GOALS IN THE LITERATURE

A. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the analytic framework is applied to the social goals discovered in a study of the Lifelong Education literature, and the findings of the analysis discussed. The questions arising from the framework include: (a) What role of education in society is reflected in the claims concerning the social outcomes of Lifelong Education, (b) on which theory or model of social change are the expected outcomes premised, and (c) what is the theory of justice implied in the pursuit of these outcomes? These questions are addressed both at the explicit and the implicit level. An additional question is posed: What issues relevant to expected outcomes of Lifelong Education for society are not raised; what is not problematized?

Reflection on the propositions thus revealed brings us closer to the position in which the conflicts of principle and of interests which might exist within Lifelong Education can be more clearly seen, and from which comparisons between policy approaches derived from the various principles and interests can then be made.

B. THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN SOCIETY

The literature reflects a fairly consistent view of the role of education in society, although this view is not immediately apparent in any one excerpt. Rather, it is the force of the combined statements and the eloquence of what is not addressed which makes the position clear. In this section the answer to the question of what role Lifelong Education is assumed to play in society, is sought
mainly in the application of the analytic framework to the Faure Report, and then secondarily to other UNESCO and Canadian sources. Finally, the literature's point of view will be located in relation to two continua. The positions which diverge from the predominant view are included toward the end of the section.

1. The Social Role of Lifelong Education: The Faure Report

a. Findings

The Faure Report, as representative of the UNESCO documents takes up the issues around the relationship of education and society quite directly. It acknowledges the reproduction function of education in both its negative and positive aspects: "the social function of educative practice . . . is infinitely complex. While its practice illuminates the liberating power of education, it also demonstrates the limits to its powers, its shortcomings and its oppressive, coercive effects" (p. 56). At the same time, the authors of the report claim education can contribute to social change if various conditions are met. First, they state, "regimes based on authority from the top and obedience from the bottom cannot develop an education for freedom" (p. 60). In this and other statements referring to the necessity of the dismantling of social barriers, the authors appear to therefore believe that change cannot be effected in society by education unless democratic conditions pre-exist. Second, the report is strong in its position that education can effect change in society if it has social and economic development objectives. The case is made that education can "contribute more or less directly to social change . . . provided that we have a clear image of society in light of which educational objectives may be formulated" (p. 60). A
third condition required if social change is to be an outcome of education, is the
development of the "complete man". The complete man is described as able to
observe and classify information, express himself artistically, communicate
effectively, and co-operate with others in common tasks, listen, and think
critically, and who has achieved physical, intellectual, emotional, and ethical
integration. An educational system that produces such people will have an effect
on society as a whole:

Education may help society to become aware of its problems
and, provided that efforts are centred on training 'complete
men' who will consciously seek their individual and collective
emancipation, it may greatly contribute to changing and
humanizing societies. (p. 56)

So under the conditions outlined in the chapter "Education and Society", education
is assumed to not only reproduce existing values and balances of power in
society, but to bring about "the objective conditions of its own transformation and
progress" (p. 55), and also to effect change in society at large. The Commission
thus rejects the "mechanistic determinism" in the relationship of education and
society, and also denies any view of education as an institution functioning
independent of other institutions of society. It aims rather to endorse a dialectical
relationship between the two.

b. Analysis

A difficulty arises however, in the absence of an elaboration of the
meaning of this dialectic. Without such an analysis, and in consideration of the
strong emphasis on the individual found in the literature, the claims that Lifelong
Education can effect social change are considerably weakened. Several issues arise
out of this unexamined aspect of the theory.

The existential, humanistic philosophical base of the UNESCO literature as represented particularly in the importance of the notion of the complete man is somewhat problematic in its ramifications for policy, as Wain (1987) has argued. Without a social philosophy in which to locate the individual's pursuit of self-fulfillment, there can be no sense of the kind of society those individuals might want to maintain or create. There can be no real, workable concept therefore of Lifelong Education's social role except as perhaps as one which shapes a society that above all promotes personal fulfillment. Such a role will not be debatable if conflict arising in the pursuit of personal fulfillment is not treated as a factor inherent in social life; if individual good is equated uncritically with the shared good. This is in fact the situation in both the UNESCO and the Canadian literature, where the problem of conflict and vested interest appears to be associated with repressive states only, and not seen as an integral part of free democratic societies as well. The social goals outlined reflect the view of conflict as a personal, psychological, and resolvable problem, and a harmonious society a real possibility when people have the benefit of a Lifelong Education in a democratic state. More will be said in the next section on social change about the problem of conflict as it applies to the role of Lifelong Education in bringing about change. At this point it is sufficient to note that the perspective on conflict in the literature of Lifelong Education at times appears rhetorical rather than substantive, and throws its social goals into question.

