Lifelong Learning in Norway and South Korea

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IV

Abstract

Global organizations' influences on national education policies has been studied thoroughly in the context of globalization in the modern world. United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), The European Union (EU), and The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) are identified as key players in the field of global educational governance, and have been exercising their influence on various educational topics *inter alia* lifelong learning. This study examines how the global scene in lifelong learning influenced Norway and South Korea.

Based on the theories of globalization, global educational governance, three models of education, and educational quality principle framework, lifelong learning on the global scene was mapped through document analyses of UNESCO, EU, and OECD's lifelong learning agendas. Thereafter, using the coding frame generated through the analyses of the global organizations' documents, the Norwegian and the South Korean lifelong learning white papers were analyzed using the qualitative content analysis method.

Results of this study show that there is an isomorphic pattern within lifelong learning in the global and the national level. The three organizations and Norway and South Korea's lifelong learning visions encompass values that adhere to rights-based, human capital, and capability approach. Furthermore, findings show that there is an emphasis towards achieving increased transferability of competency and qualifications across the domains of formal, non-formal, and informal education regarding one's qualifications. Lastly, despite the debates about the terminologies of lifelong learning, lifelong education, and adult education, the principles, and the premises of the three concepts exhibit a merging pattern.

Keywords: *Lifelong Learning in Norway, Lifelong Learning in South Korea, Global Educational Governance*

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한국에 있는 내 친구 우승이 그리고 현규야, 도와줘서 고맙다. 그리고 저를 낳으신 제 어머니, 지금은 하늘에 계신 아버지, 그리고 항상 열심히 살아주는 제 동생에게 무한한 감사의 인사를 바칩니다! 그리고 마지막으로 저에게 영혼을 불어넣어 주신 하나님 아버지께 모든 영광을 돌립니다.

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List of Acronyms

AE	Adult Education
CONFINTEA	International Conferences on Adult Education
CWEC	Common World Educational Culture
EEA	The European Economic Area
EEC	European Economic Community
ET 2020	The European Education and Training 2020 framework
EU	The European Union
GRALE	The Global Report on Adult Learning and Education
GSAE	Globally Structured Agenda for Education
IALS	The International Adult Literacy Survey
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
LLE	Lifelong Education
LLL	Lifelong Learning
NEET	Neither Employed nor Engaged in Formal Education or Training
NILE	National Institute for Lifelong Education
OECD	The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OEEC	The Organization for European Economic Co-operation
PIAAC	The Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
UIL	UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

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1. Introduction

The modern world has been undergoing rapid transformation due to racing technological developments, and the conventional concepts of resources have been gradually becoming more borderless. Notions such as human capital (Becker, 2002) and knowledge economy (Powell & Snellman, 2004) reflect such trends. Especially in line with the unfathomable digital revolution, values and scarcities of certain skillsets and knowledge are decreasing. As a result, societal phenomena such as unemployment, automatization, and herd mentality in the selection of university degrees has been more apparent. Global organizations such as United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and The European Union (EU) have long been highlighting the need for cultivating individuals' competencies and the societal adjustments which will foster the utilization of such competencies. These organizations commonly emphasize themes such as work-based learning and skill-formation, which all point towards the direction of updating people's competencies in accordance with the current megatrend of development (Hiniker & Putnam, 2009; Rasmussen, 2009).

In contrast to the strong economic rationale attached to today's interpretation of lifelong learning, the concept was originally an emancipatory one where the focus of it was very much on the advancement of a just, equitable society (Freire, 2018; Schuetze & Casey, 2006). Scholars alarm that lifelong learning should not overly focus on accomplishing economic objectives. Schuetze and Casey (2006) mention the debates and the efforts to interpret lifelong learning as a practice which stretches into the political, civic, and social realms and claims that policymakers should not use lifelong learning as a convenient label to only emphasize the economic dimensions of the notion. Also, it is argued that lifelong learning should promote social cohesion as the idea has become tightly knitted with capitalistic and economic aims which caused citizen formation within public education systems to be primarily characterized by skill formation (Green, 1997; Green, Preston & Sabates, 2003).

More critical views employ the idea that lifelong learning has become a theoretical cliché caused by the incoherent and varying visions of the notion (Aspin & Chapman, 2000). Frost and Taylor's (2001) study of lifelong learning themes in higher education institutions conclude that universities are caught in the political and ideological middle ground where the universities' uncritical adaption of competence-based frameworks tend to leave the democratic dimensions of lifelong learning on a mere rhetorical level. More comprehensively,

Tuijnman and Boström (2002) points to the overly holistic scope of lifelong learning that goes beyond multiple concepts and institutions and argues that policymakers and alike often use the inclusiveness of the concept to obscure the educational goals and therefore muddle the discussion of responsibilities in the policy atmosphere.

1.1. Rationale

Despite its conceptual vagueness and the present's strong neoliberal manifestations, studies describe the effects which lifelong learning-based practices have brought to their participants and the surrounding communities. Regarding elderly learners, a Polish case study of universities of third age and a Swedish case of study circles show that the participants claim to have experienced a boost in multiple aspects of their lives for instance social inclusiveness, emotional safeness, and social independence (Mackowicz & Wnek-Gozdek, 2016; Åberg, 2016). A qualitative research on adult education programs run by Australian neighbourhood houses illustrate the favorable life-changing experiences which second-chance learners, namely single mothers in this case, have acquired through their engagement (Ollis, Starr, Ryan, Angwin & Harrison, 2017). Additionally, a field study in the Greater Accra and Eastern Region of Ghana portrays how the Government's non-formal adult education, influenced by UN's sustainable development goals and UNESCO's Education for All, has brought sustainability and better justice to the communities within (Casey & Asamoah, 2016).

Several studies also identify the challenges and the limitations of the lifelong learning practices in different settings. In addition, the continuous theoretical debates surrounding the idea makes it difficult for the stakeholders to come up with a coherent agreement regarding how relevant policies should be manifested (Matheson & Matheson, 1996, Rubenson, 2002). Furthermore, the contextual variables and the wide pool of potential participants attributed by the 'cradle-to-grave' outlook complicates the discussion. Nevertheless, national governments continue to address lifelong learning through government-affiliated publications. In addition, the hovering question concerns how citizens of nation states should view themselves in relation to the rapid pace of globalization.

On a methodological note, a comparative study stimulates the reflection of how an overarching educational policy and philosophy can be effectively adapted and practiced in different and unique societies (Kubow & Fossum, 2007). Therefore, this research embarks to examine the lifelong learning in South Korea and Norway.

1.2. Background

Lifelong learning commonly grounds its justification on the present day's globalization processes, and how the dramatic transformation caused by such processes bring the need to equip citizens and individuals with the capability that will keep them on par with such transformations (Hiniker & Putnam, 2009; Rasmussen, 2009). In large, equipping the people with such capabilities have two main approaches: the humanistic and the human-capital based (Becker, 2002; Elfert, 2015). The former emphasizes the humanistic, ethical dimensions that shed light on the groups of people that are primarily faced with employment issues and financial challenges. The technological aspect of globalization which affects the labor-market through automatization and digitalization is often considered a huge factor. The human-capital based approach, on the other hand, emphasizes individuals/citizens' roles as contributors to the nations' international competitiveness, and thus focuses more on education ultimately being the means for production.

This research acknowledges that the two approaches are not always mutually exclusive. Therefore, it is rational to understand that the two approaches have been the most dominant in setting the course of the lifelong learning agendas of the modern world, while manifestations of instances that are found in the middle ground of the two approaches exist as well. The reflection of lifelong learning as concepts will be further discussed in the literature review section. Meanwhile, this sub-section seeks to unpack the concept of globalization since lifelong learning and globalization are set of concepts that go together with each other when examining the relevant policies.

The term globalization has become an all-embracing term which has been used to explain the causes of social, cultural, and political changes and phenomenon around the world. On the other hand, the rather convenient uses of the term have generated the question whether the term entails any concrete definition at all (Brown, 1999). Thus, to come up with a solid and widely agreeable definition of the term is a tough task, and such attempt will not be made in this research. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to explore how the relevant literature discusses the term as the analytical process of this research can be done with a relatively agreeable conceptualization about the term globalization.

A central theme in the attempts of describing what the consequences of globalization are the vast technological advancements, the rearrangement of industrial productions from the Western nations to the newly industrializing economies, and the declining role of nation states

(Brown, 1999). On the other hand, Brown refers to Harris (1996) and Foley (1996) who claim that globalization is primarily driven by the expansionist model of capitalism that caused nearly every country to experience the global market's effect towards social and economic relations. It is such viewpoints regarding how the global market can significantly affect and even limit national and local politics which this research is grounded on. However, it must be noted that nations in a globalized age, perhaps even the developed nations who primarily set the agendas of the global organizations which they are part of, have ceded themselves to these agendas in order to stay on par with the global competitiveness (Dale, 1999).

Therefore, the effects of globalization and the group of people who are susceptible to such effect can be found in both the most developed nations and the developing nations. Thus, the premise which this research has its basis on is concerned with the efficacy of democratic policies of nation-states and calls for educating the citizens to not blindly subdue to being objects of globalized economic operations or consumers of globalized cultural products (Henry, 1999). Since the South Korean and the Norwegian lifelong learning white papers derive from their respective national governments, having a relatively congruent understanding of what globalization is, and how it can affect countries' education policies is relevant to this research.

Furthermore, as mentioned in the previous paragraph, today's approaches towards lifelong learning is tightly linked to the changes which nations undergo in response to globalization and what is expected of the citizens (or what the citizens should expect) in response to such changes. The concept of globalization and global education governance will be further discussed in the context section. We now turn to the research focus and the purpose of this study.

1.3. Research Focus and Purpose

This study seeks to compare lifelong learning within national white papers and those within global organizations' suggestions. The two national white papers chosen for this are South Korean and Norwegian white papers. This qualitative research will first examine the global organizations' lifelong learning agendas. Then, the common aspects of the South Korean and the Norwegian lifelong learning white papers will be discovered. Thereafter, the two findings will be analyzed under the study's analytical framework.

What this study does not attempt to reveal and to make claims about are the concrete results of the lifelong learning practices that are mentioned on the white papers. This is mainly due to the acknowledgment of the limitations of document analysis as a main research method. This research may function as a stepping-stone to a more in-depth research that may involve relevant personnel within the policy areas. In addition, this study does not focus on the manifest aspects of the policy suggestion documents. The primary focus of this study is to discover the latent meanings beneath the visible text through a conceptual approach.

The main purpose of this research is to explore and compare the national-level policy suggestions and global-level suggestions. To accomplish the research purpose, the following research questions have been established.

1. How has lifelong learning been developing on the global scene?
2. To what extent has lifelong learning on the global scene influenced South Korea and Norway?

1.4. Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 2 discusses relevant notions and key literature to explore the grounds which lifelong learning as concepts are based on. How the notion of lifelong learning is understood throughout this research is also clarified. Chapter 3 presents the context relevant to global education governance by introducing UNESCO, OECD, and EU. Chapter 4 presents the Norwegian and the South Korean education systems and presents the histories of lifelong learning in the two nations. Chapter 5 presents the theoretical frameworks that were used to analyze the global organizations' lifelong learning agendas, and lifelong learning white papers of South Korea and Norway. Chapter 6 discusses the research methodology and the methods that were employed in this research. This chapter also discusses the philosophical underpinnings of this study and justifies the use of qualitative content analysis as the research method. Chapter 6 presents the findings and the analysis of the UNESCO, EU, and OECD's LLL| agendas. Chapter 7 presents the findings and the analysis of the South Korean and Norwegian lifelong learning white papers. Chapter 8 concludes the findings of this research by summarizing the findings and the analysis in light of the research questions that were posed. Additionally, future research directions and limitations are also discussed.

2. Literature Review

In the introduction, the conceptual vagueness of LLL was briefly mentioned. Thus, this literature review section will explore the conceptual ambiguity within the following concepts: adult education, lifelong education, and lifelong learning. By doing so, the main goal of this review is to establish a coherent definition of LLL within the context of this study. In addition, this section will also discuss additionally relevant concepts which will help in answering the research questions.

2.1. Education and Learning

Learning is an existential phenomenon which is inherent in its nature and is therefore less limited by a given context or a situation (Jarvis, 2004). Furthermore, it is a process which contributes to transforming people's lives and experiences in innumerable ways. Simultaneously, rarely will a person live his or her life thoroughly alone, for it is most likely that an individual will be part of a society of one or another type. Therefore, it is important to take the social nature of learning into consideration and acknowledge the interactive aspects of the process.

Education is the provision of learning opportunities, which takes the social dimension of learning into consideration. Thus, education is inherently bound to the parameters which are established to provide learning opportunities (Jarvis, 2004). However, this does not imply that there exists a hierarchy between the two concepts. For instance, viewpoints that overly emphasize learning presupposes that learners already know what they want and need, and that education is only a part of the learning market (Biesta, 2015). Hence, in terms of accountability, the overemphasis towards learning over education can be interpreted as a reductionist approach undermining the responsibility of the public actors.

2.2. Lifelong Learning, Lifelong Education, and Adult Education

There are two common conceptions of lifelong learning in the present context. The first is that the notion is seen as no more than the provision of formal education to people who are profiled as receiving education beyond the traditional, normal life-stage of getting education. The other comes from the instrumental approach to learning where lifelong learning is

connoted with the production of a competent workforce which will contribute to a given society's economic development (Billett, 2017; Gilroy, 2012).

Setting aside the ideological connotations attached to the perspective of coupling learning with economic developments, the attempt to be clear with the concept 'lifelong learning' is important due to the following reasons: (a) policymakers and can effectively deliver relevant practices and programs if they understand clearly what lifelong learning constitutes and how to reach the needs of the target population and (b) policy reviewers, analysts and those of such can critically reflect on 'lifelong learning' policies if they have a coherent grasp of what the concept stands for. This research, seeking to analyze the white papers of South Korea and Norway, finds it important to maintain a consistent conceptual understanding.

'Lifelong learning' as a concept is often presented with notions such as 'cradle to grave', 'life as a learning arena', and 'once a learner, forever a learner.' The discussion, however, becomes complex when institutional responsibility becomes the center of attention. 'Lifelong learning' in regard to institutional accountability in relevant policy atmospheres is critically taken by Tuijnman and Boström (2002). They argue that the vast and overarching concept of lifelong learning can obscure what the clear goals of relevant policies are and who or which institution should be responsible for the providing of related programs.

A common conceptual blurring occurs between the concepts 'lifelong learning' and 'lifelong education' (Billett, 2017). 'Lifelong learning' as a concept cannot be defined easily since the concept itself implies learning as a lifelong process not held captive by institutions and practices. This distinction shown in table 1 implies that lifelong learning is more of an overarching concept that denotes learning being present regardless of time and place. On the other hand, lifelong education describes institution-directed learning (or education) with goals and outcomes shaped by social circumstances. Billett (2017), in the same study, concludes by taking an advocating stance towards 'lifelong learning' and suggests that policies should go beyond improving an individual's employability and eventually increasing national competitiveness and should enrich vocational values that appreciate individual experiences learning outside the walls. Billett's (2017) conclusion is idealistic at the least, considering the critique towards the strong ties between learning and human capitalism. However, critical arguments towards how the concept 'lifelong learning' is appropriated by different interests are found when discussing responsibility and accountability in the realm of relevant policies.

Field (2001) warns against the reductionist approach of merely coupling 'lifelong learning' with individualistic vocationalism. The argument stems from the idea that the viewpoint which assumes that individuals possess the capability to identify which type of information they need and how to utilize them serves a justifying role for public entities to reduce the resources being invested towards learners of 'lifelong learning' policy programs. Field argues further that the trend of interpreting 'lifelong learning' from such viewpoint can fragment the excluded learners by creating an atmosphere where individuals are encouraged to find individual resolutions. He then concludes by stating that 'lifelong learning' can reproduce the existing status quo and can also create new ones.

Table 1 Differing premises of lifelong learning and lifelong education

	Lifelong learning	Lifelong education
Foundational category	Personal factors and goals	Institutional/social factors and goals
Enactments	Process of experiencing	Provision of experiences
Outcomes	Learning and development	Societal continuity and/or change
Antecedents	Individual knowing and knowledge	Social institutions, practices, norms, and forms
Mediational means	Knowing, what individuals know, can do, and value	Projection of the social world
Manifestation of paid work	Vocations	Occupations

Source: Billett (2017)

Another concept which often appears alongside with LLL and LLE is adult education (AE). Historically, AE was referred to as popular enlightenment, and was seen primarily as a means to give educational opportunities to people who traditionally had been denied access to education. These forms of adult education often had local and regional grounds where their goal was to help people fight injustice, inequality, and protect democratic values. This is in line with Paulo Freire's idea of conscientization which seeks to cultivate people's critical awareness and to direct social change (Freire, 2018; Lloyd, 1972; Rubenson, 2010).

However, it has been argued that the humanistic aspect of the concept mentioned above has been undergoing a shift in the modern context. Specifically, the shift in policy vocabulary from adult education to lifelong learning has been pointed out. This shift from 'adult education' to 'lifelong learning' is explained in terms of human capital and globalization where the need for individuals to update their competencies has been increasing (Wildemeersch & Olesen, 2012). Along with the contextual changes, Wildemeersch and Olesen (2012) describe the philosophical shift from emancipation to empowerment in which

the former holds the collective effort for social transformation whereas the latter stresses individual effort to stay on par with societal needs.

The trend of ‘lifelong learning’ replacing ‘lifelong education’ and ‘adult education’ has been examined in regard to the role of the state (Griffin,1999; Wildemeersch & Olesen, 2012). It has been identified that globalization and influences from transnational organizations has been changing the paradigm of states’ customary control over relevant policies. Furthermore, the ‘learning or education’ debate becomes relevant as ‘education’ policies assume the state’s responsibilities while ‘learning’ policies can set the responsibility on individuals. Thus, Billett’s (2017) indirect acclaim of lifelong learning’s promotion of individual vocationalism goes against Griffin’s (1999) concern towards potential jeopardizing of national accountability. Under the pressure of technological determinism and globalization that emphasizes individuals’ responsibility and initiative, accountability within policy realms can become increasingly vague.

2.3. Formal, Non-formal, and Informal Education

The cradle-to-grave vision of lifelong learning implies the reorganization of education to expand its functions beyond the formal and the structured education (Schuetze, 2006). In light of such, the concepts are formal, non-formal, and informal education become relevant. Coombs and Ahmed (1974) define the terms as the following: informal education is a lifelong process by which a person gains knowledge, skills, and attitudes from daily experiences to the environment’; non-formal education is organized and systematic activity carried on outside the formal system to provide learning to certain groups within the population; formal education is chronologically graded and hierarchically structured educational system (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974, p. 8). The following figure (La Belle, 1982) provides an overview of how the three types of education/learning may manifest in real-life contexts.

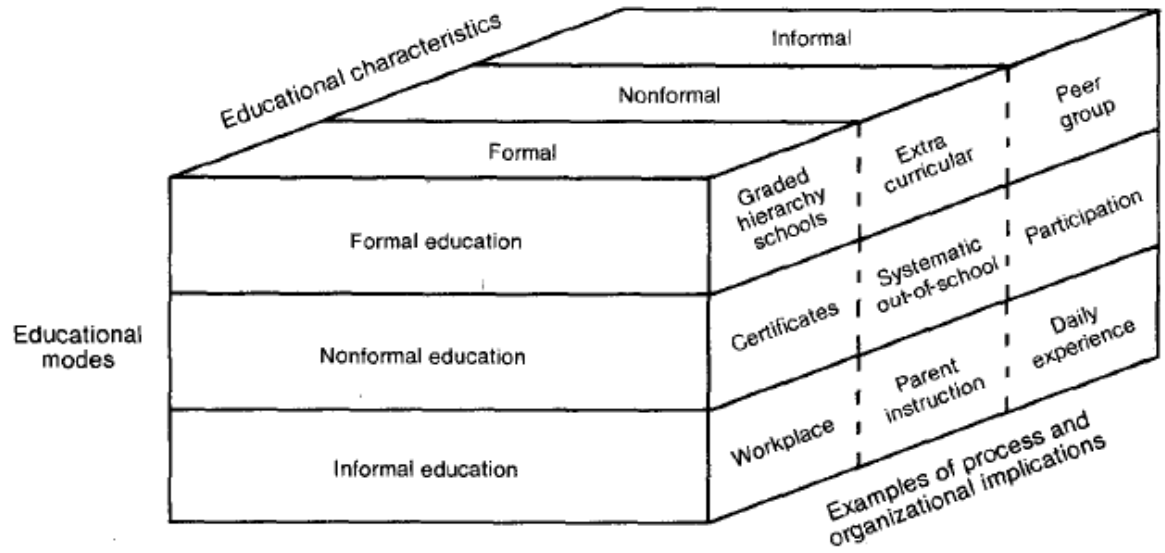

Figure 1 The modes and characteristics of education
Source: La Belle (1982)

The top of figure 1 focuses on the structural traits of education. As mentioned, formal education characteristics reflect features of compulsory and hierarchical education. Non-formal characteristics point to activities that are distinct from state-run schooling yet are systematic and aim to lead learners toward specific goals. Informal characteristics indicate the individuals' daily contact with various environmental influences which result in learning. The vertical line represents the predominant modes of education, which show the learning process occurring from the learner's perspective. For example, all three modes of education may take place simultaneously in a single school classroom, but the learner may choose to focus only on the informal mode of learning manifested by the peer interactions.

2.4. Summary

This chapter has showed the complexity in trying to define 'lifelong learning' in the modern context while considering its conceptual implications. Nevertheless, it is important to employ a coherent definition of the terminology within the scope of this research. The conceptual relationships within the three concepts are visualized in figure 2 below. Adult education is viewed as the most explicit concept due to its humanistic vision. Then, lifelong education is placed on the next layer because the human capital-based values integrated in the concept does not imply a lack of humanistic values within the concept. Finally, lifelong learning is viewed as the most inclusive concept considering the distinction between learning and education, for learning is a more holistic process compared to education.

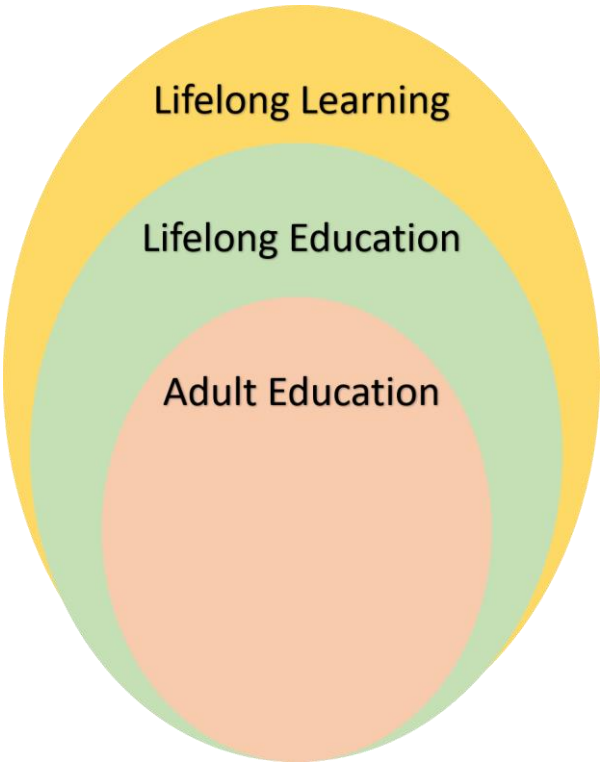

Figure 2 Conceptual relations between lifelong learning, lifelong education, and adult education
Source: Developed by the author

In this research, the term lifelong learning will be primarily used throughout in order to avoid conceptual ambiguity and confusion. Lifelong learning in this research is defined as the following: body of educational processes, whether formal, non-formal, or informal, which aims to provide people considered as adults in their respective societies with opportunities to develop their capacities, knowledge, and qualifications.

3. Lifelong Learning on the Global Scene

In the previous chapter, this study's research problem, purpose, and its potential significance was presented. This chapter highlights the significance of viewing national educational policies in light of global educational governance, followed by a historical context of how education has been interpreted by United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and The European Union (EU).

