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Critical Analysis and Dignitarian Recontextualization of UNESCO's Discourse on the Right to Education

Focusing on Adult Education During the EFA Period (1990 - 2015)

유네스코 교육권 담론의 비판적 분석과
존엄주의적 재맥락화:
EFA시기(1990 – 2015) 성인·평생교육을 중심으로

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To every dignified “face”

of those who persist through their daily lives

in the streets, the squares, and the scenes of life and labor

ABSTRACT

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This dissertation aims to problematize the discourse on *the right to education* (RTE), a long-standing thesis in global education governance, and to reinterpret it as an expanded normative discourse through *human dignity* that encompasses the demands of justice. The RTE discourse, which takes the achievement of "equality of educational opportunities" as its ideal, showed certain limits in responding to the injustices surrounding education that has arisen since the end of the Cold War in the 1990s at transnational and national levels. This dissertation critically reexamines RTE derived from the human rights discourse and proposes *dignitarian justice* from a humanist perspective.

Criticisms of RTE are largely similar to critiques of human rights

discourse. In other words, the RTE discourse is not exempt from criticism that it implicitly presupposes Western-centered *ontological individualism*, plays a role as a tool for the spread of neoliberalism, and avoids political issues by focusing mainly on the minimal humanitarian approach. Also, tension is intrinsic to the nature of RTE, in which the social and private spheres intersect. By reexamining these criticisms, this dissertation reveals that the existing discourse on RTE, which assumes the nation-state based on the social contract as the duty-bearer and mainly focuses on access to opportunities, should be reinterpreted expansively in three aspects of equality: *substance, agents,* and *subjects*. More fundamentally, it argues that the epistemological and ontological limitations of the RTE discourse stem from the Western-centric perception of equality, that is, *impartiality*. Thus, the dissertation raises the need for a normative theory that can more expansively reinterpret the impartiality on which human rights discourses are based.

In the meantime, human dignity, conceived on the basis of ancient *cosmopolitanism* and developed by accommodating modern *egalitarianism*, stems from the idea that human beings have certain qualities that distinguish them from other beings just because they are human. It holds the conceptual potential to expand the universality of human rights in that they are found not only in Western societies but also in the traditions of non-Western societies such as Asia and Africa. In addition, the moral and existential ideals pursued by human dignity have inherent perceptions of equality: *open impartiality* and *intersubjectivity*. In other words, the impartiality of the human rights discourse is expanded to these two notions through the ideological lens of human dignity. Dignity also reinforces the normative strength of human rights by embracing the principles of social justice through these perceptions of equality.

In this regard, this dissertation presents dignitarian justice as a coherent theoretical framework from a humanist perspective. Dignitarian justice pursues global justice by encompassing the demands of human rights and social justice. In the framework, human rights are positioned as "basic dignity" that aims for a "decent life" for individuals, and social justice is the "maximal dignity" that pursues a "flourishing life" for everyone. In addition, the perceptions of open impartiality and intersubjectivity play a role as moral lenses that identify and redress *interactional, structural,* and *existential injustices.* In other words, the two perceptions of equality are interlinked through *solidaristic empowerment*, rectifying the three dimensions of injustice that hinder the development of *capabilities*. In this sense, "equality of opportunity" in education should be expanded to "equality of capabilities" based on human dignity.

Meanwhile, to empirically demonstrate the limitations faced by the RTE discourse since the 1990s, this research analyzed discourse on adult education from 1990 to 2015, when UNESCO led the Education for All (EFA) movement. As is well known, adult education that UNESCO has been carrying out under the banner of humanism since its foundation has historical and symbolic significance to promote RTE. However, UNESCO's adult education, which originally aimed at fundamental social change and human liberation, was not free from the accelerating changes in educational multilateralism and the influence of neoliberal globalization in the 1990s. Therefore, in this dissertation, two-layered research was conducted to reveal the order of discourse that UNESCO at the crossroads established in adult education from three aspects of RTE and to reinterpret it through the lens of dignitarian justice. In short, the discourses were analyzed and recontextualized in the theoretical framework of dignitarian justice.

Discourse analysis started with the work of capturing discursive changes at the macro level from the collected data. To this end, this research compared two historical recommendations adopted by UNESCO in the field of adult education and took "learning" as a thematic signifier. Afterward, through *multiperspectival discourse analysis* based on social constructivism, UNESCO's discursive strategies and the four phases of *learnification* were identified in the discourse on adult education by transforming and diffusing the learning discourse. They are *pre-learnification, diversification, technocratization,* and *suprematization* of learning.

The order of discourse in adult education revealed in three aspects of RTE by phase of learnification were as follows: First, on the substance of RTE, UNESCO's discourse, which had highlighted access to "endogenous knowledge" in the phase of pre-learnification later absorbed texts such as "human development" and "ICTs" to emphasize access to functionalized knowledge. In particular, after the phase of technocratization of learning that progressed in the 2000s, discourses underscoring knowledge management began to emerge across the order of discourse established by UNESCO in adult education by combining with nodal discourses such as "knowledge-based economies," "knowledge societies," and "lifelong learning." Discourses that stress "quality education" and the provision of "competencies" are prime examples.

Second, concerning the agents of RTE, in UNESCO's discourse that had emphasized state-led education for endogenous development, the growing number of texts such as "decentralization," "partnership," and "governance" significantly expanded the discourse to encourage the participation of more diverse stakeholders, especially the private sector.

Third, the subjects of RTE were described as “citizens” with “indigenous knowledge and wisdom” in “a sense of fellowship and compassion” in the phase of pre-learnification. “Citizens” who respect “cultural diversity” were continuously maintained across the order of discourse established by UNESCO. However, with the “integration between the world of work and the world of learning,” competitive and productive workers as the “educated workforce” in “knowledge-driven economies.”

The order of discourse revealed in this way was recontextualized in the framework of dignitarian justice so that discourses that cause injustices could be identified and redressed: First, the discourses identified in the structural dimension were those of *knowledge as qualification* and *measurability*. These educational discourses cause injustice that weakens the pluralism and democratic potential of society by justifying social hierarchy based only on individual merit. To rectify this, I put forward the *all-subjected principle* based on *parity of participation*. Second, in the interactional dimension of dignitarian justice, the discourses of *knowledge as commodity* and *decentralization* were identified. They lead to injustice by shifting public responsibility for education to individuals in need. It can be redressed by all educational actors becoming *formative agents of justice*, that is, dignified agents with responsibility for others based on open impartiality. Lastly, the discourses on *depersonalized knowledge* and *human resource* were identified in the existential dimension. This educational discourse posits humans as vulnerable, adaptive, resilient, rational, and neoliberal subjects. Against this existential injustice that instrumentalizes and objectifies human beings, this dissertation proposed *a pedagogy of interruption* for *subjectification* in education.

Keyword: UNESCO, right to education, human dignity, global justice, adult education, lifelong learning, discourse analysis

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

ADG	Assistant Director-General
ALE	Adult Learning and Education
BFA	Belém Framework for Action
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CONFINTEA	International Conference(s) on Adult Education
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DG	Director-General
DOA	Discursive Order Analysis
EB	Executive Board
EFA	Education for All
GC	General Conference
GMR	Global Monitoring Report
GRALE	Global Report(s) on Adult Learning and Education
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IGO	Intergovernmental Organization
LWF	Learning Without Frontiers
MDG(s)	Millennium Development Goal(s)
MS	Member State(s)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIEO	New International Economic Order
NQF	National Qualification Framework
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
RBA	Rights-Based Approach
RTE	Right to Education
RVA	Recognition, Validation, and Accreditation

SDG(s)	Sustainable Development Goal(s)
TIF	Text Indexing Form
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UIE	UNESCO Institute for Education
UIL	UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
US	United States
VET	Vocational Education and Training
WB	World Bank

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

> … The first item concerned *educational and cultural institutions in the Occupied Arab Territories* [emphasis added]. This proved to be a contentious issue and following multiple rounds of roll-call voting… After a negotiated settlement between the concerned parties and witnessed by France, the draft resolution was recommended for adoption by consensus… *A number of Member States also expressed frustration with the heightened politicization* [emphasis added] of these issues in the Education Commission. (UNESCO, 2019, p. 313)

At the Education Commission of the 39th UNESCO General Conference (hereafter GC) held in 2017, there was a fierce debate over the adoption of Item 4.3, which aimed to ensure the right to education (hereafter RTE) for children in Palestine. Israel, which did not recognize Palestine as a state, tried to thwart the adoption of the agenda, which the United States (hereafter the US) supported. In response, the majority of the remaining Member States (hereafter MS) were in a tense confrontation, expressing strong dissatisfaction with the "politicization" of humanitarian aid for education. The meeting was postponed to the next day because Israel, which judged that the voting would be unfavorable if it proceeded as it was, continued to raise questions about the procedure, but in the end, the item was adopted after three rounds of voting.[1] As a result, this agenda has been settled, but the issue of whether equal educational opportunities should be provided for

[1] At that time, I participated in the Education Commission as a member of the Korean delegation and was able to grasp the atmosphere of the meeting in detail. In addition, the process and results of the meeting were reconfirmed by the Korean National Commission for UNESCO (2017, p. 24).

residents of conflict-affected areas and, if so, who should provide them, continues to spark controversy.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

This dissertation is normative and empirical research on the discourse on RTE that has been pursued in global education governance. As seen in the previous section, even today, 70 years after it was derived from the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (hereinafter UDHR), tensions, conflicts, and sometimes struggles over the RTE discourse still occur at international and national levels.

Education as a human right, or RTE, is the educational perspective and purpose that many countries and actors in global education governance today seek to realize by advocating equality of educational opportunity. As with the anecdote in the introduction about the occupied Arab territories, RTE is also a hotly debated discourse in global education governance. Above all, RTE is fundamentally weak in ensuring the rights of stateless persons, which is the so-called *Arendt's paradox* (Morris, 2010, p. 1). Then, who should be responsible for protecting the RTE of citizens living in vulnerable countries or territories without legal protection? Is not what they need – to borrow Arendt's words – "the right to have [the] right" to education? If so, what is the theoretical basis for this assertion?

Ironically, since the end of the Cold War, a period of intense competition among state systems, the arena of education has witnessed a dramatic rise in the presence of non-state actors such as transnational corporations, philanthropic institutions, civil society advocacy networks, and the global business community (Mundy et al., 2016). They have expanded involvement in education through

various forms of “partnership” while claiming their own educational goals. In many cases, however, they have used the RTE discourse as a means to pursue profit, emphasizing “freedom of education” (Balsera et al., 2016). Similarly, the landscape of global policy governance in education has also changed. Leaving behind the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (hereafter UNESCO), which advocated education as a fundamental human right, the World Bank (hereafter WB) and Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (hereafter OECD) expanded their influence. The WB has implemented and managed technical and vocational education programs in developing countries as an “investment in human capital” for economic growth. The OECD has contributed significantly to the proliferation of “standardized performance benchmarks of educational systems” by devising programs to internationally compare and assess education systems (Mundy et al., 2016, p. 12).

As such, through a series of changes in global education governance since the mid-to-late 1980s, “education” has been converted into a new language of “learning.” In particular, the “lifelong learning” discourse spread by the OECD has formed a transnational market called the “global education industry” by embracing various stakeholders including private actors in education (World Bank, 2003; Biesta, 2010; Verger et al., 2020). Nevertheless, there are no moral standards or norms to protect and promote the social equality aspect of the RTE while regulating this expansion of the private sector in global education governance (Balsera et al., 2016).

In the midst of this, the unprecedented climate crisis, deepening inequality, and the rise of extremism and hatred all over the world lead to the question: what is the *common good*? Then, what should be the role of education in reaching the

common good? Can the changes in the phenomenon of and the discourse in education, which have been progressing globally, answer these questions? Does the discourse on RTE, which stands for "equality of educational opportunity," present an educational direction that pursues the common good while responding to the global injustice faced by humankind?

