Chapter 1
Implications of Migration and Ageing Populations for Inclusion and Equality in Higher Education and Lifelong Learning

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1.1 Setting the Scene: Migration, Ageing Populations and Higher Education

Climate change, and its potentially catastrophic effects, may form the dominating world challenge of the twenty-first century. However, also of social and economic importance is the impact of a new demographics emerging from the interaction of two major global developments. First, high levels of internal and cross-border mass migration, stimulated by climate change, violence and disparities in wealth and social stability within and between different countries, and between the global South and North. Second, the phenomenon of increasing longevity and rapidly ageing populations, especially in the developed world.

This book explores the central role that socially engaged higher education might potentially play in helping address these challenges, enhancing lifelong learning opportunities and facilitating more positive outcomes for both individuals and societies. As the UN evaluates progress in relation to achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (UN 2019a) and the OECD maps increasing levels of educational attainment – while also highlighting persisting inequalities (OECD 2018a) – it becomes important to investigate the extent to which higher education systems are in fact responding to the societal challenges associated with contemporary sociodemographic upheavals.

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Even in richer parts of the world, significant inequalities exist in terms of access to higher education and lifelong learning opportunities. Moreover, and potentially even more importantly in terms of the wider democratic purposes of higher education, 'purpose and processes are inextricably linked–the means must be consistent with the ends, and the ends are defined by democratic culture' (Saltmarsh and Hartley 2011, p. 17). It is these twin aims of seeking to enhance democratic culture while simultaneously widening access for individuals to lifelong learning opportunities which provide the backdrop for this book.

Specifically, we set out to explore the implications of two large scale global demographic trends – namely migration and ageing populations. The manner in which these issues are tackled by higher education policy and by institutions are, we propose, of considerable significance for the future wellbeing of societies. The core concerns can be viewed as two sides of a coin: on the one side, many global regions and countries are experiencing unprecedented levels of immigration as millions of people relocate – whether by choice or for survival. On the other side, with increasing longevity – particularly in the richer parts of the world – many countries are experiencing significant ageing of their populations.

There are important interconnections between these contemporary patterns of migration and ageing populations which are rarely drawn in the context of higher education and lifelong learning. Our aim is to make a contribution towards building a greater understanding of these interconnections, based on expert analysis from different parts of the world. Additionally, we also seek to bring different disciplines to bear on the issues – acknowledging as Brennan and Naidoo (2008) point out that 'while there is an extensive research literature on social justice and equity in the social sciences, in general this is not fully engaged with by higher education researchers' (p. 298).

Factors such as global inequalities, war, poverty and climate change are leading to mass migrations of people across many regions of the globe – a scale of mobility unprecedented since the second world war (IOM 2017). Education clearly has an important role to play. For obvious reasons the focus of policy attention is primarily on schools and the education of children. However, as will be discussed below, young and older adult migrants not only need initial education and vocational training – including, for many, acquisition of the language of host countries – but also access to higher level knowledge and skills. For some, this may involve helping them to demonstrate and have certified knowledge and competencies already acquired in their home countries, for others it may be the opportunity to further develop their education and training.

Simultaneously with the mass movement of people across the world – particularly from the global South to the global North – the world's population is growing older. This is especially the case in the developed regions, with North America, many European countries and Japan being prime examples (the so-called 'longevity dividend'). In Germany, for example, despite the arrival of 1.2 million refugees between 2015 and 2017 – mostly young adults – it is projected that by 2050 two in five Germans will be over 60 years of age, and the country would have shrunk from 82 million to 75 million (The Economist 2017).

The populations of many developing regions are also ageing – with the case of China being particularly striking and resulting in changes in 2015 to the long standing 'one-child' policy. Increasing longevity is a welcome development, reflecting improvements in nutrition, public health and education. The richer countries of the global North have had many decades of gradual improvements in average lifespans. However, for the poorer regions of the developing world of the global South the pace of change has been far more rapid, leading to a situation which has been characterized as countries becoming old before getting rich (Bloom et al. 2011, p. 32). Furthermore, while progress has been made in closing the longevity gap between countries, life expectancy at birth in the least developed countries is still estimated to be 7.4 years less than the global average in 2019 (UN 2019b).

As will be further discussed below, there is a growing body of work which explores the implications of providing lifelong learning opportunities for individuals across *all stages* of life. In the specific case of higher education, addressing issues of inclusion and equality of access for the social groups under consideration carries major implications for innovation and reform in policy and practice at a number of levels – institutional, national and international.

In a previous book (Slowey and Schuetze 2012a) we explored how the topic of lifelong learning in a higher education context had been interpreted across a range of countries and international organizations including OECD, UNESCO and the EU. The timing meant that the context of economic austerity measures resulting from the 2008 financial crisis formed part of the backdrop. Since then, austerity policies in many countries continued with systemic reductions in public expenditure based on dominant neoliberal economic arguments (Pritchard and Slowey 2017).

