ON LIFELONG LEARNING
AS STORIES OF THE PRESENT

GUN BERGLUND

Abstract

This thesis examines the discursive construction of lifelong learning in Swedish, Australian and American policy. Lifelong learning has an aura of apparent self-evidence which this study wishes to challenge by deconstructing the normalised truths in contemporary lifelong learning policies. The thesis rests on a collection of four articles, written by the author within the framework of the PhD programme. Using foucauldian concepts of power/knowledge and governmentality, this study identifies a number of discursive stories about the present in terms of how the ideal society and its ideal citizens are envisioned. It shows that there are national differences in the usage of lifelong learning in terms of the meanings given to life, long and learning. Yet three stories also extend across the nations examined. First, learning is construed as work-related rather than a life-related. Secondly, the positive rhetoric of lifelong learning – the creation of ideal citizens – is accompanied by a parallel story of deviance, incompetence and failure. This leads to a third pervasive story of 'medicalization' where the deviant is pathologised as an undesirable other in need of treatment and correction by professionals who operate as the doctors and nurses of lifelong learning. Overall, the analysis suggests that as discourse, lifelong learning links the government of others and the government of the self.

Keywords: lifelong learning, discourse, history of the present, stories, power/knowledge, governmentality, the 'other', pathology and medicalisation

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Writing this thesis did not start the day I attended the PhD programme. The process started long before that. My parents often tell, and re-tell, stories of my childhood. In these stories I am portrayed as a curious and headstrong child who emphatically repeated 'I must!' before running away to investigate the world around me. Such stubbornness could have been neglected or rejected by my parents, but I was lucky to grow up in an allowing and supportive family saying 'if she says that she must, she must!' Therefore, with all my love and gratitude, I wish to dedicate this thesis to Uno and Rode Svensson, my parents. Thank you for all your support and trust in me through the years.

Acknowledgements in doctoral dissertations often portray the research process as a journey. Such journeys are described to contain unexpected twists and turns. I can easily sing along in this chorus line. If I ever believed that I bought a ticket to a safe journey to a specific destination, I have been proved wrong. My journey has been rocky and challenging. It has offered many changes in means of transports and often I had to find my way through the wilderness, not knowing which way to go. If it had not been for the guidance and support from others I would have lost my way completely. Therefore, I owe many thanks to a lot of people:

First, to David Hamilton and Ingrid Nilsson, my academic supervisors: thank you for asking challenging questions that made me think in new directions and dig deeper and for never persisting your own answers to these questions. Thank you for your close reading of my texts. This has helped improving my writing. Most of all, thank you for never giving up on me, leaving me in the scary jungle for ever.

In the final part of the writing process Håkan Andersson has, as a so-called second reader, read and given insightful comments on my work, which has made it possible to come to the final destination of this journey. Thank you for bringing me home.

CONTENTS

PROLOGUE

Entering the field

When studying on the Umeå University Programme for Human Recourse Management and Personnel Development in the middle of the 1990s I first came across the concept of lifelong learning. To me it seemed to be a slippery concept which I never felt I could grasp. It was mentioned, both in the literature and in the lectures, in very positive and promising terms. It was presented as the Key to prosperity and growth for nations, companies as well as for individuals. After finishing my studies I started working as a project manager for a number of different unemployment projects where I came across the concept of lifelong learning again, this time in practice. I must say, it was very far from the positive and empowering concept I had read about at the university. Where were all the participants who would come to these programmes longing for learning and personal development? Why were some of them so hostile saying that they felt trapped and forced into a life that they didn't want? I was puzzled.

A possibility came up to start working as a lecturer at the university. After two years of teaching and evaluating a number of external projects I entered the PhD programme at the Department of Education at Umeå University in Sweden. My experiences from the unemployment projects had been nagging my mind for some years and were now demanding my attention. It was time to deal with the 'double nature' of lifelong learning; portrayed as something genuinely positive and empowering and yet, by some, received with scepticism and resistance. My feelings were mixed about the concept of lifelong learning. On the one hand it promises so much. Who can argue against all the positive aspects of learning and education? Of course, I saw learning and education as something good, something that could really change peoples' lives for the better. But, on the other hand, my experiences from working with the unemployed had made me concerned about peoples' resistance towards education and learning activities. How could I make sense of such resistance? Was it a matter of bad design and administration of the programmes, of bad teaching

or counselling? Or, could it be understood differently, and if so – how? These were some of the questions I entered the PhD programme with.

Initially, my theoretical and philosophical knowledge was blurred and unreflective, which resulted in a vague initial focus for my research. During the preparation of this thesis, therefore, I have tried – and rejected – many different threads of thinking and theoretical approaches. This process is apparent throughout the four articles I have written for publication (see chapter III). This is not to be taken as an excuse, but rather to show of how learning is indeed a process, a lengthy endeavour, which thereby means that I will continue this intellectual quest for the rest of my life.

During periods of theoretical and philosophical frustration I often wanted to put my initial question of resistance against education and learning aside completely and deal with the concept of lifelong learning as such without worrying about resistance at all. At this stage of my development I was enrolled on PhD courses. One of them raised a discussion about the diffusion and implementation of so-called institutionalised organisational concepts such as quality management, scientific management, lean production and learning organisations. Røvik (2000) and Furusten (1995, 1996) describe how such concepts are carriers, not only of their specific content, but of values. Implementing such a concept into organisations thus, often unreflectively, simultaneously means implementing a whole set of values that will influence the organisational culture and thereby the way people think and act. Inspired by such an approach I decided to study the concept of lifelong learning as a value-carrier.

Eventually I came across discourse theory. First, it promised to be a useful method – a way of understanding the epistemology of lifelong learning. The more I learned[1], the more it came to influence my understanding on the ontological level. Discourse theory, in a poststructuralist sense, inspired by a foucauldian perspective of power and knowledge, came to be the perspective from which I could make sense of the world and how we, as human beings, subject ourselves to

[1] My six-month-visit at the Faculty of Education at the University of Technology in Sydney (UTS) was especially inspirational in this aspect. I owe many thanks to the academic staff, the writing group I attended and other PhD students who introduced me to foucauldian writing.

the ever-changing truths of this world. Such a theoretical framework also gave me concepts as tools to analyse resistance in terms of the power/knowledge relations that operate in different discourses. It also made me think about different discursive truth-constructions in terms of telling stories about our world.

Organisation of the thesis

This thesis is built up around four articles surrounded by an extended introduction to and discussion of these articles. All four articles have been published and appear in different international media: an international academic journal, a chapter in an edited volume, and two in conference proceedings, one of which has been peer-reviewed (see pp. 35-38). The introductory chapters, which describe the theoretical and methodological basis of this thesis, are organised as follows:

The first chapter deals with lifelong learning 1) as an everyday expression, 2) how it is understood and analysed in research, and 3) how it is understood and used in practice. It provides a brief mapping of the field of lifelong learning giving examples of empirical practices and academic research. It also locates the contribution of this thesis in the field of lifelong learning research and concludes with a description of the aim and delimitations of the thesis.

The second chapter provides the theoretical and methodological framework used in this thesis. It describes the policy study that the four articles rest upon and the methodology of researching policies used in its production. Drawing on Foucault's notion of 'a history of the present', it discusses policies as 'text', or discursive 'stories, of the present'. It also discusses the role of the researcher as a storyteller in the discursive construction of lifelong learning.

The third chapter comprises the four published articles written as a foundation for this thesis. It starts with an introductory guide to the reading of the articles which, thereafter, are included as free-standing pieces using different theoretical concepts to deconstruct the discursive understandings and usages of lifelong learning in three national contexts.

The final chapter, the Epilogue, summarizes the four articles and discusses the discursive stories of the present that can be read in

contemporary lifelong learning policies. It examines lifelong learning as a political concept that, through linked educational technologies, is used to promote changes in societies and their organisations as well as changes in personal identities and behaviour. This chapter not only reviews lifelong learning as an educational concept, it also challenges the politics of education used to shape and foster subjectivities defined in terms of the production of desirable citizens in so-called advanced economies.

I. THE MANY FACES OF LIFELONG LEARNING

This chapter provides an overview of the multiple understandings and usages of lifelong learning as 1) an everyday expression, 2) a research focus, and 3) a situated concept, before specifying the aim and contribution of this thesis in relation to the lifelong learning 'field'.

The apparent self-evidence of lifelong learning

Lifelong learning is a globally-spread expression with tremendous impact, if judged by the number of hits on the Internet. A Google search in February 2007 gave about 21 100 000 hits and a search for the Swedish equivalent 'livslångt lärande' gave 40 400 hits! Politicians, educational planners, teachers, human resource managers, economists, labour unions and many others repeatedly talk and write about lifelong learning in a variety of situations (See e.g. Field 2000a, Fejes 2006:7).

When people ask me about my research and hear that it is about lifelong learning they often light up as though they feel they *know* what it must be about. Spontaneously they respond by wanting to contribute with their own experiences. On the surface the expression is self-evident since it is built up from everyday words, but it is likely to have different interpretations and meanings in different contexts of use. The responses I have received when talking with people in and from different countries have both similarities and differences. They reflect both the character of lifelong learning as an everyday expression, which can also be seen in proverbs such as 'people learn as long as they live', 'there are always new things to be learnt', or they reflect possible doubts about lifelong learning; 'you can't teach an old dog new tricks'. Other responses refer to policies and programmes aiming at promoting and implementing education and learning focusing on, for example, adult learning, unemployment programmes, or workplace learning. Thus, people's experiences reflect

their uptakes of the way lifelong learning is talked about and understood in their specific contexts. Therefore, there can never be an absolute definition of what lifelong learning *is*. Lifelong learning should rather be understood in terms of the meaning(s) it is given within certain communities of thought and practice – discourse – at a specific time in history (MacLure 2003).

Researching lifelong learning

The multifaceted concept of lifelong learning is subject to extensive research attention, as shall be shown below. Sometimes it is understood as a parallel to education (lifelong learning = education), at other times it seems to refer to something larger of which education is a smaller part (lifelong learning > education). Of that reason it is as impossible to make a complete research survey of the field of lifelong learning as it would be to make such a survey of all educational research. Instead, I will provide a kind of rough mapping of the 'lifelong learning field' to show the multitude of research focuses, and – in the next section – the multitude of settings, or contexts, where lifelong learning is situated.

When trying to grasp the research field I took my starting point in three different collections of articles and papers on lifelong learning: Aspin et al 2001, Danaher et al 2004, Ellström et al 1996. My assumption was that such collections should provide an overview of the variety of the field. One of them, the *International Handbook of Lifelong Learning* (Aspin et al 2001) has divided lifelong learning into four themes 1) conceptual, philosophical and values issues, 2) policy issues, 3) structures and programs and 4) the practice: formal, informal and non-formal initiatives. These themes proved to work well as organising categories for the contributions in the conference proceedings of an international conference on lifelong learning held in Australia (Danaher et al 2004) as well as the chapters of a Swedish anthology on lifelong learning (Ellström 1996). The variety of research focuses in these three collections can be summarised as follows:

Research within the first theme: *conceptual, philosophical and value issues*, is concerned with defining and problemizing learning as a concept or phenomenon. The research approaches are extensive, dealing with different philosophical perspectives on development and

change through historical analyses of culture, discourses, history of ideas, the relation between education, learning and the economy, the relation between the self and society and moral issues.

The second theme: *policy issues*, analyses and discusses policy matters such as the development of economies and their relation to the global market, development of the third world (economic, equal opportunities, democracy, human rights etc), citizenship and democratic participation, literacy and numeracy, sustainable development (environment), policy implementations and evaluation and human resource management (HRM). Some of the research deals with policy implementation and the problems of changing people's attitudes and behaviour. Such research often focuses on evaluation issues trying to distinguish 'best practice'. Other research topics concern curricula studies, researching policy rhetoric, power-relations, and provision of education and learning opportunities.