Powerful global organizations have been having notable influences on the ideals of education, framing nations' policies, and further suggest that national educational policy analyses should be done in relation to its potential connections to the impacts of such influences (Dale, 2000; Mundy, 2007). Dale (2000) claims that globalization describes a world where nation-states are deliberately competing against and working together with each other in order to formulate the global agreements so that they become most favorable to their own benefits. Thus, it is important to recognize that the formation of global and national educational policies are products of mutual interactions between the global and the national players. Educational policy and its occurrence are multidimensional and multilayered (Rizvi and Lingard, 2009), which calls for an extended knowledge of the decision-makers beyond the national level. King (2007), and Verger, Novelli, and Altinyelken (2018) stress the roles of international governmental organizations when discussing globalization and educational policy.

This study seeks to compare educational policy implications of two individual nation-states with their own positions in the global educational policy atmosphere. Therefore, identifying the key global players and their influences can help to draw a more coordinated inference between the global lifelong learning scenes and the national education policies being examined in this study. The following sections will introduce UNESCO, EU, and OECD, and provide a brief overview of their educational visions. Firstly, we turn to UNESCO.

3.1. United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

The discussion of establishing an international organization which can procure peace and security across the globe took place between the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union from 1941 to 1945. The 'Big Three' powers, after having considered both global interests and their own interests, decided to plan the forming of such an organization. In April 1945, the great powers and fifty other nations began their discussion, and soon after the United Nations (UN) was founded (Morris, 2018).

Parallel to the discussion of forming the UN, the discussion of creating an international organization in the field of education, culture, and science was also taking place (Laves & Thomson, 1957). The discussion occurred during the Conference of Allied Minister of Education in London, and sought to achieve the following goals: 1) educational and cultural reconstruction of war-damaged nations, 2) utilizing education as a means to procure peace and prevent conflict, 3) stimulating the exchange of knowledge across nations, and 4) aiding the economically weak nations. Thus, soon after the creation of UN in 1945, UNESCO was founded to contribute to world peace through its vision of stimulating educational and cultural exchange (Laves & Thomson, 1957; Morris, 2018).

AS UN's specialized agency, UNESCO's mandate is based on the organization's belief that achieving peace is grounded on mutual understanding. In light of such, the organization views education as a fundamental tool which promotes tolerance and democratic values among global citizens, and therefore emphasizes equal access to quality education. In addition to education, UNESCO promotes individual cultural heritage and scientific development across borders to contribute to a more peaceful international society.

UNESCO's structure can be outlined as the following: a) member states, b) General Conference, c) Executive Board, d) The Secretariat, and e) experts, intellectuals, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) which UNESCO works closely together with (Singh, 2011). Currently, UNESCO has 193 member states and 11 associate member states (UNESCO, 2019). Member states hold permanent UNESCO delegations that receive instructions either through the nations' ministry of education and/or foreign affairs. Also, the member states have formed national commissions which cooperate with government and civil organizations to assist in UNESCO's affairs within their respective nations. The General

Conference comprises member states' representatives and meets every two years. Here, the representatives vote on matters such as draft resolutions and budget. The Executive Board is the governing body of UNESCO which shapes the agendas of the General Conference. Every four years, 58 members are elected in the office. The Secretariat with its 2,000 staff members handles the civil service which implements UNESCO's mandate. Lastly, experts and intellectuals who make up the various expert groups at UNESCO and non-governmental organizations help realize UNESCO's operations (Singh, 2010).

Education was central to such humanistic philosophy which lead to the founding of the organization and has been given a significant emphasis ever since (Singh, 2010). However, the organization has not always been successful in its maneuvers. During the 1970s and the 1980s, UNESCO was largely criticized for its vulnerability towards political interests, which was manifested through new member states' critiques as well as the renouncement of memberships by the United States, United Kingdom, and Singapore (Mundy, 1999). Simultaneously, the advent of other prominent multilateral organizations, namely the World Bank, threatened UNESCO's legitimacy and authority (Edwards, Okitsu, Costa & Kitamura, 2018). It was not until the 1990s when UNESCO began to reestablish itself as a relatively credible organization through flagship publications and the World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien. Subsequently, a decade later in the Dakar forum, UNESCO managed to take a leading role since the developing nations preferred UNESCO to other multinational organizations which sought after their own interests and goals.

3.1.1. United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and Lifelong Learning

In the 1972 educational treatise titled "Learning to Be: The World of Education Today and Tomorrow," Edgar Faure, then chairman of UNESCO, states that lifelong education will contribute to producing a holistic human being. UNESCO (at the time at least) primarily grounds lifelong education on the humanistic philosophy where people are encouraged to pursue meaningful developments of all dimensions regardless of the conventional boundaries of life-stages (Faure, 1972). However, UNESCO's humanistic ambitions of standardizing lifelong education as a concept of empowerment and liberation of people and communities were to an extent threatened by the increasing global focus towards market demands and commodities during the late 1970s (Johnson, 2014). Crowther (2004)'s description of the difference between lifelong education and lifelong learning serves useful to better understand

how UNESCO has been working with the concepts. In his words, the former is more concerned with building up the individual and the collective autonomy of small and large communities while the latter is primarily focusing on sustaining a global workforce and economy. As implied by the core conceptual distinction between lifelong education and lifelong learning, UNESCO's work regarding lifelong learning has been undergoing changes in numerous ways. Thus, it is inevitable to not blindly rely on the humanistic undertones which one attributes to UNESCO by default when analyzing the organization's policies (Johnson, 2014).

The Global Report on Adult Learning and Education (GRALE) is a self-assessment survey which UNESCO encourages its member states to participate in. The survey aims to evaluate the participating nations' progress in the field of adult education/adult learning. The survey monitors to what extent UNESCO member states are realizing their international adult learning and education commitments in their policy practices. The reports bring together policy analysis, case studies, and survey data to provide stakeholders with recommendations and examples of successful practice. GRALE presents evidence on how adult learning and education can help nations to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (UIL, n.d.-a). Thus, GRALE is a representation of UNESCO's vision of strengthening its lifelong learning dialogue.

3.2. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

The OECD is composed of the following entities: 1) member states, 2) Council, 3) Secretariat, and 4) Committees. The OECD currently has 37 member nations, and Norway and the Republic of Korea's accession occurred in 1961 and 1996, respectively. The accession process of new member states can either be initiated by the OECD Council which comprises all the members or can be initiated by a quest from an aspiring nation. Thereafter, an accession plan which lays out the conditions for accession becomes approved by the council. This plan consists of reviews by OECD's policy committees that evaluate the candidate nation's capacity to align itself with the OECD's policy visions, and eventually results in relevant recommendations (OECD, n.d.-a). The Council is made up with representatives from all member states, all of OECD's work derive from the Council. It has the final say for new member accession, approves the budget, and reorder subordinate bodies to help the organization achieve its goals. The Secretariat consists of directorates and departments that

instill efficacy into the organization's work. Notably, economists, scientists, and lawyers within the Secretariat support OECD committees through research and analysis, thus contributing to new approaches to policy questions. While the Secretary-General, the head of the secretariat, make recommendations to the council regarding the Secretariat's work, it is the member states that to a large extent steer the secretariat's work. The OECD committees examine specific policy questions and oversee the enactment of OECD instruments. Their knowledge helps policy decision-makers to better understand a given problem and provides possible solution measures (Woodward, 2009).

The OECD identifies itself as an international organization with the goal of promoting policies that encourage prosperity, equality, and opportunity. The organization seeks to accomplish its mission by actively utilizing data-based international standards to solve the world's challenges and fostering economic development among its members. Committees, expert groups, policymakers, as well as representatives from both governmental and non-governmental organizations participate in the OECD's policy discussions to contribute to the organization's policy formulation and implementation (Sellar & Lingard, 2013; OECD, n.d.-a). The OECD's intergovernmental structure distinguishes the organization from other supranational global organizations such as the UN. This is characterized by the peer review process where member nations' performances in diverse policy areas are always examined, and the member states' voluntary policy adaptation.

Originally established in 1948 with the name of The Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC), the organization served a crucial part of the post-war economic revitalization of Western Europe. However, the organization grew to fulfill the diverse purposes beyond its very immediate goal of allocating the American support, and education was one of such realms (the name OECD superseded OEEC in the year 1961) (Papadopoulos, 1994). Since, OECD has been playing a vital role in forming the global educational agenda (King, 2007; Rizvi & Lingard, 2009; Verger, Novelli, and Altinyelken, 2018).

Papadopoulos (1994), in his review of OECD's educational work, states that while the organization did not downplay the importance of education as a means to promote individual liberty and well-being, it always bore the importance of human-capitalistic worldview in achieving such goals through the betterment of education. Nonetheless, he posits that OECD has never sought to subordinate education under other sectors, but rather has been creating inter-relationships between education and other policy sectors. This has been effective in

showing educationists the significance of linking educational policies to other realms, as well as subtly encouraging the member-states to view educational policies as *par excellence* policies that represent an individual nation's well-being.

OECD's work during the 1970s and the 1980s went beyond forming the rather simple connection between education and economic development by engaging in issues such as multicultural education, girls' education, and education for the disabled (Rizvi & Lingard, 2009). However, the oil crisis of the mid-1970s yet again sparked the ideological contention between social equity and social efficiency in OECD's educational work and in the 1980s, the organization placed education at the core of economic policy. Since then, the development of OECD's view of education has been characterized by the organization's tendency to lean towards strengthening the neoliberal conception of globalization.

OECD's educational governance stresses nations' capabilities to secure economic growth and productivity, and this has several implications concerning OECD's educational work (Rizvi & Lingard, 2009). The organization primarily seeks to stimulate the reform of nations' public sector departments by emphasizing results and efficiency. This implies an organization change from the so-called hierarchal model to a flatter structure and has caused member-states to centralize their policy setting realm and to allocate the undertaking of such policies to 'low-level' entities. At the same time, it is important to acknowledge that such structural reforms do not (always) derive from social-democratic principles, but from market ideologies.

This explains why OECD is supportive towards privatization where private entities take over the roles of public institutions wholly or partly, in a way again prioritizes efficiency within various domains. This weight which OECD puts towards effectiveness brings forth the organization's work regarding indicators that cuts across borders and cultures. OECD's use of such indicators shows that the organization attempts to justify the legitimacy of its agendas by creating a global atmosphere where the internationally comparative nature of such indicators encourages nation-states to make policy changes in accordance with OECD's 'efficiency-policies.'

3.2.1. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development and Lifelong Learning

The 1973 OECD publication regarding 'recurrent education' was perhaps the organization's first official endorsement of a concept that came close to today's lifelong learning (Kallen &

Bengtsson, 1973). Since, OECD has been maintaining its policy recommendations constituting the strong ties between economy and employability. The article 'Lifelong learning for all,' written by the Secretary-General of OECD at the time, shows that economic rationales for lifelong learning is important for the organization (Johnston, 1998). It is also explicitly mentioned in the document that human capital has become the most significant constituent of economic growth, which further highlights OECD's stance towards lifelong learning. However, OECD has also published works that focused on the so-called humanistic themes such as gender equality and equality of opportunity (Field, Malgorzata, and Beatriz, 2007; Istance, 2011)

The International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS) was one of the earlier works of OECD which can be characterized as representing OECD's policy dissemination mechanism, as well as the organization's attempt to set forth its influence in the field of lifelong learning. The survey involved several nations that cooperatively examined adult literacy internationally (Blum, Goldstein, and Guérin-Pace, 2001). The Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC) has been more direct when it comes to OECD's position towards education in a globalized age as the survey targets to measure literacy, numeracy, and problem-solving in technologically rich environments in today's knowledge economies. The PIAAC survey's overall tendency to fulfill the needs rising from human-capital perspectives begs the question whether the survey can lead to a narrow conception of notions such as competence, skills, and numeracy where the value of such notions are to be determined by their use in rather limited contexts such as work and professional contexts (Tsatsaroni & Evans, 2014).

3.3. The European Union

During the post-World War II period, the European nations were concerned with securing peace to prevent further military conflict. Germany's gradual revival posed as a long-term concern particularly to France, who wanted control over Germany's industry. This was addressed with the Schuman Plan that aimed to manage French-German steel and coal production through a common high authority. In response to this, the Treaty of Paris was signed in 1951, and the European Coal and Steel Community was established (Archer & Butler, 1996). Parallel to the European Coal and Steel Community and its objectives, one of the most distinguished features within the EU is its single market, an arrangement with the aim of promoting economic growth and prosperity within the Union. This initially stems from

the Treaty of Rome in 1957 where the European nations created the European Economic Community (EEC) in pursuit of a common market. The Treaty emphasized flexible trade, and free movement of labour, capital and goods. Later, to amend the shortcomings within the initial effort, the 1985 White Paper on focused on removing barriers that hinder the single market. And in 1993 after the formal establishment of the European Union, the vision of single market started to come into place with most of the 1985 White Paper's proposals implemented.

Among the various institutions within the EU, four of the main institutions will be briefly introduced: 1) the European Council, 2) the European Parliament, 3) the Council of the European Union, and 4) the European Commission. The European Council gathers the leaders within the Union and steers the Union's political agenda, thus representing the highest level of EU nations' political cooperation. The European Parliament functions as the EU's law-making body, and with the Council of the EU, passes EU laws based on the European Commission's proposals. It also takes on the role of making decisions regarding international agreements. As another main decision-making body of the EU, the Council of the EU adapts EU laws, develops the Union's foreign policy, and coordinates member states' policies. Lastly, the European Commission is a politically independent institution which proposes new laws for the EU. Additionally, it implements the decisions made by the European Parliament and the Council of the EU (Archer & Butler, 1998; EU, 2020).

Currently, the European Union consists of 27 member nations (EU, 2020). The Republic of Korea is not a member state of the European Union. Norway is not a member state of the Union, but it has been maintaining a relationship with the EU through the European Economic Area (EEA) agreement since 1994. Mainly, this indicates Norway's access to the EU's single market, and that Norway takes part in the free movement of goods, capital, and workforce within the EU and the EEA (Archer, 2004). As it will be further discussed below, Norway's participation in the EU's single market has educational implications, for free movement of labour force brings in the discussion of workers' education and qualification approval required for employment.

Historically, education was not a topic that gained much attention among the Union's leaders (Blitz, 2003). Even after the 1971 resolution, education was seen primarily as a right, and was seldom considered as a topic to be included in the policy realm. Later, discussions of adapting a program of educational cooperation began to gain notice and in 1974 with the Casagrande

case, individuals' right to receive education was extended. Afterwards, the topic of education further gained attention in light of strengthening the single market plan. Primarily concerned with the workers, the emphasis was set towards the need to expand professional qualification recognition under the freedom of movement for workers who sought employment in EU member nations other than their home nations.

This turn away from approaching education through a humanistic perspective is well observed. The first marker for this policy change is identifiable through the European Commission's decision to view education as a key factor to improving Europe's global competitiveness (Mitchell, 2006; Walkenhorst, 2008). Through this approach, the EU categorized education as a significant economic product which the Union must invest in. The non-economic aspects of education such as identity creation and civic awareness was slowly being neglected.

3.3.1. The European Union and Lifelong Learning

Lifelong learning within EU's policy realms since the early 1990s was fueled by the harmonization of European market and the tides of globalization. Ever since, the union's efforts to politicize the concept has been visible through a series of white papers, repots, community action programs, and transnational benchmarks. To name some key moments within, the 1994 White paper *Growth, Competitiveness and Employment* explicitly presents lifelong learning as a strategic idea to fulfill the approaching economic and social needs (Walkenhorst, 2008). Additionally, the two Community action programs SOCRATES (general and higher education) and LEONARDO DA VINCI (vocational education and training) launched in 1995 exemplifies EU's effort to set the union's lifelong learning agendas as norm agendas. In 2000, the Commission of European communities' *Memorandum on Lifelong Learning* consolidated the European Council's stance towards lifelong learning, an idea essential in a knowledge-based society and economy. This entry to the field reflects EU's stance towards the growing awareness towards the concept, and how the EU has been seeking to further legitimize its lifelong learning policy recommendations by lining themselves up with the other transnational organizations and their viewpoints towards lifelong learning. Additionally,

However, as Mitchell (2006) observes, the EU's LLL policies are not entirely in line with UNESCO's early conceptualization of LLL where an individual's holistic development including civic awareness and critical thinking skills is emphasized. Instead, the EU has

shown the tendency to highlight education as a pragmatic means to develop individual's mobility and competency which are apt in the EU's single market. This rhetoric is in line with the EU's treaties that underline standardization, homogenization, and cross-national certification of individual's qualification. Additionally, under such rhetorical shift, there has been a transfer of accountability from the institutional realm to the individual. This depicts how neoliberalism has been contending the humanistic principles of LLL within the EU's LLL policy atmosphere (Walkenhorst, 2008).

3.4. Summary

This chapter briefly introduced EU, OECD, and UNESCO which are key players in the field of global educational governance. Regarding the organizations' functions and structures, and the development of lifelong learning within the organizations, both similarities and differences are observed. The following table summarizes the contextual comparisons of the three organizations.

Table 2 Contextual comparison of the EU, OECD and UNESCO

	EU	OECD	UNESCO
Membership system	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nature of policy transfer	Member nations are expected to conform to a set of collective agreements	Member nations' voluntary adaptation of policy suggestions	Establishment of norms and principles which member states are encouraged to follow
Development of lifelong learning principles	Economic \ Economic	Economic \ Economic	Humanistic \ Humanistic/Economic
Inclusion of education as a core policy agenda	Since 1970s	Since 1970s	Since 1940s

Source: Dale (1999), adapted by the author

UNESCO's policy transfer mechanism is identified as 'standardization,' which can be characterized as 'quite implicit' in terms of its process and 'formally voluntary' regarding the nation-states' adaption of suggestions (Dale, 1999). Such characterization is also reinforced by Singh (2010) where the occasional noncompliances by member nations regarding UNESCO 'conventions' (legally binding) and 'recommendations' (do not require ratification) are present. OECD's work of policy transfer fits under the category of 'dissemination', which is characterized by its agenda setting strategy through establishing international indicators (PIAAC) and pointing its member-states towards probable future directions. EU's policy transfer mechanism as 'harmonization' (Dale, 1999), where the organization primarily

focuses on European integration through a collective agreement. Such mechanism can be best characterized by The Bologna Process, which sought to harmonize Europe's higher education field in response to the context of global competition (Reinalda & Kulesza, 2006).

UNESCO, OECD, and EU's developmental pattern concerning lifelong learning share the following characteristics. Firstly, the three organizations' education and lifelong learning policies seem to be gradually more concerned with a human capitalistic worldview. Secondly, all three organizations showed their tendencies to transnationally standardize of their lifelong learning ideals. This is characterized by the organizations' emphasis towards transnational statistics and arrangements. This trend can fuel the argument of how the use of such measurements tend to undermine contextual uniqueness of the different nations.

The mapping of three organizations' lifelong learning policy development enables this research to have a better comparative measure when analyzing the adult education white papers of South Korea and Norway. For instance, if the white papers emphasize the use of certain statistics, or if certain principles tend to be more visible within the white papers, it may be argued that the white papers are more influenced by a specific organization. At the same time, the reflections made in this chapter are acknowledged only to an extent where it did not bias the examination of the organizations' lifelong learning agenda documents. With the consideration of the three transnational organizations, the contexts of the Norway and South Korean will be presented in the next chapter.

4. Norway and South Korea

In this chapter, the context of Norway and South Korea will be briefly introduced. Each country's educational system structure will be presented. In addition, each country's history of lifelong learning will be presented to show how the concept has been developing in the two nations.

4.1. The Education system in Norway

Children from the age of 1 to 5 can attend kindergarten (barnehage). Kindergartens are administered by the municipalities (*kommune*), meaning that each municipality determines how much of its budget will be used towards kindergarten education. Education is free and compulsory for students from the age of 6 to 16. Youth from the age of 16 to 19 years old have the right to receive up to 3 years of secondary education (*videregående opplæring*). Basic education (*grunnskoleutdanning*) in Norway comprises primary school (*barneskole,* ages 6 to 13), and lower secondary school (*ungdomsskole*, ages 13 to 16). Upper secondary school normally lasts for 3 years and consists of general studies (*allmennhutdanning/generell studiekompetanse*) and vocational studies (*yrkesopplæring*). Vocational studies often employ a 2+2 structure where students receive 2 years of education at the school, and experience 2 years of apprenticeship at the field. Folk high schools (*folkhøgskole*) are institutions that offer various subjects and learning opportunities. In Norway, it is often very common that students attend folk high schools to explore their interests. Folk high schools have no upper age limit, and emphasize students' holistic learning experience (Folkehøgskolene, n.d.-a).

Those who do not fulfill upper secondary education during their youth ages, can fulfill upper secondary education as adults (UDIR, n.d.-a). One must have completed basic education, be over 25 years old, and have legal residence in Norway. At the same time, individual municipalities can choose to take in those who do not necessarily meet the eligibility requirements for having the right to receive upper secondary education as adults. In addition, under the 23/5 rule, adults who choose to apply for university studies, can have the requirements for general studies fulfilled if they have at least 5 years of work experience and have completed Norwegian, English, social studies, history, mathematics, and natural sciences subjects. Adults who did not fulfill basic education also have the right to free basic education under certain conditions.

OECD's statistics show that 82.28% of those who attend upper secondary schools fulfill their studies. This is slightly higher than the OECD's average of 80%. Nevertheless, Norway faces challenges regarding individuals who are neither employed nor engaged in formal education or training (NEET). Although the nation's NEET rate stands at 9%, being one of the lowest across OECD nations, the majority of the NEETs are inactive. Also, 56% of the NEETs do not possess an upper secondary degree compared to the OECD's average of 36%.

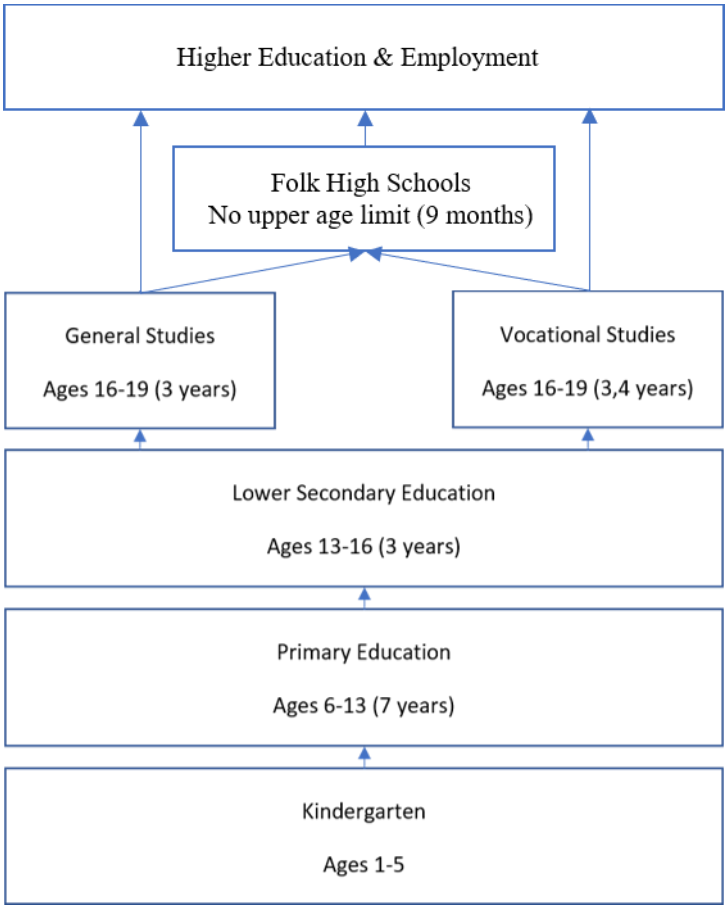

Figure 3 Norway's educational system structure
Source: UDIR (n.d.-a)

4.2. The History of Lifelong learning in Norway

The end of 18th century was when book collections and reading associations began to rise above the surface, and the Norwegian term of adult education '*folkeopplysning*' (popular enlightenment) came into use shortly after (Lyche, 1964). Around the same period, the Norwegian poet Henrik Wergeland spearheaded the initiative which contributed to the establishment of public libraries, which marked the distribution of knowledge to the people. However, it was not until the second half of the 19th century when a more organized effort to develop adults' national feeling and self-consciousness was found through the forming of The

Association of for the Advancement of Adult Education (Selskapbet for Folkeoplysningens Fremme). In 1864, some founders of the aforementioned association founded Norway's first folk high school (*folkehøgskole*), and university students who were offering lectures to adult audiences as far back as the 1830s created *Studentersamfundets Friundervisning*, an adult education organization that aimed to make education available mainly to the poor people.