The strength of the theoretical position concerning the relationship of education and society reflected in the literature is further undermined by its treatment of social structures, including education, as abstract. While recognizing
that there are macro and structural conditions which dispose education in the
direction of the reproduction of inequality, the theory does not permit
acknowledgement that the maintainance of the status quo benefits the interests of
a particular class, and offers no account of how education is influenced by
economic, social, cultural, and political structures controlled by those dominant
interests. The role of the state is not examined and in much of the literature is
cast as a neutral administrator acting in the interests of the general will of
society. The social outcomes advanced as unproblematic in the UNESCO and
Canadian sources are seen from a different light by Aronowitz and Giroux (1985)
in their more critical description of the role of the state: "the state attempts to
win the consent of the working class for its policies by making an appeal to
three types of specific outcomes - economic (social mobility), ideological (democratic
rights), and psychological (happiness)" (1985, p. 91). Whether or not Aronowitz
and Giroux's position is an accurate one, it does represent a scrutiny of
outcomes which takes into account the political, historical, and economic context
in which educational reform is proposed and carried out. In addition, it locates
domination, submission, accomodation and resistance in the realm of human
action, rather than in abstract institutions and structures. This is a crucial factor
in any claim that education can effect societal change. In the absence of this
factor in the literature examined, no opportunities are identified for initiating
change, for forming collective resistance, or for learning through collective
appropriation of knowledge and skills. In sum, by not acknowledging conflict as
inherent, and not recognizing inequality as a result of the interests of particular
groups in society; by neglecting the potential of Lifelong Education in supporting
counter-hegemonic activity through equipping people for analysis, reflection and
action; and by not addressing the possibilities for change that arise in the
dialectical interaction of social structures and human agency, the theory implied
in the literature cannot support its assumptions about the outcomes for society of
a Lifelong Education policy. The statements of goals of "higher social welfare
levels", "compensation for social inequalities", "formation of community feeling", "a
non-violent social order", and "the harmonizing of human relationships" take on
the appearance of rhetoric. Thus weakened, the theoretical foundation must fall
back on the emphasis on individual potential for individual benefit and assumed
common goals.

A democratic society is advanced as an expected outcome of the
implementation of a Lifelong Education policy. The related concepts of
participation, equality of access and opportunity, citizenship, and the
democratization of the institutions of education and the workplace figure as
important themes in the literature. In the application of current theory around
the role of education to the expected outcomes of democracy, several issues arise.
These issues are difficult to unravel since no definition of democracy is offered in
any of the sources examined, and the tangle of issues around the term itself are
not treated. Instead, democracy is assumed to be not only a good thing, but in
a linear view of social and national development, an ultimate end-state. Further
confusion exists in the claim of the Faure Report that Lifelong Education will
bring about a democratic society, but at the same time requires the condition of
democracy in order to reach its full expression. This difficulty is not resolved.
Similarly, the Faure Report recognizes that the democratization of education
doesn't depend on the efforts of the education system alone (p. 79) but goes on
to say that to achieve this goal, social structures must be changed: as argued
earlier, the origin and processes of this change are not explored. In this situation, democratization appears to be paralyzed.

Further concerns emerge in the analysis. The democratization of education is summarized by the authors of the Faure Report in these terms:

Educational structures must be remodelled, to extend widely the field of choice and enable people to follow Lifelong Education patterns. Subject-matter must be individualized; pupils and students must be aware of their status, their rights and their own wishes; authoritarian forms of teaching must give way to relationships marked by independence, mutual responsibility and dialogue; . . . guidance must replace selection; those making use of educational institutions must participate in their management and policy-making; the bureaucratic aspects of educational activity must be broken down and its administration decentralized. (pp. 79-80)

In this statement the use of the passive tense eloquently underlines the earlier-mentioned abstract nature of the source of change. But in addition, no mention is made of democratic processes such as negotiation or the search for common goals: participation is seen as unproblematic. Missing is any mention of community or any "vision" that would clarify the ends which participatory democracy in education in society serves. This pivotal issue will be taken up again at the end of the chapter.

The application of a more critical theory of education in society than the prevailing paradigm accepted by the Faure Report authors illuminates its position on democratization of access and equal opportunity. Clearly equal access is distinguished from equal opportunity which "must comprise equal chance of success" (p. 72). However, since "highly complex socioeconomic processes govern [factors influencing equal chance of success and] they are not immediately determined by education policies" (p. 73), education is left only with the challenge
of democratizing itself. The question of what role Lifelong Education can play in achieving a democratic society - in bringing about equal chances or equal outcomes - is left vague. If any surmise can be attempted, the link seems to be that equality of access, guaranteed by the option of re-entering the education system and thereby claiming a second chance, is the key to equality of outcome. However, even this assumption is made without recognition of the national or international division of labour into which the products of the educational system must ultimately fit. This inevitable screening function of education (Rubenson, 1985) and its ramifications are overlooked.

Underlying all of these issues around democracy is the presupposition that the peoples' perception of their own needs are the starting point and driving force of the democratic process. Referring to the importance of increased participation in the management of education in order that it may better adapt itself to the needs of people, the Faure Report says: "traditional education. . . . must be recreated. But who will recreate it? Not the administrators and the officials in education, but the people, all of them. They know their own needs and aspirations best" (p. 78). What is problematic here is an unformed understanding of the social construction of needs - of "how hegemonic ideologies function to exclude oppressed groups from creating needs that extend beyond the instrumental logic of the market" (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985, p. 101). An alternate point of view of needs reveals and challenges the rather individual-oriented, non-conflictual perspective of the democracy presented as a social goal in the literature.
2. The Social Role of Lifelong Education: Other UNESCO Work

These findings are duplicated in the other UNESCO sources, with the partial exception of Gelpi's work. It has been argued (Wain, 1987) that in Dave's work there exists a greater cognizance of the social dimension of Lifelong Education than appears elsewhere. Indeed this observation can be made of the occasional author in the Lifelong Education Series, including the Foundations of Lifelong Education title (see for example Vinokur and Janne). However, in no case has this dimension been highlighted or explored, nor have the limitations of the humanistic existentialist philosophical foundations put forward been analyzed. These dispositions are embedded of course, in the history and the culture of the contributors to the development of Lifelong Education theory. Overall, it must be said that the findings arising from the study of the other UNESCO sources are consistent with those of the Faure Report.