Migration and ageing populations are distinct phenomena. However, they intersect in a number of important ways. First, at the macro level, richer, ageing countries are destinations for most people who seek to move from their home country or region – whether by choice or driven by necessity, or some combination of both. Indeed, as the population of many OECD countries age, it becomes not only a humanitarian issue, but also a pragmatic policy objective to look to immigrants as a major pool of potentially qualified workers. Second, at the level of educational systems and institutions, both migrants and older adults face significant barriers in gaining access to higher education. If levels of inequality are to be addressed, the underrepresentation of these groups poses challenges for innovation and reform in higher education and the wider lifelong learning landscape.

These interconnections were initially discussed in the context of an international conference on Higher Education Reform hosted in 2016 by the Higher Education Research Centre, Dublin City University. In this introductory chapter we set the scene for individual contributions covering 12 countries as well as some more general perspectives and outlooks. In the first part (1.2) we outline the migration side of the 'demographic coin' in terms of the global context of migration patterns and the reasons why these are of interest from our perspective of inclusion in higher education and lifelong learning. The second part (1.3) shifts the focus to the other side of the coin, exploring patterns of ageing populations as people are living longer and, once women's education and standards of living increase to certain levels, many

choose to have fewer children. In the third part (1.4) we outline a conceptual framework which summarizes our intersectional approach to understanding the implications of these complex socio-demographic changes for higher education and lifelong learning. This in turn leads to the final part (1.5) where we outline the structure of the book.

1.2 Migration – The Global Context

In 2017, an estimated 258 million people, approximately 3.4% of the global population, were international migrants living in a country other than a place of their birth, with three regions accounting for the bulk of this total – Asia (c. 80 million); Europe (c. 78 million); and Northern America (c. 58 million) (UN 2017, pp. 4–5).

Importantly, these numbers do not include those who migrate *within* their countries of birth where, in fact, most migration takes place, raising a set of additional issues with the relatively recent construction of nation states, and also contestations (up to the level of war) at 'borderlands'. Adding to the complexity of the topic, mobility within a country or region with a variety of different languages presents different issues from mobility within a relatively mono-linguistic area.

All this leads to complexity in definitions of who actually is a 'migrant'? The Council of Europe, for example, defines migrants as 'people who move from their country of usual residence or nationality to another country', adding that the reasons can be economic, educational, as well as to flee from natural disasters, escape persecution, 'human rights abuses, threats to life of physical integrity, war and civil unrest' (Ktistakis 2013, p. 9).

At the international level, there is no universally accepted definition for 'migrant', according to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM 2019). Reflecting the large numbers of internal migrants globally, IOM has developed a definition for its own purposes, with 'migrant' as

> An umbrella term, not defined under international law, reflecting the common lay understanding of a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons. The term includes a number of well-defined legal categories of people, such as migrant workers; persons whose particular types of movements are legally defined, such as smuggled migrants; as well as those whose status or means of movement are not specifically defined under international law, such as international students. (p.130)

Since 1951 the Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees offers special protection and rights to asylum seekers and refugees, in recognition that such people represent particularly vulnerable groups of migrants (UN 1951). The geographic scope of the original Convention was subsequently extended in the 1967 Protocol (UN 2017).

Article 22 ('Public Education') of the Convention obliges the signatory states to

> accord to refugees the same treatment as is accorded to nationals with respect to elementary education … [and] with respect to education other than elementary education and, in

> particular, as regards access to studies, the recognition of foreign school certificates, diplomas and degrees, the remission of fees and charges and the award of scholarships. (United Nations General Assembly 1951)

The UN Refugee Agency defines a refugee as 'a person forced to flee their country because of violence or persecution' (UNHCR 2018a). Seeking sanctuary in another country and applying for asylum to become recognized as a refugee leads to the certain rights such as legal protection and material assistance (ibid.). In 2018, more than two-thirds of all refugees worldwide (67%) came from Syrian Arab Republic, Afghanistan, South Sudan, Myanmar and Somalia (UNHCR 2019, p. 3). The same report highlights that those over 18 years old constituted about a half of the global refugee population, with associated educational needs particular to this 'post school' age group.