After the 1900s, the movement of bettering adult education began to receive further momentum (Lyche, 1964). The Norwegian Parliament cooperated with the Ministry of Church and Education to improve the services of public libraries. Study circles, where a group of peers would gather to discuss a certain topic, was adapted by different organizations such as The Norwegian League of Youth (*Norges Ungdomslag*) and the Workers' Educational Association (*Arbeidernes Opplysningsforbund*) period. In 1933, the Ministry of Church and Education called for a more knitted collaboration between the various adult education organizations. This initiative suggested expanding the Ministry's administrative activity and increasing state subsidies to adult education programs, but such suggestions began taking place after the war. The German occupation has caused nearly all adult education programs to cease, and Norway was faced with a challenge of rebuilding when the war ended in 1945.

The development of adult education in Norway up until the end of World War II can be described as people-led focusing on the people's enlightenment (Lyche, 1964). While such humanistic aims of adult education persisted throughout the 1970s, economical demands began making its way into the Norwegian adult education narrative since the 1980s (Rubenson, 2004). Rubenson divides the development of adult education using three periods: (a) the humanistic era (1970s), (b) the strong economic period (1985-2000), and (c) the soft economic period (2000-). In this section, an overview of the development of adult education in Norway since the 1970s in line with Rubenson's three periods of adult education development will be presented.

In the 1970s, or in the humanistic era, Norwegian adult education could be found on the continuing spectrum of what has occurred within the field until the 1970s (Engesbak, Tønseth, Fragoso, & Luio-Villegas, 2010, Rubenson, 2004). Followed by the incorporation of adult education in public policy during the 1960s, the government started to take the responsibility for adult education as a project encouraging equality, democracy, and filling in educational gaps. Giving adults second chances, enlightenment studies and cultural learning, and continuing education for maintaining qualification in work settings mainly defined adult

education during this period. The Adult Education Act of 1976 intended to widen adults' chances to further their education, while focusing on equal opportunities, not equal outcomes (Kallerud, 1978). With much of the act focusing towards creating a democratized society and increasing adults' participation (Tøsse, 2005), the act promoted an allocation of adult education responsibilities among different organizations and subsidized authorized adult education.

Norway underwent increased immigration and unemployment in the second period (1985-2000) (Engesbak, et. al., 2010; Rubenson, 2004), and in the 1980s, the market-liberalistic narrative began to gain voice which shifted the democratic emphasis of adult education to a more economical one. Adult education started to become seen as a means of improving working competency, and the government sharply reduced financial support towards adult education and later admitting that the country's had a long way ahead in achieving equal access to education (Tøsse, 2005). Simultaneously, adult education and lifelong learning as concepts gradually became synonymous (Engesbak, et. al., 2010). Consequently, Norway in the 1990s showed a rising interest in cultivating people's fundamental knowledge and work-related abilities linked to both active citizenship and job qualifications. The lingering question was concerned with how adult education, formal education, and non-formal learning can be effectively blended to benefit society and individuals (Arvidson, 1995).

In the third period, or the soft economic period, rising economic competition and societal and technological changes brought notable changes to how the labor market and the education system began to affect each other (Engesbak, et. al., 2010; Rubenson, 2004). New demands brought upon by globalization and internationalization resulted in the Competence Reform in 1997. This strengthened the narrative of lifelong learning as a means to creating a more skilled workforce by highlighting the importance of effectively providing goods and services to society, maintaining high life-quality, and securing and generating employment. Additionally, the responsibility of carrying out lifelong learning slowly began to be transferred from the government to employer and employee organizations, the workplace, and the individuals. It is from this period when the concept of lifelong learning began to stimulate individuals to be proactive and responsible in refining their knowledge and skills to continuously prepare themselves for upcoming changes in the labor market (Engsbak, et. al., 2010).

Upon examining the development of lifelong learning over the three periods (Rubenson, 2004), the following trends can be identified. Firstly, the role of the government in lifelong learning provision has weakened as individuals were expected to be held more accountable for contributing to national development by actively pursuing further skills and knowledge (Engsbak, et. al., 2010). Furthermore, the underlying philosophy beneath lifelong learning in Norway which originally had a more humanistic perspective gradually transformed into that which was generally affected by a human-capital worldview (Becker, 2002). Now we turn to the background of LLL in South Korea.

4.3. The Education system in South Korea

In South Korea, education is compulsory for children between the ages of 6 and 15. There are six years of primary school (*초등학교*), and three years of lower secondary school (*중학교*) which are mandatory (NCEE, 2020). Three years of upper secondary school (*고등학교*) are voluntary. Upper secondary school generally consists of two types of schools: vocational (*실업계*) and academic schools (*인문계*). The former offers a study direction for students who either primarily seek employment or aim to attend technical colleges. Academic schools are designated to prepare students to attend 4-year universities. Normally, these academic schools consist of two study directions: natural sciences path and liberal arts path. In addition to the public upper secondary schools, there are specialized schools with the focus towards foreign language, information and communications technology (ICT), and arts and physical education (figure 4).

For those who do not manage to fulfill their education through the general system, there exists a school qualification exam (*검정고시*) pertaining to primary, lower secondary, and upper secondary education. For each level, Korean language, mathematics, social studies, and science are mandatory subjects that are to be included in the exam. English becomes included if one were to take the qualification exam for lower secondary level, and English and Korean history if one were to take the exam for upper secondary level. In addition to the core subjects, test participants need to select one of the elective subjects such as ethics, music, and art (KICE, 2019).

Among the OECD member nations, South Korea boasts a high rate of graduation. Statistics from 2018 shows that 91.7% of those who attend upper secondary school manage to graduate (OECD, 2020). Only Slovenia, Israel, Greece, are nations with higher rate of upper secondary

graduation. However, statistics also show that a handful of young Korean people are identified as NEETs. In 2017, 18.4% of the youth population (15 years old – 29 years old) were identified as NEETs. At the same time, 4.4% of the youths were enrolled in informal education or test preparation courses, which implies that about 14.1% of the Korean youth could be identified as actual NEETs, who are primary target populations of the country's lifelong learning programs.

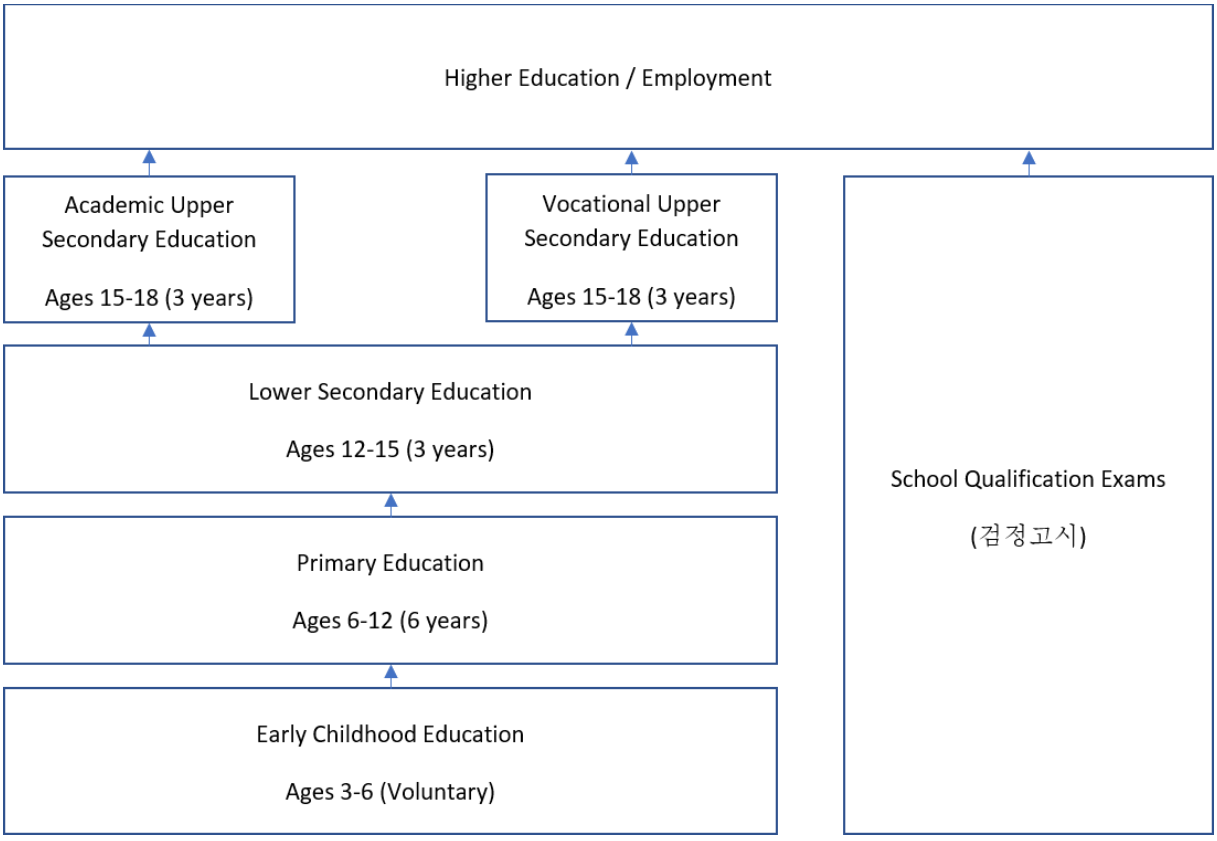

Figure 4 South Korea's educational system structure
Source: KICE (2019)

4.4. The History of Lifelong Learning in South Korea

The South Korean case of lifelong learning date back to 1910, when the country was under the Japanese colonization. Park (2002) presents the historical development of lifelong learning in South Korea and divides the developmental period into 4 different periods. In the following, a brief overview of the 4 periods will be presented.

The years between 1910 and 1945 is characterized as the colonization period (Park, 2002), where the rather obvious goal of adult education was to fight against the Japanese colonial education. During this period, the Japanese regime established educational systems which deliberately attempted to instill Japanese worldviews and ideologies, while trying to

exacerbate the use of Korean language and the presence of Korean culture within the peninsula. In response to the 1936 Japanese establishment of the Department of Social Education, Korean students and intellectuals stood up to organize anti-colonization education especially targeting the workers, women, and farmers. This rural enlightenment tradition was what much of the modern Korea's lifelong learning policies had their roots on. In short, adult education during this period is best described as anti-colonial education where cultural awareness and literacy education was its focus (also refer to Freire's conscientization). In other words, the lifelong learning scene during this period can be identified as having a humanistic nature under a foreign oppression.

The period from 1945 to 1970 is called the modernization and economic development period (Park, 2002). The beginning phase of this period was characterized by the nation's effort to resolute illiteracy, with the formation of a new nation around the corner. Although this effort was staggered during the Korean War (1950-1953), the Community Library Movement afterwards played an important role in rural adult education and women's education.

In 1961, General Park's military government began emphasizing its economic development policies and adult education since this period began to focus on creating skilled labor workers. Technical schools and training institutions as well as governmental encouragement towards companies to provide training for their workers characterized the adult education policies during this period. This is not to say the rural community school movements were nonexistent, but values such as human rights, democracy, and environmental awareness were mostly ignored due to the military government (Park, 2002).

The post-Park period in the 1980s is the democratization period, where lifelong learning on a policy level began to slowly take place. The 1980 Constitution Law explicitly stated that 'The Nation should promote lifelong learning for her people,' and the government as well as universities and companies began recognizing the importance of lifelong learning. Here, lifelong learning was primarily influenced by individualism along with the nation's further economic growth (Park, 2002).

The 1990s and onwards is labeled as the globalization period, where the nation began its educational reform in accordance with globalization (Kwon, Schied, & Kim, 2011). The main goals for such effort was to create an open learning society which makes education more available to all, and to again reinforce the competitiveness of the country's labor force. University education became more accessible to adults through the development of flexible

systems such as the Bachelors' Degree Exam, the Academic Credit Bank system, in-company colleges, and cyber universities. At the same time, the rise of pragmatic lifelong learning weakened the effort made towards emancipatory lifelong learning. Although the 1997 currency crisis in South Korea seemed to slightly weaken the government's overall work towards lifelong learning, the overcoming of the crisis quickly stimulated the institutionalization of lifelong learning systems. After this crisis, lifelong learning policies were adapted into the legal and educational structure of the Korean systems.

4.5. Summary

This chapter presented the education systems and history of lifelong learning in Norway and South Korea, and both similarities and differences are found between the two nations' contexts. The following table presents an overview of the contextual similarities and differences that are relevant to this study.

Table 3 Contextual comparison of Norway and South Korea

	Norway	South Korea
Alternative ways to fulfill education	Individuals have the 'second-chance' right to complete basic education and secondary education.	Individuals can take the school qualification exams to fulfill the education which they missed.
Structure of secondary education	• General studies • Vocational education	• General studies • Vocational education
Folk high schools	Found	Not found
Development of lifelong learning principles	Humanistic \ Humanistic/Economic	Humanistic \ Humanistic/Economic

Source: Created by the author

Both countries have the means to offer individuals the second chance to complete the education which they have missed. In Norway, individuals have the right to receive the education which they may not have fulfilled. At the same time, an individual's decision to 'retake' the education which they missed is partly contingent upon the municipality/country's decision. The school qualification exams in South Korea, however, is virtually open for anyone. Also, South Korea and Norway employ a dual-structured secondary education system where students can choose either the general studies path or the vocational path.

One notable difference within the two nations is characterized by Norway's folk high schools. In South Korea, the idea of taking a gap year to explore one's interest is almost nonexistent due to the country's competitive university entrance scene. High school students who wish to

enter their desired universities must take a nationwide university entrance exam to compete for university admission. If one does not manage to earn his or her desired university admission, he or she typically spends another year to study for the entrance exam. Thus, from a comparative perspective, it could be argued that folk high schools realize the principles of lifelong learning by giving students holistic learning opportunities.

5. Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, key theoretical framework and concepts will be explained to justify this study's theoretical perspective of the South Korea and the Norwegian white papers on lifelong learning. The theoretical framework in this research derives from Robeyns' (2006) discussions of 'three models of education, Tikly and Barrett's (2013) conceptual framework concerning educational quality, and Robinson's (2007) theory of globalization. Firstly, how the human capital theory, human rights-based approach, and Sen's Capability Approach has been interpreted in concert with education will be discussed by examining Robeyns' three model of education.

5.1. Three Models of Education

Robeyns' (2006) study regarding the three normative accounts that lie beneath educational policies: human capital, human rights, and capabilities are relevant to this study's analytical framework because the clarification between the three models contribute to how the categories were generated in accordance with Tikly and Barrett's (2013) educational quality principles (presented in the next subsection). In fact, Tikly and Barett themselves mention how human capital theory, human rights-based approach, and the capability approach are worthy of attention in their contemplation of the principles which a good quality education comprises. Therefore, Robeyns' deliberation of the three models of education serves as a useful reference point that bridges Tikly and Barett's educational quality framework principles and the categories that were found during the analysis.

Human capital theory, developed primarily by Becker (2002), tends to measure the value of education in relation to economic returns. Robeyns (2006) acknowledges the importance of an individual's economic capabilities especially regarding those who may be in extreme poverty but states its normative stance against human capital theory lying beneath education policy ideals. According to Robeyns (2006), the human capital model is first and foremost economist, and measures the benefits from education mostly in terms of better productivity and higher income. In addition, it overly highlights the instrumental features of education, which is expected to further economic productivity, while not valuing the non-instrumental values of education. Simultaneously, Robeyns (2006) calls for an educational policy that goes beyond the idea of human capital. The discussion of human capital theory is important in the

topic of lifelong learning because employment of the target population of such policies are often mentioned as a key object of the lifelong learning policies.

Rights-based framework, especially endorsed by United Nations (UN) organizations such as UNESCO, views education as every human beings' inherent right. The right-based perspective uplifts education's intrinsic significance. Humans are therefore targeting of moral-and-justice concern within the right-based approach, whereas the human-capital approach considers as humans as means of economic growth. Nonetheless, the rights-based approach may cause educational policies to remain on a rhetorical level where concrete results may be overshadowed by ambitious policy languages. Additionally, such an approach can become reductionist if rights are interpreted only as legal rights. Robeyns (2006) claims that viewing human rights as moral and not only legal allows one to see beyond the obligations of governments. About governments' roles, rights-based model may cause governments to adhere to only the written agreements, and nothing more. Furthermore, this may lead to conceptualizing educational policies as exclusively government responsible. The given considerations regarding the rights-based model is relevant because lifelong learning policy is discussed in terms of institutional accountability (Griffin, 1999; Tuijnman and Boström (2002). Finally, we look at the approach of education as a capability which blends both the intrinsic and the instrumental attributes of education.

The capability approach (Sen, 1999) is widely taken within various fields of development and focuses on individuals' real chances of acquiring states of well-being and doing. The approach views expansion of individual freedom as an essential factor to social development. It is also an approach which embraces both the human-capital and the rights-based approach. Sen (1999) presents two main roles of freedom, the constitutive and the instrumental. The constitutive roles of freedom:

> include elementary capabilities like being able to avoid such deprivations as starvation, undernourishment, escapable morbidity and premature mortality, as well as the freedoms that are associated with being literate and numerate, enjoying political participation and uncensored speech and so on. (p. 36)

While the constitutive roles of freedom emphasize the inherent importance of human freedom which is the objective of development, the instrumental freedoms refer to different kinds of freedom which promote holistic human freedom. "The instrumental role of freedom concerns the way different kinds of rights, opportunities, and entitlements contribute to the expansion

of human freedom in general, thus promoting development" (Sen, 1997, p. 37). Additionally, Sen (1999) identifies five distinct type of instrumental freedoms (table 4).

Table 4 Five types of instrumental freedom

Five types of instrumental freedom	
Political freedoms	• Freedom of political expression • Possibility to criticize authorities • Opportunity to determine who should govern on what principles • Freedom to choose between different political parties
Economic facilities	• Individuals' opportunity to utilize economic resources for the purpose of consumption, production, or exchange
Social opportunities	• Societal arrangements such as health care, education, and welfare services
Transparency guarantees	• Freedom to deal with one another under guarantees of disclosure and lucidity • Have a role in preventing corruption, financial irresponsibility, and underhand dealings
Protective security	• Social safety net which hinders people from ending up in absolute poverty and misery

Source: Sen, 1999

The five types of instrumental freedoms and the broad interplay between them are directly related to the vision of lifelong learning. Firstly, LLL entails the emancipatory vision of adult education which seeks to give people the capability to work towards social change and progress (political freedom, transparency guarantees) (Wildemeersch & Olesen, 2012). Secondly, one of LLL's main goal is to give people the capability to function in economic activities to become self-sustainable (economic facilities). Also, LLL is considered as an area which the public authorities should actively invest in (social opportunities). Lastly, educational opportunities provided by LLL schemes can function as a safety net for those who need to upgrade their skills and competency in order to maintain their status as an active member of the society (protective security). Consequently, the overarching goal and vision of LLL is to ensure that all members of society can enjoy the substantive freedoms. Thus, this broad nature of the capabilities approach and its perspective towards human freedom aligns directly with the ideals of lifelong learning which focuses on learners' holistic development.

5.2. Educational Quality Framework Principles

Tikly and Barrett (2013) identifies educational quality as a potential chain that links the human capital and the rights-based approaches. This research endorses such perspective, since the cultivation of both adults' economic capability and the capabilities beyond the economic through settings that cuts across from the formal and the informal is what lifelong learning policies strive for. Tikly and Barrett (2013) define educational quality as an individual's opportunity to develop individuals' and groups' capability sets through teaching and learning. In addition, they refer to Sen (1999) and emphasize alleviating institutional obstacles and 'unfreedoms' that hinders an individual's capability development. Hence, Tikly and Barrett's educational quality framework principles were selected as a starting point of the process of examining the categories discovered throughout the analytical process. The three key principles comprised by Tikly and Barrett's educational quality will now be presented.

The first principle is inclusion. In the most basic sense, inclusion characterizes the vision of education being accessible to all. Tikly and Barrett (2013) stretches the concept further and redefines the principle as one's opportunity to achieve. Furthermore, they argue that meaningful distribution of resources lies under the question of how better educational inclusion can be achieved. An inclusive distribution of resources does not simply mean increasing the gross amount of funds dedicated to a policy project. Rather, it is a form of resource distribution that increases the likelihood of an individual's chances to transform the resources into utilizable forms of capabilities. For instance, a person with hearing challenges should be given the proper learning materials and environments that would give him or her the chance to engage in learning. Therefore, a mere outpouring of funds that fails to consider varying needs of different learners will most likely not be considered as an inclusive allocation of resources. Inclusion, then, is primarily concerned with how an educational policy promotes participation of all learners across the sociocultural spectrum. Thus, inclusion is a principle that is oriented on the learners. The principle of inclusion is relevant in this study because the lifelong learning papers being examined are primarily setting various adult learners who need to develop the necessary capabilities to grow themselves as an autonomous human being in their respective societies. Considering such, it is worthy to consider inclusion as a principle because the kinds of adult learners and the supports which they need to get the best out of the lifelong learning policy ambitions will vary.

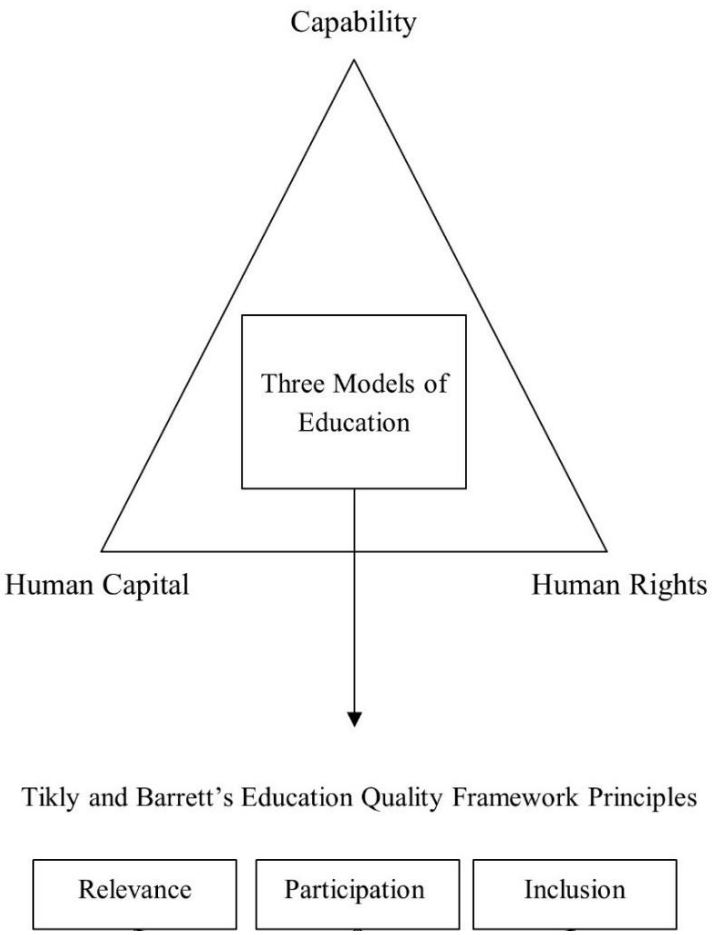

Figure 5 Theoretical frameworks relevant to lifelong learning
Source: Developed by the author

The second principle is relevance, which is linked to the outcomes of education. A high-quality education is socioeconomically relevant, and aims to achieve national development through social development, and through individual development. Therefore, a relevant quality education contributes to the wider context by providing individuals with the chance to foster the capabilities that is needed to take part in the wider development. Simultaneously, the wider development in this context should acknowledge the minority groups and their lifestyles, thinking, etc. From such a perspective, it is important to recognize that the principle of relevance is a wide notion. For instance, the principle of relevance can be meaningful when discussing indigenous groups' participation in modern states, marginalized groups, and critical citizenships (Tikly and Barrett, 2013). When it comes to lifelong learning, the principle of relevance can help one to see the topic considering how such policies contribute to a society's holistic development. More explicitly, while admittedly normative, such reflection can help determine whether a policy remark is focusing too much on either the human-capital aspect or the rights-based aspect, or is encouraging people's critical awareness on political issues, for example.