Research within the third theme, *structures and programmes*, focuses on the different social contexts where lifelong learning is located. These contexts comprise, for example, the school sector (from pre-school to upper secondary level), learning communities, lifelong learning centres, universities, education enterprises, workplace learning organisations, ICT learning (e-learning), adult learning, and the role of libraries. Research within this theme also includes systems for the validation of knowledge and skills.

The fourth theme; *the practice of lifelong learning*, studies empirical examples of formal, informal and non-formal learning initiatives in the contexts listed above. The research deals with matters of evaluation, form, contents, teacher-student/client relations, leadership, gender, ethnicity, teaching methods and resources etc. These studies often include case-studies where experiences of management, teaching or participators' own life histories are illuminated. Questions of motivation and empowerment are in focus within this theme.

As shown, the four themes listed above are inclusive rather than exclusive and the boundaries between the categories are blurred. In all its variety, research on lifelong learning is hard to distinguish from other *educational* research. Sometimes lifelong learning is treated as a synonym to education, at other times it refers to adult education or

learning in life in general, which is sometimes referred to as 'life-wide' learning.

As with all educational research, lifelong learning research is subject to many different theoretical and philosophical approaches. Some of the aspects studied within these four themes are critically analysed by the researchers; for example in terms of power and government using different theoretical approaches to power e.g. Marxist or poststructuralist perspectives. In recent years, the foucauldian notion of 'governmentality' has inspired poststructuralist researchers to analyse different aspects on lifelong learning (Simons & Masschelein 2006). Other approaches are less critical. Some aim at finding 'best practice'. Such research mainly stems from a logical-positivist ontology and epistemology which assumes that scientific knowledge is accumulated through trial and error and that the role of research is to find general solutions to the problems they study. The character of such research is explicitly normative as practices are to be evaluated against a norm that has been 'scientifically' established in the search for 'best practice'. Such research thereby works to be corrective in rewarding good practice and punishing bad practice.

Practices of lifelong learning

Lifelong learning is also transformed into practice, i.e. understood and localised in different contexts, at different levels such as the global level, national level and the organisational level (see article 1). Since the different discourses of lifelong learning operate simultaneously on all these levels and are influenced by each other, the understanding of what 'local' means in contemporary western societies might need to be reconfigured. In today's globalised world, people meet and communicate in a way that is historically unique. Television, the Internet, political and other organisational initiatives have a huge impact on the way people think, talk and act (Jarvis 2007, Nicoll 2003). Today people meet and interact with others more frequently in one single week than most people did during a lifetime a hundred years ago. This is likely to influence the discursive production of knowledge and truth as people are situated globally, nationally and locally at the same time.

The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

Organization (UNESCO) and the European Union (EU) are three large multi-national organisations that hold strong positions in the *global meta-discourse* of lifelong learning. Not only do they initiate and support a number of national practices, often in the form of projects in the name of lifelong learning, but they also support and commission extensive research.

The OECD is an economic organisation consisting of the most powerful nations in the word in terms of financial and political power. The OECD mainly treats lifelong learning as a work-related concept relevant to national competition in the global market[2]. UNESCO[3] has a slightly different mission. As part of the United Nation, questions of poverty-reducing, equality, peace and welfare are included in its work, resulting in a specific focus on aspects, for example, of literacy, gender equality, and basic education in third world countries. Nevertheless, economic aspects are part of UNESCO's remit as well, which is evident in its close connection to the World Bank.

The Council of Europe proclaimed 1996 as the European year of lifelong learning,[4] resulting in an EU strategy for the implementation of lifelong learning in all political areas. Its goal was to ensure employability and economic growth within the Union. Globalisation was, and remains, a key word in the policy rhetoric. This strategy has had a pervasive impact on the global meta-discourse of lifelong learning as shall be shown later in the thesis. The OECD, UNESCO as well as many researchers and practitioners often cite EU-funded research and practice, enhancing its scientific legitimacy.

Lifelong learning is practiced in different sectors of society: in formal education at different levels (from pre-school to universities), in workplaces (on-the-job training, workplace learning), in the labour market (work-related projects and lifelong learning courses, educational enterprises, labour unions) and in civil society (community centres, liberal education etc aiming at enhancing social skills, school- and work-preparing skills). Some of these practices are

---

[2] See for example:
http://www.oecdobserver.org/news/search.php?_FB%5Bq%5D=lifelong+learning,
http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/43/50/38982210.pdf
[3] http://www.unesco.org. A search for 'lifelong learning' in the organisation's search engine gives large number of informative hits.
[4] http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/cha/c11024.htm

regulated by national laws and other regulation which give them national specific characteristics whereas other practices are more specific for the type of organisation or sector of which they are part. As a result, some discourses operate across national boarders (see article 1).

My contribution and aim

As shown above the field of lifelong learning is multifaceted. The concept is used by practitioners in many different social contexts. Researchers focus on educational, work-related, social and economic dimensions targeting people of all ages in all aspects of life. Further, lifelong learning is seen from many different theoretical and philosophical perspectives. So what is the contribution of this thesis?

The overarching aim of the thesis is to explore *the concept of lifelong learning* by deconstructing and challenging some of the taken-for-granted truths – discursive stories – in contemporary policy texts. As such, it does *not* provide an evaluation of empirical practices to come up with 'best practice' through good or bad examples. Instead, the aim is to analyse contemporary lifelong learning rhetoric in three Western national contexts: Sweden, Australia and the USA, in terms of which technologies it employs, how and to what ends, and to analyse how these lifelong learning discourses contribute to the construction of our present time and the human subjects in them, i.e. our understanding of ourselves. As such, this thesis provides a critical perspective to open up the power/knowledge relations that operate in present lifelong learning theory and practice for possible reconfiguration.

The contribution of this thesis thus mostly concerns the first research theme listed above – *conceptual, philosophical and value issues* – using policy texts as its object of study. Such research focus is not unique per se. What is unique is the open approach to the multiplicity of lifelong learning discourses to analyse how it is used and understood in different contexts. Many research studies have a more specified focus on lifelong learning, i.e. they situate lifelong learning before the analysis, e.g. lifelong learning as adult education, its implementation within the VET (Vocational Educational and Training) sector or in workplace learning, to give a few examples. Such studies target certain aspects of 'life', 'long' and 'learning' in

20

their focus on e.g. adults, work and education (see article 1). This thesis wishes to open up for many different possible constructions of lifelong learning in policy texts by analysing not only what the texts *say*, but what they *do* to the discourses of which they are part and how this is part of the discursive construction of our understanding of our present time.

II. RESEARCH APPROACH

This chapter provides a theoretical and methodological framework. It offers a guide to the reading of the remainder of the thesis. In other words, this chapter provides a pair of specially shaped glasses through which certain aspects come in focus whereas other are masked, or not in sight at all. The theoretical concepts used in the articles are not presented here as they are developed in each article. Instead, this chapter first introduces an understanding of lifelong learning polices as discursive stories of the present and then describes the methodological considerations and how the specific research was designed and performed.

Stories of the present

The thesis is concerned with the rhetorical construction of lifelong learning in contemporary policies and how this shapes our understandings of the present. Theoretically, it rests on the assumption that what people take for granted as facts and truth is the result of a social construction of thought (MacLure 2003, Foucault 1979, 1980). Truth is construed differently in different discourses in different times in history as a matter of power and knowledge (Foucault 1979). Language plays an important role in this since it both constructs and is constructed as a social relationship (Nicoll 2003, MacLure 2003). Thus, the language used when talking and writing about lifelong learning both reflects socially negotiated ideas and shapes imperatives of normative behaviour. With his statement 'there is nothing outside the text' (il n'y a pas de hors-texte) Derrida (1976/1997:158) describes how we, as human beings, make sense of the world and the objects in it as 'text'. My ontological understanding of the relation between 'text' and the (physical) world is that there is a physical world, but our understandings and meaning-making of it is the result of socially constructed ideas and ideals that are dependent of the power/knowledge relations within different discourses. From this perspective, language in all its communicative forms: written, spoken, articulated in art, music, dance etc., produces *artefacts* resembling discursively produced knowledge that are held true within

specific communities of thought and practice. The work of the analyst is to read such 'text'[5] critically to open up and deconstruct its discursive truths, which is a process of discursive production in itself, as shall be discussed below.

The artefacts – 'text' – of concern for this thesis are different forms of policy documents[6]. Foucault (1972:6-7) described such documents, not as historical monuments, but, as evidence of discontinuities that contain breaks and overlaps which can be read as efforts by the policy community to reconfigure the dominant discourses of an era. A central idea in this thesis is to view policies, i.e. policy 'text' formulated in written communication, as stories. Drawing on Derrida and Foucault, any such 'text' could thus be read as a story of the specific time and context of which it is part. From this perspective such stories are not to be understood as 'grand narratives' in the Kantian sense trying to establish an objective truth, neither as subjective personal or anthropological narratives or life-[hi]stories, in the hermeneutic sense (Davis 2004, Ketz de Vries & Miller 1987). Rather, stories are here to be understood in a poststructural sense as artefacts of a specific discourse in terms of historic discontinuities.

Foucault uses the expression 'a history of the present' (1977/1994), or 'an ontology of the present', referring to "those particular truths' which have come to be accepted (almost without question) as realities of and for the present era" (Jose 1998:3). This presumes a reconfiguration of history and the present:

> *Thus, behind the history of the positivities, there appears another, more radical history, that of man himself - a history that now concerns man's very being since he now realizes that he not only 'has history' all around him, but is himself, in his own historicity, that by means of which a history of human life, a history of economics, and a history of languages are given their form.*
>
> (Foucault 1994:370)

---

[5] I willI hereafter continue to refer to discursive artefacts as 'text', which is not to be confused with everyday understandings of texts as written communication.
[6] The documents used for analysis for this thesis are listed separetely in the Reference list at the end of the thesis.

The understanding and usage of stories in this thesis thus refer to such an understanding of the historicity of humans. Such stories express, or make visible, confessions and rituals of truth. They show how we think of ourselves and the world we live in at a specific time and place (Foucault 1979). Such an understanding of [hi]story is therefore not to be confused with make-believe stories or fairy tales, although such stories may also be analysed as artefacts that carry discursively produced knowledge of a certain time and place.

Reading policy documents as stories of the present thus means deconstructing – pulling apart and challenging – the discursive constructions of truth; i.e. what is taken for granted as normal and abnormal, moral and unmoral. In short, asking what is put forward as desirable and undesirable within a specific context of use and how such truth happens to be established. Such discursive stories do not only tell us something about the time and place we live in, but how we, as human beings, are subjected by and subject ourselves to the truth-regimes of the present discourses of which we are part. Foucault refers such subjectification as 'governmentality' (Foucault 2000b, Rose 1999, Dean 1999), i.e. the mentalities surrounding the government of others and of the self. Such a reading of policies indicates a power-relation between those given the authority to govern others and those in the position of being policy targets.

Writing policy texts are usually thought of as an act by policy-writers of different kinds. Policy discourses helps producing that which we take for granted as true and legitimate knowledge. Both the writing and the reading processes are thus part of this construction. As readers we are both products and producers of discourse. We read (policy) texts using the lenses that have been shaped within the discourses we take part in, making us hold certain knowledge as true or false.

The role of the researcher is not only one of a reader of 'text' (understood as all sort of artefacts, see p. 23), but an interpreter as well as a story-teller. As such, the researcher is also part of the truth-production of discourse.