I conceive that the questions above concerning RTE lead to the following two normative requirements. The first is the requirement to expand the RTE discourse in the context of human rights. A human rights discourse that assumes Western contractual nation-states as duty-bearers cannot adequately protect the rights of people without nationalities. It also epistemologically and ontologically excludes people's identities in non-Western societies from human rights discourse by implicitly presuming them to be inferior. The second is the requirement for *justice*, a moral conception of the relationship between the right and the good. In other words, various tensions and conflicts surrounding RTE at national and global levels today cannot be resolved without a debate about justice. Therefore, the RTE discourse must be reinterpreted today to meet these two requirements of human rights and justice. This dissertation presents human dignity as a philosophical concept that can accommodate these requirements in a coherent normative framework.

1.2. Research Purpose and Questions

The purpose of this study is to problematize the limits of the RTE discourse today and to reinterpret it as an expanded normative discourse through human dignity. The RTE discourse has universally advocated the ideal of equality

of opportunity in education. In this discourse study, human dignity is presented as a normative theory and ideological lens that expands RTE as a human right and encompasses the demands of social justice. This dissertation aims to critically review the existing way of talking about and understanding RTE and to justify the demand for justice based on human dignity.

Research on the RTE discourse can be regarded as a study of rights because it assumes education is a human right. Morris (2006) pointed out the academic reality that many studies on rights are being conducted in philosophy and legal conception. The study of rights in philosophy considers the formation of human rights from the notion of natural law, focusing on historical events and norms, and examines the core values and concepts thereupon. Meanwhile, in legal conception, the nature and status of international human rights laws are examined, and attention is paid to *how they are applied* in international and domestic organizations. By analyzing rights at the moral and abstract level, the above studies remain in the normative domain and are limited in capturing the politics of rights in practice.

Against the normative limitations of these legal and philosophical studies, the sociological approach to rights helps to get closer to the nature of rights in practice by providing an empirical basis (Morris, 2006; 2010). As is well known, human rights discourse is “the world’s first universal ideology” that has spread globally through international norms (Weissbrodt, 1988). It suggests that a sociological analysis that assumes the process of “institutionalization of the rights” as “social facts” is possible. The important point here is that while a *social fact* presupposes “external constraint” on an agency’s action, it does not mean it excludes morality or normativity (Turner, 1993). The human rights phenomenon

is a social fact in which a value-judgment is already inherent and thus is clearly distinguished from *natural fact*. From a sociological point of view, human rights discourse should be understood as socially constructed rather than inherent in human beings. Therefore, the formation process and context should be analyzed in the relationship between social structures and institutions.

In this context, this study, which takes both the normative and the empirical approach to human rights, stands on the traditions of philosophy and sociology. However, at the same time, this study analyzes the rights discourse through *learning* which has been expanded and transformed in the realm of education and attempts a theoretical reinterpretation. In this respect, this research is also based on educational philosophy and sociology of education.

Meanwhile, UNESCO is an intergovernmental organization (hereafter IGO) that has aimed to realize RTE, pursuing "the education of humanity" (UNESCO, 1949). As is well known, UNESCO has declared its ambition to realize RTE through "full and equal opportunities for education for all" in its charter:

> For these reasons, the States Parties to this Constitution, believing in *full and equal opportunities for education for all* [emphasis added], in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and in *the free exchange of ideas and knowledge* [emphasis added], are agreed and determined to develop and to increase the means of communication between their peoples and to employ these means for the purposes of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives. (UNESCO, 1945, Preamble)

UNESCO (1945, Article I) declared that "collaboration among nations" would be institutionalized to advance "the ideal of equality of educational

opportunity without regard to race, sex or any distinctions, economic or social" under the normative values of "universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms."

Nevertheless, there is still a long way to go before RTE can be fully realized on a global scale. A symbolic indicator appears in adult education. Adult education is an educational project that UNESCO has historically implemented to realize the ideal of equality of opportunity in education. UNESCO's philosophy of adult education based on "common humanity" has continued as *fundamental education* aimed at drastically reducing the world's illiterate population, *adult literacy* based on the tradition of popular education, and *lifelong learning* in the South with a focus on *basic education* (UNESCO, 1949; Torres, 2004; Elfert, 2017). In this sense, the discourse that UNESCO has produced on adult education is appropriate as a research subject to empirically apply the framework of humanist justice theorized in this dissertation.

Despite UNESCO's efforts, the achievement of the adult education sector at the global level has been miserable since 1990. According to UNESCO (2015a), the EFA goal of halving the illiteracy rate has not been achieved, and in particular, no country has achieved gender equality in literacy rates. Besides, literacy rates in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia were insufficient to keep up with the global average. UNESCO points out that even "progress" in literacy rates in some countries results from a demographic change due to an increase in the educated young population rather than the outcome of literacy programs. Table 1.1 and Table 1.2 illustrate these macro trends that emerged after the 1990s.

[Table 1.1]

Global Adult Literacy Rates by Sex

	1991–1995	1996–2000	2001–2005	2006–2010	2011–2015
Total	75.74	79.50	81.85	83.33	84.98
Male	82.36	85.14	87.03	87.98	88.93
Female	69.14	73.89	76.56	78.73	81.05

Note. Percentage of people aged 15 and above from 1991 to 2015 calculated by researcher based on data from the World Bank (2019).

[Table 1.2]

Global Adult Literacy Rates in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa

	1991–1995	1996–2000	2001–2005	2006–2010	2011–2015
World	75.74	79.50	81.85	83.33	84.98
South Asia	47.94	54.50	59.79	63.36	68.04
Sub-Saharan Africa	53.98	56.81	58.89	58.75	62.81

Note. Percentage of people aged 15 and above from 1991 to 2015 calculated by researcher based on data from the World Bank (2019). High-income countries were excluded from the regional group of sub-Saharan Africa.

UNESCO admits to the failure of adult literacy education during the EFA period, pointing to each country's lack of political commitment. As shown in Table 1.3, the lack of political will for adult education leads to spending only about 1% of public education finances worldwide.

[Table 1.3]

Percentage of Adult Education Out of Total Public Expenditure on Education by Region

World	Middle East	Asia and Pacific	Europe and North America	Latin America	Sub-Saharan Africa
1.06	0.99	0.88	1.19	0.72	0.55

Source. Based on data from UNESCO (2009)

As seen in the above statistics, inequality by gender and region in adult literacy is still significant, and there is still no global consensus to solve this problem. RTE's ideal of equality of opportunity in education is a long way off. What do these results suggest?

As a fundamental factor that gave rise to the above global landscape related to RTE, I question the discourse postulating education as a minimal human right. In particular, the proposition of "equality of educational opportunity" for realizing RTE needs to be expanded and structured more in the idea of human dignity today, where global inequality and injustice are deepening. In order to justify such an argument, I intend to analyze the discourses in adult education that UNESCO has advocated for the realization of RTE and reinterpret them from the humanist perspective that encompasses the demands of expanded human rights and social justice. This work is conducted by analyzing the discourses that UNESCO has produced in adult education based on Fairclough's (2015) concept of *order of discourse* and recontextualizing the results in the framework of *dignitarian justice*. In particular, by critically reinterpreting UNESCO's educational discourse since the 1990s, when the Education for All (hereafter EFA) movement spread worldwide with the end of the Cold War, I intend to discursively

identify today's limitations of RTE and acquire justification for an expansive educational norm based on human dignity.

Based on the above background and purpose, I will answer the following question through this research. How is the RTE discourse "produced, consumed, and distributed" (Fairclough, 1992) by UNESCO in adult education during the EFA period recontextualized in the theory of dignitarian justice?

It is further divided into two research questions as follows. First, what is the order of discourse that UNESCO has established in adult education? To this end, how did UNESCO's discursive strategy unfold? Second, what is the injustice embedded in the order of discourse that UNESCO has established in adult education, and how can it be redressed?

1.3. Contents of Research

The contents of the research conducted in this dissertation to answer the above questions are as follows. Chapter II reveals the limitations of RTE as a concept and discourse based on the review of previous studies and substantiates dignitarian justice as a theoretical framework for expansive reinterpretation. To this end, first, UNESCO's role and educational norms and standards are reviewed as educational multilateralism (Mundy, 1999). As noted, UNESCO is an IGO that has championed RTE through educational multilateralism. Adult education, in particular, is a symbolic educational work that UNESCO has been promoting since its foundation from a humanistic perspective. It is also a field of education in which changes to the organization's policy discourse on equality of educational opportunity can be tracked. Previous studies show that changes in educational

multilateralism and neoliberal globalization spread since the 1980s have affected UNESCO's role and status in adult education. It means that the traditional perspective of the organization on adult education pursuing the realization of equality of educational opportunity is due for transformative expansion.

Second, a theoretical reexamination is conducted to identify the limitations of the RTE discourse. RTE derived from the conception of human rights retains the limits of human rights discourse to a large extent. In this regard, I examine criticisms that human rights discourse implicitly presupposes Western-centric ontological individualism and has served as a tool for spreading neoliberalism and avoiding political issues. I also consider the conceptual tensions internally borne by the RTE discourse, irrespective of human rights. Through these theoretical examinations, I reconfirm the validity of RTE while arguing that the traditional RTE perspective on parochial *impartiality* has certain limitations in coping with global injustices occurring today in the field of education. In doing so, I accept Gilbert's (2018) *expansive view* of human rights that meets the demand for social justice.

Third, as a core concept to justify the above argumentation, human dignity is examined from an epistemological and ontological perspective. The moral and existential ideal of human dignity based on *cosmopolitanism* embraces human rights and social justice in a coherent framework of humanist justice, that is, dignitarian justice. In particular, impartiality, the perception of equality premised on Western-centric human rights discourse, is expanded to the moral and existential perceptions of *open impartiality* and *intersubjectivity* (Sen, 2009) in the idea of human dignity. In accommodating these requirements of expanded human rights and social justice into dignitarian justice, the RTE discourse, which was

confined to the substantial and procedural aspects of equality, is reinterpreted to mean equality of *capabilities* encompassing structural and existential aspects of human dignity. Consequently, the *interactional, structural*, and *existential* dimensions of dignitarian justice raise questions concerning injustices embedded in three aspects of RTE discourse: *equality of what* (substance), *by whom* (agents), and *for whom* (subjects).

Chapter III, on the premise that this study was based on social constructivism, introduces the methodological approach adopted to analyze the discourse on adult education produced by UNESCO during the EFA period and to recontextualize it in the theoretical framework of dignitarian justice. For data collection and processing, I first *compare* the two recommendations on adult education adopted by UNESCO and justify the identification of "learning" as a thematic signifier. I then *index* texts related to "learning" from a total of 38 documents that UNESCO has produced on adult education. The clusters of texts that emerged by indexing (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994) are described and interpreted based on *interdiscursivity* and *intertextuality* in text and discursive practice among the three dimensions of discourse conceptualized by Fairclough (1992). Through this, the orders of discourse established by UNESCO in adult education are revealed in three aspects of RTE. They are finally recontextualized in the theoretical framework of dignitarian justice.

Chapter IV describes and interprets the discourses UNESCO has produced in adult education during the EFA period in three aspects of RTE discourse. Above all, under the strong influence of external discourse due to changes in global education governance and shifts in the development agenda, UNESCO's discursive strategies in response to dilemmas while striving to

maintain a humanistic perspective are analyzed. Then the order of discourse established in adult education is revealed in three aspects of RTE according to UNESCO's strategic discursive phases of *learnification*: *pre-learnification, diversification, technocratization,* and *suprematization of learning*.

Chapter V explains the injustices identified in the recontextualization of the orders of discourse revealed in Chapter IV and presents theoretical solutions. In other words, along with the progression of learnification, injustices embedded in the discourse on adult education are identified in three dimensions of dignitarian justice, and educational concepts to redress them are presented in each dimension.

In Chapter VI, based on the research process and summarized results, I conclude this dissertation by proposing the democratization of knowledge for incorporating human dignity into the educational discourse.

1.4. Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

This study, which analyzes discourses that emerged from documents produced by UNESCO in adult education from 1990 to 2015 and reinterprets them from a humanist perspective, presents the following limitations and the need for further studies.