Participation is the third principle, and buttresses both inclusion and relevance since it is about how the educational goals are set at the Macro to the micro levels and who participates in such processes. At the classroom level, for instance, participation has to do with the question of finding out to what extent learners get to voice out their opinions regarding their learning content, process, and environment. Additionally, accountability and transparency are mentioned as an important attribute that can improve participation in the educational decision-making process. This implies that a quality educational policy and program should be undergirded by open spheres where participants, decision-makers, and anyone involved are given the opportunity to be informed about the matter in hand and exchange their opinions. The principle of participation is especially applicable in the analysis of both the white papers and the global organizations' documents regarding lifelong learning because it mainly deals with stakeholders' responsibility. Therefore, an analytical approach based on the principle of participation can map whether the documents and the white papers are encouraging a more open, democratic practice. Figure 5 visualizes how Robeyns' Three models of education and Tikly and Barrett's Education quality framework principles are in accordance with each other.

5.3. Theories of Globalization

The term globalization constitutes a wide degree of contention, and it is fundamentally difficult to theoretically pinpoint globalization (Robinson, 2007). The notion of globalization is undergirded by countless definitions and interpretations which makes it challenging to clarify the concept. Nonetheless, the concept is continuously referred in a wide spectrum of studies, and it is essential to take a theoretical towards regarding globalization. In the following sections, strings of globalization theories, and how they are relevant to this study will be presented.

World-system theory

Created by Immanuel Wallerstein, world-systems theory employs a critical approach towards capitalization, and considers it as an expansionary system which has been encompassing the world. The theory dates to the emergence of capitalist world-economy in the 1500s in Europe and divides the world into three great regions and hierarchial tiers. The core nations are the developed centers of this system, comprised of Western Europe, North America, and Japan. The second tier is the periphery nations which have been forcibly subject to the core nations' colonialism, and include Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Eastern Europe, and Latina America. Lastly, the nations in the semi-periphery were previously in the core but are moving down or

moving up from the periphery. Within this structure, nations belonging in each tier plays a specific role which reproduces the global structure of inequality and exploitation (Robinson, 2007, p. 129).

Norway and South Korea, having achieved notable economic development through discovery of oil and 'the Miracle at the Han River' respectively, is commonly identified as semi-periphery nations (Babones, 2005). However, the world-system theory is considered somewhat less relevant within the scope of this research. While this study acknowledges the sovereignty which nation states have when it comes to following global organizations' agendas, World-system theory does not see "the centrality of nation-states as the principal component units of a larger global system" (Robinson, 2007, p. 129).

Theories of global capitalism

While this theoretical string is also critical towards capitalism, it differs from the world-systems theory in that it sees globalization as a new stage in the evolving world capitalism. Theories within this string argue that new financial system and global production will supersede national forms of capitalism. Sklair (2000, 2002) has developed a theory within this string with the following three transnational practices as operational categories: the economic (transnational capital), the political (transnational capital-class), and the cultural-ideological (cultural elites). Within these categories, Sklair argues that transnational capital class brings together social groups who see the expansion of global capitalist system as a means of achieving their own interests (Robinson, 2007, p. 130).

Ronbinson (2003, 2004) has developed a relevant theory under this string which is in line with Sklair's (2000, 2002) emphasis towards the transnational capitalist class group which controls the globalization circulation. Robinson, on the other hand, highlights the emergence of supranational agencies which has been giving rise to a global governance structure. These transnational agencies play the role of transnational economic and political authority, and employ agendas that follow the global interests, and national states tend to serve these interests as components of this transnational state structure (Robinson, 2007, p. 131). This is relevant to this study, for EU, OECD, and UNESCO can also be considered as agents of the global governance structure. EU and OECD have been establishing economic and political agendas to steer their member states' national policies and ultimately achieve their interests. UNESCO has also been directing member states' policies towards a direction which aligns with its humanistic principles.

The Network Society

Developed by Castells (1996, 1997, 1998), the theory of the network society takes a technologistic approach to globalization. Although this theory acknowledges the influences of capitalistic systems, it views technological change as the main causal factor of the processes referred to as globalization (Robinson, 2007, p. 132). This approach is closely linked with the advent of a new 'age of information' where societies' economies become knowledge based, global, and networked. While Castells' theory is optimistic towards the global network society and its possibilities, criticisms towards the network society is also found. The marginalization created by the real gap between those that have the capacity to adapt to the technological changes and those who cannot manage to keep up with the changes generate the theme of digital divide in the network society (Robinson, 2007, p. 133). The theory of the network society is closely connected to why nations must invest in lifelong learning policies. Technological advancements have been making ICT skills as a necessary component to an individual's employability. People who do not have the capacity to work with digital tools stand in high risk of falling behind in the modern society. Thus, the concern towards how the network society theory can create further inequality is directly linked to the challenges which the ideals of LLL seek to tackle.

World Society Approach

The following thread of globalization theories was also determined as relevant to this study: globalization from a 'world society' approach (Dale, 2000; Meyer, Boli, Thomas & Ramirez, 1997). This approach was determined as relevant due to its acknowledgment of isomorphism within the domain of globalization under the presence of transnational organizations. Meyer et. al. (1997) claim through their Common World Education Culture (CWEC) view of globalization that nation-states' attributes stem from worldwide models and cultures established and dispersed through global processes. Consider the following hypothetical situation: if an enormous group of tribal societies inhabiting in the Amazon forest is suddenly discovered, these hypothetical groups of people will begin to form governments, ministries, and economic systems. Additionally, the inhabitants' lifestyles may undergo changes, and various issues may rise as a result.

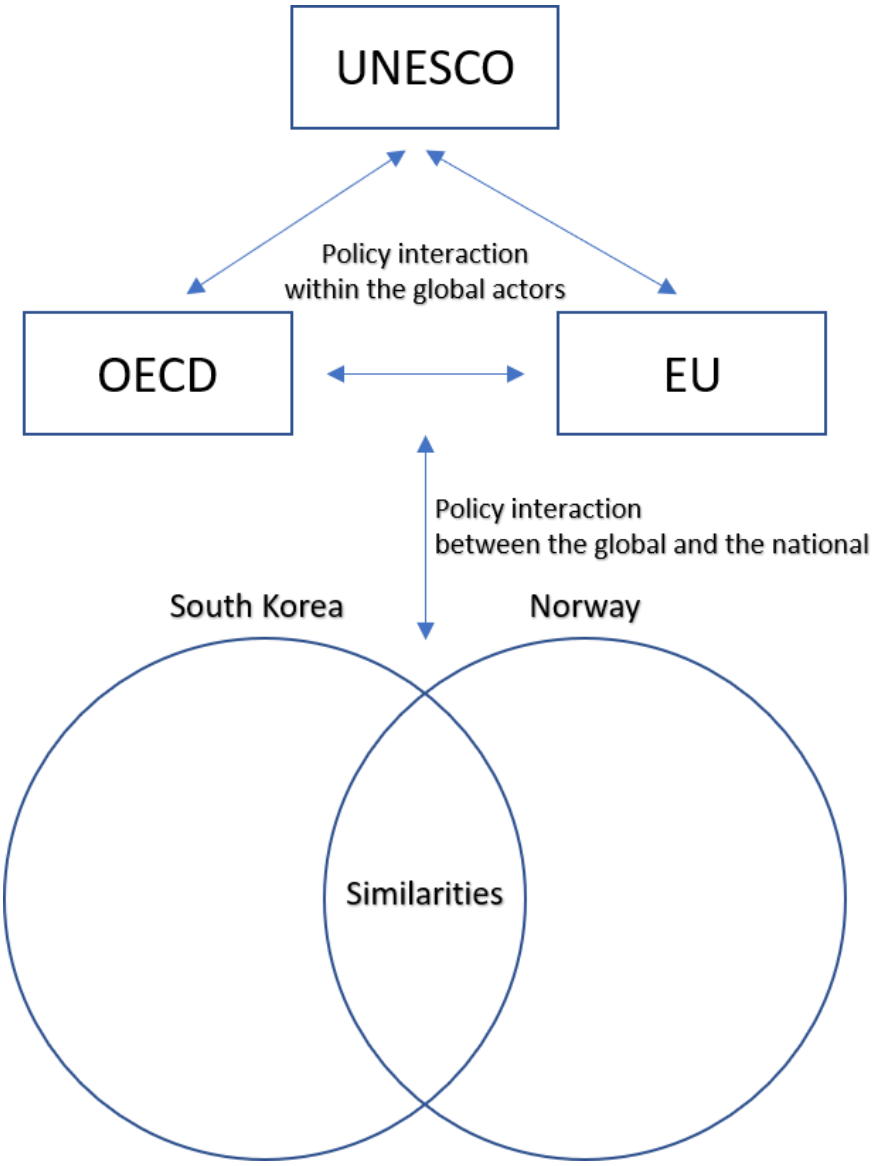

Figure 6 Analytical framework of this research
Source: Dale (1999,2000), Meyer et.al. (1997), and Robinson (2007)

On other hand, with the Globally Structured Agenda for Education (GSAE) approach to globalization, Dale (2000) may argue that such process is mainly driven by the global economic drive to sustain the capitalist system. For example, mining companies may want to establish mines for digging valuable rocks, and lumber companies may want to get their hands on to Amazon's most precious trees. According to Dale (2000), such installations are products of not only the political and the cultural, but the economic. The depiction here is purely hypothetical since there can never be an absolute guarantee that an 'unknown' society will always be targets of such global influences.

Nonetheless, different nations that seemingly do not have any resemblances exhibit striking similarities in unexpected ways (Meyer et al., 1997, p. 145). Thus, when proceeding with a

comparative study that examines educational policies of two nations, a theoretical background which sees the formation of a 'world society' caused by the isomorphism found within the interactions between the global and the national, as well as the speculation that individual nations themselves attempt to steer the global influences is useful (Dale, 2000). Figure 6 shows how the world society-globalization theory is taken into consideration in this research. The top part of the figure shows the policy interactions between the transnational institutions (in this study, EU, OECD and UNESCO), and the bottom part of the figure shows how two distinct nations-states may exhibit both similarities and differences in their (educational) policies. The arrow located in the middle indicates that the policy formation process is not a top-to-bottom process but is rather a bi-directional process where the nation-states also affect the construction of global policies and recommendations (Dale, 2000).

5.4. Summary

The analytical framework employed in this research helps to find potential policy effects which OECD, EU and UNESCO lifelong learning agendas appear to have on the lifelong learning white papers of South Korea and Norway. Thus, theoretical frameworks concerning lifelong learning as well as globalization were considered.

Robeyns' (2006) three models of education play a central role in describing how LLL as a notion manifests within the white papers. Out of the three models, Sen (1999)'s capability approach is of relevance, as it encompasses the other two approaches; rights-based approach and human-capital approach. In addition, the capability approach, and its concept of freedom in discussing development is clearly connected to the visions of LLL which emphasizes holistic human development. Tikly and Barrett's (2013) educational quality framework principles will serve as a frame of reference for examining how the implementation of LLL policy suggestions are shown within the white papers. The principles include relevance, inclusion, and participation. Then, the question of whom the LLL's target groups are, who is responsible for relevant policies, and how and where LLL takes place can be examined against the three principles.

Globalization theories were also considered as relevant, for this research seeks to examine the Norwegian and South Korean LLL white papers in light of EU, UNESCO, and OECD's LLL agendas. The discussion of international organizations is significant because they "have become crucial features of educational governance" (Mundy, 2007, p. 349). Also, Meyer et. al. (1997) states that nation-states are "more isomorphic than most theories would predict and

change more uniformly than is commonly recognized" (p. 173). This theoretical perspective can help to identify any similarities among the findings from the Norwegian and the South Korean LLL white papers, as well as map data within the white papers that are potentially subject to influences from EU, OECD, and UNESCO.

6. Methodology

As Walter (2006) states, “methodology refers to the worldview-influenced lens which affects how the research is understood, devised, and performed” (p. 10). In this chapter, the philosophical underpinnings of this study will be presented. Thereafter, the research approach and design, and the data collection and analysis will be discussed in light of this research’s methodology.

6.1. Philosophical Underpinnings

Burrell and Morgan (1992) proposes the four paradigms described in figure 7 as a frame of reference which allows research to be grounded on a specific perspective towards the social reality. The four paradigms can help researchers to map the theoretical assumptions reflected in their work and provide a means of identifying the basic similarities and differences between various works (Burrell and Morgan, 1992). In addition, the paradigm helps one to locate “one’s own personal frame of reference with regard to social theory, and thus a means of understanding why certain theories and perspectives may have more personal appeal than others” (Burrell & Morgan, 1992, p. 24).

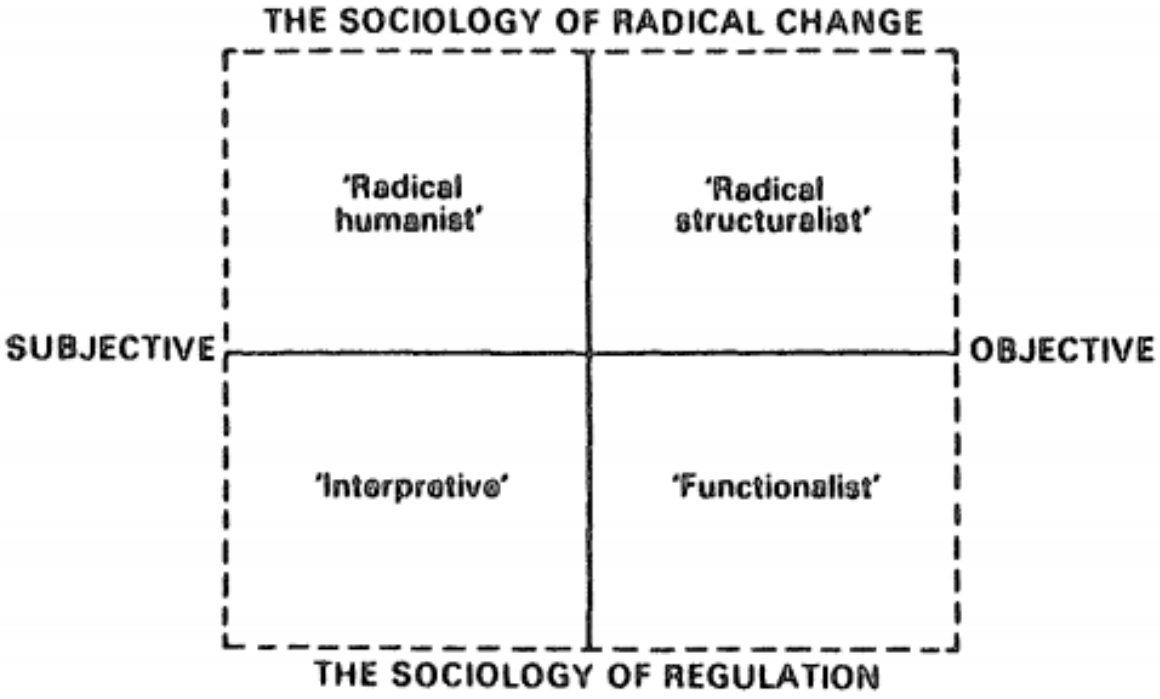

Figure 7 Four paradigms for the analysis of social theory
Source: Burrell and Morgan (1992)

This study is identified as being under the interpretive paradigm. In contrast to the positivist approach which views that social science and natural science can be studied alike, interpretivism underscores the worldview seen from a participant's perspective rather than that of the observer (Burrell & Morgan, 1992, p. 28). As Burrell and Morgan states (1992), "the interpretive paradigm is informed by a concern to understand the fundamental nature of the social world at the level of subjective experience" (p. 28). Also, interpretivist approach is "oriented towards obtaining and understanding of the subjectively created social world" (Burrell & Morgan, 1992, p. 31). Furthermore, interpretive sociology seeks to study "issues relating to the nature of the *status quo, social order, consensus, social integration and cohesion, solidarity and actuality*" (Burrell & Morgan, 1992, p. 31). In relation to such, this research sought to investigate the conceptualization of LLL within the Norwegian and South Korean white papers through an analytical framework which emphasizes education's value of holistic social improvement. Furthermore, the subjective aspect of this study led to the selection of theoretical frameworks that provide a normative perspective regarding LLL's ideals.

6.2. Research Approach and Design

With this philosophical approach, qualitative methods were chosen as the method for this study. Qualitative research stresses the understanding of the social world by examining how a given social world's participants interpret it (Bryman, 2012). In addition, qualitative research can "be judged according to whether they provide understanding of subjective meanings" (Seale, Gobo, Gubrium & Silverman, 2004, p. 15). In this research, I as an adult learner myself attempted to analyze how LLL was conceptualized in the national white papers, which denotes subjectivity being involved when it comes to LLL's ideals. Furthermore, examining how an educational topic is conceptualized in policy documents is inherently subjective, for results can vary depending on the analytical lens that are used to identify such conceptualization, and depending on the audiences of the texts. This study is a descriptive qualitative study which primarily describes how the notion LLL is conceptualized within the Norwegian and South Korean white papers (Walter, 2006). It seeks to find out the potential interplay between LLL on the global scene and LLL within national white papers. Also, it aims to obtain a better understanding about the conceptualization of LLL within the data.

An "advantage of the unstructured nature of most qualitative enquiry is that it offers to the prospect of flexibility" (Bryman, 2012, p. 404). Consequently, qualitative research often

employs a loose structure and begins from general research questions. Relating to such flexibility, this research exhibits both inductive and deductive aspects. The initial examination of EU, UNESCO, and OECD's LLL documents were performed in an inductive manner to discover the relevant categories. Thereafter, a deductive approach was taken in order to select and analyze relevant data from the South Korean and the Norwegian LLL white papers.

On the other hand, qualitative research is often criticized for being too subjective. These criticisms entail that findings of a qualitative study are often too dependent on the researcher's "unsystematic views about what is significant and important" (Bryman, 2012, p. 405). Also, its unstructured feature and its dependence on the researcher's subjectivity makes it extremely challenging to replicate a qualitative study (Bryman, 2012, p. 405). Consequently, generalizing a qualitative study's results become also difficult, since qualitative studies often begin with small sample sizes that are not necessarily representative of a larger sample group (Bryman, 2012, p. 406). The choice to examine the South Korean and Norwegian white papers was based on the researcher's personal background of having experienced education in the two nations. Additionally, the theoretical frameworks selected for this study exhibits a normative stance towards the ideals of LLL. Lastly, with only two national white papers as the primary source of the research, generalizing how LLL is conceptualized in the wider context becomes difficult.

6.2.1. Research Method

While using document analysis has been traditionally considered as a supplementary research method, it has also been acknowledged as a stand-alone method (Bowen, 2009, p. 29). This research aims to study how the notion of lifelong learning is conceptualized in the Norwegian and South Korean lifelong learning white papers in light of LLL on the global scene.

Analyzing documents is particularly feasible to qualitative studies, and helps to reveal hidden meanings, discover insights, and develop understanding that are related to the research problem (Bowen, 2009; Schreier, 2012). The descriptive nature of this study yielded the decision to choose documents as a beginning point. The goal of this study is to study the possible interplay between EU, UNESCO, and OECD's LLL agendas and South Korea and Norway's LLL white papers. Also, the study aims to better understand how LLL are conceptualized within the documents that have been examined. Because this study focuses on conceptualization of LLL, the goal of the research is to examine the latent meanings hidden beneath the policy suggestions. Citing Berelson (1952), Schreier (2012) states that "manifest

meaning can be characterized as simple, clear, direct, i.e the kind of meaning on which different persons are likely to agree, whereas latent meaning is obscure and likely to be different for different readers" (p. 176).

Content analysis is traditionally an approach which aims to quantify content according to preset categories (Bryman, 2012). However, considering the highly conceptual nature of this research's topic, quantification of content was not within the scope of this research. Therefore, this research employed qualitative content analysis (QCA) as its primary research method, with documents as the main sources for data. Considering the main aim for this research which seeks to examine how LLL are conceptualized, a research method which allows the investigation of latent and contextual meanings that lie between the lines was chosen (Schreier, 2012).

6.2.2. Comparative Aspect of the Research

Since the goal of this research is to analyze two national lifelong learning white papers, a comparative approach was employed. A comparative study enables one to observe how large-scale educational policy and philosophy are implemented and applied in different and unique societies (Kubow & Fossum, 2007). Another main comparative aspect of this study lies within the examination of lifelong learning on the global scene. This allows this study to discover to what extent are aspects of lifelong learning on the global scene visible in the South Korean and Norwegian white papers.

The second comparative aspect of this research is built upon the comparison between the South Korean and the Norwegian LLL white papers. In addition to the first research question which focuses on the possible interplay between the global and the national, the second research question attempts to further explore how LLL are conceptualized. Thus, the similarities between the two white papers were further examined through this research's analytical framework.

6.3. Data Selection

In qualitative research, non-probability sampling is often considered the norm. Purposive sampling allows a strategic selection of samples that can yield results relevant to the research questions (Bryman, 2012). In accordance with the research question that had been established, documents that are related to the established research questions were selected. Convenience sampling was not within the range of this study, for a relatively clear direction of examining

the LLL on the global scene was established. The selected documents which were examined for the purpose of this research were within the timeframe of 2014 to 2017. The main reason for this is lies in the fact that the Norwegian white paper (*Fra utenforskap til ny sjanse*) was published in 2016. The Korean counterpart which was published in 2016 was not available, so the 2017 South Korean Lifelong Learning white paper was selected.

Table 4 Documents selected for this study's analysis

EU	**UNESCO**	**OECD**
• Council conclusions of 12 May 2009 on a strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training ('ET 2020') • Council Resolution on a renewed European agenda for adult learning • Council Recommendation of 19 December 2016 on Upskilling Pathways: New Opportunities for Adults	• 3rd Global Report on Adult Learning and Education	• OECD Skills Strategy Diagnostic Report Norway • OECD Skills Strategy Diagnostic Report Norway
Norway	**South Korea**	
• Fra utenforskap til ny sjanse	• 2017 평생교육백서 (Lifelong Education White Paper)	

Source: Compiled by the author

The South Korean white paper was accessed through the website of National Institution of Lifelong Learning (NILE), and the Norwegian white paper was accessed in the Norwegian government's website, specifically that of the nation's Ministry of Education and Research (*Kunnskapsdepartementet*). Structurally seen, NILE and the Norwegian ministry of education and research are not on the same level, as NILE is an affiliate organization receiving support from South Korea's ministry of education. Nevertheless, the focus of this research was to discover how conceptualization of lifelong learning is manifested in the two countries' stance towards the topic. The website of South Korea's ministry of education did not include any documents regarding lifelong learning, so the white paper found in NILE's website was selected. As of the Norwegian white paper, the document was retrieved through the website of the ministry of education and research.

Thereafter, the documents which show LLL on the global scene were selected with the publication dates of the two national white papers in consideration. Adhering to the idea of global educational governance which is discussed in the Context chapter of this study, EUNESCO, EU, and OECD's LLL documents were selected to examine lifelong learning on the global scene. The rationale for choosing these is that these documents included each respective organization's most representative stance regarding LLL. In addition, considering the publication period of the South Korean and the Norwegian white papers on lifelong learning, the aforementioned documents were identified as most periodically relevant. Table 4 shows the documents selected for analysis.

Bryman (2012) states that 'the state is the source of a great deal of textual material of potential interest" (p. 549). However, when selecting documents, one must adhere to the criteria which for assessing the quality of documents. Bryman (2012), citing Scott (1990), suggests that the following criteria be considered: 1) authenticity (Is the evidence genuine?), 2) credibility (Is the evidence free of error?), 3) representativeness (Is the evidence typical of its kind?), and 4) meaning (Is the evidence clear?). All the selected documents were retrieved from each respective organization's official websites, and thus are authentic and credible. Also, it is typical that governments publish white papers pertaining to a specific topic. In terms of meaning, however, Bryman (2012) states the following:

> It is tempting to assume that documents reveal something about an underlying social reality, so that the documents that an organization generates (minutes of meetings, newsletters, mission statements, job definitions, and so on) are viewed as representations of the reality of that organization. (p. 554)

Citing Atkinson and Coffey (2011), Bryman (2012) argues that "documents should be viewed as a distinct level of 'reality' in their own right" (p. 554), and that "documents should be viewed as linked to other documents, because invariably they refer to and/or are a response to other documents" (p. 555). This research acknowledges such views towards document analysis in two ways. Firstly, by taking a conceptual approach towards the Norwegian and South Korean white papers, this research acknowledges the unique 'reality' of the notion LLL within the white papers which exist beyond the manifest texts. Secondly, this research examines the two white papers in light of EU, OECD, and UNESCO's LLL agendas, thus recognizing the inter-textuality between the documents selected for analysis.