3. The Social Role of Lifelong Education: Canadian Sources

These points raised in the analysis of the UNESCO literature gain an added dimension when directed to the level of particular policies in a national context such as those proposed in the Canadian sources. Before exploring these dimensions it is useful to note first that in Canada there were some critiques of the Faure Report. The concern was raised in some quarters for example, that the Report had not taken into account to any serious degree power relations in society and in education, in that it does not examine the structural causes of the inequalities Lifelong Education seeks to redress. The Canadian Reaction to the Faure Report also challenges the implication that equal accessibility and equal
opportunity are synonymous terms - a myth, the authors comment, pervasive also in Canadian education. (While the Faure Report does try to establish a distinction, it in fact does not follow through in its argument. See The Faure Report, pp. 72-80.)

The implication of these critiques by Canadian educators is that as long as these issues remain unresolved, the expected outcomes of lifelong education in Canada cannot be assumed or even properly identified.

Consideration of the findings of this present analysis of Canadian sources of course must take into account the fact that the treatment of Lifelong Education in the Canadian context is of a different order that of the UNESCO literature. In Canada, rather than taking the approach of investigating the potential of the whole of the Lifelong Education concept (including its implications for schooling) for meeting national goals, the main emphasis has been the study of the feasibility of specific policies associated with adult learning. Even at the provincial level, there is little evidence of the development of educational policies and curriculum for example in early childhood education and schooling, for the mass media, the voluntary sector, or worker education, consistent with the profound changes suggested by the concept of Lifelong Education. There is no indication that the heavy emphasis in Lifelong Education on the democratization of education, represented in the co-operative development of curriculum, or co-management of educational systems has been considered. (Alberta's Further Education Councils might be seen as an exception, at least in their inception.) As far as goals of education are concerned, it seems clear that the greater weight by far is assigned to non-transformative goals through which individuals are enabled to better compete in Canadian society as it is presently structured,
rather than to analyze the causes of inequality, and to learn the knowledge and skills necessary for the challenge of the sources of inequality.

In the specific application of Lifelong Education as a social policy in Canada, even more clearly than in the UNESCO literature can be detected the presuppositions that the poor, women, indigenous peoples, and ethnic minority groups share the same goals with dominant groups (or even with each other), the same view of the future of traditional employment, of economic development objectives or processes, and so on.

Also made manifest in a critical view of the role of education in society in the Canadian literature are a number of other assumptions. One is the assumptions concerning the relationship of manpower training to the allocation of the benefits of economic development. Despite evidence to the contrary, it is clearly presumed in the sources studied that disadvantaged groups in Canadian society will automatically benefit in a "trickle down" effect from the economic growth which results from increased investment in skill development in the labour force.

Also not taken into account are issues such as national economic growth objectives decontextualized from such factors as the ramifications for Canada of the international division of labour, third world debt, and global trade imbalances, slow economic growth, and depletion of primary resources. In addition, along with presumed continued booming economic growth, also assumed is an automatic equality in the distribution of wealth through equal access to occupational training. Because these relationships are seen, from a critical perspective, to be more complex than acknowledged, expected outcomes are called into question.

Democracy is presented in these sources, as in the UNESCO documents,
as unproblematic whether in reference to literacy training, occupational training, skill development, or community development contexts. Assumed homogeneity of conditions and of interests is again the root of the presuppositions. Where participation in directing the process of social change is addressed, for example in the involvement of workers in shaping technological change, no awareness is demonstrated of the conflicts likely to emerge between labour groups and between labour and management. In other contexts, the agenda around which democratic participation takes place appears to be pre-set, rather than the agenda itself as one of the items of discussion and negotiation.

4. The Social Role of Lifelong Education: Gelpi

The work of Gelpi while built upon the concepts and premises represented in the Faure Report, adds a perspective that helps avoid some of the difficulties in much of the Lifelong Education literature. Gelpi explicitly addresses conflict and struggle in society, power and class, and is sensitive to gender and ethnic minority issues in education. This is demonstrated, for example, in his treatment of the relationship of the economic sector to the role of education, and especially in his examination of the implications of the international division of labour, for education. In this analysis, and elsewhere in his work, there can be found also an acknowledgement of the possibilities for transformation of society which arise out of human action and struggle. Gelpi attends to these possibilities rooted in people's recognition of the contradictions between the challenges and problems experienced in everyday life, and the values, skills and knowledge offered to them by the traditional educational system which encourages adaptation to the world view of the elites. But, says Gelpi, Lifelong Education encourages creativity
which is "dynamic and capable of frustrating the schemes of those who would seek to impose new forms of imperialism through educational means" (1985, p. 42). Lifelong Education, rather, is seen as enabling people to themselves find educational means, often outside formal institutions for co-operative, balanced, and just development. In Gelpi's pragmatic examination of both the "opportunities and obstacles" within a system of Lifelong Education, and in his more detailed outline of a vision of the society Lifelong Education might create, a stronger foundation is made for the claims concerning the outcomes of a Lifelong Education policy.