Above all, the limitation and possibility of this study is the discovery of "knowledge" as a *floating signifier*.[2] While "learning" is a signifier justified in

[2] This research regards knowledge as a floating signifier conceptualized in Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory. The floating signifier is the one that "floats" across different discourses and is fixated as a specific signified at specific moments. As such, knowledge in this study is far from that in the sociology of knowledge, which focuses on knowledge arising from the relationship between human thoughts and social base (Oxford University Press, 2022).

the process of discourse analysis, “knowledge” is a signifier discovered from the results of discourse analysis. Knowledge emerged as a signifier throughout the EFA implementation period, along with learning. In other words, knowledge was a floating signifier that led to learnification across the order of discourse established by UNESCO in adult education. For example, endogenous knowledge, underscored in the early 1990s, was transformed into standardized knowledge through *articulation* with texts such as information, skills, and competencies. Moreover, around 2000, the “knowledge society” discourse integrated the discourse of work and the discourse of learning. In other words, knowledge formed a relationship with learning and influenced the production of discursive injustice, which is argued in this study. Therefore, a closer examination of the discourse on knowledge that has been subsumed in the marketization discourse to democratize the results in social practice further would be a more meaningful follow-up study that would practically contribute to redressing injustice in education.

In this regard, I would like to refer to the world education report recently published by UNESCO, *Reimagining Our Futures Together: A New Social Contract for Education* (International Commission on the Futures of Education, 2021). As the title suggests, the report presents the concept of a “new social contract for education” “to repair injustices while transforming the future.” The report notes that “extensive power asymmetries” (p. vii) are at play, particularly in “people’s ability to access and create knowledge.” “Knowledge commons” is a concept for the democratization of knowledge proposed by UNESCO to resolve structural injustice in education and conclude a new social contract.

Meanwhile, “dignity,” which appears 15 times in the report, is combined in a chain of equivalence with texts such as “humanity,” “human rights,” and

"earth." In particular, dignity is mentioned as something that is undermined by "structures of power" and "political repression" seeking "domination" and "control" (International Commission on the Futures of Education, 2021, p. 9). In this context, adult education is presented as "emancipatory educational proposals" "to fight against systems of dehumanization, oppression or colonization" (p. 107).

In this way, UNESCO continues the humanist perspective on education maintained in the *Faure report* and the *Delors report* to this day. The discursive dilemma analyzed in Section 4.1.2 of this dissertation is, even under the strong external influence of the macroeconomic discourse, the result of UNESCO's "hegemonic intervention" (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002) to try to instill the humanist perspective into the discourse on adult education. Nevertheless, due to the nature of the critical discourse study, the fact that UNESCO's attempts were not clearly revealed in the analysis results should be supplemented through follow-up research.

As another limitation of discourse study, this dissertation did not explain the phenomenon in which the RTE discourse is implemented in individual countries, societies, or organizations. In other words, the discovery in this study is limited to signifiers and discourses resulting from an intertextual and interdiscursive interpretation based on the textual data that UNESCO "produces, consumes, and distributes" (Fairclough, 1992) in its discursive practice and theoretical recontextualization in the framework of dignitarian justice. Thus this work was essentially conducted at an abstract level to some extent. Therefore, there is a limit to applying the discursive injustices shown in this dissertation to practical and phenomenological injustices in social practices.

Nonetheless, discourse as "a particular way of talking about and

understanding the world" (Paltridge, 2006) by the individual or collective subjects is constructed as it interacts with concrete phenomena in social practice. Hence, it is self-evident that discourse has power over social practice. In this regard, the three dimensions of injustice presented in this study can be applied more powerfully to identify injustice embedded in historical and structural events that occurred at the social level (Lu, 2017). Therefore, more dynamic and multi-layered discourse studies in connection with social practice are required in the future.

CHAPTER II. PROBLEMATIZING UNESCO'S ADVOCACY FOR THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION AND THEORIZING DIGNITARIAN JUSTICE

2.1. Examining UNESCO's Viewpoint on Adult Education Based on the Right to Education: In the Context of Educational Multilateralism

UNESCO is an international organization that has been championing the RTE movement since its inception. Even though the Constitution of the organization states that education is a fundamental human right, the education sector of UNESCO, which is inherently an intergovernmental agency pursuing multilateral cooperation, has not been free from the dynamics of global politics. In this section, in the context of educational multilateralism, I will examine the role of UNESCO in forming and leading the RTE discourse in global education policy since its inception. To this end, I will assess UNESCO's status as a *standard-setter* in educational multilateralism. Next, the norms and standards that UNESCO has enacted to promote RTE amid historical changes in educational multilateralism will be reviewed. Lastly, by examining previous studies on UNESCO's views and works on adult education in the context of RTE, I will reveal that the organization's approach to equality of educational opportunity has exposed certain limits, especially since the 1990s.

2.1.1. Positioning UNESCO in Educational Multilateralism

Studies on how international organizations affect educational multilateralism was conducted from two distinct perspectives. One is the view of the Weberian constructivists, who emphasize the role of international institutions as "carriers" for school system expansion (McNeely & Cha, 1994; McNeely, 1995; Finnemore, 1993; 1996). Another is the approach to international organizations as institutions "cooling down" the public's demands for justice and redistribution through the spread of popular education (Carnoy, 1974; Carnoy & Levin, 1985; Dale, 2000; 2007). It assumes international organizations legally infringe state sovereignty, expand transnational private authorities, spread neoliberal educational governance, and contribute to "the expansion of cultural imperialism and world capitalism" (Dale, 1999; Dale & Robertson, 2002; Robertson et al., 2002). These studies and discussions were mainly conducted in political economics, presupposing that education is subordinated to political economy.

However, recent studies in education have argued that the influence of education based on the school system is more vital than economic globalization, and the change in the world led by education is likened to a "quiet revolution" (Baker, 2014). In particular, since the 1990s, as Western-centered globalization accelerated, it has also been argued that international institutions in the context of multilateralism have the potential to exert a certain amount of influence on unilateral economic globalization in the field of education (Mundy, 1999).

In this regard, Mundy (2007) approaches the birth of international regimes for education for development after World War II in the following four intertwined aspects: First, the need to expand the educational system of emerging independent

states in the South has spread worldwide. Second, education as a universal human right was emphasized, such as in the UNESCO Constitution or the UDHR. Third, a redistributive function of education that emphasizes equality has begun to be underscored. It was highlighted at the national level in the welfare state model and pursued through educational assistance at the international level. Lastly, as there was the need to assist in educational development, an operative rule for both donors and recipients was necessary.

Research on UNESCO has also been conducted amidst the changing dynamics of world order and educational multilateralism. Despite the beautiful presentation of the charter of the American poet Archibald MacLeish, UNESCO has been a diplomatic battlefield between the states seeking political interests since its inception. The UNESCO Constitution is the result of this compromise. The awkward political integration of idealism and realism led to the dissonance of UNESCO as "lofty ideals, a vague mandate, an incoherent multiplicity of functions and inadequate resources" (Coleman & Jones, 2004, p. 45). In other words, unlike the ideals of "intellectual and moral solidarity of humankind" (UNESCO, 1945), UNESCO is an IGO embedded with a realist perspective that each MS has pursued its national interest in the education, sciences, culture, and communication sectors.

Since its inception as an international regime, UNESCO has focused on educational development assistance to newly independent countries free from colonization and has established international standards and norms to promote RTE. The function of establishing norms is an essential one specified in the UNESCO Constitution (article IV). The norm is broadly divided into legal instruments and moral standards that reflect the political commitment of the MS.

The two major legal mechanisms are conventions for which MS are legally accountable and recommendations that each MS autonomously implements, taking into account its own circumstances. Moral norms are declarations and guidelines, and principles. The UNESCO GC generally adopts legal mechanisms. However, they can also be determined at international conferences hosted by a certain MS. Those wishing to establish a mechanism may submit to the Executive Board (hereafter EB) a report on their preliminary studies of the technical and legal aspects. The GC will finalize the draft of the norms in which comments and observations have been reflected. Thus, the UNESCO norms are born through tensions and compromises among MS with different political, economic, and cultural perspectives and interests. From a constructivist point of view, standards established by international organizations result from power politics among MS and profoundly impact the organization's activities and work.

2.1.2. Reviewing UNESCO's Norms and Standards for the Promotion of the Right to Education in the Changes of Educational Multilateralism

UNESCO's norms and standards in education have promoted RTE as international law by experimentally introducing "new techniques" (Abi-Saab, 2007, p. 398). The UNESCO Constitution is inscribed to provide "full and equal opportunities for education for all" and "to contribute to the peace and security" of humankind. This educational mandate specified in its Constitution was embodied as RTE by three clauses of Article 26 of the UDHR. The first clause emphasizes that the state should provide free basic education, such as primary education. The second clause highlights that such education aims to develop

personality at the individual level, respect for human rights and fundamental freedom, and maintain peace through mutual understanding. In sum, UNESCO's idea of RTE is that education should be accessible to all in quantitative terms and should be sufficiently given to enable individual fulfillment in qualitative terms (UNESCO, 2007).

Mundy (1999), from a critical and constructivist perspective, revealed that UNESCO has continuously adopted legal and moral standards and norms for the promotion of RTE while being affected by changes in the world order. She divided the history of UNESCO in education into the following three periods according to changes in educational multilateralism.

The first is the period of "the rise of educational multilateralism" (1945-1970). UNESCO was born internationally in the context of the need for multilateralism that emerged after World War II and the domestic model of the Keynesian welfare state. This period is called "embedded liberalism," in which the national economy's adjustment and redistributive social policies began to be institutionalized as core tasks of multilateral institutions to stabilize the global economic system (Mundy, 1999). UNESCO's peace and security mission should also be understood as part of this common welfare of humanity.

The emergence of postwar and multilateralism and a welfare state model in pursuit of universal human rights has significantly impacted UNESCO's educational perspective at this time. While the importance of fundamental education under the umbrella of the RTE was recognized, Education for International Understanding (EIU) was born under the value of mutual understanding.

Meanwhile, the *Convention on Discrimination in Education and the Recommendation on Discrimination in Education* (hereafter the 1960 convention) adopted at the 11th UNESCO GC in 1960 is a legal instrument representing the spirit of the RTE. The 1960 convention is the first international standard to provide comprehensive measures for public education. It is based on Article 26 of the UDHR in its preamble, which states that any discrimination such "as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, or economic condition or birth" shall not be allowed in education at all levels. One noteworthy point is that while acknowledging the unique educational practices and activities of minority groups in the country, it also implies that the rights of minority groups may be restricted if they conflict with national sovereignty or the entire culture (Article 5.1).

The second is the "from contestation to impasse" period (the 1970s and early 1980s). In the 1970s, the Third World bloc emerged, and the post-war international order was reorganized. Third World nations at this time strongly insisted on economic redistribution rights based on the New International Economic Order (NIEO). As a result, the Third World alliance, also known as the Group of 77, was formed in 1974 by the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) and adopted a resolution of NIEO, which called for a fair trade mechanism between the South and the North and a democratic decision-making process in the United Nations (hereafter UN).

On the other hand, the US and European countries, which adopted the Keynesian welfare state model and continued to stabilize their economies, were faced with the need to respond to the domestic opinion on new issues such as peace, human rights, disarmament, women, and anti-racism (Mundy, 1999). Such

changes in international circumstances also affected educational multilateralism. The most striking was the fundamental skepticism about the international educational cooperation led by the Western countries that emerged in the South. UNESCO, which had played a role in supporting education and development programs of the Third World since the 1960s, was also under the strong political influence of these MS. UNESCO, thus, was given the task of renewing the direction of international educational cooperation.

The educational orientation established by UNESCO is articulated in the first world education report, *Learning to Be: The World of Education Today and Tomorrow* (Faure et al., 1972), also called the *Faure report*. In the report, UNESCO examined the education of humankind from a historical perspective. Education was faced with "a dead end," and the very notion of education should be expanded to lifelong education based on "scientific humanism," which generated worldwide repercussions. It means education, overshadowed by the economy, has been restored to its autonomous status. Similarly, a new worldview on the "learning society" was conceived and advocated.