Additionally, documents must be evaluated in relation to the purpose of the research. Depending on the scope of the research, the document should either be broad or selective, the

target audience of the document must be considered, and it should be determined whether the content of the document fits the analytical framework of the study (Bowen, 2009, p. 33). The two white papers chosen for this research were selective, for the white papers were specifically discuss the topic of lifelong learning. While the primary audiences of the white papers were public authorities and stakeholders within the field of LLL, groups of people who would seek to participate in any form of LLL were also the target audiences. Lastly, the documents selected were appropriate for the analytical framework of the study since they explicitly discuss the notion lifelong learning.

6.4. Data Analysis

The South Korean and the Norwegian white papers were analyzed using the qualitative content analysis (QCA) method. Since this research is specifically focusing how LLL are conceptualized, QCA was deemed appropriate since it focuses on the chosen materials only in select respects (Schreier, 2012). QCA "is a more of a descriptive method. QCA is more about summarizing what is there in the data, and less about looking at your data in new ways or creating theory (Schreier, 2012, p. 41). Additionally, considering the sheer amount of text present in the two white papers, data reduction became necessary in order to distinguish between relevant and irrelevant data. QCA reduces study materials in two ways: 1) the initial analysis is limited to those aspects linked to the research questions, and 2) categories and/or categories that will be used to sort out data will remain relatively abstract (Schreier, 2012, p. 7). The latter feature of how QCA reduces data is especially relevant. This research does not seek to compare the manifest data found in the white papers, but instead focuses on the latent meanings within the white papers. For instance, comparing how different LLL programs are carried out in the two nations does not fit under the aim of this study. Rather, this study is focused on examining the abstract realm, namely, the conceptualization of LLL.

In contrast to coding, codes in QCA are part concept-driven and part data-driven (Schreier, 2012, p. 41). The frame for identifying codes within the Norwegian and South Korean white papers was generated by examining the EU, OECD, and UNESCO's LLL documents. Afterwards, main categories and sub-categories discovered within the global organizations' documents were applied to identify relevant data within the two white papers. This considered the nature of QCA where one must "arrive at a final set of categories as early as possible in the research process" (Schreier, 2012, p. 41).

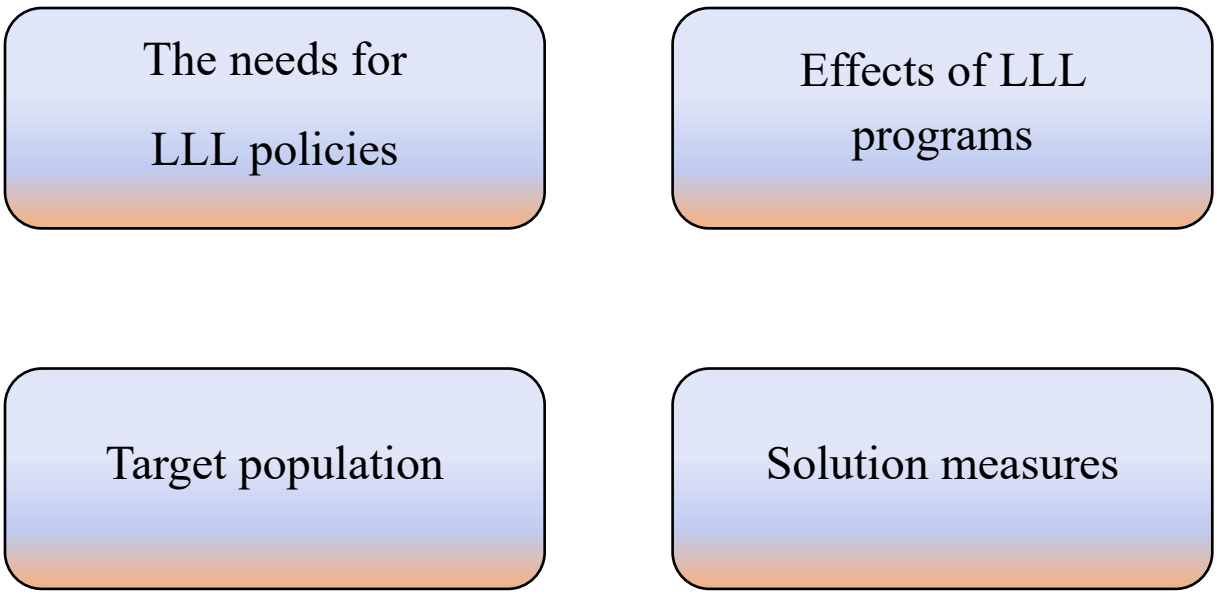

Figure 8 Main categories for analysis of the selected data
Source: Developed by the author

QCA helps one to avoid confusion and being lost in the data by forcing the researcher to select specific aspects of the chosen material (Schreier, 2012). To achieve this, an inductive step of the research first took place by examining EUNESCO, EU, and OECD's documents on LLL. Upon examination, four main categories were generated along with the sub-categories pertaining to each of the main categories as shown in figure 8. Once the categories relevant to the research questions were created, the selected data were examined. During the initial trial coding phase, the amount of text included in the white papers led to a consideration of segmenting the materials using both formal criterion (chapters, sub-chapters) was initially considered (Schreier, 2012). However, gradual examination of data revealed that relevant data chunks were found throughout the documents regardless of the formal segments. Thus, during the coding phase after the trial phase, the documents selected for analysis were examined sentence-by-sentence to find relevant data.

"To apply all categories simultaneously would quickly result in cognitive overload and make the entire process highly error-prone" (Schreier, 2012, p. 153.) Therefore, after initial trial coding phases, the main coding phase of the white papers were subdivided according to the four main categories. Beginning with the first category, sub-categories pertaining to the main categories were applied during each round.

6.5. Research Validity and Reliability

Although traditionally prevalent in the quantitative realm, the importance of reliability and validity has also been emphasized within the field of qualitative research (Bryman, 2012). Since qualitative research in most cases is not primarily concerned with data measurement, reliability and validity has been adapted accordingly when it comes to qualitative research. LeCompte and Goetz (1982) emphasizes four types of reliability and validity, external reliability, internal reliability, internal validity, and external validity (as cited in Bryman, 2012).

External reliability refers to the degree to which a study can be repeated. In a qualitative research, it is quite challenging to meet the standards when it comes to external reliability because a given world that is being examined cannot be brought over to the next researcher intact. For this specific research, the inability of replicating a given social universe is somewhat nullified by the fact that published documents are selected as primary data sources. Yet, the challenge remains in the inherent fact that anyone who attempts to replicate this study will engage the data differently. A study with adequate internal reliability will enable research team members to mutually agree about what they observe through the data. Because this study was conducted by a single researcher, internal reliability was of lesser relevance.

Internal validity is an indicator which shows the correlation between the researcher's observation of the data and the ideas which they build. Within the context of this study, an attempt to maintain internal validity by employing theoretical frameworks that are relevant to the research questions was made. Furthermore, data selection through non-probability sampling ensured that the materials stayed pertinent to the research questions. However, when it comes to causality, there are limitations due to documents being the main source of this research. As mentioned earlier, the social reality and the reality within documents must be seen from a separate perspective (Bryman, p. 554). Thus, no causality claims could be made in this research. When a study is externally valid, it means that its findings can be generalized across social contexts. The long-term trajectory of this study does involve discovering possible generalizations. However, this study is limited when it comes to external validity because only two national white papers were chosen as main subjects of the study. Unless additional studies of this sort are conducted, it is too early to discuss whether the findings of this study can be generalized.

6.6. Limitations and Ethical Considerations

This study is a document-based research, thus making it difficult to produce claims concerning the multiple entities with different interests, namely OECD, EU, and UNESCO. Without a more in-depth research involving relevant personnel that clearly reveals such institutions' intentions with their lifelong learning agenda, it is hasty to make a determinative statement such as 'EU's lifelong learning agenda has prevailed over that of UNESCO's in the Norwegian white paper.' In other words, a study which involves examining the presence and the absence of relevant notions and ideologies on a document is not sufficient to make such arguments.

The analysis of the South Korean white paper was performed through examining the original Korean text, while Korean being my mother tongue. The Norwegian white paper was analyzed with its original Norwegian text. While Norwegian was not my mother tongue, I had achieved literacy of the language and thus was able to comprehend content within the white paper and identifying relevant chunks of data. Additionally, assistance from my acquaintances that use Norwegian as their mother tongue was occasionally involved if any ambiguity arose during the analysis. At the same time, the selected data were translated into English, thus implying a possible loss of nuances during the process.

This study was conducted with published documents which are open to access for anyone. Moreover, there was no involvement of individuals' personal or confidential information during this study. Therefore, this study is not subject to any ethical violations.

7. Global Organizations and Lifelong Learning

In chapter 3, the significance and the context of EU, OECD, and UNESCO as key players in the field of global educational governance was presented. It is essential to acknowledge that the formation of global and national educational policies are products of mutual interactions between the global and the national players (Rizvi and Lingard, 2009). This suggests that national educational policy analyses should take the global influences into consideration (Dale, 2000; Mundy, 2007). Hence, the first research question of this research was generated to examine lifelong learning within the global organizations' recommendations and suggestions. This chapter will answer the first research question by examining the selected documents pertaining to the global organizations' lifelong learning recommendations and suggestions. The examination of the documents is based on the four main categories which are built from a set of codes generated from the initial coding and the study's theoretical frameworks. Firstly, findings from the EU's documents are presented.

7.1. The European Union: The European Education and Training 2020 Framework

The European Education and Training 2020 framework (ET 2020) has its grounds on the principles of lifelong learning (EC, n.d.-a). Through this framework, the EU provides its member nations with strategies and common objectives related to education and training. Under the framework, member states are encouraged to exchange their best practices and improve each other's education policy fields. A set of benchmarks which the European Union expects its member states to achieve are identified. The achievement of these benchmarks is based on the four common EU objectives which the Education and Training 2020 framework establishes.

The Council of the European Union is the EU's main decision-making body (EU, 2019). One of its main roles is to coordinate EU member states' policies in specific fields, such as education. The Council of the European Union has published three documents pertaining to the European Education and Training 2020 framework: 1) Council conclusions of 12 May 2009 on a strategic framework for European cooperation in Education and training, 2) Council Resolution on a renewed European agenda for adult learning, and 3) Council

Recommendation for 19 December 2016 on Upskilling Pathways: New Opportunities for Adults. In the following sections findings from the documents published by The Council of the European Union will be presented.

7.1.1. The Needs for LLL Policies

ET 2020 acknowledges the importance of educational policies and encourages EU member states to exchange their best policy practices with each other under the European Education and Training framework. In its documents, the Council of the EU identifies several reasons as to why member states should further invest in improving their LLL policies and practices, and frames them as common European challenges. Consequently, member states are encouraged to act in response to the challenges and uphold the collective solidarity concerning lifelong learning. It is stated that "Education and training have a crucial role to play in meeting the many socio-economic, demographic, environmental and technological challenges facing Europe and its citizens today and in the years ahead" (EU, 2009, p. 1). Also, "In order to face both the short and long-term consequences of the economic crisis, there is a need for adults regularly to enhance their personal and professional skills and competences" (EU, 2011, p. 2). In addition, lifelong learning is acknowledged as a key element in solving the issues of economic crisis and demographic aging, and in meeting the broader socio-economic objectives of the EU (EU, 2011, p. 1). Furthermore, the suggestions mention that jobs of elementary nature will gradually decrease as jobs which are to be created in the future will require individuals' digital competences (EU, 2016, p. 1).

Firstly, demographic ageing is identified as one of the reasons as to why the EU finds it important for member states to invest in LLL. This implies that more and more elderly citizens remain in the labour market, and therefore find the need to update their skills and competencies in order to maintain their employment status. Secondly, responding to the consequences of economic crisis is identified as another reason for member states to encourage their adult population to actively participate in LLL. Here, LLL's instrumental purpose of maintaining social continuity is highlighted along with its purpose of encouraging the individual's personal achievement (Billett, 2017). Lastly, technological development and its consequences are identified as a key reason. It is mentioned that the labour market will undergo changes due to the increased emphasis towards individuals' digital competency. This acknowledgment of influence from global technological changes is in line with the theory of the network society which warns against the divide created by the dissemination of such digital influences (Robinson, 2007).

7.1.2. Effects of LLL Programs

To further strengthen its encouragement towards the member states, the Council of the European Union highlights the effects of LLL programs. The benefits of LLL are presented in light of the four strategic objectives of ET 2020, and encompass various traits of LLL's ideals. LLL's effects of enhancing people's employability and adaptability are emphasized, and such effects are also discussed in light of the EU's vision towards a single Europe. For instance, it is stated that "High quality education and training systems which are both efficient and equitable are crucial for Europe's success and for enhancing employability" (EU, 2009, p. 3). Also, it is stated that "Education should promote intercultural competences, democratic values and respect for fundamental rights and the environment, as well as combat all forms of discrimination, equipping all young people to interact positively with their peers from diverse backgrounds" (EU, 2009, p. 4). In addition, "Adult learning provides a means of up-skilling or reskilling those affected by unemployment, restructuring and career transitions, as well as makes an important contribution to social inclusion, active citizenship and personal development" (EU, 2011, p. 1). Furthermore, "*The European Platform against Poverty*, which proposes the development of innovative education for deprived communities in order to enable those experiencing poverty and social exclusion to live in dignity and to take an active part in society" (EU, 2011, p. 2).

Firstly, LLL is seen as a means to enhance people's employability, and it fosters the freedom of economic facilities (Sen, 1999). Secondly, it is suggested that LLL can contribute to the promotion of societal values by emphasizing democracy, alleviating discrimination, and cultivating intercultural competence. This characteristic of LLL can be understood under the context of how LLL has been developing. As discussed in chapter 2, humanistic aims and emancipatory nature of lifelong learning was strongly emphasized in the earlier periods. Therefore, the stress towards LLL's potential to bring about social change and to encourage civic participation can be seen as the EU's acknowledgment of LLL's humanistic dimensions. Thirdly, LLL is considered as a strategic tool which the member nations can utilize to achieve the EU's objectives and thus reinforce the Union's status within the world society and economy. Enhancing European citizens' mobility within the EU is highlighted, for the EU's vision towards a 'single-market-EU' has been an important policy goal since the Union's establishment. Lastly, LLL is considered as a social safety net for groups who are in danger of being socially excluded. In terms of Sen's (1999) instrumental freedoms, this realizes the

freedom of protective security where individuals deserve to not end up in extremely unfortunate circumstances.

Overall, the findings above can be related to Sen (1999)'s view where development should not be seen from a narrow point of view which highlights growth national product growth or industrial development. Rather, he argues that development should be grounded on the premise of providing individuals with a holistic opportunity to enjoy their freedoms. According to Sen (1999), "What people can positively achieve is influenced by economic opportunities, political liberties, social powers, and the enabling conditions of good health, basic education, and the encouragement and cultivation of initiatives" (p. 5). In light of such argument, how the ET 2020 frames the effects of lifelong learning is in accordance with Sen's perspective.

7.1.3. Target Population

The ET 2020 framework is based on the perspective of lifelong learning and addresses educational outcomes from early childhood education to vocational education and higher education (EC, n.d.-a). However, considering how lifelong learning is defined within this study's context (chapter 2), coding of relevant data within this category focused on adult learners. The recommendation encourages member states to establish measures for validating non-formal and informal learning of unemployed individuals and people who face challenges in finding employment are mentioned as a key target group of LLL. In addition, youth under the age of 25 who are either unemployed or not enrolled in formal education are to receive help in finding employment and education (EU, 2016). Lastly, third-country nationals with legal residence in the EU are mentioned as a key target group.

The target groups which are referred to reflect the principles of LLL. Regarding job seekers and the unemployed, it is recommended that member states take the initiative to offer these groups relevant help. This is a demonstration of how LLL is seen as a social opportunity which nation states are expected to provide to the people (Sen, 1999). Also, immigrant populations are more likely to face adverse situations in society and have a higher risk of falling behind. Thus, the efforts to help immigrants' integration is interpreted as how LLL realizes the instrumental freedom of protective security.

7.1.4. Solution Measures

To realize the benefits of LLL and to reach the target groups, the Council of the European Union makes specific suggestions on solution measures which the EU member states are encouraged to follow. Its suggestions "encourage the lifelong acquisition of career management skills; facilitate access by all citizens to guidance services; develop the quality assurance of guidance provision; and encourage coordination and cooperation among various national, regional and local stakeholders" (EU, 2016, p. 4).

Firstly, "Quality assurance has been raised as an important issue in adult learning" (EU, 2011, p. 2). It is suggested that more resources should be invested towards developing the competencies of adult-learning professionals and recognizing adult-learning providers. Secondly, it is encouraged that digital learning should be utilized to provide learning for adults (EU, 2016). This can be understood in light of Tikly and Barrett's (2013) educational quality framework principles. The principle of inclusion emphasizes the importance of "education being accessible to all" (p. 19) and fostering of digital tools implies that the recommendations acknowledge the importance of inclusive LLL measures. Thirdly, member nations are encouraged to invest in "efficient and integrated guidance services" (EU, 2016, p. 3). This is relevant to Field (2001) and Griffin (1999)'s discussion of how lifelong learning should not be merely seen as individual vocationalism where individuals are solely responsible for mapping their skills and competencies needs, and that institutional accountability in the field of LLL should be highlighted. This can be identified as a trend away from "the need to shift people's dependency upon the welfare state to provide educational and other services, towards a consumer credit model whereby individuals take responsibility for their own lives in every possible context" (Griffin, 1999, p. 442). In addition, validation of individuals' non-formal and informal learning is highlighted (EU, 2016). As defined in chapter 2, lifelong learning in this study describes educational processes across the domains of formal, non-formal, and informal. Thus, encouraging qualification approval across these domains is directly related to realizing the ideals of LLL which is founded upon learning across the different domains. Lastly, the field of LLL is seen as a complex field, and the need to establish "coordination and cooperation among various national, regional, and local stakeholders" is emphasized (EU, 2016, p. 4).

7.2. United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization: Global Report on Adult Learning and Education

UNESCO's Global Report on Adult Learning and Education (GRALE) report has three main purposes. Firstly, it analyzes the results of a monitor-survey of UNESCO member states and seeks to examine whether the states are showing the commitment which they vowed to make towards International Conferences on Adult Education (CONFINTEA) VI. Secondly, the report encourages member nations to further invest in LLL. Lastly, it provides a platform for discussion and action at both the global, national, and regional levels. To provide a short summary of the report's statistical significance, the member nations do report progress in implementing LLL measures. Nonetheless, approximately 758 million adults remain illiterate, and accreditation and recognition of adult learners' education remain as challenges. In addition, a handful of countries did not meet the target of achieving a 50% improvement in adult literacy levels by 2015. Therefore, pushing its LLL vision has been an important part of UNESCO's agenda, and it is worthwhile to examine how the report attempts to further convince the member-states. In the following section, GRALE will be examined based on the four main categories.

7.2.1. The Needs for LLL Policies

GRALE identifies six main trends which policymakers of LLL should take into consideration. Firstly, growing migration flows is identified as a trend. The report highlights the ongoing refugee crisis and points out the importance of acknowledging and recognizing the skills which migrants bring with them (UIL, 2016, p. 125). Secondly, demographic changes and longer life expectancy are identified as a key reason for investing in LLL. The report states that the population of elderly people will increase notably, and thus argues that member states should implement measures to respond to such demographic shifts (UIL, 2016, p. 126). The global phenomenon of unemployment and the changing nature of employment are also discussed (UIL, 2016, p. 127). Furthermore, GRALE identifies the existence of inequality across different nations and contexts which enables access to education for some while disabling access for others (UIL, 2016, p. 127). Additionally, the need for LLL is highlighted in light of UN's Sustainable Development Goals. "Issues such as climate change, food security and energy use" are underlined as crucial reasons as to why member states should understand how LLL can equip people with the necessary skills and abilities to tackle such

issues (UIL, 2016, p. 128). Lastly, GRALE identifies the modern era's digital revolution as a major reason for member states to commit towards LLL. The technological changes have been transforming how societies function and how people live, but also have been creating a digital divide where those without the capacity to adapt to the digital changes experience exclusion (Robinson, 2007; UIL, 2016, p. 128).

7.2.2. Effects of LLL Programs

The report emphasizes the importance of understanding the complex links between health and education and calls for a coordinated effort to address the issue (UIL, 2016, p. 67). The reason for calling for a collected effort is that health services are becoming more costly than ever, and that proper education will serve as a preventative tool which can keep the people away from ill-health conditions, and therefore high-cost health services such as acute care and hospital treatments. The second reason is that the concept of well-being has been encompassed by the extended understanding of health. Health not only describes physical well-being, but also one's social and mental wellness. Thus, education and learning, which directly affects one's intellectual capacity and overall competence, is an inevitable factor which plays an important role in contributing to individuals' well-being. Notably:

> As people transition into adulthood and get older, they need to be able to manage their own – and their dependents' – health, diseases and disabilities. This requires knowledge, skills, behaviours and attitudes developed not just through initial education and learning, but throughout the lifespan. (UIL, 2016, p. 68)

GRALE's emphasis towards the link between education and health is parallel to the relationship between the constitutive and the instrumental roles of freedom (Sen, 1999). Constitutive refers to the inherent human freedoms which all people are entitled to enjoy, and instrumental freedoms help individuals to achieve and main the constitutive freedoms. Health is a form of freedom which all humans are entitled to and plays a crucial role in determining an individual's life trajectory, and education is an instrumental freedom taking the form of a social opportunity arranged by the government.

Secondly, GRALE acknowledges that LLL brings economic growth and productivity by boosting people's competencies and skills:

> Solid evidence from around the world shows that, as well as enabling people to develop new skills, education and learning lead to higher wages, promote job satisfaction and encourage employees to be more committed at work. As a result, they raise productivity and boost economic growth. (UIL, 2016, p. 88)

The report cites study results from different parts of the world to highlight the effects which LLL can have on labor markets. Furthermore, the report brings in the importance of acknowledging LLL's labor market outcomes across different levels. For individuals, LLL programs can increase their employability, positively affect career outlooks, and flexibility when it comes to employment. Individuals are more likely to achieve satisfaction and sense of well-being. For organizations, the increased employee satisfaction is most likely to result in further benefits. As for societies, economic activity rates become higher, and the labor market becomes more active, resulting in increase of overall revenue (UIL, 2016, p. 89). GRALE's acknowledgment of both employee satisfaction and increase in productivity and economic growth is reflected in Sen (1999) viewpoint towards development. The effects of lifelong learning do "not have to be freshly established through their indirect contribution to the growth of GNP or to the promotion of industrialization. As it happens, these freedoms and rights are also very effective in contributing to economic progress" (Sen, 1999, p. 5).

Lastly, GRALE discusses LLL's effect on social, civic, and community life. It claims that LLL can have a marked impact on citizenship, social cohesion, political participation, and diversity and tolerance by stating that "ALE can have a strong impact on active citizenship, political voice, social cohesion, diversity and tolerance. These factors bring important benefits for social and community life" (UIL, 2016, p. 108). Benefits of LLL at the communal and societal level is also presented. One's ability to participate in civic activities, to extend his or her knowledge, and to maintain social connections, is also presented as benefits at the communal level. Furthermore, achieving of values and goals associated with 'The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development' such as ethical economy, environmental-friendly sustainability, and ecological awareness is also highlighted (UIL, 2016). Exhaustively, GRALE views LLL as a means to enable people to become more politically engaged and to have a voice concerning the ongoing issues of the world. As Sen (1999) puts it, "a great many people in different countries of the world are systematically denied political liberty and basic civil rights" (p. 15). Thus, UNESCO's humanitarian aims of unbinding people from such political unfreedom can be reflected through the organization's emphasis towards LLL's civic and political effects.

7.2.3. Target Population

GRALE's monitoring survey showed that participating nations gave varying responses regarding the question of which target groups are of importance in their LLL policies. The responses show that adults with low-level literacy or basic skills are considered as the most

important target group, followed by NEETs and individuals who seek to improve their competencies and to broaden their knowledge. More specific target groups such as refugees, parents, people with disabilities, and ethnic minorities are also identified by fewer nations. Figure 9 shows the survey results of the question regarding LLL's target groups.