5. Conclusion

The question was posed earlier: What role of education in society is reflected in the literature in the claims concerning the social outcomes of Lifelong Education. A simple two-way figure enables the position in the literature to be depicted graphically:

(A)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOCIAL OUTCOMES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REPRODUCTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANSFORMATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(B)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDIVIDUAL OUTCOMES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

FIG. 1

The Social Role of Lifelong Education Reflected in the Literature
The horizontal axis (B) is used to represent the range of possible roles of Lifelong Education in society - from one of reproduction of the existing values and distribution of resources, to one of transformation of those values and a more equal distribution of resources amongst society's members. The vertical axis (A) represents a continuum from social outcomes of lifelong education, through to outcomes for individual benefit.

The analysis of the literature suggests that for the most part, its position can be located in quadrant 3; that is, it is closer to the role of reproduction than to transformation. While its explicit claims would imply a transformational role for Lifelong Education, it was found that the absence of a strong theoretical basis undermined those claims, and therefore leaves it tending necessarily more toward the role of reproduction. The emphasis is on Lifelong Education for the benefit of the individual rather than for society as a whole; on individual effort rather than collective struggle toward the structural changes required for a more equal distribution of resources. In the sources studied, it appears that the role of Lifelong Education is seen to be one which attempts to establish the kind of environment which leaves individuals free to pursue personal gain, but which does not address the social or collective component of individual identity. As Hargreaves (1980) has pointed out, it does not recognize that "individual freedom and the right of man are not just ends in themselves, but the proper foundation and means of promoting and maintaining society's solidary character" (p. 197).

The literature for the most part places itself in support of Lifelong Education for individual benefit by ignoring the role of education in creating a community that "is both solidary and just, which generates collective identities and powers whilst nevertheless exhibiting a respect for the dignity and right of the individual"
The work of Gelpi, on the other hand, for reasons argued above, is better located in quadrant 2.

These then are some of the findings that result from analysis of the literature from the perspective of a critical social theory of education in society. It has been shown that in order to make the case that Lifelong Education brings about a democratic society, an explanation is required of this process that includes an account of conflict, the influence of dominant groups through political, economic, and cultural institutions, resistance and human agency, the social construction of the perception of needs, and of the kind of society toward which a participative democracy might strive. Without such an account, as Gelpi (1985) has cautioned, it can be just as easily claimed that lifelong education can be used as a mechanism for manipulation as for emancipation.

C. THEORIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE

The second part of the analysis poses the question, on which theory of social change are the expected social outcomes premised? The inquiry, following Paulston, ought to reveal whether the sources studied tend toward a view reflecting an equilibrium model or a conflict model. In this section, first presented is the Lifelong Education literature's view of conflict in society, followed by a short discussion of issues related to conflict not taken up in the literature. The implications of these views is addressed, and finally the findings are summarized in a figure similar to the one presented in the previous section.
a. Findings: Perspectives on Conflict and Power

To determine whether the literature reflects more an equilibrium or conflict paradigm, it is useful to note how conflict is viewed. The findings show that the existence of conflict in society is indeed recognized. However, in both the UNESCO and the Canadian sources it is given only incidental treatment. In the UNESCO literature particularly, conflict is seen in terms of its consequences - war - and its cause is apparently attributed to personal psychological pathology which can be corrected by Lifelong Education (Learning To Be, e.g. pp. 148-9, 154). Reference is made in the same chapter to youth in the 1970’s arising from "the culture of silence’ and oppression freeing itself from all the machinery of socio-economic and intellectual dominance" (p. 149), but here, as in the few other such references, conflict is mentioned and then promptly left out of further considerations. No examination is made of the implied structural nature of conflict in society. As a result, and because conflict is not seen as rooted in the contestation of norms in society by various interest groups, power is also not attended to. Recalling Giddens’ view of power as "the capacity to achieve outcomes" (1984, p. 257), the exclusion of the issue of power precludes not only the acknowledgement of the exercise of power by dominant groups in order to oppress, but also the potency of the efforts by oppositional groups to transform society. In other words, if the literature does not take structural conflict into account, it can’t address power, and in not addressing power, it sets aside human reflection and action. In setting these aside, it disembodies social change.
b. The Dominant View of Social Change in the Literature

This disembodied form of social change represented is essentially one derived from the structural-functionalist theory in the equilibrium paradigm. In virtually all the sources, a strong scenario is established concerning the threat, in the form of rapid socio-economic change, to society's usually balanced uniform state, and the necessity for education systems to change in order to meet the new needs arising from the rapid change, and in order to restore social consensus and homeostasis. "This effort to bring educational programs into more harmonious relations with socio-economic development efforts at the national level is, perhaps, best illustrated by the use of human capital theory", says Paulston (1978, p. 13). These observations help to put into perspective not only the strong emphasis in the Canadian sources on Lifelong Education's role in preparing and retraining skilled manpower, but also the attention given in much of the UNESCO literature to national development. In both cases consensus is assumed concerning the nature of national goals and the role Lifelong Education can play in meeting those goals. Harnessing rapid technological change, and making the necessary investment in human resource development is thought to lead to greater national wealth and "as the distribution of income is largely viewed as a function of labour-supply conditions, the expansion of educational opportunity will, according to human capital theory, increase the ability of education to equalize competition for economic resources" (Paulston, 1978, p. 14, citing Simmons, 1974). Any remaining inequalities left in the wake of the system's adjustments to rapid change is seen as natural and necessary in the maintenance of social stability. On-going contestation of these assumptions is not
a factor in this theory of social change.