The main legal instrument in this period is the *Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* (hereafter the 1974 recommendation) adopted at the 18th UNESCO GC in 1974. While other UNESCO legal instruments address specific areas of education, the 1974 recommendation is the only one that sets the values of peace and human rights as the main thrust of education. Furthermore, it declares the decolonization of international education cooperation in which colonialism has been embedded in the developmental discourse. Savolainen (2010) emphasizes that the 1974

recommendation, which emerged during periods of strong US and Soviet influence, is a product of political compromise. The 1974 recommendation implicitly emphasizes justice, equality, and democratic values that may be controversial while highlighting that this is the bureaucracy's value, not market value. The 1974 recommendation on the RTE became the basis for the value-based education agenda established by UNESCO in the years to come.

The third is the "crisis and reform" period (1985-1998). In this period, the crisis of multilateralism arose due to changes in the policies of the world economic system and the social welfare and security of the western states. Western capitalist nations such as the US and Britain adopted new economic lines to solve the ongoing economic downturn, with transnational mobility of financial capital, control of production patterns by multinational corporations, and labor flexibility. The Third World bloc rapidly disintegrated under the accelerated economic restructuring of globalization (Marchand, 1994). Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, multilateral institutions have been dominated by Western states with affluent capital and transformed into mechanisms for spreading neoliberalism (Mundy, 1999). Developed countries began to pressure multilateral institutions with financial resources for international development. At the same time, new actors, such as international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), emerged in the international community, and their efficiency and accountability began to be highlighted.

The political dynamics of UNESCO in the 1980s are illustrative of this crisis of multilateralism. UNESCO tends to engage in philosophy and discourse by rejecting the basic needs approach to international development in the 1980s. It differed from the direction of developed countries such as the US, which

expressed a functionalist vision of development, which made UNESCO the primary target for UN reforms led by the US. Political tensions between the Third World and the West within UNESCO eventually exploded in controversy over the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). At that time, MS in the Third World blamed the Western media for misleading international public opinion with biased reporting. As a result, the US, Britain, and Singapore withdrew from UNESCO from 1984 to 1985. With the withdrawal of these influential MS, UNESCO's overall budget shrunk by about 30%, and thus its educational programs were severely curtailed and limited to primary education and adult literacy (Mundy, 1999).

As neoliberal globalization required changes to education, UNESCO issued a second report entitled *Learning: The Treasure within* (Delors, 1996). Borrowing the author's name, French economist Jacques Delors, the *Delors Report* presents *learning to live together* as a way to solve new global problems caused by accelerated globalization and deepening interdependence. "Learning to live together," along with "learning to know," "learning to do," and "learning to be," constituted the four pillars of education. The ultimate goal is to achieve learning to be, and the other three components are ways toward this goal, reaffirming that UNESCO's education still lies in humanism.

Despite the overall contraction of the education sector, UNESCO's efforts to secure its leadership in basic education led to a succession of international conferences, including the World Conference on EFA in 1990 and the CONFINTEA V in 1997. These conferences in the 1990s contributed to aligning the Millenium Development Goals (hereafter MDGs) and EFA adopted by the UN in 2000. However, these events were also evidence that UNESCO's field of

expertise, which was to vigorously promote RTE in global education governance, was now diminished to primary and adult education merely to meet "basic learning needs" (UNESCO, 1990; 2007).

2.1.3. Examining UNESCO's Viewpoint on Adult Education in the Context of the Right to Education

UNESCO's Humanistic Viewpoint on Adult Education in Pursuit of Social Justice

> Every man is entitled to his share of *common humanity* [emphasis added], no matter where he was born or what the color of his skin… Any attempt in any part of the world to alienate human beings from their basic rights on grounds of race or religion must therefore be combated and it should be part of our endeavors to spread a fully enlightened point of view where this problem may be met. (UNESCO, 1949, p. 30)

Adult education was historically born out of the solid social, political, and economic needs of the working class that emerged in the US and Great Britain in the 19th century (Hudson, 1851; Jones, 2011; Popović & Maksimović, 2016). Early adult education emphasized the role of literacy for the "emancipation" of the people based on radicalism and progressivism that pursued fundamental social change.

In the mid-20th century, the tradition of adult education pursuing equality was inherited in the humanistic form by UNESCO in its advocacy for RTE. In the early days of its establishment, UNESCO led fundamental education as part of

adult education. It was a literacy project that exemplified the organization's "humanistic," "rights-based and emancipatory" approach to adult education (Elfert, 2019a; 2019b).

UNESCO pointed out "ignorance" and "illiteracy" as the cause of global inequality in education, and thus an "attack on illiteracy" as a top priority in education (Huxley, 1946; Furedi, 2015; Elfert, 2017). As a result, early literacy education was implemented in the context of the Fundamental Education project to improve living standards in connection with school education, health care, and the community. Moreover, during the project, the statistical visibility of the low literacy rates provoked political debates, including the need for education and decolonization (Wagner, 2011; Matasci, 2017; Elfert, 2017). Despite these political influences, however, it was pointed out that the ambiguous scope of the Fundamental Education program could overlap with the work of other UN agencies, and the program was eventually abolished at the 10th UNESCO GC in 1958 (UNESCO, 1958; 2015c; Johns, 1990; Watras, 2010). Since then, literacy has been separated from primary education and has become a core concept of adult education.

UNESCO's humanistic perspective on adult education can also be found in CONFINTEA, held by the organization every 12 to 13 years. In particular, at the first conference held in 1949, UNESCO (1949, p. 9) promoted "a true spirit" of "democracy" and "humanity" as the goal of adult education. In addition, it declared that adult education pursues "brotherhood and peace, individual development and social justice (p. 64)," and preached the importance of international solidarity.

Meanwhile, the Faure Report and the Delors Report were the products of UNESCO's efforts to embrace "adults" outside formal education into the category of RTE through the concept of lifelong education. According to Elfert (2019a, p. 540), these two “flagship reports” fully expressed “the egalitarian and democratic spirit inherent in the idea of education as a human right.” In other words, UNESCO’s concept of lifelong education illuminating “a much stronger citizenship dimension” (Delors, 1996, p. 19) aims at “a more just world” through an “emancipatory claim for justice and equality (p. 88).” It suggests that UNESCO envisions the achievement of a “utopian learning society” through the “fundamental transformation of a society” as the ultimate goal of adult education (Elfert, 2019a).

UNESCO’s Rights-Based Approach to Adult Education for Equality of Opportunity

UNESCO’s discourse on adult education, with an emphasis on democracy and social justice based on humanism, has elevated the presence of adult education as an “explicit subject” of global policy (Milana, 2012). Nevertheless, UNESCO’s discourse shows limitations in responding to the multilayered effects of globalization since the 1990s by setting “access” to opportunities as the goal of adult education policy. This approach to RTE as the achievement of equality of opportunity simplifies the complex dimensions of injustice in adult education. UNESCO attempted to address this issue of access by expanding the temporal and spatial scope of adult education through lifelong learning, but this depoliticized

adult education by obscuring the responsibility and morality of education (Popović & Maksimović, 2016).

In this regard, some studies have been conducted in response to the demands of social justice in adult education. However, they are primarily proposing to remove factors of injustice that block access to opportunities (Tikly & Barrett, 2011) or ameliorate cultural injustice within programmed adult education with a pedagogical approach (Tett, 2019). Thus it was limited to narrow problem-solving.

UNESCO at a Crossroads in Adult Education

As UNESCO's traditional perspective on adult education reveals its weakness, the positions of previous studies conducted concerning UNESCO's role in global education governance are also in tight conflict. The previous research on UNESCO and adult education was conducted to infer the organization's perspective on adult education either by focusing mainly on changes in the concept of literacy (Wickens & Sandlin, 2007; Paye, 2013; Wagner, 2013) or approaching the broader discourse of lifelong education (Barros, 2012; Mandal, 2012; Németh, 2015; Hanemann, 2016). Other research pays attention to the change of governance and discourse of the UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning (hereafter UIL) (Elfert, 2013).

Previous studies strongly suggest the conflicting views that UNESCO has faced in both approaches to adult education, whether adult education is approached with a focus on literacy or lifelong education. They generally acknowledge UNESCO's historical efforts in adult education to promote RTE based on

humanism. However, under the influence of economic globalization that has spread since the 1990s, there are divergent perspectives on the future role and position UNESCO should take. For example, Wagner (2013) calls for UNESCO to lead "innovative" technologies and strengthen expertise to regain leadership in adult education. In contrast, Paye (2013) and Wickens and Sandlin (2007) approach UNESCO's concept of literacy from a neocolonial perspective. They postulate UNESCO as a passive subject governed by the "anglophone discourse" and pointed out that in the 1990s, UNESCO's concept of literacy was influenced by neoliberalism, which emphasized the "technical" aspect. From this perspective, the renaming from UIE to UIL in 2006 resulted from a compromise between neoliberalism and lifelong education (Mandal, 2012).

Others responded that it is difficult to conclude that UNESCO serves as a "reign of neoliberalism." Elfert (2013) argues that, despite the neoliberal phenomenon in lifelong education in the 1990s, UNESCO still maintained humanism, its core educational value, and resisted polluted education bureaucratized by "materialism." Similarly, Milana (2012; 2014) also emphasizes the political mobilization of UNESCO as the status of adult education was elevated to "global polity" in the 1990s when lifelong education was transitioned to lifelong learning. Németh (2015) also argues that UNESCO positively impacted global adult education policy promotion. He claims that the organization has influenced policy formation by building lifelong learning platforms and involving various adult education institutions, local governments, and stakeholders over the past 20 years. UNESCO's policy on adult education evolved as it became linked to the "wider conceptual framework" of lifelong learning.

Consequently, there are conflicting interpretations and arguments regarding UNESCO's policies and discourses to promote RTE in adult education. In short, UNESCO's humanistic approach to adult education stands at a crossroads. UNESCO's historical role as a guardian of the RTE has reached its limits. Since the 1990s, particularly when international order began to be reorganized into a neoliberal economic system, UNESCO has emphasized life skills to escape poverty in adult education. However, its efforts were in vain, as EFA goals failed to be achieved. There have been conflicting arguments over UNESCO's response to these directions in adult education. While one is the view to develop UNESCO's normative roles and strengthen intellectual and moral solidarity, the other is the functionalist view that the organization needs to have a comparative advantage through professional and innovative technology to overcome the challenges faced by global adult education. In the meantime, the transition from lifelong education to lifelong learning is a change in educational discourse that symbolizes the weakening of the state's control of knowledge (Milana, 2012). In turn, it implies that the role of global multilateral organizations such as UNESCO may increase in the future. In addition, transnational phenomena and values that have been highlighted since the 1990s, such as deepening inequality, emphasis on human rights, respect for diversity, and sustainability of the environment, are global issues that cannot be addressed by the existing national discourse on lifelong education (Milana, 2015).

Nevertheless, I see that these conflicting arguments in adult education regarding UNESCO's direction and strategy are pursuing the common ideal of "equality of educational opportunity" for the realization of RTE. However, UNESCO's educational perspective, based solely on equality of opportunity, has

limitations in the newly reorganized international order and changing educational multilateralism, particularly since the 1990s. Against this background, through the analysis and argumentation to be carried out in the remaining chapters of this dissertation, I will argue for the expansion of UNESCO's educational ideals based on human rights to those of humanist justice based on human dignity.

2.2. Reexamining the Right to Education in the Context of Human Rights

In this section, I will theoretically examine RTE and thereby more explicitly clarify the limitations of UNESCO's discourse that has advocated the promotion of RTE in adult education. The limitations of RTE, one of the individual rights constituting human rights, are essentially due to the historical and practical restrictions of the concept of human rights.[3] Based on this awareness, this section

[3] As noted, modern human rights were given normative status in the international community by adopting the UDHR in the UN, which was established after World War II. In this period, the so-called *first-generation* human rights were interpreted as civil and political to guarantee individual freedom from the state. However, the competitive Cold War system between the US and the Soviet Union and the aspirations of the newly independent countries for development expanded human rights to the *second-generational* concept that guarantees individual social, economic, and cultural rights. Under the expanded concept of human rights, which included various rights as sub-components, large-scale overseas aid from Eastern and Western countries to the Third World was made. In particular, in 1966, when the UDHR, consisting of 30 articles, was split into *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (ICESCR) and *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (ICCPR), human rights became more diversified and concretized. At the end of the 20th century, when the Cold War system collapsed, human rights emphasized collective rights to protect ethnic and racial groups and called for international cooperation and solidarity to address global issues such as environment, development, and gender. It was the beginning of the so-called *third-generation* human rights (Smith, 2007, pp. 42-43; Tomuschat, 2009).