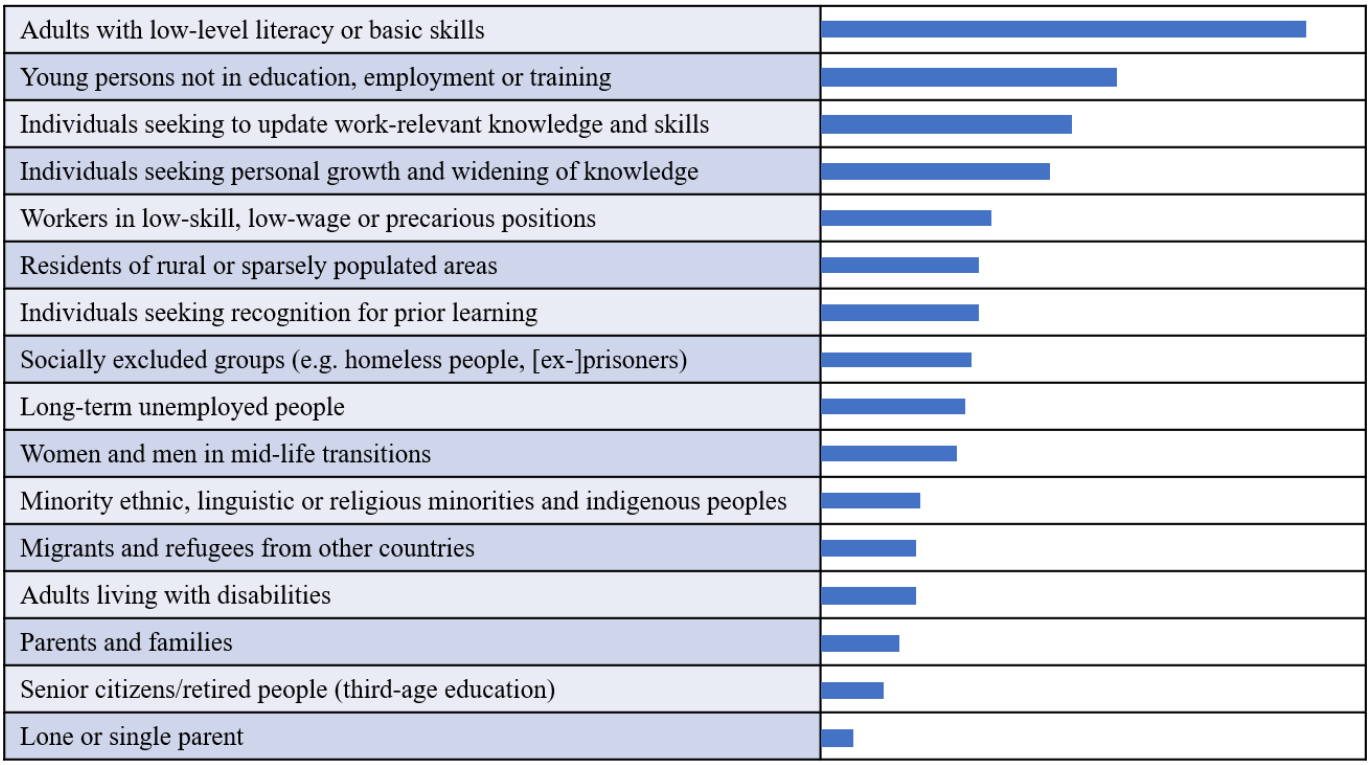

Figure 9 Important target groups in UNESCO member states' lifelong learning policies
Source: GRALE III monitoring survey (UIL, 2016)

As shown in the survey results, adults with low-level literacy and basic skills are almost universally acknowledged as important target groups of LLL policies. On the other hand, target groups who make up a small portion of the survey responses can be interpreted as groups that are considered as significant in specific nations and/or contexts. Also, it can be suggested that the recognition of the very specific target groups identified in the survey response remains a global challenge (UIL, 2016, p. 34).

7.2.4. Solution Measures

First and foremost, GRALE views LLL as a form of human right which governments should actively provide to adult learners. According to GRALE, governments "need to ensure that learning opportunities are available; they must also help adults to take full advantage of such opportunities" (UIL, 2016, p. 135). The suggestion made above aligns with both the rights-based approach and the idea of education as instrumental freedom. "Rights-based conceptualizations of education are especially endorsed by organizations of the United

Nations… such as UNESCO" (Robeyns, 2006, p. 75). This notion of education as an inherent human right is also discussed in Tikly and Barrett's (2013) principle of inclusion which emphasizes accessible education for all. In addition to viewing LLL as a right, GRALE emphasizes intersectoral cooperation as a key factor for developing successful LLL policies. The need for such cross-sectoral collaboration is first attributed to the complex nature of lifelong learning since lifelong learning "does not constitute a single recognized sub-sector within education. Usually there is no single ministry with overall responsibility for determining ALE policy and managing knowledge" (UIL, 2016, p. 125). Thus, "Achieving these goals will require more coordination between diverse stakeholders… where the provision and funding of programmes involves the broadest possible range of actors, be they governments, private providers, employers, civil society organizations or individual learners themselves" (UIL, 2016, p. 137). GRALE underlines the roles of both public and private stakeholders. The significance here is that GRALE acknowledges the limitation of framing LLL as a form of individual vocationalism in which its outcomes rest on individual responsibility. Rather, it seeks to acknowledge the importance of institutional accountability and encourages member states to take initiative and responsibility in realizing LLL policies (Griffin, 1999; Wildemeersch & Olesen, 2012). In discussing responsibilities, Sen (1999) states that "responsibilities are extremely contingent on personal, social, and environmental circumstances" (p. 284), and that promoting "social support in expanding people's freedom can… be seen as an argument for individual responsibility" (p. 284). Reflecting upon such viewpoint, UNESCO sees lifelong learning as a social support scheme which expands people's freedom. However, Robeyns (2006) points out that a rights-based approach has the "risk of reducing rights to legal rights only" (p. 76). While GRALE's suggestion towards member states implies that LLL should be seen as people's moral rights, whether member nations actually attempt to frame LLL in the way which UNESCO wants it to be framed is up to the nations.

Moreover, it is suggested that "Learning outcomes from participation in non-formal and informal adult learning and education should be recognized, validated and accredited as having equivalent values to those granted by formal education" (UIL, 2016, p. 153). GRALE's suggestion of acknowledging non-formal and informal adult learning and education has humanistic implications. Instead of limiting the recognition of individual's competencies within the domains of formal education and learning, UNESCO attempts to shift the existing perspective towards non-formal and informal education and learning into a more positive one.

The influences of human-capital approach have been creating a tendency where value of education and learning is measured based on its potential rate of return. Often it is educational and qualification which can be recognized within the formal domain that is seen as valuable. Therefore, the emphasis towards flexible transition of qualification recognition across the domains of formal, non-formal, and informal education highlights the humanistic aspects of lifelong learning. Finally, GRALE views it important to consider local contexts when it comes to lifelong learning policies and strategies:

> Member States should consider establishing mechanisms and processes at national and local levels that are flexible, responsive and decentralized. Rural and urban areas should have inclusive and sustainable strategies where every individual shall have opportunities to learn and fully participate in development processes. (UIL, 2016, p. 150)

Although the digital revolution has been changing how people live and work, it is not the case that people's lifestyles are totally uniform across different regions or areas. For instance, those who reside in rural areas are most likely to live differently than those who reside in urban areas. This acknowledgment towards local characteristics can be seen through Tikly and Barrett's (2013) principle of relevance. Relevance as a principle highlights the importance of enhancing "the capabilities of learners to lead sustainable livelihoods in their diverse local environments and to benefit from a globalizing world" (p. 19). Therefore, the need to consider regional and local contexts when it comes to LLL policy implementation while acknowledging the changes caused by globalization can be viewed as a manifestation of the principle of relevance.

7.3. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development: Skills Strategy Diagnostic Report

To analyze OECD's stance towards LLL, two OECD Skills Strategy Diagnostic Reports pertaining to Norway and South Korea are examined. The reports first begin by emphasizing why skills matter for the two nations. Thereafter, the suggestions which the organization make are presented with a 'Skills systems' outline. This outline is divided into three main aspects: (a) developing skills, (b) activating skills and (c) using skills. Then, the ways to improve in each of the aspects are framed as challenges to rationalize the suggestions. This section will

examine the OECD's suggestion towards Norway and South Korea in light of the four analytical categories.

7.3.1. The Needs for LLL Policies

Norway

The report identifies challenges which are common across different nations. Firstly, the report highlights the changing needs of skills and competencies under the modern era's globalization, digitalization, and technological developments (OECD, 2014, p. 17). Due to such changes, it is reported that nearly half of all adults who are working in Norway have experienced changes in the way how their works are organized (OECD, 2014, p. 18). Secondly, demographic changes within the nation is also identified as a key reason for needing better LLL policies. Notably, the report states that "the ratio of the population aged 65 and over to the population aged 20-64 is estimated to nearly double from approx. 30% in 2011 to 60% by 2050" (OECD, 2014, p. 13). In addition, it is projected that "by 2040 migrants will comprise close to 20% of the Norwegian population and over 30% in Oslo" (OECD, 2014, p. 13).

One challenge which is specific for Norway is its people's performance and achievement in foundational skills. According to Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA):

> a sizeable proportion of 15 year olds still perform at a low level; failing to achieve proficiency level 1. And the share of low performers has increased in recent years from 18.2% in 2009 to 22.3% in 2012. The number of low performers in science, as in mathematics, has experienced a significant increase. (OECD, 2014, p. 32)

The challenge also lies within the top performers, for only a small proportion of students excel and achieve proficiency levels 5 or 6. Compared to other OECD nations such as Switzerland (over 20%), South Korea (30%) and Singapore (40%), only 9.4% of students are identified as high-achievers in Norway. Furthermore, drop-out from upper-secondary education is identified as a reason for improving the nation's LLL policies. Specifically, the report underlines that in Norway, "the proportion of students enrolled in upper-secondary who will leave with a qualification within the expected duration of the course, fall below 57%" (OECD, 2014, p. 47).

Also, skills-mismatch is identified as a key reason as to why Norway needs to improve its LLL policies. A 2013 PIAAC survey "shows that around 20% of Norwegian workers consider that they are over-qualified and around 15% consider they are underqualified for their current

jobs" (OECD 2014, p. 99). This is additionally highlighted through Norwegian employers who continue to report challenges in employing the right people for their vacancies (OECD, 2014, p. 102).

South Korea

The report first highlights the trend of rising inequality in South Korea as a key reason for the nation needing inclusive growth. The report highlights the following contexts pertaining to South Korea. Firstly, "The Korean labour market is characterised by a strong labour market dualism between regular and non-regular workers. This is a key factor behind growing inequality in pay and working conditions that feed into household income inequality and relative poverty" (OECD, 2017, p. 23). Secondly, "The redistributive impact of Korea's tax and transfer systems is among the weakest compared to other OECD countries" (OECD, 2017, p. 23). In addition, "The level of public social spending is among the lowest across OECD countries" (OECD, 2017, p. 23). This acknowledgment of South Korea's challenge with wealth redistribution and public investment implies that lifelong learning is considered as a social arrangement which is to be administered by the government. In addition to rising inequality, demographic changes are discussed as a key reason:

> Korea has the lowest birth rate in the OECD while the country is facing a tough demographic transition with a rapidly ageing population. The low birth rate also suggests a social context in which individuals cannot easily combine family life with work aspirations, and as a result cannot easily have children. (OECD, 2017, p. 22)

Here, the report points out that the country is expected to have a high number of elderly populations, and that this phenomenon of aging will further lead to challenges of creating jobs that can utilize the inactive skills owned by the elderly population (OECD, 2017, p. 132). Lastly, Korea's culture of overemphasizing individuals' academic backgrounds is discussed as a major challenge:

> Academic studies and credentials are overemphasised in Korea. … Similarly, employers prefer hiring university graduates. … Thus, Korea faces the twin challenges of enhancing the quality and labour market relevance of tertiary education, and expanding VET programmes while continuing to enhance their quality and relevance. (OECD, 2017, p. 49)

It is mentioned above that not all university graduates are successful in finding employment. This trend of graduates not being able to find relevant employment further leads to the challenge of skills-mismatch in South Korea, since "A significant share of workers in Korea has a skills mismatch between the skills they bring and the skills that are required at the

workplace. Education qualifications do not adequately signal actual skill levels of workers" (OECD, 2017, p. 131).

7.3.2. Effects of LLL Programs

Norway

In the report, the term 'skills' is used to denote individuals' qualifications and competencies which are essential for their participation in the society. Then, improving people's skills can be seen as a one of the main objectives of LLL policies. In the Context chapter of this study, OECD's focus towards its member nations' economic growth, and how the organization encourages its member nations to view education as a means to achieve such economic growth has been discussed. In addition, the criticism towards how notions such as skills and competence are discussed in limited contexts such as work and professional settings has been discussed (Tsatsaroni & Evans, 2014). The report, however, shows that OECD attempts to acknowledge the holistic influences which skills can have on people and society. For example:

> Skills matter. Skills have become one of the main drivers of individual well-being and economic success in a global economy and a knowledge-based society. In the future, Norway's competitiveness will depend more upon the skills of its people, than upon the abundance of its natural resources. (OECD, 2014, p. 11)
>
> Skills transform lives and drive economies. They have become the key drivers of individual well-being and economic success in the 21st century. Without proper investment in skills, people languish on the margins of society, technological progress does not translate into growth, and countries can no longer compete in an increasingly knowledge-based society. (OECD, 2014, p. 15)

The report does emphasize the economic outcomes which investment in skills can have by mentioning economic success and national competitiveness. However, the mention of how the lack of investment in skills can cause people to become marginalized in society indicates that values of skills are viewed from a more holistic perspective. This is further highlighted in the report which states that "satisfied employees are not only healthier, they are also more productive. Employee motivation and satisfaction can have a positive impact on productivity, but independently of a quantifiable benefit they can be considered a nonmonetary value in themselves" (OECD, 2014, p. 105). In addition to productivity, health benefits are mentioned as a positive effect of investing in employees' skills training. Thus, the report, despite the strong economic rationale attached to OECD's educational policy suggestion towards its member states, acknowledges both the human-capitalistic and humanistic aims of LLL.

South Korea

Like its Norwegian counterpart, the OECD Skills Strategy Diagnostic Report-Korea also attempts to acknowledge the holistic aspects of how improved competencies of people can be beneficial. For example:

> Skills affect more than just earnings and employment. … adults with lower literacy proficiency are far more likely than those with better literacy skills to report poor health, to perceive themselves as objects rather than actors in political processes, and to have less trust in others. (OECD, 2017 p. 3)

In addition to the economic benefits, it is stated that improving people's skills and competencies can have non-human-capitalistic effects. The report associates low literacy proficiency with poor health, lack of political participation, and less mutual trust between people. Conversely, it can thus be argued that the report views LLL, which can enhance people's skills, as a means to improve individuals' health, political engagement, and trust towards other members of society. The aspects above can all be understood through Sen's (1999) notion of development as an inclusive process which integrates "economic, social and political consideration" (p. 8).

7.3.3. Target Population

Norway

Norway enjoys one of the lowest youth unemployment rates in the OECD. However, despite such positive statistics, youth NEET population is identified as a major target group due to the heavy inactivity observed within the population (OECD, 2014, p. 79). These groups who are identified as having withdrawn from the labour market completely are also beneficiaries of disability benefits and are reported as patients of mental disorders. In regard to disabilities, labour market participation among those who receive disability benefits is also discussed. In Norway, more than 10% of adults in working age receives a temporary or permanent disability benefit. Moreover, around 25% of those who receive disability benefits is identified as receiving benefits for mental disorders, and most of these groups are comprised of adults between the age of 18 and 34 years old (OECD, 2014, p. 70).

Related to the demographic changes within Norway, the report also identifies older people as another major target group of the nation's LLL policies. 25% of older people over the age of 55 are registered as disabled, which is almost double the OECD average (OECD, 2014, p. 87). Considering the relatively high level of competency which older adults in Norway possess,

such trend implies a significant loss of skills within the labour market (OECD, 2014, p. 84, 87). Lastly, people with immigrant backgrounds are recognized as a key target group. Those who have been residing in Norway for less than 5 years score significantly lower in PIAAC's literacy score in contrast to those who have been residing in the nation for more than 5 years (OECD, 2014, p. 119). This contrast is attributed to the immigrants' language background, as those who do not achieve fluency in the Norwegian language face significant barriers to education, labour market integration, and integration into the Norwegian society (OECD, 2014, p. 120). Consequently, employment rates among immigrants are significantly lower than those of their native counterparts (OECD, 2014, p. 122). At the same time, some immigrants face challenges getting their qualifications approved within the Norwegian system. Such groups often experience over-qualification, and the under-usage of skills implies inefficient utilization of skills and competency (OECD, 2014, p. 126).

South Korea

Females are identified as one of the main target groups of South Korea's skills policy. The report points out that female labour force participation rate in South Korea is way below that of the OECD average (OECD, 2017, p. 94). The report provides contextual information which explains why women should be acknowledged as a target population:

> Female employment rates decline significantly after marriage and childbirth, despite the relatively high skill and tertiary attainment levels of women in Korea. Women are more likely to work in low-level, part-time, and low-paying or informal jobs that require less intensive use of skills. (OECD, 2017, p. 94)

In addition, Korean youths (16-24 year-olds) who are neither in employment nor in education or training are also identified as a target group. The Korean youth groups often experience subject mismatches where their acquired knowledge is not entirely in line with potential work competencies. They also have trouble transitioning from education to work, and often end up in non-regular jobs where they face working conditions that are not optimal (OECD, 2017).

Lastly, in line with the challenges within South Korea's demographical changes, older workers are identified as a main target group. According to the report, "Korea has the highest difference between the official retirement age and effective labour market exit age. Involuntary early retirement without appropriate skills tends to force many older workers to take up vulnerable jobs becoming self-employed or working in non-regular positions with poor working conditions and low wages. (OECD, 2017, p. 17)

Such social challenges concerning older people stem from lack of skills and competency among the older population. The gap between older people's educational attainment and that of younger people are remarkably high in South Korea, and companies find only few incentives to hire older workers, or even choose to push the workers out. This means that a significant portion of the older population do not get to fully enjoy retirement and pension benefits, thus ending up in economic hardships which eventually lead to extreme poverty (OECD, 2017, p. 40).

7.3.4. Solution Measures

Norway

Firstly, the report suggests a whole-of-government approach involving participation from both public and private actors, and policy coordination and cooperation from relevant stakeholders. The suggestion takes the institutional complexity regarding the stakeholders within the field of adult education into consideration, for such complexity can become a challenge for individual adult learners (OECD 2014, p. 138). For instance, the Ministry of Education and Research and the Directorate of Education is responsible for administrating basic education and secondary education for adults. Re-skilling and employment training are responsibilities of the Ministry of Labour and the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV). The Ministry of Children, Equality, and Social Inclusion and the Directorate of Integration and Diversity are responsible for Norwegian language training for immigrants. Finally, the Agency for Adult Learning takes responsibility for the Programme for Basic Competence in Working Life, career guidance for adults, and manages curriculum and pedagogy of teaching Norwegian and Norwegian social studies to adult immigrants (OECD, 2014, pp. 137-138). The suggestion which acknowledges the importance of governmental effort in light of such institutional complexity is directly related to the ideas which view LLL as a social opportunity directed by the public (Griffin,1999; Sen, 1999; Wildemeersch & Olesen, 2012).

The geographical diversity of Norway is pointed out by the report, and it is suggested that LLL measures should take the local context into consideration. It is mentioned that completion of education varies drastically from one region to another, and therefore regions in Norway exhibit significant differences in regional competency capacity (OECD, 2014, p. 143). To ensure autonomy in local LLL policies, the report suggests a well-established accountability system with clear objectives. In addition, it is suggested that Norway should

fully utilize its research instruments and gather local information and data to strengthen such system (OECD, 2014, p. 144).

Lastly, the report highlights the importance of a holistic acknowledgment scheme regarding one's skills and qualifications by stating that "To be efficient, investments in upskilling and reskilling must build upon the skills that people already have. This means recognising all skills irrespective of whether they have been acquired formally or informally, domestically or overseas" (OECD, 2014, p. 20). This suggestion directly represents the principles of lifelong learning which values education and learning that take place within the formal, non-formal, and informal domain.

South Korea

Similarly, OECD's report on South Korea emphasizes the importance of acknowledging qualification that have been acquired through non-formal and informal experiences. For instance, the report states that "Recognising adult skills acquired through non-formal education or labour market experience is an important function of a lifelong learning and education system" (OECD, 2017, p. 83), and that "It is essential to incorporate non-formal and informal learning over an employee's working life, both in Korea and outside of Korea, into qualification and certification" (OECD, 2017, p. 84).

This suggestion aligns with tackling South Korea's culture of overemphasizing people's academic background and qualifications. This implies that the labour market in South Korea tends to only acknowledge individuals' skills and qualifications from the formal domain, while those attained from the non-formal and informal domain are most likely to not be acknowledged by employers.

In addition, intersectional cooperation is emphasized as a key measure to be taken. The report calls for better policy coherence regarding skills policy among the many stakeholders that are involved (OECD, p. 180). In particular, the report highlights the necessity to develop the National Competency Standards so that stakeholders within different sectors can be more coherent and coordinated when working with the acknowledgement of people's skills and qualifications. Furthermore, the report highlights the importance of a whole-of-government and whole-of-society approach in improving the country's lifelong learning scene. Specifically, the report underlines that "Korea needs to address the tough political questions of who pays for what, when and how; who will be the winners and losers; and how to

equitably compensate the losers" (OECD, 2017, p. 181). This part of the suggestion directly addresses the concern of the lifelong learning scene where the concept's broad and encompassing nature regarding learners often clash with policy complexity and institutional accountability. In the Literature Review chapter, it has been discussed that such vast and overarching definition of lifelong learning can obscure what the clear objectives of the relevant policies, and thus make it difficult to establish a accountability system among the stakeholders (Tuijnman and Boström, 2002).

7.4. Summary

This chapter examined lifelong learning within the EU, UNESCO, and OECD's agendas. The three organizations exhibited a high degree of similarity across different aspects of lifelong learning policy suggestions. Firstly, regarding the Needs for LLL policies, all three organizations pointed towards ageing population and technological changes as key reasons for nations to further invest in LLL. This shows that the need for lifelong learning is mostly highlighted through the need to retrain workers in workplaces where the impact of digital developments is significant.

When it comes to the effects of lifelong learning, the three organizations appear to embrace the holistic nature of LLL. How the organizations describe the effects of LLL was examined through the theoretical framework of this study. By looking at the relevant data through Robeyns' (2006) three models of education, it became possible to determine whether each benefit aligned with either human-capital approach, rights-based approach, or capability approach. Consequently, findings show that Sen's (1999) capability approach and its notion of instrumental freedoms were identifiable through how the organizations frame the benefits of LLL. In addition to the economic benefits, lifelong learning is seen as a means to promote social cohesion, better health, and political participation among citizens. In terms of target population, the three organizations identify unemployed people and youth NEET as the main target groups. For such groups, the main aim is to increase their skills and competencies so that they can find employment.

Lastly, regarding solution measures, all three organizations stress the roles of governments, intersectional cooperation, and acknowledgment of non-formal and informal learning. In particular, the emphasis towards governmental initiative can be understood as the organizations' effort to acknowledge that lifelong learning in the policy realm can be

ambiguous when it comes to institutional accountability, and to solve such issues of accountability. (Griffin,1999; Tuijnman & Boström, 2002 Wildemeersch & Olesen, 2012)

Table 5 Overview of the key themes within the global lifelong learning scene

	EU	OECD	UNESCO
The Needs for LLL policies	• Demographic ageing • Respond to the EU economic crisis • Labour market changes caused by global technological development	• Globalization, digitalization, and technological developments • Lack of people's foundational skills (Norway) • Labour market dualism (Korea) • Sub-optimal social redistribution and welfare system (Korea) • Low birth rate and ageing population (Korea) • Overemphasis on academic studies and credentials (Korea) • Skills mismatch	• Growing migration flows • Longer life expectancy • Socioeconomic inequalities within societies • Need to address the SDGs • Digital revolution
Effects of LLL programs	• Enhancing people's employability • Social inclusion • Mobility within EU • Intercultural competences and democratic values	• Improves individual well-being • Nation's economic success • Improves employees' health • Better health • Political engagement • Trust between citizens	• Improve individual's health • Economic growth and productivity • Positive impact on citizenship, social cohesion, political participation, and diversity and tolerance
Target population	• Unemployed, or at risk of being unemployed • Youth under the age of 25 • Immigrants	• Youth NEET • Older people • People with immigrant backgrounds (Norway) • Women (Korea)	• Low-skilled adults\ • NEET • Residents in rural areas • Women • Immigrants • Ethnic minorities • Older workers
Solution measures	• Integration of digital learning • Increased public investment • Implementation of guidance services • Better validation of non-formal and informal learning	• Whole-of-government approach • Intersectional cooperation between stakeholders • Local adaptation of lifelong learning policies • Acknowledgment of non-formal and informal education/learning	• Better governmental initiative • Cross-sectoral collaboration between stakeholders • Recognition of non-formal and informal adult learning • Locally adapted policy implementation

Source: Compiled by the author

Table 5 above shows the overview of the key themes found within EU, UNESCO and OECD's suggestions regarding lifelong learning. While some differences were also found within themes of each category, the differences do not highlight any conflict between how the notion of lifelong learning is realized in the organizations' suggestions. For instance, UNESCO's GRALE survey results highlighted various target groups of LLL which EU and OECD did not necessarily highlight. However, it is explained that such groups are specific groups that are identifiable in specific contexts. In other words, just because UNESCO was the only organization to acknowledge residents in rural areas as a target group, this does not yield enough significance to state that EU and OECD's suggestions are on a different trajectory. Furthermore, EU's ET 2020 specifically emphasized the importance of increasing worker mobility within the European Union, while OECD and UNESCO's suggestions did not. Such difference can be attributed to the EU's vision of a 'single Europe', which is inherently pertinent to the EU and not so much to UNESCO nor OECD. To conclude, the differences and variances found within the themes of each category were not significant enough to indicate possible divergence of how the notion of lifelong learning is being presented by the global organizations.