Discourse theory, as developed in Foucault's work, involved a recognition that, in relation to knowledge, there was a structural formation which conditioned what can be said, who can say it, and when it can be said. Moreover, what could be counted as knowledge, and indeed truth, was defined within specific discursive relations, which is to say that whatever was to count as knowledge, whether true or false, was produced by and within (and perhaps between) given discourses.

(Jose 1998:19)

The researcher receives a privileged position in that scientific knowledge is given authority and legitimacy in contemporary societies (Foucault 1979). In some of the documents analysed for this thesis politicians have commissioned researchers to do research on lifelong learning. This research is then packaged and presented (e.g. in political platforms on the Internet), as telling the truth about the needs for lifelong learning and how it should best be practiced. The researcher is thus not an 'innocent' interpreter of the facts 'out there', in the 'text', but a co-producer of power/knowledge.

People who write are always writing about their lives, even when they disguise this through the omniscient voice of science or scholarship. No writing is untainted by human hands, pure, objective, 'innocent'.

(Richardson 2001:34)

As all reading and writing of policies is part of the construction of lifelong learning discourses, it is of vital importance for the researcher to analyse who the author or the publisher of a certain text is so as to determine and evaluate what kind of interest and influence it has. In other words, the researcher has to determine with what *voice*, political, ideological etc, that the story is told, what rhetorical *techniques* it uses to convince its audience (readers, and thus former co-producers of discourse), and to include a reflective analysis of their own influence as a story-telling researcher.

A poststructuralist reading of policies also means reading what is *not* said, or as Foucault (1972:25) puts it: "The manifest discourse, therefore, is really no more than the repressive presence of what it does not say; and this 'not-said' is a hollow that undermines from within all that is said". In other words, a discourse analysis of the

stories of the present should ask questions such as "how is it that one particular statement appeared rather than another?" (Foucault 1972:27), which are the problems that are formulated and which are the responses that are presented as the solutions to these problems (MacLure 2003) and which other problems are thereby excluded? Other poststructuralist questions concern *the other* asking who is discursively construed as the different, the excluded, the undesirable in different contexts and what makes such a construction possible?

To conclude, according to my interpretation and usage of the concepts there is a certain relationship between 'text', policy and policy writing. 'Text' refers to all sort of communicative artefacts, i.e. not only written texts. In other words, everything that people think of as 'reality' and 'truth', and express in different kinds of communicative forms, within a specific time and place can be described and analysed as 'text'. Although policies mostly appear in written form, as policy documents, it is not the linguistic aspects of language that is the focus of my analysis. Rather, it is focused on the socially and discursively constructed truths and truth-claims that are immanent in the (policy) language. The writing of such 'text' is by no means neutral as shall be further developed below.

Research design

The design of this thesis has been pragmatic to its character. As I described in the Prologue my initial research questions were vague, as was my theoretical understanding. As a result, I did not have an initial clear and ready-made research design. Looking back, I do not have a problem with that. The writing of each article raised new questions that I wanted to deal with in the next article. As my theoretical understanding developed so did the character of my research questions, which, in a sloppy use of the concept, might be described as 'lifelong learning'.

Ketz de Vries & Miller (1987) refer to the objects of concern for a study as 'text', meaning a critical incident, en entity or a story, comparing the work of a researcher with that of a detective. In order to understand the world as 'text', analysts "need to interpret the way these stories unfold; meanings, consequences and motives behind acts, decisions and social behaviour" (p.234). Returning to Derrida

(1976/1997), deconstructing a text means to open it up by disrupting, or interrupting, its truth claims.

There are many ways of analysing documents depending on the researcher's theoretical perspective and motive with the study (Bergström & Boréus 2005). In a so-called content analysis for example, the focus is on what the text *says*. This kind of study often includes some sort of quantification for the comparison of different texts (ibid). That kind of analysis is concerned with what Ketz de Vries & Miller (1987) refer to as the surface of a text (see below). One of the contrasting approaches is the poststructuralist analysis which rather focuses on what the text *does* (Robertson 2005, Czarniawska 2004). This shift of focus is sometimes referred to as the 'narrative turn' (ibid), which is a shift from text as structure to text as discursive production.

Ketz de Vries & Miller (1987) suggest a method using three strategies to open up a text. The first two steps aims at establishing 1) its *surface* (themes and patterns, ideas or sediments) and 2) its *depth* (perhaps unconscious, emotional significance, affective components motivating a text or characterising a dialogue therein). The third step is where the actual deconstruction of the text is performed by testing, i.e. is challenging, the earlier interpretations against each others. Such an approach thus takes its point of departure in what at a first glimpse seems to be a structuralist reading of what the text *says*, but since the model includes strategies to deconstruct, i.e. go 'behind' and 'beyond' the text, it also have an ambition to analyse what the text *does*.

When reading, and deconstructing, policy texts as discursive stories *the pre-conditions* for the story; i.e. the document context, the story-teller, the specific type of document, the characteristics of the text as well as the *techniques* used in telling the story need to be established (MacLure 2003, Furusten 1995). Inspired by Furusten and MacLure I wanted to do a "close reading" (MacLure 2003:69) of lifelong learning policies in three national contexts. This reading took as its starting point establishing the surface and the deep structures of the texts before deconstructing the texts using different theoretical concepts as analytical tools. The description below gives an idea of how the collection of texts and analytical design developed.

Collecting policy texts

Early in my research process I was interested in comparing how lifelong learning was talked about and understood in the three national contexts already mentioned; Sweden (being part of the European Union and its political framework), Australia and the USA. These countries are all part of the so-called Western world and, to a certain extent, share a common cultural and historical tradition, which might be called a Western discourse. The documents studied for this thesis are thus located within this shared cultural sphere, even though there are local differences in the uptakes of values, resulting in different local practices.

I selected texts that were published on Internet sites, which had lifelong learning as a prominent theme. My initial intension was that the documents were to cover four sectors; political government, education, the labour market and civil society. The texts should recognise different kinds of lifelong learning settings and practices such as the national or state levels of government, schools, universities, adult education, liberal education, workplaces, libraries, and community centres. My assumption was that publishing a text on the Internet indicates a deliberate act of choosing *what* to publish, *when* to do so and to what *audience* the text is directed. As such, each document is regarded as a discursive expression of what the actual organisation intentionally wishes to add to the general discussion of lifelong learning – a way of rhetorically expressing its policy. The usage of 'policy-documents' – or 'policy-texts' – in this thesis thus imply such a broad understanding of policy. The search for documents came to result in different kinds of policies in the three national settings as different emphasises are given to lifelong learning in these contexts. I interpret this as a signifier of different national discourses (see article 1). Of that reason there is no symmetrical balance between the types or number of documents representing the three national settings, which I do not recognise as a problem in this kind of poststructuralist document analysis. Rather, it is a result per se.

Analysing policy texts

The understanding of policy-writing described above thus realises how language acts to build up representations of reality through

rhetorical strategies (Potter 1996, Nicoll 2003). According to Nicoll (2003:2) it is

> *…necessary to put aside previous notions of policy documents as realist or static descriptions. Policy documents are not taken as reflections of reality, nor as representations of 'settlements' between competing discourses. To view policy texts in this way would be to treat language as a neutral technology and ignore the political and active work it does. Policy discourse acts rhetorically to work up the truth of what is described- it works to persuade.*

One of the main characteristics of policies is that they work to persuade an audience of some sort of 'goods', which make them hard to contest. Deliberate and persuasive rhetoric is thus an inherent feature of policy genres (Edwards & Nicoll 2001). The documents studied for this thesis were created either as policy tools for reshaping educational and labour market practices or as critical commentaries on such policies. They comprise rhetorical devices intended to persuade their audiences of the benefits of lifelong learning or, indirectly, support the policy-making processes by adding critical perspectives to the general (global) discussion of which lifelong learning is part. Policy texts, whether rhetorically expressing a positive or negative attitude towards their object of concern (e.g. lifelong learning), could therefore be studied as discursive artefacts (p. 23), or 'schemas of politicisation' (Foucault 1980:190). As such, policy texts are imbricated with power/knowledge that works to construct a 'grand narrative', i.e. imply an objective truth to motivate the kind of (political) action that the policy purports (Nicoll 2003).

The first study, a discourse study of Swedish policy-documents on lifelong learning, became the starting point for my data collection and analysis. Methodologically, it took as its starting point Ketz de Vries & Miller's (1987) approach (see above) to first establishing the character of a text in terms of surface and deep structures, and then deconstructing it by challenging its truth-claims. In practice, my document studies were inspired by Furusten (1995) whose research drew on Czarniawska-Joerges' (1988) analytical tools. These tools became corner-stones when designing my study.

Initially, my research model consisted of the identification of the main themes and patterns, labels, metaphors and platitudes stressed

out in the policy texts, as suggested by Czarniawska-Joerges' (1988). By the time I conducted equivalent Australian and American studies I extended the model by including a description and analysis of the specific character of each policy context and by analysing the use of binaries in the documents, i.e. how they used rhetorical techniques to persuade their audiences of the 'goods' by opposing it to the 'bads' (MacLure 2003). In order to make the study more consistent, making it possible to compare the documents with each other, I added these new dimensions to the Swedish study as well. Below, I will give a closer description of each step of the extended model and how it was used.

Surface and depth in policy texts

The first step of my extended model was to make a computer file for each national context: Sweden, Australia and the USA. I wrote a description of each document in terms of its specific character and the context of which it was part. This description contained the following headings: Document context, Headlines, Keywords/central themes, Binaries, and Metaphors and phrases.

The *document context* expressed the type of organisation that the document represented, e.g. political, educational, at what level and the kind of audience that it was directed towards. The *headlines* were listed as signifiers of aspects that the author/publisher appeared to hold of special importance, if judged by the way they were specifically articulated and singled out as headlines. The *keywords* were selected by me after reading through the document several times to get a picture of its intended messages. After being listed they were grouped into themes. The headlines and the keywords taken together came to result in eight *central themes* expressing different motives for, and aspects of, lifelong learning:

- Individual aspects
- Politics
- Economics/finances
- Labour market/work aspects
- Education, learning, pedagogy
- Efficiency and rationality
- Structural, societal and organisational aspects
- References to other countries, research and agencies

Each theme contained a large number of keywords. They resemble what Czarniawska-Joerges (1988) terms as *labels*, which she describes as linguistic artefacts. Labels, or keywords, tell us what things are, i.e. naming and classifying them, often showing that their meanings are taken for granted (Furusten 1995).

By designing a matrix in the computerized software program Excel I listed the eight themes and the keywords that I had categorized within each theme in the vertical dimension. In the horizontal dimension I listed each document grouping them according to their national context[7]. At this surface level I was interested in obtaining a picture of how these keywords and central themes were grouped in and between the different documents and national contexts. I put an X when this particular keyword appeared in a document, but I did not put an X for every time it appeared. Instead of quantifying the appearance of a word I achieved a fair picture of its 'weight', in terms of their importance for the discourse, in the reading of the documents as a whole. This surface reading gave me an overview of which themes and keywords that were on the agenda in each national context and thus function as signifiers of the discourse.

The dimension that most clearly expressed this 'weight', or importance, was the analysis of *binaries*, which meant leaving the surface level and starting a deeper analysis of the rhetoric[8]. At this stage I made a two-column table where I listed the binary oppositions expressed in each document; such as past-present, real-unreal, scientific-unscientific, proper-improper, moral-immoral (MacLure

---

[7] See appendix 1. This model serves as an illustration of the matrix used when committing the surface analysis of the policy documents. The actual matrix is impossible to include as it is way too large. That matrix includes columns for all the articles that have been analysed, i.e. the vertical dimension (See the specification in the Reference list). It also includes many more keywords for each theme (the horizontal dimension). In this illustration I have put X-es randomly in the boxes.