However, there is still much debate over the approach that divides human rights into "three generations" according to the period. For example, Donnelly (2013, p. 235) criticizes this sort of artificially divided distinction in terms of the West, the socialist state, and the Third World as originating from "the utter lack of a historical basis" for the formation of human rights. Nevertheless, considering that the debate over RTE has been made on the basis of changes in the

reviews RTE in the context of significant criticisms raised on human rights since the 1990s. Afterward, the components acceptable for dignitarian justice, the theoretical framework of this research, will be critically identified.

2.2.1. Challenges to the Universalism of Human Rights

Western-Centrism Based on Ontological Individualism

At the heart of the modern concept of human rights is universality. In this context, since the adoption of the UDHR in 1948, the UN has consistently enacted and adopted human rights norms for the universalization of human rights in the international community. However, as mentioned above, due to the realist mechanism of the UN system in which MS repeatedly merge and aggregate over their own interests, skepticism about the universalism of human rights has also been continuously raised. In particular, after the end of the Cold War, the main criticism raised mainly by non-Western countries is that human rights are a Western-centered concept. According to Mutua (2018), human rights as political "rhetoric" have been abused to convey "primitive people into the age of Europe." From this standpoint, human rights are nothing more than a tool to reproduce the colonialism of the past when Third World countries were colonized under the pretext of civilization. In other words, in the name of human rights, Western countries as "saviors" meet the minimum living standard of minority populations

international political economy since the 1990s, this dissertation partially accepts the categorization of human rights into three generations. RTE is commonly used in this classification as a second-generation concept of rights belonging to social rights, despite competing for various positions and issues.

in impoverished developing countries while justifying cultural invasion into them (Mutua, 2001; 2018).

In addition, scholars who criticize the universalism of human rights argue that the concept of human rights is a "disguised particularism" that presupposes overly individualistic Western citizenship, especially masculinity (Ignatieff, 2001; Morris, 2006). Similarly, Tikly and Barrett (2011) point out that RTE based on "ontological individualism" creates a gender gap in access to basic education in the African region where EFA projects are being implemented by positing a homogeneous group of rights-holders. Likewise, criticisms were raised against the impersonal concept of rights based on Kant's social contract excluding emotional elements, which relates to the rights-based approach (RBA) to education that had been carried out assuming homogeneous subjects (Noddings & Slote, 2003; Greany, 2008). In order to overcome the "atomic individualism" implied by the concept of rights, this group of scholars called for the application of the perspective of social justice, which considers the socio-economic context in which structural injustice is embedded, to RBA (Walker, 2005; 2006; Unterhalter, 2003; 2007; Robeyns, 2006; Gewirtz, 2006; Unterhalter & Brighouse, 2007; McCowan, 2010; 2011; 2013). By adopting Fraser's (2009) concepts of *recognition* and *parity of participation* and Sen's (1999) and Nussbaum's (2011) concepts of capabilities in RTE, they argued that more heterogeneous subjects, such as women, refugees, and persons with disabilities, could be embraced as rights-holders.

A social justice approach to rights assumes the diversity of rights-holders, unlike the Western notion of homogeneity of individuals. In addition, it contributes to a certain extent to resolving the *sufficientarianism* of human rights projects whose main goal is to meet the minimum living standard by considering

and actively correcting structural factors that hinder the realization of rights (Gilabert, 2018). However, the social justice approach to rights still assumes the rights-holders as individualized subjects and thus does not deviate from the Western individualistic perspective. Similarly, there are still limitations in providing a normative basis for coordinating competing individual rights and assigning priorities among them.

Universalism as a Tool for the Spread of Neoliberalism

Another criticism of human rights is that the discourse of universalism of rights has contributed to the global spread of neoliberalism (Harvey, 2007; Baxi, 2012; Whyte, 2018; 2019).[4] These critics note that the historical trajectories of "the age of human rights" and "the neoliberal age" coincide. Whyte, for example, convincingly argues that human rights have historically contributed to the rise of neoliberalism, providing the market with "a moral language" and only strengthening the status of a humanitarian civil society. In addition, neoliberalism takes advantage of the universalism of human rights that cannot effectively

[4] Neoliberalism is a concept derived from real politics, such as Reaganism in the US and Thatcherism in the United Kingdom in the 1980s, so it is not easy to define strictly in the academic domain. For example, Harvey (2007) defines neoliberalism as "a political project to re-establish the conditions for capital accumulation and to restore the power of economic elites" and criticizes that its nature is "accumulation by dispossession." From a similar point of view, Giddens (2013) sees neoliberalism as an ideology that is a contradictory combination of "market fundamentalism" and conservatism. Therefore, neoliberalism is a political and economic ideology that reduces the operating principles of all social spheres to a market order. Meanwhile, from a neoliberal point of view, individuals should not neglect their efforts to become human capital with maximum utility in the market. Instead, they should take responsibility for the results on their own. Kim (2012), in this regard, viewed neoliberalism as a kind of rationality in which individuals strengthen their control through free choice. This dissertation conceptualizes neoliberalism as a hegemony that operates to commercialize and thus dispossess the mode of behaviors of social agents, including individuals, according to the principles of the market economy.

respond to local political and economic situations and cultural practices. In other words, neoliberalism, in exchange for reducing the role of the state as a duty-bearer, fills the void through the use of NGOs as "Trojan horses" or privatization by transnational international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (hereafter WB) (Wallace, 2004; D'Souza, 2018).

Moreover, the transition "from government to governance" facilitated neoliberal governance by allowing the widespread entry of these new actors within the governing structure (McCarney & Stren, 2003). Human rights, which consist of the inalienable rights of individuals, have served in the history of neoliberalism, in many cases converging into neoliberal rights to "private property and the profit rate." From this standpoint, the universal human rights discourse has functioned as a tool for the spread of neoliberalism.

RTE, which aims at equality of educational opportunity, is also not free from the influence of neoliberalism. For example, Beiter (2017) found that the RTE discourse is being abused to control developing countries in implementing educational programs by transnational organizations. He argues that for human rights to restore "moral cogency" and to work effectively, human rights must be "domesticated," "clear duty-bearers" must be identified, and the horizon of human rights should extend to "extraterritorial state obligations."

However, despite criticisms of "neoliberal human rights" (Whyte, 2018, p. 26), many scholars and practitioners in the field of human rights agree with the position that human rights need to be redefined to counter the economic injustice caused by neoliberalism. They acknowledge that the international human rights community has overlooked economic inequality by focusing only on violations of norms, such as discrimination (Atkinson, 2015; MacNaughton et al., 2021). They

present it as a challenge that human rights must address. In short, human rights are still valid and legitimate even in today's neoliberal era.

2.2.2. Depoliticization of Human Rights?

"The Right to Have Rights"

From the beginning of modern human rights, Arendt (1973) expressed skepticism about the feasibility of the conception of human rights as follows:

> The conception of human rights, based upon the assumed existence of a human being as such, broke down at the very moment when those who professed to believe in it were for the first time confronted with people who had indeed lost all other qualities and specific relationships - except that they were still human. The world found nothing sacred in the abstract nakedness of being human. (p. 299)

By historically examining the modern concept of human rights, which began to emerge after the French Revolution, along with the process of formation of the nation-state, She empirically criticizes the fact that the human rights that defined the state as a duty-bearer have not been able to guarantee the rights of stateless people such as refugees and minorities. What are the fundamental reasons why their rights are not guaranteed under human rights? According to Arendt, in the 20th century, when science and technology, advanced by the development of modern reason, regarded even nature as an object of control, human rights

presuppose human beings as an out-of-context being “alienated” from history and nature. Human beings as non-historical beings are projected into the ideology of citizens presupposed by the modern state. In other words, human rights and national sovereignty intersect while sharing the impersonal, impartial, and unencumbered citizenship of the social contract. This notion excludes heterogeneous beings who do not belong to the modern state based on the social contract. After World War II, advanced Western countries embraced human rights attributes and developed laws and systems assuming that the people were homogeneous. In this process, *the political*, which has long been discussed as human action and speech in the public sphere, was transformed into *the social* and subsumed under the state’s control. For Arendt, who regards the political community, as a space for constructing *a common world*, the *human condition*, the reduction of the political is no different from a sign of totalitarianism that destroys the pluralities of the world. Moyn (2018) interprets this reasoning as the basis for Arendt’s skepticism of the UDHR and its universalization of rights.

Arendt’s critique of the concept of human rights in which the totalitarian element of the nation-state is embedded is a very sharp insight, but paradoxically, it proves the political nature of human rights. According to DeGooyer (2018), Arendt’s argument for the rights of statelessness renews the importance of “the right to have rights,” i.e., the right of people who do not legally belong to the political community.

The Political Nature of Human Rights

So, are human rights fundamentally a non-political concept? In this regard, it was also suggested that the political possibility inherent in human rights could be argued through a holistic approach to *the indivisibility of human rights* composed of various individual rights. Nickel (2008) draws attention to the 1968 Proclamation of Teheran, where the concept of the indivisibility of human rights first appeared in international norms. According to him, indivisibility contributes to the integrity of human rights, but it also raises the question of choice when sub-rights compete or have to determine their priorities. Also, indivisibility hinders the feasibility of human rights by not acknowledging the state's case in which only some rights are limitedly realized due to limited socio-economic development.

To compensate for these shortcomings, Nickel divides human rights into seven constitutive categories of sub-rights or "families," such *as security rights, due process rights, fundamental personal freedoms, the rights of political participation, equality rights, social rights, minority and group rights,* and analyzed the mutually supportive relationship among them by the intensity of implementation and the direction of implementation. As a result, it was confirmed that various supportive relationships could be established between rights, thus demonstrating that priorities between competing rights could be set according to the state's economic, social, and cultural context. Consequently, this proves the political nature inherent in human rights.

2.2.3. Tensions Within the Right to Education

In the context of human rights derived from post-colonialism, RTE is a fundamental right that affects the lives of individuals, profoundly relating to the

global economy and culture. Therefore, the state should actively provide it as a duty-bearer (Spring, 2000, p. 158). In this sense, RTE is understood as second-generation human rights, including socio-economic and cultural rights. However, Bergström (2010) found that there is a point of conflict between the "private autonomy rights" of parents and "social rights" in the three conditions of RTE specified in Article 26 of the UDHR. In short, RTE as a second-generation right has internal tension.

Theorists argue that the cause of this tension within the RTE also stems from the atomistic individualism that the concept of human rights presupposes. In order to overcome this individualistic limitation, Bergström (2010) expands the relationship between parents and children as presupposed by UDHR to a "human family" based on the values of "freedom, equality, and fraternity" and presents an existential encounter between agents of rights. The way to relieve the inner tension of RTE through the restoration of existential relationships within the framework of the valued norm is in line with McCowan's (2013, p. 15) position that RBA accepts Sen's (1999) concept of *deliberation* and Ife's (2012) *bottom-up*. To sum up, the internal tension of RTE occurring in the context of modern human rights can be resolved through reflective deliberation among diverse and heterogeneous rights-holders. In this regard, Beiter (2006; 2017) describes RTE as "hybrid" rights embracing all "three generations of rights" in the sense that RTE enables both "empowerment" and "solidarity" of rights-holders. It suggests the intersubjective and existential essence inherent only in RTE, unlike other rights.

2.2.4. Three Aspects on the Expansion of the Right to Education

As a result of reexamining RTE in the context of human rights described above, I contend that equality of opportunity in education should be expanded in the following three aspects. The first is "for whom equality should be expanded," or the expansion of *subjects* of RTE. Although the universalism of human rights is still valid, there is a requirement for ontological and epistemological expansion that can accommodate the values and contexts of individual societies beyond the nation-state based on the social contract. As stated above, modern human rights are formed based on Western individualism, which assumes an atomistic and impartial self, and thus has certain limits in accepting non-Western cultures and values. Therefore, human rights discourse should be expanded to accommodate more pluralistic and heterogeneous subjects in the category. In this regard, a moral foundation that transcends national boundaries is required to ensure the rights of globally excluded people and groups, particularly stateless persons such as refugees or asylum seekers.