8. Findings from the White Papers

This section will answer the second research question by presenting the key findings from the analysis of the Korean and the Norwegian white papers on lifelong learning. The Norwegian lifelong learning white paper '*Fra utenforskap til ny sjanse'* (From exclusion to new chance) is a white paper published by the Ministry of Research and Education (*Kunnskapsdepartement*). Its goal is to provide suggestions and possible measures which can contribute to the improvement of the nation's lifelong learning politics. The South Korean White Paper, titled Lifelong Education White Paper (*평생교육백서*), is a comprehensive document which covers the current state of South Korea's lifelong learning field, and key recommendations to lead South Korea's lifelong learning measures towards a better direction. In the following sections, key findings connected to the four main categories will be presented.

8.1. The Needs for LLL Policies

The Norwegian White Paper

Firstly, changes occurring within the labor market is identified as a key reason for investment in the lifelong learning sector. International competition and division of labour, robotization and technological changes are mentioned as the main driver behind such changes (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2016, p. 1). The white paper undergirds this claim by quoting Statistic Norway's (SSB) prediction on how those with basic education as their highest degree of education will face significant challenges in the future, while those with professional skills and education will be demanded after over those with low skills and competency (Kunnskapsdepartmentet, 2016, p. 22). Those who fall into the category of possibly needing the services provided by the measures that were suggested have the imminent need to develop their skills by mapping their competency and finding which kind of education and learning they need in order to get themselves relevant work.

Secondly, demographical changes are mentioned as another reason for the Norwegian government to commit to improving its lifelong learning policies. Increase in number of elders compared to that of those who find themselves in employable ages is mentioned (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2016, p. 1), and the high number of asylum seekers, foreign workers, and immigrants arriving to Norway are pointed out as the key components of the aforementioned demographical changes (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2016, p. 88).

Thirdly, the marked gap between those who are competent enough and those who lack skills and education within the Norwegian society is pinpointed as another rationale for the suggestions. Throughout the white paper, it is repeatedly mentioned that adults who already have the education and the competency are more likely to participate in educational and skills-development programs offered by the relevant institutions while those with weak competency are less likely to participate in such programs. This pattern shows that those who are excluded from working life has a higher probability of continuously experiencing such exclusion and can further widen the socioeconomic differences between the two groups (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2016. p. 10).

The South Korean White Paper

The white paper first highlights that the 4th industrial revolution will result in rapid technological changes, and people will experience more career changes in the future. Also, solving social polarization and creating an inclusive society is emphasized (NILE, 2018, p. 409). It is stated that the existing economy-based paradigm should be replaced with human-based paradigm to form an atmosphere which embraces people of different occupations and ensures them a good life quality. The current status of lifelong learning also alludes to such polarization, as people working in larger companies, earn higher income, have high educational backgrounds are more likely to participate in lifelong learning programs in contrast to those who are on the other side of the spectrum.

Skills mismatch is another reason for improving the existing lifelong learning programs (NILE, 2018, p. 145). The culture of overemphasizing one's academic background tends to influence employment procedures in a way that qualified people often end up taking jobs with qualification requirements that are inferior to their qualifications. This has both macroscopic and microscopic implications. For individuals, the skills mismatch which they experience can directly lead to a lack of sense of personal achievement, as they most likely will not receive the personal satisfaction of utilizing their skills to the fullest. Looking at the society, skills mismatch can eventually manifest into working forces being lost since mismatched competencies are not being used to maximize their potential.

Demographical changes within the country is also discussed. In 2017, people who are older than the age of 65 made up 14% of the country's population, which indicates a rapid ageing of the population (NILE, 2018, p. 177). While the white paper acknowledges that aging of Korea's population is a given consequence of social stability and development of medical

technology, such aging is viewed as both an opportunity and a crisis. In addition to ageing, the white paper points out that Korea has been developing into a multicultural society due to globalization. The increasing numbers of multicultural families within Korea highlights the need to implement lifelong learning measures that can meet the needs of such families (NILE, 2018, pp. 191-192)

8.2. Effects of LLL Programs

The Norwegian White Paper

With individuals in focus, several benefits of improved LLL measures are presented. In addition to the apparent effects of giving individuals better opportunities for relevant employment, other effects affecting individuals are presented through the white paper. The white paper brings up that individuals can enjoy better physical and mental health, are less likely to be in poverty, acquire better conditions for raising children, and more likely to engage in civic activities.

Beginning with the macro-perspective, economic benefits and national growth are mentioned as key benefits which improved LLL measures can yield (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2016, p. 18). This is expounded based on the significance of ensuring employment for the adult population while also reducing any skills mismatch as much as possible. Also, reducing various public spending such as welfare expenditure, disability benefits and health service costs is also pointed out as an important effect of improved lifelong learning programs within Norway. Additionally, lower crime rates, increased political participation among the people, better social cohesion, better integration of immigrants, prevention of conflict and extremism, better social mobility, and reduced income inequality are mentioned as socially favorable effects (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2016, p. 10).

The South Korean White Paper

Lifelong learning is viewed as a meaningful tool which can help people fulfill self-realization and cultivate their interests in various ways. This is visible through the existence of liberal arts education program (*인문교양교육*) and culture and arts education program (*문화예술교육*) available for the people (NILE, 2018, p. 148). The aim for these programs is to provide the local population with educational opportunities that can help them to broaden their interests, expand their knowledge, and become active participants in their respective local communities. Moreover, the document presents lifelong learning's fundamental values

of enabling learning to everyone regardless of time and place. Korea's National Open University (*방송통신대학교*), offers remote e-learning to its students, and helps individuals realize their aspirations. Thus, it can be said that the South Korean White Paper acknowledges both sides of lifelong learning: its potential to positively affect one's inner self, and its overt effect of upgrading one's competency related to work.

Reducing socioeconomic differences stands as another core asset for further advancing the country's lifelong learning measures. By hinting towards how the fourth industrial revolution can bring forth a possible socioeconomic polarization, the White Paper makes it clear that the government should commit to improving the existing lifelong learning arrangements and direct their effort towards creating a more just and equitable society where people regardless of their status, income age, and background can have a place to stand as an active member of the society (NILE, 2018, p. 6).

Promoting democratic values is particularly emphasized throughout the White Paper. The impeachment of South Korea's former president is mentioned as a contextual factor which provokes the need to work on the country's democracy. Hence, lifelong learning is discussed in light of its capacity to encourage citizens' participation in civic activities across both national and local levels (NILE, 2018, p. 156). This discussion of promoting civic participation branches out to additional positive effects such as acknowledgment of minority's rights, heightened environmental awareness, and more attention towards achieving peace. This is an acknowledgment towards the emancipatory nature of lifelong learning which was emphasized during the earlier periods.

8.3. Target Population

The Norwegian White Paper

The white paper's title implies that its suggestions are geared towards those who struggle to find and fasten themselves in employment. It is stated that the target group which the White Paper aims to shed light on is adults who have little education or weak basic skills and are therefore in danger of falling off from or having difficulties getting into the working life (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2016, p. 11).

The White Paper identifies immigrants, specifically those who come from Non-EU East-European nations, Asia including Turkey, Africa, South and Mid-America, and Oceania excluding Australia and New Zealand (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2016, p. 19). Refugees and

asylum seekers who come to Norway are also discussed. The White Paper promptly asserts the significance of Norwegian language competency and knowledge towards the Norwegian society and emphasizes the nation's need to make its integration politics more effective. This is an inference to Norway's *Introduksjonsprogrammet* (integration program for immigrants) which offers Norwegian language courses as well as Norwegian social studies courses to eligible immigrants. In light of the integration program for immigrants, that European Economic Area (EEA) citizens and their family members, Norwegian and Nordic citizens, students, and au pairs are not entitled to receive a free Norwegian language learning and social studies course. The white paper acknowledges the ineligibility of such groups and calls for a measure to make sure that such groups can also be covered within the integration scheme.

Furthermore, work immigrants, whom the white paper identifies as a big resource for the country, are also not eligible for such services. Those who arrive to Norway with education and competency, but have difficulty getting their qualifications approved are also mentioned as an important group. This infers that either there will be a mismatch between their skills and their jobs, or they will face challenges getting employed. Related mostly to immigrants who are eligible for Norwegian courses and social studies courses within *Introduksjonsprogrammet*, teachers teaching the Norwegian language to the immigrants are also identified as a target group. This is primarily because they are the immigrants' primary source for learning the language. In addition, concerning immigrants who have foreign education and qualification but have challenges getting them approved in Norway, it is mentioned that counselors of local career centers, NAV, or municipal adult education centers (VOX) should have clear overview over the qualification approval schemes so that they can provide proper guidance.

The White Paper provides several markers that may label a given individual as being in danger of exclusion from the working life. Those that score level 1 or lower in PIAAC's literacy and numeracy tests are mentioned. Additionally, people aging from 55 to 65 are identified as the group with the lowest ICT skills compared to the rest of the population. Adults that depend on welfare services, with small children, have disabilities that hinders them from working, have difficulty recognizing their needs when it comes to competency, and are employed but have only basic education as their highest level of education are described as the group that needs attention.

The South Korean White Paper

Firstly, women are identified as groups that need special attention when it comes to lifelong learning. The White Paper states that women often do not get to continuously develop their competencies due to birth and parenting which follows. Women with low income, who have more than 3 children, who are single mothers, with disabilities are identified as notably vulnerable. Additionally, the White Paper claims that fewer efforts have been made trying to get a clear overview over female employment trends considering the technological changes affecting the labour market (NILE, 2018, p. 170).

Elderly people over the age of 65 make up 14 percent of the nation's population. Also, the increased life expectancy in the country inevitably underlines the need to pay more attention to lifelong learning accommodating the needs of the elderly people. It is stated in the document that elderly people are no longer just seek to be taken care of through pension and welfare benefits, but in fact seek after various means to keep themselves active (NILE, 2018). Also, the White Paper finds it important to keep the elderly population in the discussion as they are participants in both civic and labour activities.

The multicultural population is also a topic of discussion. Modern day's globalization has made it very common to witness people of diverse origins living or settling in South Korea. This has brought a good degree of attention towards the importance of understanding towards different cultures and mindsets. Therefore, the fact that multicultural families are identified as lifelong learning policies' main target group stretches into two directions (NILE, 2018, p. 227). Firstly, it is important to provide learning opportunities that meet the needs of the multicultural population by offering for instance language courses, and historical or social studies courses that pertain to the learners' cultures. Secondly, it serves as a marker showing a national effort to bring more awareness towards multiculturalism, hence potentially having a positive spill-over effect of encouraging so-called non-multicultural members of the society to engage in multicultural learning.

Parents are also mentioned as an important target population, as family is the most fundamental unit which makes up the society. Parents have a big influence on their children, and even though most parents entrust their children's education to schools, there is no doubt that parents' education is a decisive factor in children's learning and development (NILE, p.

220). However, it is most likely parental duties may hinder parents them from taking education. This is especially the case for parents who work at smaller companies, have lower levels of income, or have multiple children.

Other groups such as farmers and fishers, soldiers in the military, and North Korean defectors are also mentioned in the White Paper. As for farmers and fishers, the rationale for setting them in focus is that technological changes will affect the agricultural and fishing industry and thus require workers in the industries to update their competencies in accordance with the potential changes (NILE, 2018, p. 202). Soldiers in the military are always in the position to develop their skills and knowledge to better fulfill their duty of national defense (NILE, 2018, p. 212). Defectors from North Korea have difficulties adjusting to the South Korean society since they come from a totally different political and societal atmosphere (NILE, 2018, p. 228).

8.4. Solution Measures

The Norwegian White Paper

It is first specified in the White Paper that a whole-of-government approach is essential. While it is also stated that individuals themselves have the responsibility to take initiative in identifying how they can improve their competency, the White Paper's suggestions chiefly constitute a rhetoric that views LLL as the government's responsibility. Along with this, it is also suggested that the government should clarify the stakeholders' (municipalities, labor and welfare agencies, and adult education centers) roles so that clear goals can be set, and that relevant tasks are appropriately allocated to the different stakeholders (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2016).

This is aimed towards establishing an improved cross-sectional coordination system between the national and local stakeholders. This includes developing a common competency mapping tool which will contribute to a better adjustment of various learning programs offered to adults, and creating a module-structured learning program which will make it easier for adults to concentrate on their learning part-by-part. Speaking of module structured learning, the government also suggests combining programs of basic education and secondary education for adults with Norwegian courses and social studies courses for immigrants so that especially immigrants can make use of both schemes (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2016, p. 98).

Creating inclusive policies for LLL programs are also suggested. One example which the white paper brings forth is individuals' right to receive secondary education. After having fulfilled basic education, all youths have the right to receive secondary education. However, if one fails to complete his or her secondary education during the initial period, he or she must then wait until 25 years of age to obtain the right of receiving secondary education as an adult. Thus, those who fail to complete secondary education initially must wait several years before being able to claim the right for taking secondary education, which the White Paper considers as unreasonable. In addition, the difference between adults and younger learners are also discussed emphasizing the need for policy measures that cater adults' needs. Adults, especially those who lack skills and education, may find it stigmatizing to undergo learning in a regular school-like environment (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2016, p. 29). Furthermore, since most adults may have the duties of working and parenting, physically being present in a classroom might not be the most feasible.

Therefore, it finds it important to implement inclusive solutions such as E-Learning, and on-the-job training that enables the transfer of work experiences to certified vocational educational qualifications so that adults with multiple responsibilities have the opportunity to improve their competency. The report also highlights that many employed adults experience non-formal learning in different settings and different forms, and calls for a national qualification approval measure which better acknowledges people's non-formal learning (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2016, p. 71). Lastly, implementation of a module-structured learning is suggested to improve adult learners' access to learning (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2016, p. 43). The aim of such measures is to make learning opportunities more accessible to adults in a way that they can set their own learning pace and combine other responsibilities such as work and childcare with education.

Suggestions regarding immigrants are widely discussed. Firstly, the field of foreign education qualification services are identified as an area that requires improvement. The need to establish better qualification approval measures for foreign vocational education is especially highlighted as many immigrants as possible especially those coming from outside the EEA area have challenges getting their skills approved. Apropos qualification approval measures, it is also recommended that the government should obtain statistical data on how the qualification services are being utilized. This will help gain information on which types of education tend to face barriers in being recognized, which groups of people utilize the approval services the most, and eventually which kinds of competencies are not being put to

use. In addition, the White Paper points out areas of improvements that can be made within *introduksjonsprogrammet*. In relation to the Norwegian instructors mentioned beforehand, two suggestions are made: implementation a competency boost program for the teachers to enhance the language courses' and requiring the instructors to have a formal teaching qualification. It is also suggested that the government should follow closely those do not get to complete *introduksjonsprogrammet,* especially women who often take parental leave, and end up not fulfilling the program (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2016, p. 53).

The South Korean White Paper

Firstly, the need to clarify the concept and the definition of lifelong learning is touched on. While the Constitution postulates regular formal education and lifelong learning as equivalent to each other, the Education Act implies that lifelong learning is part of a separate social education that requires additional legislative stipulation if changes are to be made within the lifelong learning field. The White Paper sees the need to resolve the ambiguity within the terminologies so that lifelong learning in South Korea can better serve its purpose aiming to solve the macroscopic challenges (NILE, 2018, p. 33).

Secondly, it is suggested that a whole-of-government approach should be taken in order to deal with the previously mentioned challenges regarding adults' competency in South Korea. The actors and stakeholders presented throughout the White Paper range from national institutions such as the Ministry of Education to schools functioning at the very local level. This indicates that an overarching approach which systematically seeks to involve the various stakeholders is necessary, as a governmental starting point will make the conveyance of necessary policy measures clear. In line with this, it is proposed that the government should lead a clear designation of responsibilities among the stakeholders. For instance, it is recommended that the Office of Education should take responsibility of services regarding approval of one's education, while administration of facilities should become the responsibilities of local governments (NILE, 2018, p. 45).

The need to increase professionalism within the lifelong learning field is highlighted. According to the White Paper, there is an apparent absence of public officials in the field. Only social workers and youth counselors are taking up the role of informational guidance. Therefore, the White Paper calls for a need to employ public officials and set a focus on instilling professionalism in the delivery systems of lifelong learning (NILE, 2018, p. 297). This will accomplish the goal of making lifelong learning more accessible and enrich the

quality of relevant services within the field. Furthermore, employing public officials within the field will allow the government to have a better overview of how the relevant programs are being carried out in the field, and obtain insight on what kind of practical measures can be implemented to actually help the people.

Implementing individual follow-up system is also highlighted as a key solution measure that needs to take place. It is presented in the White Paper that single and segmental support measures often do not fulfill their objectives of continuously encouraging lifelong learning participants who have significant difficulties improving their competencies, or adults who particularly lack the ability to find employment after having received respective learning and/or training. Thus, it is suggested lifelong learning support measures should comprise continuous case managements where those in significant need are identified and provided with additional assistance if necessary (NILE, 2018, p. 175).

Acknowledgment of one's learning across various lifelong learning programs is another crucial measure. In South Korea, various programs such as bachelor's degree examination for self-education and academic credit bank system offer chances for adults to pursue higher education while maintaining their working life. In light of such programs, it is underlined that an approval system that acknowledges adults' learning that takes place outside the arranged programs can strengthen the link between the informal, non-formal, and formal domain of learning and education (NILE, 2018).

Lastly, an effort to invest in advancing the qualities and relevance of various lifelong learning measures are revealed as a key theme. As mentioned earlier, officiating lifelong educators can improve the overall quality of lifelong learning programs with improved delivery systems. Regarding the National Open University, the school is encouraged to make more appealing courses available to its students and encourage more participation (NILE, 2018, p. 267). When it comes to programs focusing on improving one's work competency, establishing a national framework and a module that will establish a clearer coherence between the courses and the actual work which is to be found at the different work sites.

8.5. Summary

Upon examining the two national white papers, both similarities and differences are found. This study, however, views that the exhibited differences are manifest in a way that they are independent of how the notion of lifelong learning is conceptualized throughout the white

papers. In addition, the found differences were mostly related to each country's context and were not seen as diverging the notion of lifelong learning. Table 6 shows the overview of the themes that were found within the Korean and the Norwegian lifelong learning white papers.

Table 6 Overview of the key themes within Norway and Korea's white papers

	Norway	South Korea
The Needs for LLL policies	• Increasing number of elders • Increasing number of asylum seekers, immigrants, and foreign workers • Marked gap between the competent and incompetent • Robotization and technological changes	• Aging population • Increasing numbers of multicultural families • Skills mismatch • Social polarization • 4th industrial revolution
Effects of LLL programs	• Boosts national economy • Individuals enjoy better physical and mental health • Families can enjoy better conditions for raising children • People are more likely to engage in civic activities • Lowers crime rates and prevents conflict and extremism • Increases social cohesion and reduces socioeconomic inequality	• Promotion of democratic values • Reduces socioeconomic values • Individuals' self-realization and work-life-balance • National growth
Target population	• Immigrants • Low-skilled adults • EEA citizens • Parents	• Women • Elderly people • Multicultural groups • Parents • Farmers and fishers • Soldiers • Defectors from North Korea
Solution measures	• Whole-of-government approach • Cross-sectional coordination • Better approval system for non-formal learning • Better approval system for foreign education • Module-structured learning • Upskill lifelong learning educators	• Clarification of the notion lifelong learning within the legislative atmosphere • Whole-of-government approach • Increase professional within the lifelong learning field • Implement individual follow-up system • Acknowledgment of one's learning across forms of formal, non-formal, and informal domain of learning • Improve labour-market relevance of LLL programs

Source: Compiled by the author

Regarding the Needs for LLL policies, it appears that both the Norwegian and the South Korean white papers identify technological changes and changes is the labour market caused by such digital changes as a main cause for needing better LLL policies. Additionally, demographic change is identified as a main cause in the two white papers. Increasing number of elderly populations seems to be a common challenge within both nations, and immigration

of different forms is also mentioned in both of the white papers. The significance of the observed similarity here is that the effects of globalization are being manifested similarly. The white papers, despite the contextual differences between Norway and South Korea, present common needs for LLL policies (Dale, 2000; Meyer, Boli, Thomas & Ramirez, 1997). The two white papers also share similar viewpoints towards the effects of LLL, as they embrace the holistic nature of LLL. LLL is seen as bringing national economic benefits, socioeconomic equity, better health among people, people's civic participation.

The white papers also exhibited similarities regarding target populations. In line with how the two white papers acknowledged demographic changes as a reason for needing better LLL policies, elderly population and people with immigrant backgrounds are identified as a key target group. Both white papers state that it has become more common for elderly people to remain in the labour market and highlights the importance of training and upskilling the older people. Regarding people with immigrant backgrounds, the value of social integration is emphasized. As people with foreign backgrounds in general are more likely to face challenges in integrating into the mainstream society, it is important that they receive the help and education which they need to effectively become members of the societies which they are part of.

Lastly, regarding solution measures, a whole-of-government approach, cross-sectional cooperation, improving LLL educators' capabilities, and acknowledgment of non-formal and informal learning are commonly discussed in the two white papers. It is stated in both of the white papers that lifelong learning in the policy realm can be very complex, and that the governments must take the lead in assigning responsibilities accordingly to the various stakeholders which are involved in the policy field. In addition, both white papers stress the importance of improving lifelong learning educators' qualities within the field. The Norwegian white paper calls for improving the capabilities of Norwegian language teachers who instruct immigrants, and the Korean white paper points out the need to increase overall professionalism within the field. Approval of individuals' qualification and education across the domains of formal, non-formal, and informal learning is emphasized by both white papers.

9. Conclusion

In this chapter, the conclusions for the findings presented in the previous chapters will be discussed. This chapter will also discuss answers to the main questions for this research. The analysis of the data has been performed in accordance with the ideas and perspectives linked to this research's analytical frameworks. In addition, conceptual discussions from the literature review chapter will be integrated in the data analysis to answer the research questions.

9.1. How has lifelong learning been developing on the global scene?

In regard to the research question, findings from this research's data shows that the global organizations' (EUNESCO, EU & OECD) LLL dialogues have become relatively isomorphic. This isomorphism was observed by identifying the manifestation of Robeyns' (2006) Three Educational Models within the data.

9.1.1. UNESCO

From the view of this research's analytical framework, UNESCO's LLL agenda can be examined in close connection with Robeyns' three models of education (2006). The themes that describe the benefits of LLL in GRALE can be examined through the lens of the three approaches. Firstly, UNESCO's stance on making LLL available for the people regardless of their background or status makes it quite clear that the Human Rights approach undergirds the dialogue. In addition, features of Sen's capabilities approach (1999) is also prevalent in GRALE. By underscoring the link between health and education, ability to participate in political and civic activities, finding employment that provides self-fulfillment and by accentuating the wider perspective that is needed to understand well-being in the modern society, GRALE's stance on LLL shares the same values with which Sen (1999) calls the 'Development as Freedom.' Sen (1999) emphasizes the necessity of institutional arrangements which can better provide people with the chance to enhance political competency, social power, health, and economic improvement.