[8] See appendix 2. This model serves as an illustration of the matrix used when committing the depth analysis of the policy documents. The actual matrix is impossible to include as it is way too large. The matrix includes examples of statements in the policy texts that were rhetorically construed as the opposites of each other. The statements were also analysed by their value constructions, i.e. which aspects they referred to as good and desirable vs. bad and undesirable. First, I made a matrix for each document and compared them within each national setting to find similarities and differences. After that I made a matrix with the similarities of each national setting which I compared with the other national settings.

2003:73-74). Analysing the rhetorical technique of using binaries in policy texts as a means of persuading an audience gave a good indication of what was considered as good and desirable versus bad and undesirable. The analysis of the *metaphors and phrases*, some of which served as *platitudes*, further strengthened the arguments made in the documents and contributed to establishing the main themes. Through these rhetorical devices the normal is established (Czarniawska-Joerges 1988).

Deconstructing policy texts

To deconstruct texts means to challenge their truth-production (Derrida 1976/1997) and to go behind and beyond their surface, to uncover their 'hidden' message or agenda (Furusten 1995). Deconstruction is not a method per se (Derrida 1976/1997), neither is there a single strategy by which deconstruction is to be conducted (Furusten 1995). My use of the concept 'deconstruction' has been to examine, and challenge, the central themes that emerged from the first two steps of the analyses (see above) by using different theoretical concepts as tools to *destabilise the taken for granted meanings expressed in the policy rhetoric*. In other words, I have used different theoretical concepts as a screen (analytical instrument) through which I have analysed the policy documents (research object). In the process I have not been loyal to one single researcher, e.g. I make no claims to be a 'foucauldian' writer. The process of taking a text apart has been described in each article separately as I have employed different techniques and theoretical concepts in the different articles. This will be further described in the introductory reading to the articles (see next chapter) as well as in each article.

On 'validity' and 'reliability' in discourse analysis

In academic writing it is mandatory to describe and evaluate the research process in relation to its knowledge claims. In the logical-positivist tradition the terms 'validity' and 'reliability' are used to ensure that the study performed is a true representation of the real world and that the study has been conducted in a systematic way and is repeatable. It is also important that the data is collected in such a way that it is possible to generalise the results to a large population. The main idea of such research is to establish *the* truth about something. Terms like validity and reliability are not immediately

applicable in discourse analysis though. Czarniawska (2004) discuss the problems of *mimesis*, i.e. how to represent and reproduce the world. Since poststructuralist discourse theory rejects the idea of an absolute truth it also rejects the possibility of generalising the knowledge construction of a certain discourse to be held as a general truth. Thus, there cannot be an absolute correspondence between world and word. The truths that are taken for granted within a discourse do therefore not represent *the* reality, but are to be understood as re-presentations of what is held as true and real within a discourse as a function of the power/knowledge relations of the discourse. As such, there are always competing versions of the world, which may be described as the politics of representations (Latour 1999). Therefore, in a discourse analysis such as this one other terms than validity and reliability need to be used to describe and evaluate the research process and the results. Instead, questions of whether the study is *relevant* and *trustworthy* and whether the collection and analysis of data has been *systematically performed* should be asked. In this thesis I have tried to make my 'truth' claims and the research process transparent. The judgement of its relevance and trustworthiness should be performed using the same theoretical and philosophical lenses that have been provided here. A use of other lenses resembling other ontological and epistemological truth claims may lead to other conclusions.

III. FOUR ARTICLES ON LIFELONG LEARNING

Introductory reading to the four articles

This section gives a short introduction to each of the four articles that I have written for this thesis. It gives a description of the specific theoretical perspective on lifelong learning used in each article, its research questions and the kind of discussion that is raised by each article.

A comment should be remarked about the symmetry of documents for analysis and how they are cited in the articles. As described and discussed in the section Collecting policy texts (p. 29) there is no symmetrical proportions (representation of settings or number of documents) of texts re-presenting the three national contexts as a result of the different understandings and usages of lifelong learning in these contexts. When choosing citations in and between the articles there is no symmetrical proportion either. The choice of citations has been made out of the possibility to find short and illuminating quotes from the policy documents to emphasise certain aspects and results from the analysis. As such, the citations sometimes re-present not only the document of which it is part, but the meta-discourse as well.

The articles are printed in this thesis with permission from the publishers.

Article 1: The discourses of lifelong learning: global, national or?

This was the second article that I wrote for this thesis. Nevertheless, it is a good introduction here since it provides a national comparison of how lifelong learning is rhetorically constructed in the three national contexts that I have studied; Sweden, Australia, the USA. It deconstructs the concept by analysing the meanings and values given to it in terms of *life, long* and *learning*. Although the meta rhetoric is

shared, expressing neo-liberal values, the uptakes, i.e. the understanding and practical usage, differ between the countries. The article also discusses discourses in other contexts than the national.

This article was presented at an international conference about lifelong learning in Queensland, Australia in 2004. It was undergoing a double blind peer-review before being accepted for presentation and publication in the conference proceedings.

Published as:

Berglund, G. (2004). 'The discourses of lifelong learning: global, national, or?', in P. A. Danaher, C. Macpherson, F. Nouwens, and D. Orr (eds.), *Lifelong Learning: Whose responsibility and what is your contribution?* Proceedings of the 3rd International lifelong learning conference, Yeppoon, Queensland, Australia, 13-16 June. Rockhampton: Central Queensland University Press.

Article 2: School is school and work is work and never the twain shall meet, or?

This was the first article that I wrote for publication. The paper was a result of a study of Swedish policy documents that I conducted as part of my PhD coursework. It was accepted and presented at the European Conference for Educational Research (ECER) in Hamburg 2003 and published in the conference proceedings online.

The article deals with one of the central themes in Swedish policy-writing – the relation between school and work. Swedish policies promote so-called practice-based learning at work and seek to move school and work places closer to each other through a number of techniques. Lifelong learning is envisioned to start in pre-school, fostering a learning lifestyle focusing on the needs of the labour market.

Lifelong learning is deconstructed by discussing the relation between school and work using two different theoretical perspectives; one that promotes situated learning in 'real' learning contexts in work places and thus promotes a closer connection between school and work, and another perspective that regards the purpose of schooling as fostering meta learning and self-reflective individuals who can apply their knowledge and skills in different practices. From this perspective school and work should be separated as autonomous practices. The discussion thus deals with the question of schooling for

work versus schooling for life in a wider sense, i.e. specific versus general, objectified learning versus Bildung.

Although this article rests on the Swedish context exclusively, the discussion it raises gives an example of how learning *at* work and learning *for* work is a prominent theme in all of the three studied national contexts.

Published as:

Berglund, G. (2003). *School is School and Work is Work and never the Twain Shall Meet, or?* Proceedings from the European Conference on Educational Research, University of Hamburg, 17-20 September 2003. Available online:
http://www.leeds.ac.uk/educol/documents/00003238.htm.

Article 3: 'Adopt or you're toast'? Remodelling the individual in contemporary lifelong learning

The third article deals with the discursive construction of the ideal *individual*, pictured as a 'lifelong learner', which is a prominent theme in all the studied policies and thus reflects the meta-discourse of lifelong learning. The motive given for lifelong learning is to foster active and capable lifelong learners in terms of becoming self-directed, employable, self-financed and, generally – good citizens.

The article deconstructs the rhetoric of the capable and desirable individual by analysing both what is articulated in the policies and what is not articulated in writing, but immanent in the discourse. The construction of the lifelong learner, as both a norm and the normal, simultaneously produces its semantic opposite – the non-learner, who becomes the undesirable 'other'. Instead of being construed as cap*able* the non-learner is construed as dis*abled* in relation to the rhetorical demands of the learning society.

This article has been peer-reviewed and published in the Nordic educational journal *Nordisk Pedagogik.*

Published as:

Berglund, G. (2007). Adapt or you're Toast: Remodelling the Individual in Lifelong Learning. *Nordisk Pedagogik.* 27(2), 119-129.

Article 4: Pathologizing and medicalizing lifelong learning: a deconstruction

This article also reflects the meta-discourse that is immanent in all the studied documents. The analysis deconstructs lifelong learning as and through a pathologised and medicalized discourse. It shows how lifelong learning policy referring to a healthy society produces a discourse pathologising individuals who fail to live up to the expectations put forward in lifelong learning policies. In such a discourse lifelong learning is constructed as a cure that engenders potent citizens for the so-called learning society.

The article challenges contemporary lifelong learning policy discourses by playing an inventory renaming game. In this game the professionals in lifelong learning practices acquire labels such as 'doctors' and 'nurses' and the target groups of policy concern are labelled 'patients'. Through such a game it is possible to destabilise the present discourse and open it up for scrutiny and reconfiguration.

This article is published as chapter 11 in an international anthology: *Foucault and Lifelong Learning: governing the subject*.

Published as:

Berglund, G. (2008). Pathologizing and Medicalizing Lifelong Learning: a deconstruction. In A. Fejes & K. Nicoll, *Foucault and Lifelong Learning: governing the subject*. London: Routledge.

EPILOGUE

Lifelong learning as stories of the present

'Good old stories', as we recognize them in fairy tales and adventures, often aim to provide some sort of moral lesson. What are the moral lessons in present lifelong learning stories? Of course, there is no single answer to this question. Hopefully this thesis can challenge, and possibly provoke, the reader about how the moral truths of contemporary lifelong learning constitute our understandings of our present and the way people are subjected by and subject themselves to these discursive stories.

This final chapter aims at summing up – and thereby crumbling together and remoulding – the pieces that have been deconstructed – taken apart – in this thesis. The idea is to put the pieces together, temporarily, in such a way that it is possible to construct a kind of 'visual object' (artefact) by which it is possible to discuss, and reconstruct, lifelong learning in terms of stories of the present. Creating such an object is in itself an impossible task since what we think of as reality is an ever-changing and fluid 'substance'. The construction of an object only allows us a quick glimpse of hope that we might understand how it constitutes our image of the present. Borrowing from Simons & Masschelein (2006:426):

> *We believe—and this is a confession-without-address—that what is and should be at stake are gestures of disorientation and maps that are helping us to get lost, maps that are not simplifying but making everything more complex, maps that are not offering an overview or a liberating view but that liberate our view.*

Trying to get a 'true' overview, a map, of lifelong learning does not help us to understand our present. What might 'liberate our view' is to get lost for a while, which might help us to be curious and critical at the same time, towards the object of our concern, asking questions such as: what discourses are employed in lifelong learning

policies and how do they frame our understanding of our present and of ourselves?

Constructing a temporary object

In the analysis of lifelong learning policies I grouped the rhetorical signifiers into eight prominent themes (see p. 31):
- Individual aspects
- Politics
- Economics/finances
- Labour market/work aspects
- Education, learning, pedagogy
- Efficiency and rationality
- Structural, societal and organisational aspects
- References to other countries, research and agencies

These themes set out the aspects that have been given special attention in the studied policies. The stories of present lifelong learning are thus weaved around and out of the signifiers within these themes. In the description below I will summarize the findings in my study to establish lifelong learning as a temporary 'object' of the present, which will serve as a point of reference in the discussion that follows, before letting this construed object dissolve and change the way discourses operate.

The lifelong learning 'object'

The emphasis on *learning* is a prominent signifier of the present. The analysis reveals that learning is an aspect that has penetrated all dimensions of life: the private sphere (learning for 'life' and the 'self'), work (centred on employability = skills + knowledge as a mathematical function of the global market) and citizenship (learning for democracy and active participation in society and civil society). These aspects are often referred to as the life*wide* dimension. Learning has thus entered the meta-discourse of our present with such an impact that we find it impossible to think about ourselves, others and society without it. Learning is also described as a life*long* endeavour. The emphasis on lifelong learning in the studied documents differ somewhat, though. In Sweden it is described as a matter of governmental concern from pre-school an onwards whereas in the USA and Australia it targets adults after compulsory school.