Because of the high numbers of people migrating globally, the issue of integration (economic and sociocultural), including opening access to education for the migrant populations, has become an important topic on the political agenda of many countries (Huddleston et al. 2015; OECD 2018b). Policy debates in these countries emphasize the importance of facilitating access to vocational and higher education opportunities for immigrant and refugee students beyond the school age. Yet, while in 2016 the rate of enrolment in tertiary education across the world stood at around 36%, for refugees this proportion was just 1% (UNHCR 2018b, p. 19). Thus, despite some improvement in numbers due to scholarships and other programmes, access to university and other forms of tertiary education remained out of reach for almost all (99%) refugees. In addition to the standard barriers adults face in returning to study (Slowey and Schuetze 2012a), many adult migrants will have to learn the language of the host country. Furthermore, the formal initial education of some will have been limited due to low transition rates from primary to secondary education in many countries of the global South. Girls are particularly at risk in some countries, where relatively low educational attainment is a direct consequence of a lack of safe school environments. Some steps have been made in opening opportunities for higher education through, for example, scholarship schemes offered in 37 host countries in 2016 as part of an UNHCR higher education programme – and, while the numbers were limited it represented an increase of almost 90% compared to 2015 (UNHCR 2018b, p. 19).

In some respects the issue of access to higher education also tends to be predominantly viewed as an outcome – effectively a performance indicator of the formal school system, or as a pathway for young people to labour market and economic integration. With some notable exceptions, issues concerning opportunities for access to higher education for adult learners with a migrant background, or as a means of social and cultural integration of recently arrived (adult) migrants remain under-researched.

De Wit and Altbach draw attention to the fact that

> the challenge for academic communities in Europe and elsewhere is to increase access of these refugees to higher education.… by offering more study places and scholarships for students, visiting scholarship positions to academics, and other measures. (2016, p. 117)

In a European context, Morland and Skjerven (2015) call for a comprehensive approach to evaluating and recognizing refugees' qualifications, including the establishment of a European Qualifications Passport for Refugees – as 'an important step for refugees, universities, the labour market, and society as a whole' (p. 121). From a policy perspective, a UN Refugee Agency report highlights that only substantial and long-term funding treated as an 'investment in sustainable development' would enable governments to respond to the challenges of education for refugees (UNHCR 2018b, p. 24).

In an attempt to assess the scale of the issues involved, a Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) based on integration policies across eight policy areas (includng education, labour market mobility, political participation and the like) in 38 countries was developed with the support of the European Fund for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals and other relevant organizations (Huddleston et al. 2015)[1]. Examples of the policy indicators or their descriptions relevant for the further and higher education of adult migrants include:

- educational guidance at all levels of compulsory and non-compulsory education;
- equality of access to higher education, vocational training and study grants depending on individuals' residential status;
- recognition of academic and professional qualifications acquired abroad;
- validation of skills/competencies acquired abroad;
- generic language training; job bridging courses;
- job specific language training;
- training required of public employment service staff on specific needs of migrants.

The MIPEX project also aimed to identify integration outcomes and contextual factors that can affect these outcomes, and to evaluate the effectiveness of policies. The analysis points to immigrants usually enjoying more equal rights and opportunities in larger and wealthier countries/regions (specifically, Western Europe and countries with long standing traditions of immigration such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States). At the same time, Sweden, Portugal and New Zealand ranked as the top three countries with favourable and inclusive integration policies.

At the time of the study, the number of non-EU citizens among EU residents was estimated at nearly 20 million, or c. 4% of the total. Individuals with relatively lower levels of formal educational qualifications comprised 37% of non-EU immigrants aged 18–64, while around 25% had a higher education qualification. The authors make the case that, while the number of non-EU newcomers remained relatively stable between 2008–2013 (due to a decrease in labour migration and higher number of recognized international protection beneficiaries), the employment context has changed since the economic crisis in 2008 and the resulting austerity measures. The employment rate of non-EU citizens aged 20–64 dropped on

[1] Website for full MIPEX 2015 results is http://www.mipex.eu/. Data cited in the following discussion is taken from Huddlestone et al. 2015, Migrant Integration Policy Index 2015; Policy Indicators List and Questionnaire (http://www.mipex.eu/methodology); and, International Key Findings (http://www.mipex.eu/download-pdf).

average six points to 56.5% by 2014; at the same time, their risk of being in poverty or social exclusion increased by four points to 49%, which is twice the rate of EU citizens. Importantly, from our perspective on inequality, higher education and lifelong learning, women and those with relatively lower levels of formal educational qualifications were found to be at particular risk of being categorized as NEET (not in employment, education or training), while overall one third of working-age non-EU citizens were in this category.

Finally, in relation to labour market policies, MIPEX found that most countries provided the immigrants with basic information about jobs and work-related training opportunities and, while most were in paid employment after 10 or more years, these jobs were often at levels for which people were overqualified and/or below the poverty line.

All the countries covered in this book are signatories to the 1951 Geneva Refugee Convention (UN General Assembly 1951). However, as the following chapters show (and is also evident in the MIPEX results), significant national variations exist in relation to matters such as criteria for permanent residency and citizenship, policies aimed at family reunion and integration of newly arriving family members, and eligibility and access to higher education and lifelong learning. Variations may also exist in the situation of those who are first or second-generation immigrants, adding to lack of uniformity in definitions of who constitutes a student with a migration background.