The second is "by whom should equality be expanded," or the expansion of *agents* of RTE. The sufficientarian approach of the human rights project, which aims to meet the minimum standard for a decent life for individuals, should be further expanded to eliminate fundamental and structural factors that violate rights, including inequality. In particular, under the influence of globalized neoliberalism, an expanded moral rationale is required to give responsibility to the weakened nation-state and the newly emerging transnational actors. It calls for a political role of human rights for global justice.

The third is "equality of what," the expansion of substance of RTE. RTE belongs to all three generations of human rights and is also the foundation of other rights, carrying the attributes that enable individual empowerment and solidarity.

It suggests that RTE is a special right realized by supposing humans as agents of change. A theoretical foundation that can accommodate human capabilities should be provided in this context.

I contend that the vulnerability of RTE identified in the above review is fundamentally due to the perception of equality, that is, the epistemological and ontological limitations of impartiality rooted in the Western-centric human rights discourse.[5] In this sense, the task of expanding the horizon of impartiality from the assumption of the atomistic self and the modern state requires the reinterpretation of the RTE discourse for the era of globalization. It also requires an expansive interpretation of the normative proposition of equality of educational opportunity advocated by RTE. To explore the potential for such expansion of RTE, I examine the idea of human dignity, from which the conception of human rights was born. In this context, the next section will look at the theory of human dignity and reveal its role in the expansion of human rights discourse.

2.3. Theorizing Dignitarian Justice From a Humanist Perspective

In this section, I argue that education as a human right, that is, RTE, rooted in impartiality, can be reinterpreted in the idea of human dignity and expanded to contemporary educational norms. Through this, the equality of educational opportunity advocated by the RTE discourse also encompasses the normative demand of social justice in response to injustice. I define the theoretical framework

[5] Impartiality is mainly metioned as a core principle in the documents of humanitarian organizations to mean that there should be no discrimination on the grounds of nationality, race, sex, religion, political opinion, and so forth in the implementation of human rights (Amnesty International, 1978; Harroff-Tavel, 1989; Zwitter, 2010).

of humanist justice that encompasses human rights and social justice based on human dignity as dignitarian justice.

I conduct the following steps to justify this argument in this section. First, I outline the philosophical tradition and ideals of human dignity, from which the concept of human rights was born, and derive values and concepts constituting dignity. In addition, I demonstrate that impartiality, which lies at the base of Western-centric human rights, can be expanded to epistemological and ontological pillars supporting the idea of human dignity, namely open impartiality and intersubjectivity. In this way, I show that human dignity plays a role in reinforcing the normative strength of human rights by contributing to the expansion of the horizon of human rights. Second, I conceptualize *dignitarianism* in which the ideal and value of human dignity are normatively restructured by applying Gilabert's (2018) *dignitarian approach*, which insists on humanist justice[6] based on human rights. Third, dignitarian justice pursuing global justice is justified by accepting Gilabert's *expansionist views*, which encompass human rights and social justice on the basis of human dignity, into dignitarianism. Lastly, in preparation for recontextualizing UNESCO's discourse on adult education, I proceed with theoretical work to apply dignitarian justice to education.

[6] Gilabert (2018, p. 139) explains that humanist justice takes "each human individual as a basic unit of concern and respect." It is consistent with basic human rights aimed at "a decent life," pursuing the achievement of "basic levels of development and exercise of people's valuable capacities." However, his dignitarianism further sets the maximum target for humanist justice, encompassing the demands of social justice for "higher levels of development and exercise of those capacities," and thus pursuing "a flourishing life" for "every human person." By accepting his conception, this dissertation defines humanist justice as dignitarian justice, which aims to meet the requirements of human rights and social justice beyond the nation-state based on human dignity.

2.3.1. Identifying the Role of Human Dignity for the Expansion of Human Rights

> The decisive factor is that these rights and the human dignity they bestow should remain valid and real even if only a single human being existed on earth; they are independent of human plurality and should remain valid even if a human being is expelled from the human community. (Arendt, 1973, pp. 297-298)

2.3.1.1. The Ideal of Human Dignity

Human dignity stems from the idea that human beings have certain exceptional qualities that distinguish them from other beings solely because they are human. The tradition of this idea started in ancient Greece, which gave the human an absolute status, and was developed in modern times into a concept of dignity in a more universal and egalitarian sense by Kant, who emphasized intrinsic human value (Rosen, 2012; Nussbaum, 2019). However, the notion of *equal human dignity* is not necessarily found only in Western philosophy. For example, the idea of equal human dignity is commonly found in Asian Buddhist and African Ubuntu thought. This thought was also reflected in drafting the UDHR, which involved representatives of traditions from different parts of the world. Instead of using language corresponding to a particular region, culture, or tradition, they used "equal human dignity as an ethical notion attached to no particular metaphysics" (Nussbaum, 2019, p. 5). In this sense, human dignity based on universality carries the cosmopolitan tradition.

Kateb (2011) divides the ideal of human dignity into moral and existential aspects. He argues that human moral capacity supports the realization of the existential value of human dignity. It essentially means that human dignity is realized through two ideals: *moral values and existential values*. Simply put, the moral ideal of human dignity is mainly concerned with human suffering, whereas existential value focuses on the realization of a unique human identity. The approach to human dignity as two distinct ideals provides a useful lens for approaching injustice from various perspectives. From the point of view of human dignity, the death penalty, for example, is immoral in that it inflicts great suffering on human beings and is simultaneously inhumane in that it permanently deprives people of their identity. In the same vein, even if enslaved people are provided with abundant material rewards, their identity as human beings will be continuously deprived as long as slavery continues. Thus, slavery is an inhuman system that violates human dignity.

Moral Aspect

Rosen (2012, p. 40) classifies the meaning of human dignity into "three different strands," namely, *dignity as status, dignity as intrinsic value,* and *dignity as dignified manner or bearing* according to the times of ancient, medieval, and modern times. He reveals that "a simultaneous tendency toward equality" has acted on them. Although it converged in time into a more modern meaning of equality, the perception of impartiality as *detachment*[7] is fundamentally at the

[7] Hucker (2000, p. 11) conceptualizes detachment as "an attempt to separate and detach oneself from one's own personal perspective in order to achieve a more impersonal view," claiming

core of human dignity based on cosmopolitanism. For example, Socrates of ancient Greece is well known for choosing to die in order to comply with the laws of Athens, even though he was sentenced to death and was able to escape. Marcus Atilius Regulus, a Roman military leader who had been taken prisoner in the war with Carthage in 255 BC, was sent to Rome to negotiate peace, promising to return to Carthage when negotiations were over. He could have escaped, but Regulus kept his promise and was punished harshly, eventually leading to his death (Kateb, 2011; Nussbaum, 2019). These anecdotes appearing in ancient Western history are examples of individuals who have protected the value of human dignity by detachment from fear and awe from the outside.

Kant, who postulated human beings as having a "uniquely human capacity on earth to act morally," moved dignity "in our person" from the world order created by God (Kateb, 2011, p. 13). According to him, because of the "inner transcendental kernel" that we all share equally, humans in modern society are subject to the demands of dignity regardless of status (Rosen, 2012). Dignity as an inherent value that has moved into human beings is not something we can freely choose. In other words, dignity bears the deontological moral principle under the influence of the autonomy given to us to submit to ourselves. His notion of dignity, which posits human beings as moral agents who respect the moral law within, is also applied to relationships with others, leading to "duties towards others of indebtedness and justice," that is, "respect for the rights of others" as the most

to be one "style" of impartiality. As the impartiality required when "establishing structures of just practices in various human institutions," detachment is established on the premise that "objectively right decisions" are possible. In this context, Rawls' *original position* and *veil of ignorance* can be said to be a thought experiment device to ensure the impartiality of detachment. This tradition of detachment also affects the modern social contract theory, which supports the ideal of impartiality.

fundamental concept of morality. Because of the influence of Kant's concept of autonomy, human dignity has become the basis for the concept of rights.

Meanwhile, Schiller contributes to deriving *dignity as what is dignified* by combining morality with the aesthetic value of a "dignified manner or bearing." Rosen (2012) links this to another strand: *to treat someone with respect*. By embodying the meaning of dignity that bears the obligation to respectfulness, he morally justifies our act of respecting non-personal beings, such as cadavers and fetuses.

As discussed above, dignity, which in itself means complete moral capacity, stems from the tradition of the Stoics, especially Cicero, that one should maintain detachment from external conditions such as money, status, and power. For Cicero, those who depend on external goods are morally flawed. This tradition also resulted in removing the duties of material aid from the duties of justice. However, Nussbaum (2019) argues that these two obligations are inseparable in today's real world. According to her, the Stoics view the duty to prevent or redress injustice arising from "another person's wrongful act," such as torture, rape, or assault, as a *positive duty*. In contrast, duties imposed on injustice, such as poverty, hunger, and disaster, in which "another person's wrongful act" is not intuitively clear, are regarded as incomplete, that is, a negative duty. According to this view, the duties of material aid can be seen as *negative duties*, but Nussbaum contends that this Stoic perception is "falsity." She criticizes the ideas of the Stoics, including Cicero, for applying a double standard for two fundamentally identical duties. That is, "dignity, even if unaffected by bad conditions, is insulted by them (p. 65)." Nussbaum argues that the concept of human dignity contributes to a theory of justice based on material obligations.

Nussbaum's (2019) argument emphasizing the role of external goods in promoting human dignity is also found in the theory of the modern thinker Adam Smith. He supplemented the tradition of human dignity that lacked emphasis on external goods. Considering dignity at birth as imperfect, Smith asserted that external conditions such as laws, institutions, and material goods must be provided for a child to grow into a human being with full dignity. In particular, he emphasized education as essential for fully developing human capabilities. The state that promotes human dignity is therefore obliged to provide a certain level of public education to all its citizens.

This tradition of emphasizing the state's role in promoting human dignity is typically found in Grotius's thought, which posits the state as "an essential expression of human autonomy" (Nussbaum, 2019, p. 113). He attaches the values of autonomy and *sociability* to the dignity embodied in the laws of nature and morality. Autonomy is realized through an intermediate mechanism of sovereignty entrusted to the state by individuals with reason and the capacity for moral reasoning. Here, Nussbaum points out cases in which the sovereignty entrusted to the state to guarantee individual dignity paradoxically insults the individual's dignity and catches the tension and contradiction between individual rights (human rights) and state rights (sovereignty). When an individual's dignity is violated in one country, international law grants other countries the legitimacy of humanitarian intervention in the country where the violation of dignity has occurred. Methods of humanitarian intervention include not only war but also material aid. Nussbaum cites Grotius' two concepts of *common goods* and *claims of needs* to justify this. For example, the sea and air cannot be used as private property because they are common goods that all countries can use. In addition,

any individual whose "basic needs" for goods are not met is given the right to own them in the territory of any country, regardless of nationality. Leaning on these two key notions, Nussbaum (p. 133) states the need to respect national sovereignty while simultaneously pursuing "a consensus supporting need-based redistribution through persuasion." In this way, Grotius' thought contributed to expanding the cosmopolitan tradition of human dignity from the individual to the international level.

On the other hand, since national sovereignty is "an essential expression of human autonomy," the usurpation of sovereignty by other states, or colonialism, must be rejected based on human dignity. In this context, international law, in which state sovereignty is specified, is justified to realize "the dignity of a being who lives in complex forms of cooperation with others," i.e., sociability. In short, dignity lays the foundation for the conception of justice toward "a flourishing life" with others.

Existential Aspect

The existential ideal of human dignity lies in the realization of an individual's unique identity. According to Kateb (2011), human identity involves not only observing a moral law based on impartial reason but also affective factors such as sympathy and compassion. Affective concepts presuppose intersubjectivity in that they are created in relation to others. In this light, human dignity is based "on recognizing the proper identity of individual or species; recognizing what a person is in relation to all other persons and what the species is in relation to all other species" (p. 10). Therefore, dignity is threatened when not

treated as a being of equal *commonness* with others and as a unique being with *distinctiveness* from others. In short, human dignity is an existential concept formed through the interaction of two seemingly contradictory concepts.