Lifelong learning is not only a way of talking about the lifewide and lifelong dimensions, but a tool used for disciplinary and corrective purposes to foster 'good' – i.e. capable, efficient and productive – citizens for the 'learning society'. This stresses *the societal, and thereby political, dimension of lifelong learning*. The present, as well as the ideal future, is depicted as a 'learning society' where 'the lifelong learner' is the norm. Being, i.e. behaving and identifying oneself, as a 'lifelong learner' has become the desired and necessary lifestyle within the learning society. Such an emphasis on (compulsory) individual subjectification to societal expectations covering all dimensions of life is another prominent signifier of the present.

To conclude:

> *In different contexts and with different logics, the same story seems to be told. The story is that we are now, more or less, obliged to live with constant change in society. Modern schooling, for example, continually links the individual to narratives of social or economic progress and the revitalization of democracy that will bring personal betterment.*
>
> (Popkewitz *et al* 2006:436)

Below I will discuss the 'object' that has been construed above as a reflection of present lifelong learning. As an introduction I will tell a completely different story, i.e. telling a story by inserting the object into another story, as an attempt to 'liberate our view'.

Stories as liberation?

In J.R. Tolkien's well-known trilogy of the Ring the ring is used as a metaphor for both power and knowledge. Seven rings were distributed to the leaders of different groups of 'creatures', representing different kinds of knowledge and ways of life. Each ring could be thought of as representing independence, possibility and freedom for each group to develop their specific knowledge and understanding of the world, i.e. their specific discourses. Tolkien's story is also about the 'one ring to rule them all'. This magic ring holds the ultimate power to control the other rings, claiming a superior knowledge of the world order. The story told in the trilogy is one of struggle for power and knowledge. It is also about moral virtues; right or wrong, good or evil, and the courage and capabilities

of people to do the 'right thing'. It is about alliances; friends and enemies, but most of all it is a story about a changing world.

What does this fictive story has to do with researching lifelong learning policy? The story of Tolkien's rings could be told, and read, as a story (one of many) resembling lifelong learning. As has been shown in this thesis there are many different understandings and usages (rings) of lifelong learning around the world, each claming knowledge, power and moral rights that have become locally taken-for-granted truths, i.e. representing different lifelong learning discourses. In the story above, the one Ring represents the present meta-discourse, offering superior knowledge and claiming the moral right to define what lifelong learning *is* or *should be* and what kind of world order (e.g. economy and political system) and what kind of learning (activities) that is required for people and how the individuals should govern themselves within this world order.

Tolkien's story can be read as a story of governmentality. Such a story presupposes some kind of societal or organisational "government of self-government" (Simons & Masschelein 2006).

> *Modern governmental rationalities and technologies seek to promote a kind of self-government or subjectivity that is of strategic importance for its operations. Modern liberal governmentality for example correlates with a rather specific individual freedom. Individual freedom is thus not a natural state of human beings but implies a kind of self-government. And within liberal governmentality bringing about this self-government or these subjects (e.g. people who understand themselves in terms of freedom, having interests and a guiding reason and who understand their environment as a civil society) is of strategic importance.*
>
> (Simons & Masschelein 2006:419)

Telling governmentality stories about lifelong learning have become an increasingly popular research approach (Simons & Masschelein 2006). Such an approach focuses on the power/knowledge relations built into the government of others and the government of the self and "the particular historical scaffolding of rules and standards about who the citizen is or should be" (Popkewitz *et al* 2006:434). These stories often use a foucauldian framework although they show different understandings and uptakes of

Foucault's notion of governmentality and other linked concepts (Simons & Masschelein 2006).

Popkewitz *et al* (2006) describe how the Enlightenment, or Kantian, narrative prescribing reason and rationality together with a positivistic narrative à la August Comte celebrating order, harmony and progress have formed the present meta-discourse of lifelong learning and formed what they refer to as 'cosmopolitan reason'.

> *… cosmopolitan reason is the cornerstone of agency, but also the limit and object of government. From Kant through Dewey and into current notions of emancipation and empowerment, the calculation of cosmopolitan reason and the 'reasonable person' is a sine qua non of the joining of individual enablement and public capabilities.*

> (Popkewitz *et al* 2006:435)

Present stories on lifelong learning use metaphors such as the learning society, the information society, the knowledge society etc to mobilise school-, workplace- and organisational reforms of different kinds in the making of a new world order that "expresses principles of a universal humanity and a promise of progress that seem to transcend the nation" (Popkewitz *et al* 2006:431). Such an understanding of the present is often referred to in terms of *neoliberalism* or *advanced liberalism* (see e.g. Jarvis 2007, Rose 1999). Although the present, depicted as a learning society, is described as a new world order it is historicized as it brings with it the ideals of the Enlightenment. "What is 'new' in the present is the particular amalgamation of cultural practice that fabricate 'the social' and individuality" (Popkewitz *et al* 2006:445). In other words, the present discourse produces certain ideas of the social and how individuals should subject themselves to the social domain.

The 'cosmopolitan way of life' thus construes lifelong learners as ideal citizens of the learning society, but also inscribes the "anthropological 'Other' who stands outside reason and its civilizing manners of conduct" (Popkewitz *et al* 2006:433). Cosmopolitan stories are thus about inclusion and exclusion and how the present neoliberal discourse, through the use of policy rhetoric, produces 'others' as targets for governmental techniques.

The learning society is also rhetorically depicted as a 'healthy society' in lifelong learning policies. The cosmopolitan lifelong learner thus resembles the healthy individual …

> *The healthy citizen feels and acts with responsibility for their immediate and broader community as a personal obligation for the future and the society as a whole.*

<div align="right">(Popkewitz et al 2006:444)</div>

… whereas the 'other' is pathologised as an unhealthy citizen who is in need of treatment to be cured.

As the self-governed (learning) subject is significant for the present, a present truth (discursively produced mentality) is that such identities can be learned. This in turn creates docile, i.e. educable and teachable, bodies, which are construed both as objects for policy concern and subjects who can be taught to govern their lives in relation to the expectations of the present cosmopolitan ideals. The 'unfinished cosmopolitan' (Popkewitz *et al* 2006), who is at-risk of disturbing the reason of the ideal world order is thereby possible to reinsert in society. Lifelong learning can therefore be described as a project for national, as well as global mobilisation, not only to maintain the present cosmopolitan society, but to secure such a future world order.

Beck's (1992) notion of the 'risk society' is a strong signifier of present lifelong learning discourses. The responsibility to avoid social and economic catastrophes is associated with the power/knowledge of experts (Turner 2001). The potential risks legitimises lifelong learning activities to reinsert the undesirable others as cosmopolitan lifelong learners. Lifelong learning stories of the present with their focus on 'risk' also express a discourse of fear. Such discourses are significant in many meta-stories about the present. There is the risk of terrorist attacks, of pandemic deceases, of a stock-market crash, of environmental catastrophes due to the greenhouse effect etc. that, taken together, produces a meta-discourse of fear. Paradoxically, lifelong learning discourses also produces the 'other' of fear, i.e. they tell stories of hope since lifelong learning is envisioned as *the* tool to solve almost any problem through its trust in education and in individuals who are or can be lifelong learners. As such, lifelong learning discourses also tell stories of liberation.

Constructing lifelong learning as stories of the future

Before looking forward and reflect on possible areas for future research on lifelong learning, I would like to make a few reflections on the research process of this thesis. When starting this research journey I pictured the analysis of the concept of lifelong learning as a quest for the Holy Grail. I can recall having vague hopes of experiencing some sort of revelation when finally finding Lifelong learning hidden like a precious treasure waiting to be revealed. I proved to be wrong. Instead, what I found was Pandora's Box. Like Pandora, I was curious enough to open the box that Hermes had forbidden to be opened. Out of the box flew many new disturbing perspectives that threatened my taken for granted truths, not only about lifelong learning as an object of research, but of the research process and the kind of results that emerged from the research questions that were raised using the glasses that I found in Pandora's Box. Opening the box has led to times of despair and chaos during the process, but just like Pandora's Box it also contained hope. That hope did not only 'save' me as I found, and eventually learned to use, the poststructuralist glasses, but it promises new insights for the production of future lifelong learning discourses. If I should begin a study of lifelong learning today, having the theoretical and methodological knowledge I have acquired so far, I would probably start by asking other types of questions initially which in turn would lead to other research questions, and thereby other articles. But, that is a delusionary line of argument. It is as impossible to undo the past as it is to learn what has not yet crossed your mind. Learning has a direction forward, even when reflecting backwards. What seems fruitful is to think forward from where you are now and use the knowledge you have required to start asking new questions for future research.

Although finishing this thesis, my analysis of the contents of Pandora's Box has only just begun. Questions that have emerged from the results of this thesis concern e.g. the lack of gender perspective in present lifelong learning policies. The fact that gender is almost invisible in the policies, except when identifying women as a 'target group', calls for further inquiries. The same goes for ethnicity and class. Other questions concern whether stories of lifelong learning, except expressing discourses of liberation, actually can be liberating, and then how, for what and for whom? This thesis has

focused on the discursive construction of the concept of lifelong learning. It has shown how this construction shapes different kinds of subjectivities. Do the present stories of lifelong learning, and other value-laden policy concepts, offer any possibilities to think differently for the future or are we slaves by the binary construction of language that produces 'others'? Well, that is another story.

REFERENCES

Aspin, D. & Chapman, J. (2001). Towards a Philosophy of Lifelong Learning. In D. Aspin, J. Chapman, M. Hatton and Y. Sawano, (eds.), *International Handbook of Lifelong Learning, Part 1*. London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Assarsson, L. & Sipos Zackrisson, K. (2005). *Iscensättande av identiteter i vuxenstudier* (Staging of Identities in Adult Education). Doctoral thesis. University of Linköping. Linköping: AB Danagårds grafiska.

Baker, B. (1999). Disabling Methodologies. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*. 7(1), 91-115.

Beck, U. (1992). *Risk society: Towards a new modernity*, London: Sage.

Belanger, P. & Valdivielso, S. Eds. (1997). *The Emergence of Learning Societies: who participates in adult learning?* Oxford: Pergamon and UNESCO Institute for Education.

Bell, V. (1999). *Performativity and Belonging*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Berglund, G. (2002). *Lifelong Learning: just another trendy concept?* Non published paper produced within the course Framtidens arbete (Future works) as part of the YKSA- project, the Swedish National Agency of Education.

Berglund, G. (2003). *School is School and Work is Work and never the Twain Shall Meet, or?* Proceedings from the European Conference on Educational Research, University of Hamburg, 17-20 September 2003. Available online:
http://www.leeds.ac.uk/educol/documents/00003238.htm.

Berglund, G. (2004). 'The discourses of lifelong learning: global, national, or?', in P. A. Danaher, C. Macpherson, F. Nouwens, and D. Orr (eds.), *Lifelong learning: Whose responsibility and what is your contribution?* Proceedings of the 3rd International lifelong learning conference, Yeppoon, Queensland, Australia, 13-16 June. Rockhampton: Central Queensland University Press.

Berglund, G. (2007). Adapt or you're Toast: Remodelling the Individual in Lifelong Learning. *Nordisk Pedagogik*. 27(2), 119-129.

Berglund, G. (2008). Pathologizing and Medicalizing Lifelong Learning: a deconstruction. In A. Fejes & K. Nicoll (2008), *Foucault and Lifelong Learning: governing the subject*. London: Routledge.