As discussed in several chapters in this book, cultural issues are central to any discussion of migration and education: a continuum can be drawn between policy responses which emphasize integration on the one hand, and diversity on the other. Either way, there is a need for cultural competencies, at both individual and collective levels, in order to manage cultural diversity and minimize misunderstandings which may emerge from identity issues (UNESCO 2009).

In this context, language is evidently important with multilingual approaches in both formal and non-formal education helping to enhance the relevance of education and to expand educational opportunities for marginalized groups including migrant populations. Increasingly, the concept of cultural intelligence is explored in various contexts in the literature, including educational, as a way to allow cultural diversity to flourish and to promote intercultural competence (Goh 2012). There are many definitions of cultural intelligence. For the purposes of this book it can be defined as 'a *system* of interacting knowledge and skills, linked by cultural metacognition, that allows people to adapt to, select, and shape the cultural aspects of their environment' (Thomas et al. 2008, p. 127).

There is, of course, nothing new with respect to international mobility and intercultural issues in higher education. In the Western tradition, universities

> have always been global institutions; they functioned in a common language (Latin) and served an international clientele of students. In fact, universities have come full-circle from the Medieval Ages as being centers of international learning, to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries rising as nation-state universities pursuing national interests, and now again as international centers of scholarship. . . (Nerad and Trzyna 2008, p. 300)

In the classic enlightenment tradition, universities have been not just places attracting scholars from other countries, but also a haven for refugees, students and

faculty members who had to leave their own countries because they were not given a chance to pursue their studies or research for the reasons such as gender, race or religious belief.

Marie Sklodowska Curie represents such an outstanding example: born in Warsaw in 1867 and not allowed to pursue university studies in Poland because she was a woman, she immigrated to France and enrolled at the University of Paris. Based on her research on radioactivity and discovering two new elements, Polonium (named after her home country) and Radium, she received the Nobel prize in physics, the first woman ever to receive this prestigious award, and later a second Nobel prize, this time in chemistry.

Another example of academic migration, was the mass exodus of Jewish and liberal scientists in the twentieth century who were forced into exile by Nazi Germany. Thousands of academics went to the United States where they made significant contributions especially to the development of some emerging disciplinary fields such as nuclear physics, psychology, economics and sociology. Six of these refugee scholars received Nobel prizes (in physics and chemistry). Others, such as the sociologists Hannah Arendt, Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno and the philosopher Herbert Marcuse became most influential in their fields (Bentwich 1953; Coser 1984; Fermi 1968).

More recently, especially during the tumultuous years of the 'Cultural Revolution' and the decade thereafter, many young Chinese left to study abroad as China did not have sufficient numbers of higher education institutions nor qualified academic teachers. As many of these young scientists and academics stayed in their host countries rather than returning to the mother country where opportunities were lacking for academic work and careers, they became part of a sizeable worldwide Chinese knowledge diaspora which is now a factor of global importance in promoting transnational scientific and business networks, and a source of China's competitive quest for recruiting experienced scholars to create their own brand of 'world-class' universities (Welch and Hao 2013).

Over recent decades, levels of international mobility of students and faculty, recruitment of international students and engagement in exchange programmes such as ERASMUS in Europe, are taken as indicators of quality in many league tables. Additionally, in some systems, the fees paid by non-national students provide a valuable source of income for universities and other institutions of higher education. In this push for recruitment, the challenges facing international students can be overlooked as they are citizens of one nation but residing in another – 'being outsiders, mobile students have ambiguous meanings for the country of education. Struggling to manage global people flows they never fully control, national governments flip between the benefits and the dangers (as they see it) of international students' (Marginson 2012, p. 500).

The focus of this book is on a rather different aspect of internationalization and inclusion – namely, access to higher level education and training for newly arrived immigrants (whatever their official status may be) as well as those with a first or second-generation immigrant background. In this regard, Détourbe and Goastellec (2018) highlight three ways in which refugees constitute a distinctive subgroup in

relation to access to higher education. In the first place, depending on national policies refugees often occupy a unique status, which can lead them to having a complex combination of access rights to higher education as both 'domestic' and 'international' students. Secondly, as such migration is forced, or in some way unchosen, it is consequently unplanned so their displacement can undermine typical social reproduction patterns. Thirdly, as refugees depend heavily on the social policies of the host country after their arrival, their opportunities for gaining access to higher education are conditioned by the ways in which immigration and welfare policies intersect with higher education policies. The case made by Détourbe and Goastellec for more research investigating the interaction of these factors informs aspects of the discussion in Part II of this book.