Thus, what becomes clear in the predominance of this paradigm is the preoccupation with the role of education in relation to national economic goals to the exclusion of the potential role of education in meeting social and cultural development objectives. Though this emphasis in the federal government sources can be partly explained by the restricted federal jurisdiction in setting educational policy, it not only highlights the ramifications of this arrangement for social and cultural life in Canada, this emphasis in Canadian provincial and the other sources cannot be similarly rationalized. The OECD External Examiners' Report (1976) observed:

There is a rather fearful, even tortuous avoidance of "politics" in Canadian educational discussions which appears to occur not simply from a feeling of respect or inadequacy vis a vis the complexities of the Canadian scene. This is the real crisis of Canadian educational policy - that it cannot maintain its non-political stance. (p. 102)

While Canadian discourse on educational matters may steer clear of inherent political issues, there are nevertheless some conclusions that can be reached. In the face of the cumulative evidence, and in the absence of explicit goal statements to the contrary, the argument can be made that the ideological core of lifelong education contains values which place material economic gain for a small segment of society in a priority position in comparison to both the equal distribution of material resources in society and the development and sharing of non-material resources. The Equilibrium paradigm reflected in the Lifelong Education literature supports the current preoccupation with, and distribution of power and resources.
c. Conclusions

To depict this position in the literature, a figure can be constructed similar to the one presented in the section on the role of education in society. The vertical axis representing the continuum of emphasis on outcomes either for individual or social benefit remains the same. The horizontal axis now reflects the range of theories of social change, from an equilibrium paradigm to a conflict paradigm:

![Diagram](image)

**FIG. 2**

*The Model of Social Change Reflected in the Lifelong Education Literature*

As the figure shows, the literature is best located in quadrant 3. It is so placed by virtue of its emphasis on a relatively stable, adapting society tending toward balance and characterized by social harmony, in light of its human capital implications of individual effort and reward, and in view of its evasion of issues around power and conflict.
D. THEORIES OF JUSTICE

1. Findings

The main finding concerning the theory of justice operating in the literature is that no consistent unified theoretical position is reflected. The search for the point of view concerning the elements of a theory of justice reviewed in the previous chapter reveals however, some important assumptions.

We see overall in the literature a tendency toward an individualist view of human nature rather than a social view. The extensive description of the "complete man" in the Faure Report for example, implies a belief in people's potential for harmonious relationships and for general perfectability consistent with humanist philosophy. The position taken regarding another of the elements, the conception of the "good", although not so easy to uncover, appears to be closely linked to the individualist orientation. In this case the evidence suggests a view of the good defined by individual preferences and as the effective procedures and rules of rational action in carrying out one's life plan. The social dimension of life, and the idea of common tasks are certainly recognized, but the central position is that the purpose of association is the enhancement of individual opportunity to succeed in fulfilling personal plans and potential which are determined, it is implied, somehow outside the social context. The literature's position on these two elements, the view of human nature and of the good, necessarily assume then, an idea of justice which is focussed fundamentally on the co-operative establishment of the exact nature of those rules and procedures which best promote individual capacity to succeed. The contrasting position, outlined in the previous chapter is that the primary purpose of association is to
enable and develop the virtues that make us more wholly human in the first place. Justice, in this view is based on an ethic of virtues which promote collective determination of what the good is, and an understanding that it can only be achieved through the identification of each citizen's primary interests with the shared understanding of the good.

Though the literature does not directly address these elements of a theory of justice, it is more explicit about the third important dimension - that of distribution. Cropley's argument in Dave (1976) is typical of the literature's position concerning Lifelong Education's potential for re-distribution of resources. He begins by stating the principle that everyone ought to have full opportunity to realize their potential, and equal access to social, economic, and political advantages. Education, he believes, is an important factor in the achievement of such full opportunity and sharing of these advantages (pp. 200-201). But since people can't be coerced to take advantage of educational opportunity, especially initial schooling, actual equality of the end result of education can't be guaranteed. So, he goes on to argue, educational equity means a type of "educational organization which all citizens have access to at a time when they feel the need of such access" (p. 201). His reasoning suggests that more educational opportunity leads ultimately to a fairer distribution of resources by serving to increase the life-chances of individuals through increased social mobility.

In spite of the evidence which contradicts this assumption, it has some logic in that the lifelong opportunities to which Cropley refers includes some significant reform in the structure and processes of education (for example, a detailed explanation of what democratization of education would entail besides equal opportunity of access). In this case the key variable however, appears to
be the structure and processes of education rather than increased access. Since increased access is by far the main variable posed in the literature as the determining factor in the fairer distribution of resources, and because it is not shown how democratization of structures and processes of education produces equal distribution of resources as an outcome, it must be concluded that the literature's position is that more opportunity leads to greater equality and justice. For example, in a statement of concern for the extension of educational access, the UNESCO Recommendations on the Development of Adult Education in the context of Lifelong Education urges that "the most educationally underprivileged groups should be given the highest priority with a perspective of collective advancement". From The Adult's Point Of View (1982) produced by the CAAE echoes as one of its main points this concern for access, and thus this same strategy of equal opportunity as a means of bringing about a just distribution of resources. A similar position is found in federal and provincial documents as well.