Bergström, G. & Boréus, K. (2005). *Textens mening och makt: Metodbok i samhällsvetenskaplig text- och diskursanalys* (The Meaning and Power of Text: methodology of text- and discourse analysis in social sciences). Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Cambridge Advanced Learners Dictionary. (2006). *Health*. Available online: http://www.dictionary.cambridge.org. Accessed 1 October 2006.

Canguilhem, G. (1991) *The Normal and the Pathological*, New York: Zone Books.

Cocks, E. & Allen, M. (1996). Discourses of Disability, in E. Cocks, C. Fox, M. Brogan & M. Lee, (eds.), *Under Blue Skies: the social construction of intellectual disability in Western Australia*. Perth: Edith Cowan University Centre for Disability Research and Development.

Cropley, A. J. (1980). *Towards a System of Lifelong Education- some practical considerations*. Hamburg: Pergamon Press and the UNESCO Institute for Education.

Crowther, J. (2004). 'In and against' lifelong learning: flexibility and the corrosion of character. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*. 23(2), 125-136.

Czarniawska-Joerges, B. (1988). *Att handla med ord* (Dealing with Words). Stockholm: Carlssons.

Czarniawska, B. (2004). *Narratives in Social Science Research*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Danaher, P.A., Macpherson, C., Nouwens, F. & Orr, D. (Eds.). (2004). *Lifelong Learning: Whose Responsibility and What is Your Contribution?* Refereed Papers from the 3rd International lifelong learning conference Yeppoon, Central Queensland, Australia, 13-16 June 2004. Rockhampton: Central Queensland University Press.

Davis, C. (2004). *After Poststructuralism: Reading, stories and theory*. London & New York: Routledge.

Dean, M. (1999). *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Derrida, J. (1976/1997, 1980). *Of Grammatology*. Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University Press.

Dewar, D. (1999) *Opportunity Scotland: A paper on Lifelong Learning. Part 1: An Agenda for Learners*. Edinburgh: Scottish Office Education and Industry Department. Available online: http://www.scotland.gov.uk/library/documents-w1/lllgp-01.htm (accessed 1 September 2006).

Edwards, R. & Nicoll, K. (2001). Researching the Rhetoric of Lifelong Learning. *Journal of Education Policy*. 16(2), 103-112.

Edwards, R. (2002). Mobilizing Lifelong Learning: governmentality in educational practices. *Journal of Education Policy*. 17(3), 353-365.

Edwards, R. & Boreham, N. (2003). The Centre cannot Hold: complexity and difference in European Union policy towards a learning society. *Journal of Education Policy*. 18(4), 407-421.

Ellström, P-E., Gustavsson, B & Larsson, S. (Eds.). (1996). *Livslångt lärande* (Lifelong Learning). Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Engeström, Y. (1987). *Learning by Expanding. an activity-theoretical approach to developmental research*. Helsingfors: Orienta-Konsultit.

Engeström, Y., Miettinen, R. & Punamäki, R-L. (1999). *Perspectives on Activity Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

European Trade Union Confederation (2002) *Framework of actions for the lifelong learning development of competencies and qualifications.* European agreement between: European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederations of Europe (UNICE), European Centre of Enterprises with Public Participation and of Enterprises of General Economic Interest (CEEP). Brussels: International Trade Union House. Available online: http://www.etuc.org/a/580 (accessed 1 September 1 2006).

Falk, C. (1999). Sentencing Learners to Life: retrofitting the academy for the information age. *CTHEORY.NET*. Available online: http://www.ctheory.net/text_file.asp?pick=113 (Accessed 03 February 2004)

Fejes, A. (2005). New Wine in Old Skins: changing patterns in the governing of the adult learner in Sweden. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*. 24(1), 71-86.

Fejes, A. (2006). *Constructing the Adult Learner: a governmentality analysis*. PhD thesis. Linköping: LiU-Tryck.

Field, J. (2000a). *Lifelong Learning and the New Educational Order*. Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books.

Field, J. (2000b). Governing the Ungovernable: why lifelong learning policies promise so much yet deliver so little. *Educational Management & Administration*. 28(3), 249-261.

Foucault, M. (1972). *The Archaeology of Knowledge & the Discourse on Language*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1975). *The Birth of the Clinic: an Archaeology of Medical Perception*, New York, NY: Vintage Books.

Foucault, M. (1977/1991, 1994). *The Order of Things: an archaeology of the human sciences*. New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, M, (1979). *Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison*. London: Penguin Books.

Foucault, M. (1979) *The History of Sexuality*, Volume One: an Introduction, London: Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: selected interviews & other writings 1972-1977 by Michel Foucault.* Ed. Colin Gordon. New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1988) 'Technologies of the self', in L.H. Martin, H. Gutman and P.H. Hutton (eds) *Technologies of the self a seminar with Michel Foucault*, The United States of America: The University of Massachusetts Press.

Foucault, M. (1999) *Abnormal: Lectures at the Collège de France*, New York, NY: Picador.

Foucault, M. (2000). Ethics: subjectivity and truth. *Essential works of Foucault, 1954-1984. Vol. 1.* London: Penguin Books.

Foucault, M. (2000b). Governmentality. *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984. Vol.3.* (Ed. Paul Rabinow). New York: The New York Press.

Furusten, S. (1995). *The Managerial Discourse: a study of the creation and diffusion of popular management knowledge.* Doctoral thesis. Uppsala University: Department of Business Studies.

Furusten, S. (1996). *Den populära managementkulturen: om produktion och spridning av populär 'kunskap' om företagsledning* (The popular Management Culture: on produktion and diffusion of popular 'knowledge' about corporate management). Stockholm: Nerenius & Santerius förlag.

Gardner, H. (1990). The Difficulties of School: probable causes, possible cures. Quoted in Miettinen, Reijo. (1999). Transcending Traditional School Learning: teachers' work and networks of learning, p. 327 in Engeström, Y.: *Perspectives on Activity Theory.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gouthro, P.A. (2002). Education for Sale: At what Cost? lifelong learning and the marketplace. *International Journal of Lifelong Education.* Vol. 21(4), 334-346.

Gustavsson, B. (2002). What do we Mean by Lifelong Learning and Knowledge? *International Journal of Lifelong Education.* 21(1).

Gutting, G. (2005). *The Cambridge Companion to Foucault.* Second edition. Cambridge: University Press.

Hamilton, D. (1990). *Learning about Education: an unfinished curriculum.* Buckingham: Open University.

Höghielm, R. (2000). Key Qualification. In Höghielm, R. ed. *Vocational Training in Co-operation with Working Life and the Links to General Education. The Votraco-project.* Solna: Nykopia Global Print AB.

Jarvis, P. (2007). *Globalisation, Lifelong Learning and the Learning Society*, vol. 2. New York: Routledge.

Jones, C. and Porter, R. (eds) (1994) *Reassessing Foucault: Power, medicine and the body*, Oxon: Routledge.

Jose, J. (1998) *Biopolitics of the Subject: an introduction to the ideas of Michel Foucault*, Darwin: Northern Territory University Press.

Ketz de Vries, M. & Miller, D. (1987). Interpreting Organisational Texts, *Journal of Management Studies*, 24(3), 233-247.

Latour, B. (1999). *Pandora's Hope*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Lave, J. & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated Learning: legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lindensjö, B. & Lundgren, U.P. (2000). *Utbildningsreformer och politisk styrning* (Educational Reforms and Political Governing). Göteborg: Elanders Graphic Systems.

Lundahl, C. & Öquist, O. (2002). *Idén om en helhet: utvärdering på systemteoretisk grund* (The Idea of a Whole: assessment on system-theoretical grounds). Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Lupton, D. (2006). *Medicine as Culture*. Second edition, London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Miettinen, R. (1999). Transcending Traditional School Learning: teachers' work and net-works of learning. In Engeström (ed.): *Perspectives on Activity Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MacLure, M. (2003). *Discourse in Educational and Social Research*. Buckingham. Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Martin, I. (2003). Adult Education, Lifelong Learning and Citizenship: some ifs and buts. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*. 22(6), 566-579.

Martin, L.H., Gutman, H. and Hutton, P.H. (Eds). (1988) *Technologies of the self: A seminar with Michel Foucault*. The United States of America: The University of Massachusetts Press.

Melnyk, S. & Tuijnman, A. (2002). *Report on Adult Education Developments in the European Union: an overview*. Stockholm: Institute of International Education, Stockholm University. Available online: http://www.interped.su.se/publ_working.asp. Accessed 15 January 2004.

Nicoll, K. G. (2003). *Exploring Flexibility and Lifelong Learning: the rhetorical work of policy discourse*. PhD thesis. Sydney: Faculty of Education, University of Technology Sydney.

Olsson, U. (1997) *Folkhälsa som pedagogiskt projekt: Bilden av hälsoupplysning i statens offentliga utredningar* (Public Health as a Pedagogical Project: the image of health enlightenment in national public investigations). Doctoral dissertation, Uppsala: Uppsala University.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (2004). *The Role of National Qualifications Systems in Promoting Lifelong Learning*. Available online: http://www.oecd.org/document/16/0,2340,en_2649_34509_32165840_1_1_1_1,00.html. Accessed 26 October 2004.

Opengart, R. & Short, D.C. (2002). Free Agent Learners: the new career model and its impact on human resource development. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*. 21(3), 220-233.

Passmore, J. (1970). *The perfection of man*. London: Gerald Duckworth & Company Limited.

Popkewitz, T.S., Olsson, U. & Peterson, K. (2006). The Learning Society, the Unfinished Cosmopolitan, and Governing Education, Public Health and Crime Prevention at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 38(4), 431–449.

Potter, J. (1996). *Representing Reality: discourse, rhetoric and social construction*. London: Sage.

Probyn, E. (1996). *Outside Belongings*. London: Routledge.

Putnam, R. (2000). *Bowling Alone: the collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Richardson, L. (2001). Getting Personal: writing stories. *Qualitative Studies in Education*. 14(1), 33-38.

Robertson, A. (2005). Narrativanalys (Narrative Analysis). In G. Bergström & K. Boréus (Eds.), *Textens mening och makt: Metodbok i samhällsvetenskaplig text- och diskursanalys* (The Meaning and Power of Text: methodology of text- and discourse analysis in social sciences). Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Rose, N. & Miller, P. (1992). Political Power beyond the State: problematics of government. *The British Journal of Sociology*. 43(2), 173-205.

Rose, N. (1999). *Powers of Freedom: reframing political thought*. Cambridge: University Press.

Roth, M.S. (1981). Foucault's History of the Present. *History and Theory*. 20(1), 32-46.

Rubenson, K. (1996). Livslångt lärande: mellan utopi och ekonomi. (Lifelong Learning: between utopia and the economy) In P-E. Ellström *et al.*, (Eds.), *Livslångt lärande* (Lifelong learning). Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Rubenson, K. & Xu, G. (1997). Barriers to Participation in Adult Education and Training: towards a new understanding. In Bélanger, Paul & Tuijnman, Albert. *New Patterns of Adult Learning: A six-Country Comparative Study*. Oxford: Pergamon and UNESCO Institute for Education.

Røvik, K.A. (2000). *Moderna organisationer: trender inom organisationstänkandet vid millennieskiftet* (Modern Organisations: trends within organizational thinking by the millennium shift). Malmö: Liber.

Simons, M. & Masschelein, J. (2006). The Learning Society and Governmentality: an introduction. *Educational Philosophy and Theory,* Vol. 38(4), 417-430.

Tuijnman, A. & Boström, A-K. (2002). Changing Notions of Lifelong Education and Lifelong Learning. *International Review of Education.* 48(1/2), 93-110.

Turner, B.S. (2001). *Medical Power and Social Knowledge*. Second edition, London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Ulmer, G.L. (1994). *Heuretics: The logic of invention*. London: The John Hopkins University Press.