Turning to another side of the new demographics, at a time when substantial numbers of (mainly younger) people are migrating from one region or country to another, the populations of many of the 'host' countries are ageing as people live longer and birth rates decline. We now turn our attention to consideration of the implications for higher education policies and practices arising from an ageing population – particularly evident in the developed countries of the global North.

1.3 Ageing Populations – Global Trends

Addressing the demographic trends of ageing populations tends to be dominated by discussions of problems – health, pensions and the like. However, arguably

> the problem of population aging is more a function of rigid and outmoded policies and institutions than a problem of demographic change per se.… [requiring] behavioral responses (including greater female labor force participation) and policy reforms (including an increase in the legal age of retirement). (Bloom et al. 2011, p. 29)

Central amongst these 'rigid and outmoded policies' are issues of supporting lifelong learning at all stages of people's lives to help them to develop the knowledge and skills required for inclusion in contemporary societies (Slowey and Zubrzycki 2018). The concept of lifelong learning has a long history of promulgation by international organizations such as UNESCO and OECD in the 1970s, and subsequently by individual countries. In its early manifestation it comprised

> a mix of social justice objectives relating to participation and inclusion – including the provision of second chance opportunities for people to return to education as adult students. Educational opportunity was seen as the foundation for participation in social and civic life, and therefore of critical importance in fostering a vibrant democracy, as well as preparation for employment. (Slowey and Schuetze 2012b, p. 7)

These original principles were contested by neoliberal agendas in the 1990s, viewing lifelong learning primarily as a mechanism for developing 'human capital' and associated skills and knowledge perceived to be required for 'knowledge-based' economies. While the concept of lifelong learning 'featured prominently in national

and international educational policy discourse, the implications of this concept for *higher education* remained underdeveloped' (Slowey and Schuetze 2012b, p. 4).

Writing almost a decade ago, we identified two factors as contributing to this 'underdevelopment' and slow pace of change. First, a recognition that lifelong learning systems require complex processes of articulation and coordination between institutions and providers, each of which have their own interests, missions, resource bases and status positions. Second, a conflict between several, mainly two ideal-type models of lifelong learning derived from different underpinning principles – one model drawing mainly on traditions of social justice and equity, and the other based mainly on a more economic, human capital perspective (Schuetze and Casey 2006).

In this context, what are the implications for lifelong learning as many more people live to older ages? As discussed above, increased longevity and falling fertility rates are contributing to 'population ageing' as a global phenomenon, with people over 65 years old comprising the fastest-growing age group (UN 2019b). Thus, 'by 2050, one in six people in the world will be over age 65 (16%), up from one in 11 in 2019 (9%)', while in Europe and North America one in four persons could be aged 65 or more by 2050 (p. 2). While increasing longevity is a welcome development for individuals and societies, policy discussions are often couched in terms of 'challenges'. For example, the latter UN Report highlights 'the potential impact of population ageing on the labour market and economic performance as well as the fiscal pressures that many countries will face in the coming decades as they seek to build and maintain public systems of health care, pensions and social protection for older persons' (ibid.). Similarly, in Europe, the changing demographic is identified as one of its main challenges facing the region (EU-OSHA 2016). Simultaneously, there is a momentum to assure human rights in older age, including the right to education and to work with calls for 'more robust international instruments at all levels' (Kalache and Blewitt 2011, p. 89), while the World Health Organization aims to connect ageing and urbanization through the development of a convention on Age Friendly Cities (WHO 2007).

With people living longer and countries extending the retirement ages, more people in their 60s and 70s are potentially able – and may have to – work longer, contributing to the economy as a result of the 'improvements in health and functioning along with shifting of employment from jobs that need strength to jobs needing knowledge' (Christensen et al. 2009, p. 1205). This calls for further development of systems to support the emerging life course patterns and includes addressing the upskilling, reskilling and other learning needs of the individuals planning for, or already facing longer working lives. It becomes a policy issue in reconciling the interests of the individuals who may wish (or need to) work beyond the traditional retirement age with other stakeholders involved including education providers, employers and various NGOs.

Existing evidence points to the need to support individuals of all ages, including before and after the traditional retirement age, with formal and non-formal education opportunities, in order to enhance their potential in the labour market and facilitate other forms of participation in society (Findsen and Formosa 2011; Cantillon

and Vasquez del Aguila 2011). Higher education providers, both public and private, can play an important role in supporting lifelong learning and the development of new knowledge, skills and competencies over the working life, as well as creating an environment in which the continuing acquisition of new knowledge and skills is seen as both socially desirable and possible.