Another line of reasoning can also be found in the literature relating more directly to the actual content of Lifelong Education. This argument in support of the potential of Lifelong Education to bring about a more just society focusses on the capacity of lifelong education to develop in learners a critical understanding of major contemporary problems. If people can be included in the development of social policy, argues MacNeil in her 1984 CAAE discussion paper, they will have the opportunity to systematically examine problems and to go about solving them, and "human development is bound to accrue from the process" (p. 3). Her position is that social policy "centers primarily around equitable and just distribution of resources relating to health, education and welfare" and the limits of equitable and just distribution (p. 7). MacNeil adds an extra dimension to the
"critical thinking-participation in solutions" argument by suggesting that the settlement of these issues is itself part of the lifelong learning process required in the participation of citizens in the formation of social policy.

The assumption embedded in both the "development of critical thinking" and the "participation in the solution of social problems" arguments is that the outcome of reflection and action will be a just distribution of resources, while no value position concerning definition, standards, or criteria of justice is advanced.

A summary of the positions taken concerning distribution then, shows the strong leaning in the literature toward increased access as the main strategy for just distribution, with the inclusion of some discussion around the potential of certain content and democratic processes to have a positive effect. But in the treatment of Lifelong Education as a means for the just distribution of resources no description of what a just distribution would look like is offered. A position can be detected however, on the basis of the cumulative evidence sketched to this point, and on the basis of a discussion of what is not problematized in the literature.

2. Analysis of the Conception of Justice in the Literature

It is a difficulty of the literature that the causes of existing inequality are not addressed. In the absence of this kind of analysis, and given the individual-oriented strategies of redress offered, it can be surmised that on the whole the literature takes the position that the source of inequality lies in the circumstances of individuals and groups, rather than in the structure of social, economic and political relations at the macro level. The predominant functionalist view of society reflected in the literature is logically related to this perspective.
on the roots of unequal distribution, and to its resulting human capital
development/institutional adjustment approach to the search for equality and
justice.

A more detailed and critical view of the potential of lifelong education to
bring about a more just society is offered by Janne in his chapter, "Theoretical
Foundations of Lifelong Education: A Sociological Perspective", in Dave (1976). He
states:

But all the endless reforms. . . have not prevented the
"educogenous" level or the cultural level of families and
cultural milieux from retaining, by and large, the hereditary
character of the social and occupational hierarchy, and so
from preserving the class structure of society. In this respect
reform of the traditional educational system is at a dead end,
and only the principle of Lifelong Education can bring
progress. . . .[The process of improving equality of
opportunity] does not impinge on the privileges of the ruling
class nor modify the hierarchial structure of society. (p. 150)

Janne believes that the adoption of the total Lifelong Education concept as a
policy would overcome at the level of the school, for example, the tendency of
the existing system to "prepare the vast majority of children for remaining in
the social class into which they were born, by equipping them for precisely the
kind of studies that will lead to that result" (his emphasis, p. 150). Exactly how
it is that Lifelong Education can "modify the hierarchial structure of society" is
not made clear, but in this chapter Janne does grapple with the implications of
Lifelong Education's aim of social justice from a more explicit analysis of
inequality and a wider critical social theory perspective.

The implications however, of the prevailing perspective on justice and
equality embedded but unacknowledged in the literature are several. One
implication is the gap which appears between the assumptions made about the
individual in society and the homogeneity of interests on one hand, and the
realities of modern societies on the other. To take MacIntyre's (1981) point, in a
pluralist society government becomes essentially a set of institutional arrangements
for maintaining some sort of cohesion, rather than an institution which itself
expresses a pre-existing moral unity (around issues concerning "the good", or the
just distribution of resources, for example). If the literature does not examine
seriously the conflicts arising in conditions of plurality of interests, its view of
justice cannot fully meet the real challenges in modern societies today. More
particularly, an implication of the main position on justice in these sources is the
resulting inability to deal with existing inequality. In the absence of an
ideological position concerning the aims of society, the question of how to address
the inequalities that arise in the individual pursuit of private interests cannot be
resolved. Questions of redistribution have no reference point for their resolution,
and certainly the issue of desert has no common criteria for application in the
debate about distribution.

As was noted in the conclusion of the description of the justice component
of the analytic framework, a collective or socially-oriented theory of justice is not
the "answer" to these problems arising out of the literature's individualistic,
functionalist position. While it could be argued that some of the elements of such
a theory might add more balance, in the end what is needed, as Taylor would
agree, is a knitting together of the values of individual dignity and freedom, with
those virtues surrounding the notion of a common indivisible good which have to
do with active citizenship in community. The system of distribution of these
goods, as much as the definition of the good itself, is part of the agenda for
public discourse. Teresa MacNeil's contribution is of real significance in this light.
3. Conclusion

It is not likely that the development of one theory of justice, even if it were an easy task, could once and for all time meet the demands required of it as an ethical basis for the formation of policy. It seems that human endeavor is just not that rational and systematic. However, the fact that the influential sources studied avoid taking up the question of the meaning of justice creates a further vulnerability for the concept of lifelong education.