Furthermore, Sen argues that such individual freedom propels social and national development on the larger scale. Lastly, aspects of the Human Capital approach are also visible in the report. With the mentioning of LLL's positive effects towards employment and

labor force, UNESCO also acknowledges the indispensable correlation between well-trained workforce and national economy. It is noteworthy to mark that UNESCO does not take the more extreme point of view which states that education's one and only meaning is to create a labor force which submissively contributes to national economic developments. Rather, it is reasonable to interpret UNESCO's stand as a having a more harmonious nature which seeks to combine the three perspectives.

9.1.2. EU

Features of Robeyns' (2006) theoretical framework are identifiable in EU's recommendation. Phrases such as 'to achieve his or her full potential', 'play an active part in society', and 'undertake social and civic responsibilities' point towards the concept of political freedom within Sen's (1999) capability approach. The need for such development for freedom is highlighted and presented with the changes that are taking place globally, and the need to ensure that all members of society are given the equal and equitable opportunity to adjust themselves to such changes. This is identified as 'protective security.' In line with the mentioned need to ensure vulnerable populations' access to LLL programs, it can thus be said that the human rights-based approach is also visible in the recommendation. The recommendation makes it clear that member states should implement outreach, support, and guidance measures to actively involve those who will benefit from LLL programs.

Furthermore, it refers to the need for acknowledging individuals' informal and non-formal learning, therefore alluding to the need to not limit education and qualification only within the boundaries of formal learning. This aspect of the EU's recommendation has to do with lowering barriers and increasing access, which goes hand in hand with the underlying idea behind a rights-based approach. Lastly, the mentioned facets of the rights-based approach and the capability approach are woven with the human capital approach. The digital development which is taking place globally is bringing change within the labor market, and members of societies are expected to keep their skills and competencies up to date to participate in the labor market. This reference to one's increasing need to adapt to the transforming job atmosphere is directly linked with the fact that those who make up the labor force will have an impact on the national economy, thus setting light on the role of LLL programs when it comes to human capital development.

9.1.3. OECD

Facets of Robeyns' three models of education (2006) can be drawn from the two OECD reports on Norway and South Korea as well. Related to the human capital approach, OECD reports' rhetoric is grounded on ensuring that no skills/competencies are lost, and that people find employment and eventually contribute to national economic growth. However, OECD does not solely emphasize the human-capital aspects of education. So-called non-human-capitalistic matters such as social cohesion, gender equality, improvement of working conditions, and inclusiveness are also emphasized in OECD's reports. For instance, the report suggests that Norway should invest in enhancing immigrants' opportunities for competence development and acknowledgement, as such investment will not only strengthen the country's economy but also lead to a more equitable society where both natives and immigrants can enjoy their life to the fullest (OECD, 2014).

Additionally, OECD's report on South Korea reveals the entrenched challenge of balancing work and family life which females face, and calls for a relevant improvement (OECD, 2015). This focus on strengthening individuals' possibilities of making choices that will benefit them is analogous with Sen's capability approach which underscores individuals' freedoms to achieve better lives for themselves (Sen, 1999). Moreover, the premises of rights-based approach are palpable through the reports' suggestion of impelling a whole-of-government approach. This clearly implies that lifelong learning should be a right, and that relevant stakeholders should word towards widening its availability to members of society.

9.2. To what extent has lifelong learning on the global scene influenced South Korea and Norway?

South Korea and Norway's development of lifelong learning shows following similarities and differences. Lifelong learning in South Korea and Norway initially began with a more humanistic outlook where democratic and grassroots movements were emphasized. Gradually, lifelong learning in both nations have been affected by globalization and human capitalism, and creating skilled workforce became an important part of lifelong learning. In terms of differences, Norway was ahead in its effort to involve various institutions and organizations, whereas such efforts were more recent in South Korea. Additionally, the year 1997 was a turning point for lifelong learning in both South Korea (lifelong learning reform

after the 1997 financial crisis) and Norway (1997 Competence Reform). Since then, lifelong learning in the two countries have been highlighting the importance of generating capable workforce that can contribute to the nations' development agendas. This comparison, however, does not aim to make a determinate claim concerning the two nations' lifelong learning policies by stating that human capital theory has been dominant within the field. Rather, it aims to make a non-normative acknowledgement towards how lifelong learning has been developing in the two nations. Reflections made in this chapter serves as contextual information and do not bias the examination process.

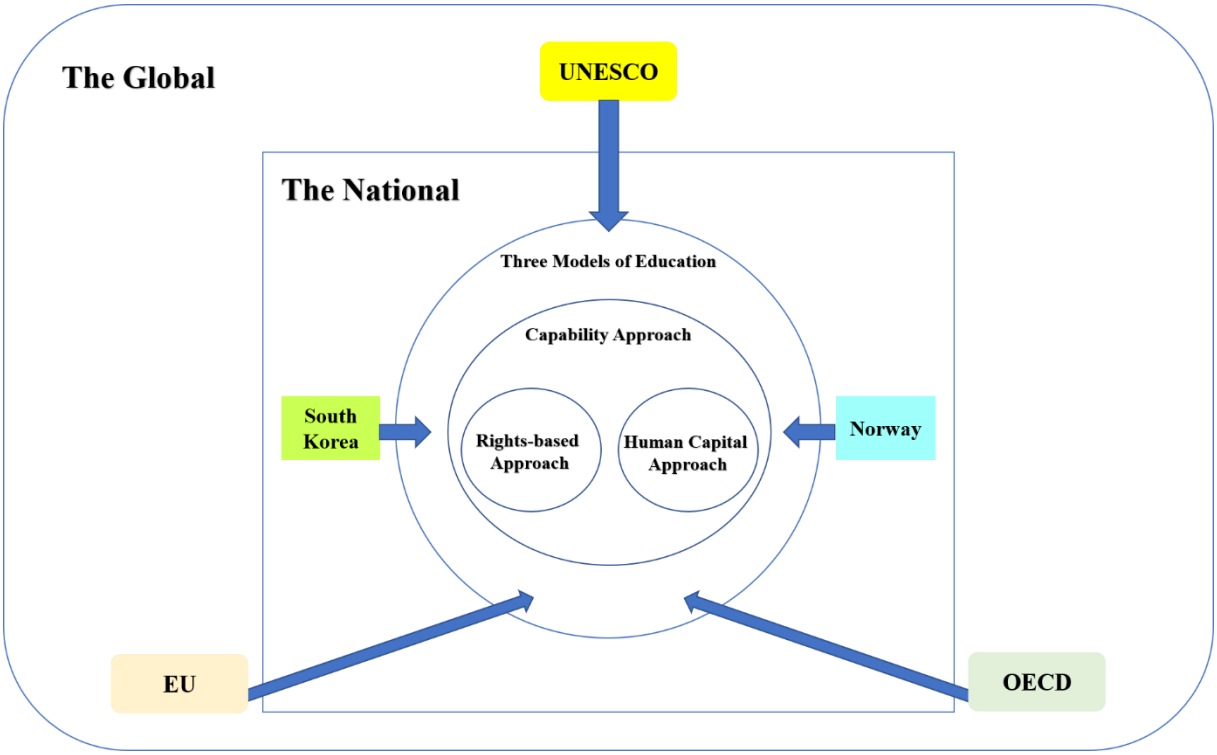

Figure 10 Isomorphism shown in the global and national Realm of LLL
Source: Developed by the author

In regard to the research question, findings from this research's data shows that the global organizations' (UNESCO, EU & OECD) LLL dialogues have become relatively isomorphic. This isomorphism was observed by identifying the manifestation of Robeyns' (2006) Three Educational Models within the data. This isomorphic pattern is also identifiable in how the Norwegian and the South Korean white papers approach the challenges and suggest solution measures. Globalization and digitalization, as well as demographic changes are underlined as the reasons beneath the need to further invest in LLL. Additionally, a whole-of-government approach and a more coordinated effort from the stakeholders are emphasized as overarching ways to tackle the related challenges. Both the South Korean and the Norwegian white paper acknowledge the multi-faceted essence of LLL. In the two white papers, LLL is seen as a

mean to boost individual capacity, national competitiveness, and civic awareness among people. Therefore, as shown through figure 10, it can be claimed that LLL on the global scene and the national scene show similarities when it comes to how lifelong learning is viewed.

Conclusively, the analysis under the framework of the Three Education Models (Robeyns, 2006) shows that LLL within the national white papers' is in congruence with that of the global organizations' agendas. It is revealed through the national agendas that LLL should support an individual's holistic development, become more available to the people through a comprehensive governmental effort, and contribute to increasing the capacity of the labour force. This is also consistent with UNESCO, EU, and OECD's view on LLL. The three organizations, despite the existing implications regarding their approaches to education, view LLL through a more inclusive perspective that takes aspects of human capital, human rights, and individual freedom into consideration.

9.2.1. Formal, Non-Formal, and Informal Education

In the literature review section, the significance of formal, non-formal, and informal education was examined. In this section, the findings will be briefly discussed considering the concepts. Coombs and Ahmed (1974) describe the three concepts as the following: formal education/learning is characterized by chronological progressions and structured systems, non-formal education/learning takes place systematically outside the formal system, and informal education/learning is a learning process that constantly occurs within individuals regardless of the environment. The concepts are relevant to the findings, for they are fundamental in discussing LLL.

Firstly, most of the organized LLL programs take place outside the formal education setting. This is reinforced upon examination of the target population of the white papers, because most of the groups which the government seeks to help are adults who may have not fulfilled their education through formal education/learning, and need alternative ways to acquire skills and competency required by the labour market. Secondly, recognition of qualification across the domains of formal, non-formal, and informal is identified as a main challenge. Especially concerning vocational learning and training, both the Norwegian and the South Korean white paper find it important to recognize adults' skills and competency obtained through their work (NILE, 2018). Additionally, the discussion is not limited to viewing the three domains solely through their definitions. For instance, immigrants (especially non-EU) arriving to Norway come with qualifications from their home countries, but they face difficulties getting their

qualifications recognized since there is a lack of common approval systems between EU/EEA and Non-EU/EEA nations (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2016). In such cases, qualifications obtained from formal settings in one context do not necessarily become equally formal in another context.

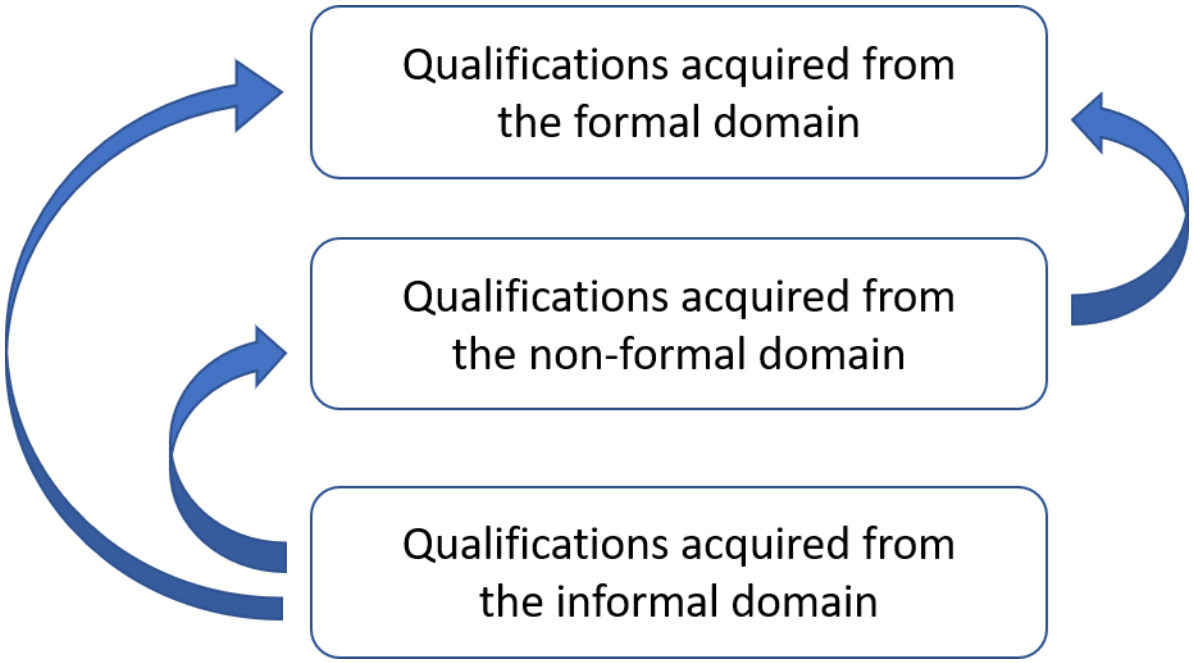

Figure 11 Qualification transfer across the domains of formal, non-formal, and informal education/learning
Source: Developed by the author

As shown in figure 11, the following remark can be made upon the analysis: the principles of LLL manifested in the national white papers aim to make the transfer of qualification from one domain to the other more flexible. Simultaneously, the transfer of one's qualifications acquired from the informal and the non-formal to the formal realm is specially emphasized. This is due to one of the major purposes of LLL measures; to ensure that adults find relevant employment. Thus, the underlying implication here is that formal qualifications remain relatively essential for one's employment. Furthermore, if the rhetoric of linking one's status of employment with one's quality of life is considered, it can be said that formal acknowledgement of one's experience and competency plays an important role in one's life trajectory.

9.2.2. Lifelong learning and Lifelong Education

Contemplation of conceptual discussions regarding terms that are coined to describe education and learning for adults in general was presented in the literature review section. This section will discuss the relevant findings in light of the two similar yet slightly different concepts: lifelong learning and lifelong education. Three main approaches to this conceptual

discussion will be briefly reintroduced. Then, findings from the South Korean and the Norwegian white papers will be discussed.

Billett (2017) uses six explanatory bases to distinguish between lifelong learning and lifelong education. The distinction implies that lifelong education is connotated with institutional purposes, whereas lifelong learning with more intrinsic and personal purposes. Lifelong learning's foundational category is defined as 'personal factors and goals', while that of lifelong education as 'institutional/social factors and goals.' The explanatory base 'outcomes' shows this parallel, for lifelong learning's outcome is described as 'learning and development', whereas lifelong education 'social continuity and/or change.' Findings from the national white papers, however, show that Billett's distinction is somewhat dichotomic. Both white papers acknowledge the multidimensional traits of LLL/LLE and make suggestions which encompass both ends of the spectrum. This is visible through the data categorized under the theme 'Benefits of improved LLL programs.' In addition to increasing one's capacity and thus helping him/her acquire employment, promoting a fruitful life that goes beyond one's activity in the labour market is emphasized equivalently.

Therefore, it can be said that Field's (2001) concern towards 'lifelong learning' being interpreted from a reductionist perspective is somewhat quashed. Field warns the danger of interpreting lifelong learning in such a way that individuals are given the sole burden of finding their own resolutions. Field further claims that such approach can discourage public expenditure towards lifelong learning measures. Findings from the white papers, however, show that public accountability is highlighted when it comes to implementation of lifelong learning policies. Emphasis on a whole-of-government approach and cross-sectoral cooperation between stakeholders reflects a turn away from what Field calls the reductionist approach.

Consequently, it becomes also possible to investigate how the roles of the states are being portrayed in the white papers. In his study, Griffin (1999) examines the trend of 'lifelong education' being replaced with 'lifelong learning' in policy atmospheres in light of the shift in states' roles. Griffin further points out that over-emphasis of individual responsibility may risk the importance of sustaining national accountability regarding LLL policies. This concern towards national accountability is evident in the findings. As mentioned above, the focus on holistic governmental approaches and improved cooperation measures between the stakeholders are common across both the Norwegian and the South Korean white papers.

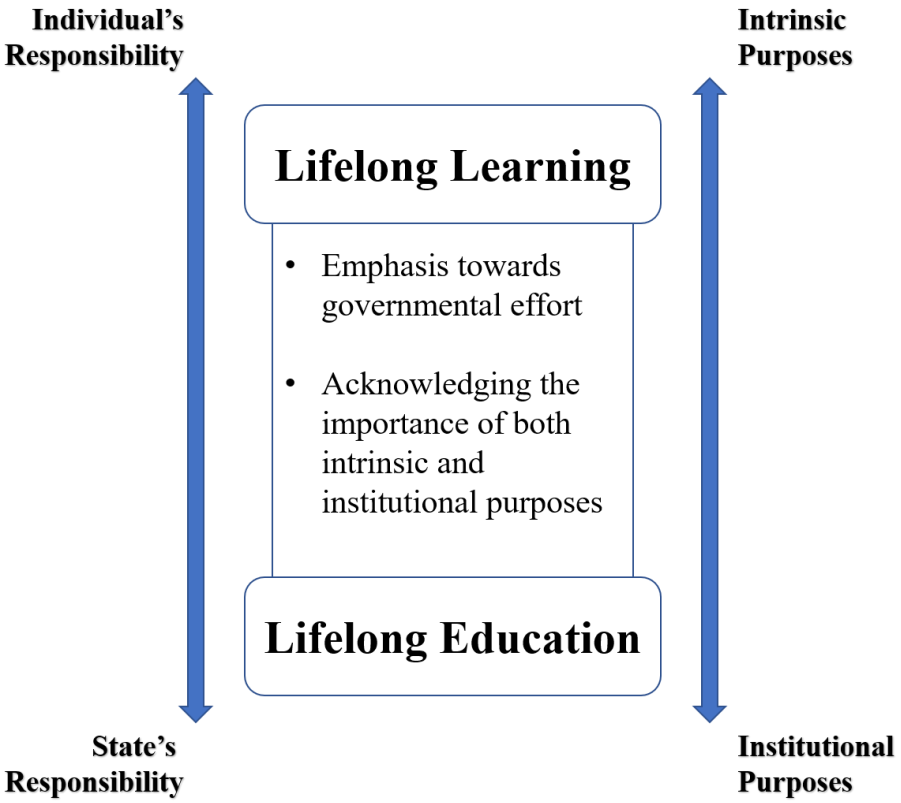

Figure 12 Merging pattern between lifelong learning and lifelong education
Source: Developed by the author

The observations of the findings made through the conceptual perspectives show that traits of both lifelong learning and lifelong education are being endorsed by the national white papers. Figure 12 depicts this phenomenon. This is related to the scholarly concerns towards the danger of taking a one-sided approach towards lifelong learning and lifelong education. It is shown through the findings that both the institutional and the individual dimensions are highlighted. The Governments and relevant stakeholders are encouraged to take initiative in implementing appropriate measures. Also, it is expected that individuals gain the benefit of improved health, life quality, civic awareness, and work-and-life balance. At the same time, it is visible throughout the findings that enhancing one's capacity to participate effectively in the respective labour markets is emphasized. This is revealed through the goals of minimizing skills-mismatch so that adults can fully utilize their knowledge and competency.

9.2.3. Principles of Education Quality Framework

Drawing from the findings from the two national white papers, it can be shown that the principle of inclusion was considered. The issue of implementing measures that ease one's recognition of his or her education and qualification is a good example. In the Norwegian white paper, it is stated that several immigrants who arrive to Norway often face challenges

making use of their competencies due to the barriers that hinders their qualifications and education from being approved. In the South Korean white paper, it is suggested that one's learning should be acknowledged across the various lifelong education programs. It is identified that not being able to get one's qualifications formally recognized is a significant barrier, thus a hindrance to one's opportunity to achieve.

In addition, the principle of inclusion can be observed through how the white papers underline the importance of acknowledging adults' unique circumstances. Regarding adult learners, both of the national white papers deem it crucial to further expand online learning programs so that adults can manage their family and working life while achieving education. In summary, the fact that the white papers acknowledge different types of adult learners and presents ways to meet their needs indicates that the principle of inclusion is well taken into consideration while discussing LLL.

In terms of the principle 'relevance', a good quality education seen through the principle of relevance aims to achieve individual, societal, and national development. Here, it is important to approach the term 'development' from multiple perspectives. While it may be common to assume that 'development' points towards economic progress, Tikly and Barrett (2013) mentions Sen's (1999) capabilities perspective and states that a relevant quality education helps learners to create a sustainable life in the modern globalized world. This is further expanded into the socio-cultural dimension of relevance, which emphasizes the cultivation of civic awareness and critical thinking. Hence, it can be said that the principle 'relevance' encompasses conceptual elements of human capital approach, rights-based approach, and capabilities approach. And data relevant to such conceptual implication arising from the principle relevance has been discovered under the theme 'Benefits of improved LLL programs.'

For instance, the Norwegian white paper makes it very clear that aside from the economic benefits that the society and the nation can take advantage of, LLL can improve adults' life quality. It is stated that individuals can enjoy improved physical and mental health, can create better environments for raising children, and can become more motivated to become participants of civic activities. In the South Korean white paper, the principle of relevance is also manifested. Existing programs such as liberal arts education program, culture and arts education program, and programs offered through the National Open university are identified as avenues that can develop both people's work-related competency, and their interests and

knowledge pertaining not necessarily to the work environments. Additionally, the South Korean white paper especially highlights democratic and civic values of LLL. By referring to the impeachment of the previous president and the visions of the new government, the white paper stresses the importance of fostering people's activism in civic and political affairs.

Lastly, findings will be discussed with the principle of participation taken into consideration. Educational decision-making lies at the core of the principle, and those who are involved in the decision-making process should be well-informed. Thus, transparency and accountability are essential elements of a quality educational scheme. Here, the discussion can be made considering the following three levels: national, local, and individual. Regarding the national level, both Norwegian and the South Korean white papers emphasize the need to employ a whole-of-government approach to improve their LLL schemes. That is to say that the governments are to initiate the relevant dialogues with the stakeholders to follow through with the suggestions made in the white papers. This then leads to the meso/local level institutions whose roles are to ensure that measures appropriate to the regional/local context takes place. In the Norwegian white paper, this is shown through the need to acknowledge the various regions and their needs in their respective labour markets (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2016, p. 96). In the South Korean white paper, this is implied through the explanation of liberal arts education program and culture and arts program that these programs are expected to contribute to the local population by providing the people with quality learning opportunities (NILE, 2018, p. 154).

On the individual level, however, the principle of participation is manifested to a limited extent. The Norwegian white paper suggests implementing a module-structured learning scheme to help adult learners balance their working life and education (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2016, p. 98). Additionally, both the Norwegian and the South Korean white paper sheds light on the need to broaden their online learning measures. The suggestions mentioned above primarily aim to give individuals the flexibility to maintain balance between both learning and working. However, they do not necessarily allow the individuals to fully decide on the learning content. The principle of participation at the individual level has to do with learners' ability to make active decisions regarding their learning content, process, and settings (Tikly & Barrett, 2013). Thus, the aforementioned module-structured learning scheme and e-learning measures may allow individuals to take control over their learning process and environment but implies rather limited degree of decision-making regarding learning content.

9.3. Limitations and Future Research

This research examined LLL in the South Korean and the Norwegian white papers in light of the global LLL agendas. It has been clarified through this research that UNESCO, EU, and OECD's LLL agendas exhibit isomorphic patterns. The analysis of the Norwegian and South Korean papers sheds light on how national education policy suggestions align with those of the global. Also, data approached through relevant conceptual perspectives reveal the following: 1) establishing flexibility between the domains of formal, non-formal, and informal education/learning when it comes to acknowledging one's qualification and learning outcomes obtained through LLL programs, and 2) the conceptual traits of lifelong learning and lifelong education seem to show exhibit a merging pattern where both lifelong education's institutional focus and lifelong learning's intrinsic focus are highlighted in the suggestions.

However, it has been acknowledged through this research that document analysis alone as a standalone method to map the causality regarding how the national policy suggestions have followed that of the global may not be sufficient. Therefore, a qualitative study involving decision makers regarding LLL within the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, as well as South Korea's National Institute for Lifelong Learning can extend this research's trajectory and provide further validation of the findings. Interviewing people who have firsthand experience with the lifelong learning programs can provide information regarding how the target groups perceive lifelong learning programs. Also, studying the public's opinion can also provide noteworthy research results. This study shows that the conceptualization of LLL in the domain of policy suggestion is quite idealistic. Thus, a study which seeks to examine how the actual target population groups perceive LLL can help to discover whether such visions transcend to the people.

In addition, this study primarily builds on the comparison between two national white papers. This sample size can be increased to further discover the link between the global LLL agendas and those of the national. In addition, examining national white papers of states that do not have or have lesser degree of affiliation with EU, UNESCO, and OECD can help to discover how the extent of the global education policy suggestions' influences on national policy suggestions are manifested in such nations. Further research can also take a longitudinal approach. Examining Norwegian and South Korean white papers from different time periods can help to map any possible conceptual changes that may have occurred throughout the time.

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