The disadvantages experienced by individuals with lower levels of formal educational attainment in relation to labour market participation are well documented. Report on key findings from the 2012 Survey of Adult Skills (OECD Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies, or PIAAC) highlights that individuals with lower skill levels are 'unlikely to engage in education and training on their own initiative and tend to receive less employer-sponsored training', with great variation between countries in establishing systems that combine quality initial education with 'opportunities and incentives for the entire population to continue to develop proficiency in reading and numeracy skills after the completion of initial education and training, whether outside work or at the workplace' (OECD 2013, p. 32). At the same time, PIAAC survey data show significant proportions of adult population even in advanced industrialized countries with low levels of proficiency in key foundation skills such as literacy, numeracy, problem solving and information-processing.

Further detailed analysis of PIAAC data shows employer-sponsored training growing at a faster rate than that of public or non-profit provision carrying significant implications for public policy as the individuals with highest levels of previous education, or with higher levels of basic skills are found most likely to benefit from employer support – thus potentially exacerbating, rather than reducing, socio-economic inequalities (Desjardins 2017).

Unless redressed through broader educational and social policies and targeted government support for adult learning, inequality in general is likely to continue to grow, and potentially result in intergenerational inequalities. Public policy can address inequalities by supporting adults with lower levels of key foundation skills with initiatives aimed at developing such skills. Empirical research highlights a particular need for a discussion around the gender implications, as the situation facing women is especially challenging in terms of the earnings gap, pension coverage and caring responsibilities. In many developed countries, one of the most obvious demographic changes in higher education in recent decades has been the increasing level of women's participation in higher education. To some commentators, this might suggest that the challenge of gender equality has been 'solved'. However, traditional patterns of sex distribution by disciplines, areas of work and pay rates remain strong: women are excluded from opportunities of their choice for education and employment in many parts of the world, while in others, the implications of dramatically new life course patterns for both women and men are largely uncharted territories (Schuller 2019).

Bringing together the implications of two major trends of migration and ageing for higher education, this book deliberately strays into such 'uncharted territories'. Such an analysis requires an intersectional approach, which provides the overarching conceptual framework for this book as we outline in the next part.

1.4 Conceptual Framework

The issues raised in the above discussion involve complex interactions between large-scale social, economic and demographic forces. As the contributors to this book make clear, migration (both within and between countries) and population trends form significant factors shaping opportunities for access to higher education. Yet it is important that these are not viewed in isolation but in the context of other social factors including socio-economic, gender, educational, national and cultural backgrounds. This intersectionality is well illustrated by Andrä Wolter (Chap. 3) in his detailed examination of empirical data in Germany which shows how the differences between sub-groups with or without a migration background, but with the same social or educational status are very small. Importantly therefore, the main disparities in participation rates are, as he points out, less the result of migration backgrounds but primarily due to the varying social composition of groups.

Taking account of the complexity of these issues thus requires an intersectional approach. Any attempt to represent such intricate relationships in diagrammatic form inevitably involves a degree of oversimplification. With this limitation in mind, the conceptual framework for the contributions in this book is outlined in Fig. 1.1.

On the outer circle lie the major stakeholders that play a large role in shaping opportunities for inclusion and participation in higher education and lifelong learning. While numerous stakeholders are involved, for our purposes here we highlight four as of particular importance.

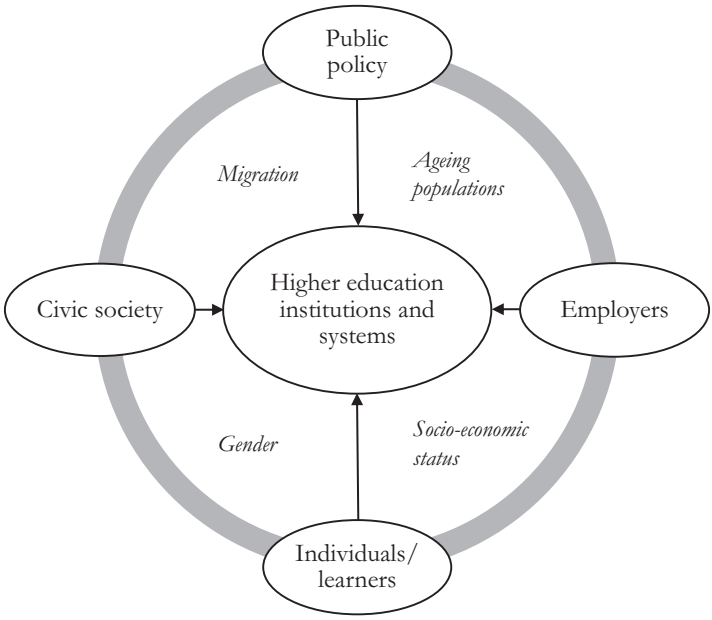

Fig. 1.1 Conceptual framework: key stakeholders and socio-demographic factors impacting on higher education institutions and systems

- First, public policy: steering priorities, forms of provision and funding at national and international levels.
- Second, employers, professional bodies and trades unions: private and public with interests in employability, skills and knowledge of graduates.
- Third, civic society: social movements and NGOs representing the interests of different social groups including immigrants, asylum seekers, refugees, indigenous groups, women and older adults.
- Fourth, individuals: school leavers and adults as potential learners at various stages over the entire life course.