While Nussbaum proves that dignity could be established in the material domain by refuting Cicero, she identifies dignity as a concept deeply related to the affective domain by examining the arguments of the Cynics and the Stoics. As stated above, in ancient Western philosophy, dignity was used synonymously with detachment. In other words, a dignified human is a being with transcendent sensibilities distinct from others who experience the joys and sorrows of life. These schools seem concerned that various hierarchies and differences will arise in the epistemological value of dignity oriented toward moral equality, that is, the impartiality of detachment, if affected by external conditions such as emotions and material goods. Stoics hold "the view that the distrust of personal attachment and all strong attachment is at root non-cosmopolitanly personal" (Nussbaum, 2019, p. 94).

In response, Nussbaum, however, summons Cicero again, arguing that today's dignity befitting the dignified life of a human being can be realized on the basis of love between family members, friendship with friends, love for the motherland, and mutual respect with fellow citizens. Nussbaum's position on the affective factors constituting human dignity is in line with Honneth's (1996; 2003a; 2003b) argument that the social order in modernity is built on the emotional need for recognition. He sees *self-realization* as acquiring *self-confidence* through the expression of *love* in the private sphere, *self-respect* through *rights* in the public sphere, and *self-esteem* through recognition of *merit* in the field of work. Therefore,

dignity is established by the affective factors, which are mutually exchanged between the self and the other.

Meanwhile, Adam Smith, together with Kant, contributed significantly to the formation of human dignity in the modern sense, establishing the human as a being that is in the process of becoming. By emphasizing the importance of basic education, he approached human dignity as a concept that can be developed rather than fixed or completed. In this view, there is ontological justification for assuming the dignity of not only the mature but also the immature or the non-humans.

The existential ideal of human dignity aims for a society in which individual identity is realized. In this context, a society in which identity is not fully expressed carries problems. For example, identity politics, which has spread globally with the collapse of the Cold War system, is an empirical example of a human community in which dignity has not been realized. Fukuyama (2018) argues that there is a demand for human dignity based on the recognition of identity behind negative phenomena such as Trump's win as president of the US, Britain's decision to leave the European Union, the retreat of immigration policy, and the Islamic terrorism against the Western world.

According to Socrates, the human self is the union of the inner and outer selves. Identity is formed through the interaction between these two selves. Therefore, identity is formed between the dignity of the inner self that one perceives and social norms that do not adequately recognize it. The inner self is thus "the basis of human dignity." Socrates believes that the self with this identity has a three-part soul. The third part, "the spirited part," is called *thumos*, which

"craves recognition of dignity."[8] Thumos consists of *isothymia*, a request to be respected on an equal basis with others, and *megalothymia*, a desire to be recognized as a superior being. Today's global demand for recognition of identity is "the quest for equal recognition by groups that have been marginalized by their societies," that is, the eruption of isothymia (Fukuyama, 2018).

Human dignity, which pursues the realization of individual identity as an existential ideal, aims for a society based on intersubjectivity. This kind of society can be grasped in the *decent society* described by Margalit (1998). He asserts that "a decent society is one whose institutions do not humiliate people." Humiliation here means "systematic humiliation" that occurs at the institutional level. Human beings, as part of humanity, can gain respect on the premise of mutual recognition. "Systematic humiliation" destroys the foundation of that respect. By removing such institutional humiliation, Margalit envisages an existential society where universal self-respect and human "radical freedom" are realized.

As a result of examining human dignity from moral and existential aspects, different perceptions and values may be categorized in Table 2.1. On the one hand, the epistemological perception of impartiality is deeply rooted in the moral ideal of human dignity that focuses on eliminating human suffering. Impartiality is the essence of individual human autonomy attributed to the deontological moral principle towards others. Since the state is the essential expression of this human autonomy, the international community composed of states is endowed with sociability, that is, the dignity to pursue a flourishing life with others. In this way,

[8] Socrates explains that the human soul consists of "the desiring part," "the calculating part," and "the spirited part" (Fukuyama, 2018).

the moral ideal of human dignity based on impartiality leads to a theory of justice that emphasizes material and moral obligations to others.

On the other hand, the existential aspect of human dignity aims for the actualization of human identity. Identity is formed through mutual recognition, and thus the existential aspect of dignity focuses on the ontological perception of intersubjectivity. From the perspective of intersubjectivity, humans are beings who are becoming in the process of exchanging love, respect, compassion, and dialogue between the self and the other. Thus, the existential ideal of dignity pays attention to the affective component of the human being and contributes to a theory of justice that aims for a pluralistic society in which heterogeneous identities live together.

[Table 2.1]

The Idea of Human Dignity: Concerns, Perceptions, and Values

Tradition	Cosmopolitanism	
Aspect	Moral	Existential
Concern	Human suffering	Human identity
Perception	Impartiality	Intersubjectivity
Value	Autonomy, Sociability	Affection, Recognition, Plurality

2.3.1.2. Expanding Human Rights Through the Lens of Human Dignity

As examined above, human dignity pursues moral and existential ideals based on two perceptions of equality: impartiality and intersubjectivity. I see these

perceptions as the conceptual pillars that support the ideal of human dignity, epistemologically and ontologically. They help expand human rights into the realm of justice while deriving values of human dignity. In this section, by examining these two perceptions more closely, I will reveal that expanded human rights through the lens of human dignity can encompass the sphere of justice. Through this, I intend to demonstrate the role of human dignity that contributes to expanding the horizon of human rights to the domain of justice.

From Impartiality to Open Impartiality

Impartiality is, rather than being a single concept per se, considered a "universal, objective moral point of view" (Young, 1990, p. 100). According to Baier (1966), *the moral point of view* means "that of an independent, impartial, objective, dispassionate, disinterested observer, a God's-eye point of view." Therefore, taking the moral point of view is "transcending ideas and requirements of conventional morality." Impartiality in this context gains the meaning of "rational, critical and universal" (Musschenga, 2005).

Impartiality, an epistemological perception oriented toward objectivity, provided the ideological foundation for the theories of social justice developed by Rawls and others based on "Kant's thesis of autonomy of the will" (Reath, 2013). Rawls' (1971) thought experiments on the original position and the veil of ignorance are devices to operate impartiality by excluding external arrangements and interests from the subject. His theory of justice, designed to counter utilitarianism, derives two principles of justice, including the difference principle, based on the concept of fairness. From this, Rawls' theory identifies the

institutions necessary for the "basic structure of society" and then proceeds toward the enactment and enforcement of laws. He argues that his theory of justice, in which plural impartial parties make a moral judgment through deliberation, is better than Smith's utilitarian theory, which assumes a singular *impartial spectator*.

Barry (1996) established his unique conception of justice based on a detailed analysis of Rawls' theory. Evaluating *justice as fairness* as "the most fully developed variant of justice as impartiality," he clarified that his theory was influenced by Rawls. Barry puts impartiality above the good, arguing that uniform "shared values" in contemporary society do not exist but are only "tendentious." In this context, his impartiality is a concept of addressing universal and liberal justice based on shared understandings in a heterogeneous world.

Nevertheless, due to its a priori transcendence, justice based on impartiality faced criticism as a theory removed from reality. For example, denouncing impartiality as "a transcendental view from nowhere" applied equally to all individuals through moral reasoning, Young (1990) calls for a delicate examination of the social context in which injustice acts on each individual and their relationships.

Unlike critics who reject impartiality, Sen (2009) insists on open impartiality that is epistemologically expanded while accepting the deontological argument grounded on Rawls' theory of justice. He criticizes Rawls' theory of justice, built on impartiality, as obsessing only with procedural principles for fair institutions and thus overlooking the broader view of "social realizations." Sen also argues for a more substantive theory of justice that allows for a plurality of values, stating that those who wear the veil of ignorance in their original position may not always act "reasonably." For Sen, Rawls' justice is limited to

"transcendental institutionalism" separated from reality. Furthermore, Rawls limits the application of justice to only the sovereign state in which a social contract for mutual benefit has been concluded between its legitimate members. In other words, the impartiality inherent in Rawls' justice excludes those who do not belong to the modern state, thereby exposing the limits of "procedural parochialism" and revealing it as a less than comprehensive form of justice. In this way, impartiality that implies partiality is downgraded by Sen to "closed impartiality."

[Table 2.2]

Expansion From Impartiality to Open Impartiality

		Impartiality	Open impartiality
Justice	Way of judging	Reason	Reason, Sentiments
	Motivation	Cooperation for mutual benefit	Unilateral obligations for social results people have reason to value
	Conditions for judgment	Original position, Veil of ignorance	The eyes of the rest of mankind, The man within the breast
	Aim	Just institutions to constitute the basic structure of the society	Social realizations
	Unit for realization	Social primary goods	Capabilities
	Scope	Sovereign states	Global
	Social basis	Social contract	Contractualism

Note. This table builds on Sen's (2009) critique of Rawls' impartiality as "closed."

Open impartiality is a concept proposed by Sen (2009) as an alternative to justice based on impartiality. He draws attention to Smith's impartial spectator

to conceptualize open impartiality. As stated above, Smith asserts that every human being as a moral being has a "man in the breast" with impartiality and conscience and introduces the concept of the impartial spectator. Interestingly, while Rawls (1971) criticizes the impartial spectator as a divine being and a utilitarian concept that strictly judges justice outside the real world, Sen criticizes Rawls for a narrow interpretation of Smith's thought and instead demands that we compare ourselves with others in the other world through the eyes of the impartial spectator. Justice based on open impartiality aims at full manifestation of human capabilities. Therefore, "social arrangements" that cause human suffering and impede the development of capabilities should be identified as structural injustices that undermine human dignity.

Sen's idea of justice epistemologically dismantles the Western contractual society operated by reason by allowing the plurality of impartiality. In other words, open impartiality brings the heterogeneity and diversity of non-Western societies into the realm of justice while converting the social contract theory of Western societies into contractualism.[9] To explain this universal justice, Sen makes an analogy with two concepts that appeared in early Indian jurisprudence, *niti* and *nyaya*.[10] He expands the epistemological horizon of dignity to the global level by drawing open impartiality from a non-Western tradition. In this sense, open impartiality seeks global justice. Open impartiality that includes multiple

[9] Following Scanlon's reasoning, Sen qualifies any member of society to participate in public debate as long as the argument is "what others could not reasonably reject" ("the plurality of non-rejectability"). It broadens the perspective of contractarian justice that pursues a single principle by Scanlon's (1998) contractualism, "the idea of a shared willingness to modify our private demands in order to find a basis of justification that others also have reason to accept (p. 5)."

[10] Sen (2009) describes *niti* as "organizational propriety and behavioral correctness (p. 20)." In contrast, *nyaya* is "the broader and more inclusive perspective" to assess *niti* as "a comprehensive concept of realized justice." By emphasizing the "realization-focused perspective" of *nyaya*, he is overcoming the institutional justice of Western society.

perspectives enables solidarity with others beyond national boundaries based on sentimental elements, “the man in the breast.”

From Impartiality to Intersubjectivity

The impartiality inherent in the ontological individualism of human rights discourse is transformed into intersubjectivity that forms a subject in relationship with others in the existential aspect of human dignity. For example, Young (1990) points out that the impartial transcendental subject does not consider “the particularity of situations” and removes the emotional element of individual subjects, thereby reducing the plurality of moral subjects to a single subjectivity. In short, the ideal of impartiality is to impose *the logic of identity,* denying the difference between different agents. In a similar vein, Sandel (1998) criticizes that the original position devised by Rawls to derive the two principles of justice based on impartiality assumes the “unencumbered self” that does not exist in reality.