Ulmer, G.L. (2004). *Teletheory*. Revised 2nd edition. New York: Atropos Press.

UNESCO (2001). *Reflecting on Lifelong Learning Discourses and Practices across the World*. Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Education.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of Practices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

World Health Organisation (WHO). (1980/2007). *Disability Definition* from 1980. Available online: http://www.searo.who.int/LinkFiles/Health_Situation_annexure-5.pdf. Accessed 21 September 2007.

World Health Organisation (WHO). (2006) *Frequently Asked Question: What is the WHO definition of health?* Available online: http://www.who.int/suggestions/faq/en/ (accessed 1 October 2006).

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS
The Swedish study

Government Offices of Sweden. (2001a). *Adult Learning and the Future Development of Adult Education*. Available online: http://utbildning.regeringen.se/ansvarsomr/vuxfolk/publikationer/publik ationer.htm. Accessed 1 June 2002.

Government Offices of Sweden. (2001b). *Reforms in Higher Education – a more open system. Summary of government bill 2001/02:15*. Ministry of Education and Science. U01.016 November 2001. Available online: http://utbildning.regeringen.se/inenglish/publications.htm. Accessed 1 June 2002.

Hansson, L. & Färm, K. (2002). *Kompetenskonton: den första utvärderingen* (Competence Accounts: the first assessment). Svenskt Näringsliv (Confederation of Swedish Enterprise). Available online: http://svensktnaringsliv.se. Accessed 1 June 2002.

National Agency for Education (1994). *Lpo 94 Curriculum for the compulsory school, the preschool and the leisure-time centre*. Available online: http://www.skolverket.se/sb/d/468

Lernia AB. (2002). *Livslångt lärande främjar tillväxt* (Lifelong learning enhances economic growth) Available online: http://www.lernia.se/justnu. Accessed 1 June 2002.

Landsorganisationen (LO) (The Swedish Trade Union Confederation). (2002). *Europeisk överenskommelse om handlingsplan för kompetensutveckling i arbetslivet som en del av det livslånga lärandet* (European Agreement about Competence Development in Working Life as Part of Lifelong Learning). Available online: http://www.lo.se. Accessed 1 June 2002.

Regeringens skrivelse (Swedish Government Communication) 2001/02:172. *Nationell skrivelse för hållbar utveckling* (Sweden's National Report on Sustainable Development). Available online: http://www.regeringen.se/propositioner/skrivelser/index.htm. Accessed 1 June 2002.

Regeringens skrivelse (Swedish Government Communication) Ds 2000:62. *Samverkan mellan skola och arbetsliv: om möjligheterna med lärande i arbete*. (Swedish Government: National Report: Co-operation between School and Working life- on the possibilities with learning at work.). Available online: http://utbildning.regeringen.se/content/1/c4/27/99/25c72030.pdf. Accessed 1 June 2002.

Sveriges Industritjänstemannaförbund (SIF) (Sweden's Leading White Collar Union) (2002). *Kommentarer kring Den öppna högskolan. Proposition 2001/02:15* (Commentaries on the Open Higher Education). Available online:
http://www.sif.se. Accessed 1 June 2002.

Skollag (School Law) 1985:1100. Available online:
http://www.notisum.se/rnp/sls/lag/19851100.HTM. Accessed 1 June 2002.

Skolverket (National Agency for Education): U2000/4731/DK. *Skolverkets uppdrag för att stärka grundskolans samverkan med arbetslivet* (The National Agency for Education's Commission to Strengthen the Compulsory School's co-operation with Working life). The Web address has expired.

Swedish Government Official Reports (1998). *Vuxenutbildning och livslångt lärande : situationen inför och under första året med kunskapslyftet: delbetänkande / av Kommittén om ett nationellt kunskapslyft för vuxna* SOU 1998:51 (Adult Education and Lifelong Learning: the situation before and during the first year of the Adult Education Initiative: . Available online:
http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/108/a/25229. Accessed 18 November 18 2005.

Umeå Kommun (Umeå Municipality): Skolplan för Umeå kommun: En trygg skola med kunskaper till alla (*The school plan for Umeå municipality: A safe school with knowledge for everyone*). Available online:
http://www.umea.se/download/18.bbd1b101a585d704800082867/skol plan_2000.pdf. Accessed 1 June 2002.

Umeå University. *Utvecklingsprogram 1998-2002* (Development Program). Available online:
http://www.umu.se/policy/utveckl_program.pdf. Accessed 1 June 2002.

The Australian study

Australian Government (2003). *Adult learning in Australia: a consultation paper. You can too*. Australian Government: Department of Education, Science and Training. Available online: http://www.dest.gov.au/NR/rdonlyres/992FC0D2-A79A-4156-B4B6-2BC7FDF0B959/2206/you_can_too.pdf. Accessed 13 October 2005.

Australian National Training Authority (ANTA) (1999). *National Marketing Strategy for Skills and Lifelong Learning: literature review final report*. Available online: http://www.anta.gov.au. Accessed 1 December 2003.

Australian National Training Agency (ANTA) (2000). *National Marketing Strategy for Skills and Lifelong Learning: the employer survey: research report*. Available online: http://www.anta.gov.au. Accessed 1 December 2003.

Australian National Training Authority (ANTA) (2003). *Australia's National Strategy for Vocational Education and Training 2004-2010: shaping our future*. Available online: http://www.anta.gov.au. Accessed 1 December 2003.

Candy, P. (2001). Transforming Students into Self-directed, Independent Adult Learners. In *View 2000: Commentaries on adult learning*. Pp. 14-16. Adult Learning Australia Inc. Available online: http://www.ala.asn.au. Accessed 1 December 2003.

Latham, M. (2001). Learning Communities. In *View 2000: Commentaries on Adult Learning*. Pp. 14-16. Adult Learning Australia Inc. Available online: http://www.ala.asn.au. Accessed 1 December 2003.

Seddon, T. (2001). Lifelong Learning, Social Capital and Capacity Building: individualising the politics of social cooperation. In *View 2000: Commentaries on Adult Learning*. Pp. 14-16. Adult Learning Australia Inc. Available online: http://www.ala.asn.au. Accessed 1 December 2003.

Sanguinetti, J. (2001). Coming to Grips with ANTA's Lifelong Learning Strategy. In *View 2000: Commentaries on Adult Learning*. Pp. 14-16. Adult Learning Australia Inc. Available online: http://www.ala.asn.au. Accessed 1 December 2003.

Traynor, G.J. (2001). The Business of Education. In *View 2000: Commentaries on Adult learning*. Pp. 14-16. Adult Learning Australia Inc. Available online: http://www.ala.asn.au. Accessed 1 December 2003.

Watson, L. (2003). *Lifelong Learning in Australia*. 03/13. Australian Government, Department of Education, Science and Training. Available online: http://detya.gov.au/highered/eippubs/eip03_13/03_13.pdf. Accessed 1 December 2003.

The American study

DOL Strategic Plan FY 1999-2004, Section 3. Departmental Strategic Goals.
   Available online:
   http://www.dol.gov/_sec/stratplan/3.htm. Accessed 12December2003.

National Advisory Group for Continuing Education and Lifelong Learning.
   (1997). *Learning for the Twenty-first Century*. First report of the National
   Advisory Group for Continuing Education and Lifelong Learning.
   Available online:
   http://www.lifelonglearning.co.uk/nagcell/learn01.htm. Accessed 13
   October 2005.

Sheppard, B. (2000). *The Launch of the 21st Century Learner Initiative*.
   Washington, DC. November 9, 2000. Speech by Beverly Sheppard,
   Deputy Director, Institute of Museum and Library Services in The 21st
   Century Learner: Premises and Goals. Available online:
    http://imls.gov/whatsnew/current/sp110900.htm. Accessed 11
   December 2003.

*The 21st Century Learner: Premises and Goals. The Launch of the 21st Century
   Learner Initiative*. Washington, DC. November 9, 2000. Speech by
   Beverly Sheppard, Deputy Director, Institute of Museum and Library
   Services. Available online:
   http://imls.gov/whatsnew/current/sp110900.htm. Accessed 11
   December 2003.

U.S. Department of Education Strategic plan, 1998-2002. *Goal 3. Ensure
   access to postsecondary education and lifelong learning*. (1997). Available
   online: http://ed.gov/pubs/StratPln/goal_3.html. Accessed 8 December
   2003.

U.S. Department of Education. (2000a). National Center for Education
   Statistics. *Lifelong Learning NCES Task Force: Final Report, Volume I*.
   Working Paper No. 2000-16a. Available online:
   http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2000/200016a.pdf. Accessed 20 October 2005.

U.S. Department of Education. (2000b). *National Center for Education
   Statistics. Lifelong Learning NCES Task Force: Final Report, Volume II*,
   Working Paper No.2. 2000-16b, by the NCES Lifelong Learning Task
   Force. Washington, DC: 2000. Available online:
   http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch. Accessed 8 December 2003.

U.S. Department of Labor. (1999). *DOL Strategic Plan FY 1999-2004,
   Section 3. Departmental Strategic Goals*. Available online:
   http://www.dol.gov/_sec/stratplan/3.htm. Accessed 12 December 2003.

Appendix 1: An illustrative matrix of themes and keywords per national setting[9]

Themes and keywords	Australia			USA			Sweden		
	Art. 1	Art. 2	Art. 3	Art. 1	Art. 2	Art. 3	Art. 1	Art. 2	Art. 3
Individual aspects									
Keyword 1	x		x		x	x			
Keyword 2		x					x	x	
Politics									
Keyword 1	x	x		x			x	x	x
Keyword 2		x	x		x			x	
Economics/finances									
Keyword 1	x	x							
Keyword 2		x	x		x	x	x	x	
Labour market/work aspects									
Keyword 1	x	x				x		x	
Keyword 2		x	x	x	x		x		x
Education, learning, pedagogy									
Keyword 1		x						x	
Keyword 2	x	x				x	x		
Efficiency and rationality									
Keyword 1			x	x		x	x		
Keyword 2	x	x	x	x		x		x	
Structural, societal and organisational aspects									
Keyword 1		x	x			x			x
Keyword 2	x		x		x		x		
References to other countries, research and agencies									
Keyword 1	x	x	x				x	x	
Keyword 2	x		x				x		

---

[9] See p.32

Appendix 2: An illustrative matrix of binary constructions[10]

Good	Bad
New	Old
Individual responsibility	Collective solutions
Everyday life	Classroom
Value training	Not value training
Customers need for products and services	Management and funding of organizations that deliver learning
Knowledge age	Industrial age
Lifelong learning	Traditional education and training
Lifelong learning	Recurrent education

[10] See p 32

AKADEMISKA AVHANDLINGAR
Vid Pedagogiska institutionen, Umeå universitet

1. Backman, Jarl. *Preferensbedömningar av ljudintensitet. En jämförelse mellan sensoriska och preferentiella bedömningstyper.* 1971.

2. Johansson, Egil. *En studie med kvantitativa metoder av folkundervisningen i Bygdeå socken 1845-1873.* 1972.

3. Marklund. Gustaf. *Experimental Studies on Performance and Perceptual problems in Physical Work.* 1972.

4. Wedman, Ingemar. *Mätproblem i norm- och kriterierelaterade prov. Några analyser och försök med tonvikt på reliabilitets- och diskriminationsmått.* 1973.

5. Egerbladh, Thor. *Grupparbetsinskolning. Empiriska undersökningar och ett undervisningsteoretiskt bidrag.* 1974.

6. Franke-Wikberg, Sigbrit & Johansson, Martin. *Utvärdering av undervisningen problemanalys och några empiriska studier på universitetsnivå.* 1975.