At the next level, moving from the outer circle to the inner quadrants of Fig. 1.1, lie four key social factors which, interacting with each other in complex ways, underpin the contributions in this book.

- Migration;
- Ageing populations;
- Gender; and
- Socio-economic inequalities.

All of the above shape the conditions within which higher education operates – both at system and institutional levels. Thus, providers are placed in the central circle as they respond to these demands and pressures by seeking to widen or – whether by design or default – restrict opportunities for access and inclusion to higher education and lifelong learning opportunities. In some systems, for example in binary, demarcation in lines of responsibility and mission are evident. In others, the policy framework is more diffuse. Despite evidence of isomorphic trends at a global level (Meyer et al. 2007), the growth of mass systems means that contemporary higher education institutions and systems are also more diverse, comprising both universities and a wide range of other types of tertiary/post-compulsory education and training institutions. Additionally, they can be predominantly: public and private (both non-profit and for-profit); research intensive or teaching focused; local community-orientated or globally-orientated; elite or open. The campus-based, full-time residential format may remain the 'brand' image for a small number of elite institutions, but forms of provision are also highly diverse including part-time, online and blended learning programmes. Additionally, as mentioned above, participation in employer provided training by far outstrips adult learning with other providers.

1.5 Structure of Book

The contributors to this book are scholars of higher education and lifelong learning based in twelve countries from Europe (Germany, Ireland, Slovenia, Sweden and the United Kingdom), the Americas (Brazil, Canada, Mexico and the USA), Japan, Australia and New Zealand. Eleven of these twelve countries were included in two

previous books on the topic of lifelong learning in higher education, providing some continuity in analyzing directions of change over two decades (Slowey and Schuetze 2012a; Schuetze and Slowey 2000).

We make no claim that these countries are globally representative – they are mainly from the rich, developed and ageing world comprising, from a migration perspective, predominantly 'receiving countries'. However, there are also a number of perspectives from 'sending' countries and regions with different demographic profiles, such as Puerto Rico and Mexico. Furthermore, categorizations are in flux with changing socio-demographic, economic, and political forces. The case of Ireland is illustrative here as an example of a country which transformed rapidly from one of traditionally high birth rates, coupled with decades of high levels of emigration, to one which, in recent years, has transformed to becoming a country of net immigration with an ageing population. In a different way, the case of Puerto Rico challenges over-simplified categorizations of migration and ageing. Puerto Rico, a territory of the USA and predominantly Spanish speaking, has significantly high levels of emigration to other parts of the USA, which, in recent years, come from the younger, better educated sections of the population.

The chapters in the book are organized into three Parts.

The contributions in **Part II. Contemporary patterns of migration and higher education: opportunities for new lifelong learners?** address the challenges posed for higher education by contemporary patterns of migration from social responsibility, educational, analytical and national perspectives. While some contributions include reflections on the situation of the 'classic' internationally mobile student, the main focus is on issues of equality, access, educational engagement and curricular response to those who are forced from their home countries due to violence, famine and/or extreme poverty. Part II commences with an exploration of the context and role of higher education in Australia as a country with a long history of immigration but, in the current environment, with an increasingly harsh negative attitude as discussed by Mary Leahy, John Polesel and Shelley Gillis (Chap. 2). Differences in the experiences between those who are first and second generation immigrants can be significant, as are those between permanent and temporary migration. The case of Germany is particularly interesting as the European country which experiences one of the largest waves of migration in a short space of time in recent years. This is explored with Andrä Wolter's (Chap. 3) detailed statistical analysis of patterns in Germany, augmented by a conceptual contribution to discussions of migration and higher education. He distinguishes between three main groups of potential students – domestic (those from families with a migration background); international (students arriving for specific study periods) and refugees (those fleeing violence) – highlighting associated changes in discourse from, for example, 'foreigners' to 'migrants', and in policy responses along a continuum from 'integration' on one end, to 'diversity' on the other.

A contrasting situation discussed by María de los Ángeles Ortiz-Reyes and Liz Sepúlveda-Arroyo (Chap. 4) is the case of higher education in Puerto Rico: as a territory of the USA it has high levels of what might formally be termed internal migration, however the first language is different, it has distinctive culture, and also

shows interaction between migration, ageing populations and gender (as more men than women emigrate). Ireland is another small state with a long tradition of emigration, which, in recent years, has transformed to becoming a country of net immigration and is discussed by Daniel Faas (Chap. 5). Sweden also is a country which moved rapidly from a relatively mono-cultural society to a highly diverse one. While not underestimating the challenges involved, Camilla Thunborg and Agnieszka Bron (Chap. 6) point to a range of innovative activities aimed at reaching out to various migrant groups and supporting access to higher education opportunities. Here, as for several decades a leader in opening access to higher education for adult learners on a flexible basis, the case of Sweden illustrates the potential interconnections in approaches to meeting the needs of the major groups we are considering in this book. Mexico is a country with a young population, high levels of poverty and internal migration with resulting challenges for participation in all levels of education. In Chap. 7, Germán Álvarez-Mendiola and Brenda Pérez-Colunga use empirical data to discuss the situation in relation to higher education, drawing out issues of access and outcomes for both younger people as well as the adult population.