In summary, several points have become clear in an analysis of the documents' claim that lifelong education can actualize justice in society: A number of assumptions are made around some of the elements of a theory of justice, but no unified comprehensive theory can be detected; these assumptions are not explicit; and finally, in its inadequate attention to the reality of conflicting claims in a plural society, the literature's rhetoric can be exploited for use in any vague and expedient definition of justice and equality, leaving unexamined the most fundamental and difficult questions about the nature of justice.
VI. DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL POLICY

The analysis and the resulting findings presented in the previous chapter provide the information needed to now respond to the primary concerns of the research. It has been shown that for the most part the literature reflects a view of society as homogeneous and equilibrium-seeking. It adopts an ideal view of the role of lifelong education as a means of producing social change though it cannot support how in reality it can accomplish this, and its idea of justice is the creation of conditions in society which enable individuals to pursue private interests through equal opportunity for social mobility. It was suggested in the first chapter that these conclusions might be further supported and clarified if the results of the study are conterposed with models of social policy. It was proposed that the inclusion of a consideration of the findings in the context of the wider scope of social policy in general will bring to light issues which have not been so far revealed. It is expected that this comparison will emphasize the substantive ideological issues that must be decided in the employment of lifelong education as an instrument of social policy. This task is approached only as a fragmentary and provisional exploration of the much larger project which must ultimately be undertaken.

A. SOCIAL POLICY MODELS

1. Overview

There are a variety of ways of organizing thinking around the field of social policy and policy analysis. Janet Finch, for example, in her Education As Social Policy (1984), suggests three types: 1) Change in education itself, designed
to change educational outcomes, that is, changing the position of individuals within the social and economic structures through education, rather than changing the structures themselves; 2) Changes in other areas of social policy, designed to change educational outcomes - a policy approach with the same ends in mind as the first approach, but with different means based on the assumption that improved environments will enable better performance; and 3) Changes in education designed to produce social change outside the educational system, a type which undertakes the challenge of changing the social structures themselves (pp. 114-15). On the broader scale of social policy in general, Pinker (1971) set out two models based on how society might view needs: 1) the Residual Model, which Griffin (1983, p. 235) briefly describes as reflecting a concept of diminishing needs, and 2) the Institutional Model which presupposes a persistence of need. Richard Titmuss developed three models which will be used in this work, and Quigley (1988), drawing on these and other sources, has proposed a Market model, a Progressive-Liberal Welfare model, and a Social Control model. It might be noted here that any social policy approach is an attempt at social control, if the term is used in the non-perjorative sense which enables the closer scrutiny of policy.

2. Titmuss' Three Models of Social Policy

The three models proposed by Titmuss (1974, p. 31) can be described briefly as follows:
a. The Residual Welfare Model

The goals of social policies falling within this model are the maintainance of social order, the preservation of individualism and of political and economic laissez-faire principles. Needs are seen as arising out of the failure of the market and the family, rather than out of structural inequalities, and the role of government is a minimalist one, helping out only temporarily in cases of need in order to assist proper adjustment and rehabilitation toward the norms of society. Social policies for the development of the collective receive marginal attention. The theoretical basis of this model is in the equilibrium paradigm - a biological, mechanistic view of man and society. Its values are work, independence, thrift, private enterprise, the self-made man, and it poses the question, why should the successful be forced to subsidize the needs of the less fortunate: surely charity should be a matter of personal choice.

b. The Industrial Achievement-Performance Model

The objective of policy in Titmuss' second model is a strong economy that is presumed to benefit all members of society. Needs are viewed in relation to the economy (indeed Titmuss calls this a "handmaiden model"), and needs met results in better production. Welfare measures, whether provided by government, the voluntary sector, or as is the focus in this model, by the employer, are treated wholly as adjuncts of the economy. The model is based, according to Titmuss, on psychological and economic theories concerned with incentives, effort, and reward.
c. The Institutional Redistributive Model

This model has as its objective social equality through the redistribution of the command over resources. Needs in society are seen as continuous and arising not out of individual failure to adapt, but from deficits in the structure of society. Social welfare is "a major institution in society, providing universalist services outside the market on the principle of need" rather than of worth or merit.

B. LIFELONG EDUCATION AND MODELS OF SOCIAL POLICY

In an initial comparison of the findings of this analysis with Titmuss' models, it seems that the rhetoric of the UNESCO literature is compatible with the Institutional Redistributive model. Its explicit statements about expected outcomes refer to the achievement of a more equal society - a distinctive feature of this model. Many of the Canadian sources' view of the outcomes of Lifelong Education policy on the other hand, imply a fit with the Industrial Achievement-Performance model: occupational skill training for the purpose of building and preserving a strong economy figures significantly in this literature, as do several employer-related policies such as Paid Educational Leave.