7. Jansson, Sven. *Undervisningsmål som utgångspunkt vid konstruktion av målrelaterade prov. Några teoretiska och empiriska problem.* 1975.

8. Nordlund, Gerhard. *Prognos av framgång i gymnasieskolan. Metod och empiriska resultat.* 1975.

9. Johansson, Henning. *Samerna och sameundervisningen i Sverige.* 1977.

10. Sparrman, Karl Johan. *Folkhögskolor med profil. Rörelsekaraktären hos svenska folkhögskolor med anknytning till kristna samfund.* 1978.

11. Råberg, Annagreta. *Glesbygdsbarn i Västerbotten.* 1979.

12. Nilsson, Ingvar. *Test-Wiseness och provkonstruktion. Några studier med tonvikt på effekter av instruktionen och uppgifternas utformning på svarsbeteendet.* 1979.

13. Rönmark, Walter & Wikström, Joel. *Tvåspråkighet i Tornedalen. Sammanfattning och diskussion.* 1980.

14. Henriksson, Widar. *Effekter av övning och instruktion för testprestation. Några empiriska studier och analyser avseende övningens och instruktionens betydelse för testprestationen.* 1981.

15. Sjöström, Margareta & Sjöström, Rolf. *Literacy and Development. A study of Yemissrach Dimts Literacy Campaign in Ethiopia.* 1982.

16. Lindberg, Gerd & Lindberg, Leif. *Pedagogisk forskning i Sverige 1948-1971. En explorativ studie av inom- och utomvetenskapliga faktorer.* 1983.

17. Stage, Christina. *Gruppskillnader i provresultat. Uppgiftsinnehållets betydelse för resultatskillnader mellan män och kvinnor på prov i ordkunskap och allmänorientering.* 1985.

18. Holm, Olle. *Four Determinants of Perceived Aggression and a Four-Step Attribution Model.* 1985.

19. Åsemar, Carl. *Att välja studie- och yrkesväg. Några empiriska studier med tonvikt på högstadieelevers valsituation.* 1985.

20. Andersson, Inger. *Läsning och skrivning. En analys av texter för den allmänna läs- och skrivundervisingen 1842-1982.* 1986.

21. Johansson, Ulla. *Att skolas för hemmet. Trädgårdsskötsel, slöjd, huslig ekonomi och nykterhetsundervisning i den svenska folkskolan 1842-1919 med exempel från Sköns församling.* 1987.

22. Wester-Wedman, Anita. *Den svårfångade motionären. En studie avseende etablerandet av regelbundna motionsvanor.* 1988.

23. Zetterström, Bo-Olof. *Samhället som föreställning. Om studerandes ideologiska formning i fyra högskoleutbildningar.* 1988.

24. Olofsson, Eva. *Har kvinnorna en sportslig chans? Den svenska idrottsrörelsen och kvinnorna under 1900-talet.* 1989.

25. Jonsson, Christer. *Om skola och arbete. Två empiriska försök med en förstärkt arbetslivskoppling.* 1989.

26. Frykholm, Clas-Uno & Nitzler, Ragnhild. *Blå dunster – korn av sanning. En studie av gymnasieskolans undervisning om arbetslivet.* 1990.

27. Henckel, Boel. *Förskollärare i tanke och handling. En studie kring begreppen arbete, lek och inlärning.* 1990.

28. Hult, Agneta. *Yrket som föreställning. En analys av föreställningar hos studerande inom fyra högskoleutbildningar.* 1990.

29. Andersson, Håkan. *Relativa betyg. Några empiriska studier och en teoretisk genomgång i ett historiskt perspektiv.* 1991.

30. Sjödin, Sture. *Problemlösning i grupp. Betydelsen av gruppstorlek, gruppsammansättning, gruppnorm och problemtyp för grupprodukt och individuell kunskapsbehållning.* 1991.

31. Gisselberg, Kjell. *Vilka frågor ställer elever och vilka elever ställer frågor. En studie av elevers frågor i naturorienterande ämnen i och utanför klassrummet.* 1991.

32. Staberg, Else-Marie. *Olika världar skilda värderingar. Hur flickor och pojkar möter högstadiets fysik, kemi och teknik.* 1992.

33. Berge, Britt-Marie. *Gå i lära till lärare. En grupp kvinnors och en grupp mäns inskolning i slöjdläraryrket.* 1992.

34. Johansson, Gunilla & Wahlberg Orving, Karin. *Samarbete mellan hem och skola. Erfarenheter av elevers, föräldrars och lärares arbete.* 1993.

35. Olofsson, Anders. *Högskolebildningens fem ansikten. Studerandes föreställningar om kunskapspotentialer i teknik, medicin, ekonomi och psykologi – en kvalitativ utvärderingsstudie.* 1993.

36. Rönnerman, Karin. *Lärarinnor utvecklar sin praktik. En studie av åtta utvecklingsarbeten på lågstadiet.* 1993.

37. Brändström, Sture & Wiklund, Christer. *Två musikpedagogiska fält. En studie om kommunal musikskola och musiklärarutbildning.* 1995.

38. Forsslund, Annika. *"From nobody to somebody". Women's struggle to achieve dignity and self-reliance in a Bangladesh village.* 1995.

39. Ramstedt, Kristian. *Elektroniska flickor och mekaniska pojkar. Om gruppskillnader på prov – en metodutveckling och en studie av skillnader mellan flickor och pojkar på centrala prov i fysik.* 1996.

40. Bobrink, Erik. *Peer Student Group Interaction within the Process-Product Paradigm.* 1996.

41. Holmlund, Kerstin. *Låt barnen komma till oss. Förskollärarna och kampen om småbarnsinstitutionerna 1854-1968.* 1996.

42. Frånberg, Gun-Marie. *East of Arcadia. Three Studies of Rural Women in Northern Sweden and Wisconsin, USA.* 1996.

43. Moqvist, Ingeborg. *Den kompletterande familjen. Föräldraskap, fostran och förändring i en svensk småstad.* 1997.

44. Dahl, Iréne. *Orator Verbis Electris. Taldatorn en pedagogisk länk till läs- och skrivfärdighet. Utprövning och utvärdering av taldatorbaserade träningsprogram för elever med läs- och skrivsvårigheter*. 1997.

45. Weinehall, Katarina. *Att växa upp i våldets närhet. Ungdomars berättelser om våld i hemmet*. 1997.

46. Segerholm, Christina. *Att förändra barnomsorgen. En analys av en statlig satsning på lokalt utvecklingsarbete,* 1998.

47. Ahl, Astrid. *Läraren och läsundervisningen. En studie av åldersintegrerad pedagogisk praktik med sex- och sjuåringar*. 1998.

48. Johansson, Sigurd. *Transfer of Technical Training Know-how. A Study of Consultancy Services in Aid Practices*. 1999.

49. Johansson, Kjell. *Konstruktivism I distansutbildning. Studerandes uppfattning om konstruktivistiskt lärande*. 1999.

50. Melin, Inga-Brita. *Lysistrates döttrar. Pionjärer och pedagoger i två kvinnliga fredsorganisationer(1898-1937)*. 1999.

51. Bergecliff, Annica. *Trots eller tack vare? Några elevröster om skolgångsanpassning i grundskolan*. 1999.

52. Söderström, Tor. *Gymkulturens logik. Om samverkan mellan kropp, gym och samhälle*. 1999.

53. Karp, Staffan. *Barn, föräldrar och idrott. En intervjustudie om fostran inom fotboll och golf*. 2000.

54. Wolming. Simon. *Validering av urval*. 2000.

55. Lind, Steffan. *Lärare professionaliseringssträvanden vid skolutveckling. Handlingsalternativen stängning och allians*. 2000.

56. Gu, Limin. *Modernization and Marketization: the Chinese Kindergarten in the 1990s*. 2000.

57. Hedman, Anders. *I nationens och det praktiska livets tjänst. Det svenska yrkesskolesystemets tillkomst och utveckling 1918 till 1940*. 2001.

58. Löfgren, Kent. *Studenters fritids- och motionsvanor i Umeå och Madison. Ett bidrag till förståelsen av Pierre Bourdieus vetenskapliga metodologi*. 2001.

59. Fahlström, Per Göran. *Ishockeycoacher. En studie om rekrytering, arbete och ledarstil*. 2001.

60. Ivarson-Jansson, Ewa. *Relationen hem – förskola. Intentioner och uppfattningar om förskolans uppgift att vara komplement till hemmet 1990-1995.* 2001.

61. Lemar, Signild. *Kaoskompetens och Gummibandspedagogik. En studie av karaktärsämneslärare i en decentraliserad gymnasieorganisation.* 2001.

62. Wännman Toresson, Gunnel. *Kvinnor skapar kunskap på nätet. Datorbaserad fortbildning för lärare.* 2002.

63. Karlefors, Inger. *"Att samverka eller..?" Om idrottslärare och idrottsämnet i den svenska grundskolan.* 2002.

64. From, Jörgen och Carina, Holmgren. *Edukation som social integration. En hermeneutisk analys av den kinesiska undervisningens kulturspecifika dimension.* 2002.

65. Dahlström, Lars. *Post-apartheid teacher education reform in Namibia – the struggle between common sense and good sense.* 2002.

66. Andersson, Ewa & Grysell Tomas. *Nöjd, klar och duktig. Studenter på fem utbildningar om studieframgång.* 2002.

67. Lindström, Anders. *Inte har dom gjort mej nåt! En studie av ungdomars attityder till invandrare och flyktingar i två mindre svenska lokalsamhällen.* 2002.

68. Forsberg, Ulla. *Är det någon "könsordning" i skolan? Analys av könsdiskurser i etniskt homogena och etniskt heterogena elevgrupper i årskurserna 0-6.* 2002.

69. Sällström, Bert. *Studerandes uppfattningar om konstruktivistiskt lärande i yrkesförberedande utbildning.* 2002.

70. Mannberg, Jan. *Studie- och yrkesorientering i AMS yrkesinformerande texter 1940-1970.* 2003.

71. Nyström, Peter. *Rätt mätt på prov. Om validering av bedömningar i skolan.* 2004.

72. Johnsson, Mattias. *Kontrasternas rum – ett relationistiskt perspektiv på valfrihet, segregation och indoktrinerande verkan i Sveriges grundskola.* 2004.

73. Norberg, Katarina. *The School as a Moral Arena. Constitutive values and deliberation in Swedish curriculum practice.* 2004.

74. Haake, Ulrika. *Ledarskapande i akademin. Om prefekters diskursiva identitetsutveckling.* 2004.

75. Nilsson, Peter. *Ledarutveckling i arbetslivet. Kontexter, aktörer samt (o)likheter mellan utbildningskulturer.* 2005.

76. Stenmark, Henric. *Polisens organisationskultur. En explorativ studie.* 2005.

77. Roos, Bertil. *ICT and formative assessment in the learning society.* 2005.

78. Lindberg J. Ola & Anders D. Olofsson. *Training Teachers Through Technology. A case study of a distance-based teacher training programme.* 2005.

79. Widding, Ulrika. *Identitetsskapande i studentföreningen: Köns- och klasskonstruktioner i massuniversitetet.* 2006.

80. Fahlén, Josef. *Structures beyond the frameworks of the rink. On organization in Swedish ice hockey.* 2006.

81. Franzén, Karin. *Is i magen och ett varmt hjärta. Konstruktionen av skolledarskap i ett könsperspektiv.* 2006.

82. Adenling, Elinor. *Att bli miljömedveten. Perspektiv på miljöhandbokens textvärld.* 2007.

83. Bäcktorp, Ann-Louise. *When the First-World-North Goes Local: Education and Gender in Post-Revolution Laos.* 2007.

84. Berglund, Gun. *On Lifelong Learning as Stories of the Present.* 2008.