The subsequent chapters in **Part II** focus more explicitly on consideration of educational matters, including the curriculum, forms of provision and continuum of approaches from 'integration' to 'diversity'. Many migrant students face significant challenges studying in the language of their 'host' country. As Jennifer Bruen and Niamh Kelly (Chap. 8) highlight, this is not a simple technical matter, but requires support and development if higher education academics are to be equipped to address issues of culture and diversity in 'mainstream' programmes and institutions. A quite different approach to diversity is to develop dedicated provision and/or institutions. Sylvie Didou Aupetit (Chap. 9) analyzes the advantages, but also the potential pitfalls, of this approach as illustrated by the interesting example from Mexico, where Intercultural Universities were established with a view to supporting greater access for indigenous people. In meeting certain needs of local provision and the like, does this also lead to challenges in status and potentially coming to be viewed as 'second class' institutions? Ana Ivenicki (Chap. 10) also takes up the theme of intercultural education, in the case of implications for higher education in Brazil, while Martha Cleveland-Innes (Chap. 11) explores the implications for professional development of academic staff in terms of pedagogic approaches to working with non-traditional learners in higher education.

In **Part III. Ageing populations and changing life course patterns: implications for higher education and 'longlife' learners**, the focus shifts to the other side of the demographic coin and consideration of the ways in which higher education responds, or not, to educational needs of adults of *all* ages and stages. The wider context of adult learning is set by Richard Desjardins (Chap. 12) who, drawing on PIAAC (the OECD Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies) data shows levels of engagement by adults in education and training across OECD countries to be increasing. However, as a growing proportion of this relates to employment, without proactive policy intervention there is a danger of educational inequalities being exacerbated rather than reduced.

As one of the countries to first confront the phenomenon of an ageing population, the case of Japan is particularly interesting. As discussed by Hidehiro Nakajima (Chap. 13), despite ageing being high on the policy agenda, Japanese higher education has been rather slow to respond to the educational needs of this growing segment of the population. In a similar vein, Brian Findsen (Chap. 14) investigates issues of inequality in relation to access opportunities to higher education for older adults in New Zealand, where many barriers remain, particularly for Māori peoples.

The next two chapters focus on implications of changing life course and working patterns for higher education and lifelong learning. This issue of learning while working is addressed in the more specific context of higher education in the USA by Carol Kasworm (Chap. 15) who investigates the scale, and also the complexities in practice, of meeting the needs of adults who are workers and also students. Many older people – whether by choice or necessity – face working beyond traditional ages of retirement. Maria Slowey and Tanya Zubrzycki (Chap. 16) use the case of Ireland to draw out implications of working over longer lifespans for higher education and lifelong learning policy and practice.

Higher education is evidently just one part of an array of lifelong learning opportunities. The final two chapters in this Part take this wider perspective. Walter Archer and Bill Kops (Chap. 17) describe a range of innovative initiatives in the Canadian context and discuss ways in which opportunities for higher level learning might perhaps better flourish outside 'mainstream' higher education institution – through, for example, the work of bodies such as U3A (University of the Third Age). Catherine Lido, Kate Reid and Mike Osborne (Chap. 18) discuss the potential which innovative methodologies utilizing 'big data' might offer to help better understand complex pathways to lifelong and lifewide learning.

In the final section **Part IV. Reflections and Outlooks,** Pavel Zgaga (Chap. 19) and David Istance (Chap. 20) stand back from the detail to offer more general reflections on the implications for higher education of our two major themes of the new demographics: migration and ageing. Qualitatively different to other contributions, these reflections can be read as something akin to manifestos. Pavel Zgaga, who contributed to developing the vision for the ERASMUS programme in Europe, describes the pain of seeing barriers – physical and symbolic – being (re)erected in Europe with his own country, Slovenia, located at something of a European geographic cross-roads. David Istance, highlighting both the policy and the individual issues arising from ageing populations, makes the case for dedicated forms of higher education to meet the needs of these new (older) lifelong learners.

Finally, in Chap. 21 we conclude with our own wider reflections and outlooks on these matters bringing the major strands together and drawing more general implications of the new demographics for policy and practice in relation to higher education and lifelong learning.

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