However, when the results of the analysis by means of critical theories of education, social change, and justice are brought forward, neat classification of the positions in the literature into a policy model becomes a more complex task. In the light of that analysis a different picture emerges - one that is not always consistent with the rhetoric, or with the principles and values of any particular policy model. Two examples can be drawn: one from the analysis of the UNESCO sources and from the Canadian Commission for UNESCO Occasional Paper Learning in Society, and one from an early 1980's Employment
and Immigration policy. The first two sources ultimately show an over-riding concern in the aims and programs of Lifelong Education with the preservation of individual interests rather than the possible benefits to be derived from the occasional subordination of those interests to collective needs. In addition, there exists the implication that conflict in society is caused by psychological pathology rather than due to problems in the structure of society. These points represent two indicators that Lifelong Education as a policy does not fit exclusively into the Institutional Redistributive model, the Industrial Achievement-Performance model, or the Residual Welfare model. The second example is the Employment and Immigration policy statement which announced the cutting back of government's support of adult education programs not directly related to skill training or re-training. Even though the rhetoric of Lifelong Education in the Canadian literature suggests an active role of the state compatible with the Institutional Redistributive model, this policy change implied a move to a more marginal role of the state in meeting certain social needs, a reflection of values characteristic of the Residual Welfare model. (As Allan Quigley (1988) and others have pointed out, this is a favoured approach of conservative governments like those of Reagan, Thatcher, and Mulroney.) Why the confusion of policy represented in these examples might exist begins to become more apparent upon consideration of the components of a complete normative political theory.

Weale (1983) argues that a normative political theory provides the justification for the choice of one particular social policy over and above another. In order to do this, it must include five essential components. These include: a discussion of what is to be considered "the good" in society; how the good ought to be distributed, that is, by what criteria (for example, everybody has their
wants satisfied equally or resources should arise from one's own efforts); who is responsible for advancing the good according to the criteria; a set of rules that enable evaluation of whether or not the outcomes are as expected; and lastly, provision of "justificatory force", that is, provision of concepts and principles of sufficient depth and range to adequately justify one course of action over another (pp. 11-13). The omission of these components in the literature studied helps explain why it is difficult to consistently associate Lifelong Education as a proposed social policy with any one of Titmuss' social policy models (or, one suspects within any model regardless of the classification approach). Indeed, the policy models themselves would need to more systematically reflect various normative political theories. Lifelong education, as it is presented in the literature, can be fit into any model. This is, of course, the warning of Gelpi when he cautioned that Lifelong Education can be used as a means of emancipation or domination. This analysis has attempted to begin to sketch how this is so.

C. CONCLUSIONS

Michael Walzer (1986, p. 136) has said that "philosophy is politics reflected upon in tranquillity, and politics is philosophy acted out in confusion". It is important to keep such wisdom in the fore-front in any policy analysis. Given the nature of social and political life, it would be naive and unfair to demand of the actual practice of Lifelong Education absolute consistent adherence to its stated philosophy. The ultimate problem addressed by this research, however, is not that Lifelong Education policies are not always consistent with its philosophy. Nor is it only that the philosophical foundations are not adequate to support the social goals it claims, although it has been shown to some extent here and
elsewhere (Wain, 1987) that this is so.

Rather, in addition, the concern is for the development of an *ideological* foundation of Lifelong Education which could support its goal of the establishment of a just and democratic society. In reflecting back on Sabrosky's definition of ideology introduced in the first chapter, one of the main findings of this study is that the ideological foundation of Lifelong Education is not internally consistent. The search for its analysis of the social system, for its goals, and for its program of action to bring about change derived from its normative and moral values, has revealed a number of weaknesses which undermine its ability to make a clear statement of its ideological position. First, there exists only an incomplete analysis of the existing social structure and its effects. Second, the search using the analytic framework outlined uncovers social goals supported by no coherent social theory or moral philosophy. Third, the search discovers a model of social change inconsistent with both aspects of its social analysis, and with some of its social goals. This ideological confusion is a further explanation of the difficulty in locating Lifelong Education within any one social policy model. As Wain (1987, p. 25) has argued, "an educational research programme must have an ideological core if it is to function coherently; i.e. if it is to lead to consistent policy and practice".

The clarification of these issues is part of the research agenda for proponents of Lifelong Education. It remains to be seen which direction this research programme will take. It is surely evolving within economic, political, and cultural trends which more and more must be characterized as global, rather than purely national. Will the neo-conservative trends take over the concept of lifelong education in all its formal, non-formal, and informal settings? Will it
adopt Lifelong Education's principles of curriculum integration and self-directed learning and apply the concept in its public education agenda regarding family life education, occupational training, control of the national research agenda, privatization of public services, and so on? Or will an ideology of Lifelong Education be developed which, while still respecting the uniqueness and autonomy of the individual, find a basis in solidarity, community, and in local control with global co-operation. The relevance of Dewey's central thesis takes on a renewed meaning in the context of Lifelong Education. His belief that in order for education to be valuable it must not be for strictly personal or private growth but for social and shared outcomes, carries a message even into today's educational reform thinking. Wain (1987) echoes both Dewey and Taylor in his statement "creating community is the way to make collective action compatible with individual freedom" (p. 196).

If the democratic active participation of citizens in the collective processes of formation of public policy is to be truly taken seriously, the ideological position of Lifelong Education must be more carefully defined and developed so that citizens can reflect on its principles, compare them with alternate ideological positions, and make their choices from this more informed position.
REFERENCES