In this regard, intersubjectivity is a conception established in the relationship between two subjects, *the self and the other*. Cooper-White (2014) broadly defines intersubjectivity, believed to have been coined by the philosopher Husserl, as “the interchange of thoughts and feelings, both conscious and unconscious, between two persons or subjects, as facilitated by empathy.” However, Crossley (1996) assesses the concept of intersubjectivity embedded in Husserl’s Other, the educator Buber’s *I-Thou* (I and You), and Hegel’s concept of *recognition* and divides its dimension into a “radical” phase and an “egological” phase. He characterized Buber’s radical intersubjectivity as “a lack of self-awareness and a communicative openness towards the other, which is

unconditional." In contrast, Husserl's egological intersubjectivity is described as "an imaginative transposition of self," moving to the position of the other through "empathy which experiences otherness." On the other hand, Hegel's intersubjectivity pays attention to the "desire and tension" for recognition that occurs between the self and the other. Crossley argues that the need for recognition contributes to the activation of human interaction and can morally explain human motives and affective factors such as *dignity, pride, guilt, shame, love, and justice*. In short, intersubjectivity is a formative concept that advances toward existential equilibrium through conscious or unconscious interactions between the self and the other.

The affective element of dignity posited by intersubjectivity can also be found in Smith's notion of open impartiality. Nussbaum (2019) accepts Smith's dynamic concept of dignity as that of becoming but also points out a certain contradiction in the conception of the human being found in his two major works, *The Wealth of Nations* and *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. The human being that Smith posits is a being who harbors a "man in the breast" with the impartiality of detachment and moral conscience that is not biased towards private interests in any case. As noted, the man is Smith's core view of the person, called *the impartial spectator*. Nevertheless, Smith strongly criticizes Stoicism's "utter detachment" based on "apathy and indifference." It suggests that his impartiality contains a certain degree of sympathy, an intersubjective element (Nussbaum, 2019, p. 180).

However, in Smith's other book, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Nussbaum finds that his concept of sympathy applies only to others who have suffered a disaster but not to himself. She sharply digs into Smith's concept of sympathy, which is applied biasedly depending on the agents. Furthermore,

Nussbaum points out the "macho" ego inherent in his conception of human dignity. Consequently, today's human dignity needs to be reinterpreted to be liberated from this Stoic masculinity and embrace diverse and heterogeneous beings. Nussbaum (2019) defines this as "de-stoicizing the idea of human dignity" through her concept of capabilities:

> *De-Stoicizing the idea of human dignity* [emphasis added] requires not only feminine… flavor, permitting the dignified human being to weep at his losses and cry out in anger against injustice. It also requires *finding the human dignity in the "mutilated" man, seeing a claim to equal treatment in the human potential itself, the basic capabilities* [emphasis added], that the absence of public education and other suitable conditions of life is blighting or, even, has already irretrievably blighted. *Human dignity has to be seen... as a lower-level capacity to develop a higher-level set of capabilities for fully human functioning* [emphasis added]. (p. 205)

The existential ideal of dignity aims at a society in which human identity is fully realized based on intersubjectivity. Thus, it views the injury of a group's or individual morality as the root cause of injustice in the oppressive social structure. This conception of justice pays attention to the humiliation that is existentially inflicted on the subject due to structural injustice caused by discrimination, such as social position, class, and status. Therefore, a society where equal social recognition of all subjects is realized is assumed to be an ideal society.

Margalit (1998) posits that a *dignified society* is a higher epistemological community than Rawls' *just society*. It reminds us of the debate about social justice

unfolding over *the good* and *the right*. For example, a *just society*, which takes the fair distribution of *social primary goods* as a principle of justice, emphasizes procedural efficiency and does not consider the possibility of humiliation that may occur in the distribution process. Nor are the qualifications of nonmembers to participate in the process of distribution discussed. Finally, in a just society that aims for political liberalism that is not biased by any dogma, the scope and level of the system for evaluating justice are ambiguous. In short, there is no basis for redressing the exclusion within encompassing groups.[11] In contrast, a dignified society aiming at "eliminating humiliation" pays attention to the humiliation that arises from the distributive process and thus does not distinguish "second-class citizens" by not being restricted to the nation-state.[12] Also, it is a society where moral justification is given to intervene in cultural exclusions within encompassing groups based on cultural decency as the common good.

Similarly, Honneth (2003b) also urges the realization of "a just social order" through *mutual recognition* of moral agents based on Hegel's intersubjectivity theory. He argues that the theory of justice must start from the rejection of "injustice as humiliation and disrespect" inflicted on individuals in plural forms rather than the abolition of inequality (Honneth, 2003a; 2004). In other words, Honneth seeks to overcome the *dialectic of enlightenment* through

[11] Encompassing groups refer to groups to which individuals belong regardless of their preferences or choices within society, such as religion, ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, and the like (Margalit, 1998). Thus, encompassing groups are "a mediating element between the individual and the general society." A dignified society is a society where "mediated rejection" does not occur by respecting these groups rather than rejecting them.

[12] Margalit (1998) briefly explains that "a natural setting for discussing the issue of a decent society is the nation-state" but does not limit the scope of discussion to the nation-state to not undermine the generality of a dignified society. Nonetheless, his argument reduces the possibility of epistemological imagination beyond the nation-state, somewhat obscuring the global feasibility of a dignified society.

self-realization based on mutual recognition between these agents.[13] His intersubjectivity is inherent in the form of affective recognition, the legal recognition of equal rights, and "meritocracized" recognition in the three spheres of love, law, and achievement, historically differentiated during the transition from the pre-modern to the modern (Honneth, 1996).

2.3.2. Reinforcing the Normative Strengths of Human Rights in Human Dignity

In the Middle Ages, a class society, dignity was a symbol of superior status enjoyed only by a small class of aristocracy. In the modern era, which advocates equality under the banner of enlightenment, dignity has been generalized through law and politics as a universal value that women, workers, and members of vulnerable groups can equally enjoy. In particular, by being specified in the UDHR adopted in 1948, the concept of human dignity has acquired a central position in human rights discourse both in name and reality.

There has been a fierce debate over the compatibility of the humanistic idea of human dignity and the political nature of human rights until recently. Theorists who pay attention to the humanistic tradition of human rights have taken "human nature" and "human good" as the normative basis for human rights. On the other hand, scholars who approach human rights from a political point of view have given more significance to "contemporary human rights practice" (Lafont,

[13] It refers to the paradox that human reason, discovered along with *enlightenment* in modern times, instrumentalizes others, nature, and even one's own reason to ruin (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2002).

2018). In response, Gilabert (2018) employs an integrative methodology called a *deliberative interpretative proposal* to argue that human rights theory from a humanist perspective can also accommodate a political perspective. It is to reach a *deliberative reflective equilibrium* through comparison and contrast between *elucidation*, which describes human rights empirically understood by agents in practice, and *stipulation*, which considers the concept with reasoning. In this way, he analyzes the major international normative documents on human rights and argues that the human dignity that appears in them plays six key roles.[14]

Combining Gilabert's argument with the ideals and values of human dignity identified above, I argue that human dignity can respond to the vulnerability of RTE raised in Section 2.2 by reinforcing the normative strengths of human rights as follows. First, human dignity strengthens the universalist humanism of human rights. Open impartiality inherent in the moral aspect of dignity takes precedence over class, race, nationality, or other status and establishes moral concern and respect for all people on the planet as a basic unit. For example, suppose the concept of human dignity is applied to migrants and refugees who are not receiving substantive human rights because the state, as the duty-bearer, is withholding citizenship for political reasons. In that case, they will be able to assert their rights regardless of whether they have obtained national sovereignty. The second role is the *justification of rights*. All human rights are derived from the inherent dignity of each human being. Third, dignity reinforces the normative strength of human rights. Fourth, dignity combines the negative

[14] The six roles of human dignity in human rights discourse are (Gilabert, 2018, pp. 119-121): *universal humanism, justification of rights, normative strength, solidarity and combination of positive and negative duties, [peoples] standing-up,* and *the arc of humanist justice*.

duties of not destroying individuals' valuable features, which necessitates the positive duties of solidarity on the norm of interdependence. Fifth, dignity makes people stand up when they defend their rights against injustice in society. Lastly, human dignity provides a normative framework that encompasses the principles of social justice beyond human rights. Furthermore, intersubjectivity embedded in the existential aspect of dignity overcomes Western-centered atomistic individualism by expanding the heterogeneity of the rights-holding subject.

Second, the dignity that posits humans as beings of becoming responds to structural and existential injustices that impede the development of human capabilities. In particular, open impartiality that expands the epistemological horizon of human rights beyond the nation provides a moral basis for dignity that can respond to national and global injustice.

Lastly, human dignity provides a normative perspective beyond human rights that embraces principles of justice, allowing people to "stand up" when they defend their rights against injustice. The intersubjectivity of dignity acts as an affective factor that can lead to solidarity, which is the positive duty of individuals in this process.

2.3.3. Justifying the Framework of Dignitarian Justice

2.3.3.1. From Dignity to Dignitarianism

Gilabert (2018, p. 191) takes the idea of human dignity examined so far to normatively conceptualize dignitarianism in the following general statement:

> *Dignitarianism* is a type of normative approach according to which at least some of *the central norms* [emphasis added] concerning the treatment of individual entities depend on their inherent dignity.

To structuralize this concept of dignitarianism, Gilabert identified the following central norms as the basic elements of dignity. First, he divides dignity into *status-dignity* and *condition-dignity* by attribute. Status-dignity is the deontic normative dignity that human beings are inherently non-instrumental and egalitarian and deserve to be treated with high priority. It is again divided into endowment-based dignity, which is innately given, and achievement-based dignity, which is acquired. For instance, features innately given to human beings to become self-determining agents, such as moral capacity, sympathy, and sentience, belong to endowment-based dignity. In contrast, the act of giving benefits to a specific group for private gain by an individual endowed with public power undermines achievement-based dignity. These "dispositions to think, feel, and act in tune with dignitarian norms" are defined as *dignitarian virtues* (p. 137). Gilabert points out that while human rights theory primarily emphasizes endowment-based dignity, it relatively overlooks achievement-based dignity. Meanwhile, condition-dignity is the dignity of "a state of affairs" for human beings to enjoy status-dignity like economic, social, and cultural rights. For example, an enslaved person provided with abundant food, clothing, and shelter has status-dignity, but the condition-dignity is damaged due to slavery, so this should be corrected in a normative way.

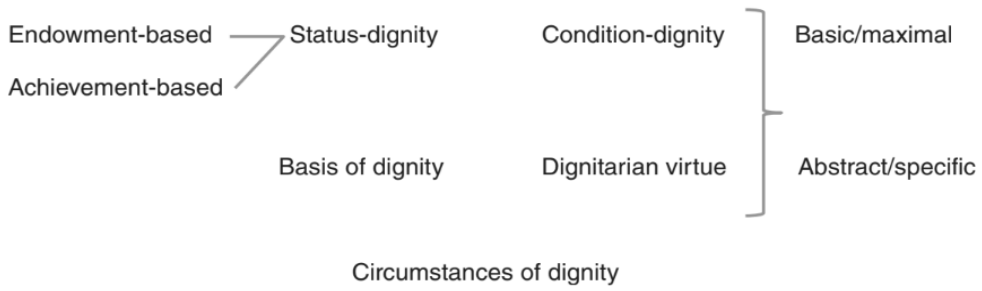
The second dignitarian norm is *the basis of dignity*. It means some kind of characteristic that ensures that human beings can sustain status-dignity.

Valuable features typically possessed only by humans, such as reason, conscience, and a spirit of brotherhood, fall under the basis of dignity. The valuable features of human beings must be determined by reaching a *reflective equilibrium* through the deliberation of members based on pluralism.

The third norm is *the circumstances of dignity*. Valuable features of human beings require an environment in which they can be expressed in various ways for each individual and society. The circumstances of dignity are "the circumstances in which dignitarian norms are practically relevant," which provides a basis for forming specific rights and duties based on the context of the state and society (p. 132).

<Figure 2.1>

Dignitarian Norms in the Conceptual Network of Human Dignity



Source. Gilabert (2018, p. 121)

Lastly, Gilabert (2018) uses the concept of dignity to link the debates surrounding human rights norms with humanist justice. He referred to the theories of Cohen, Cranston, Ignatieff, and Rawls, which support the minimal role of human rights as a *basic dignity*, and Brems and Beitz's theories, which embrace

the expansive role as a *maximal dignity*. Gilabert points out that human rights oriented toward a *decent life* mainly focus on basic dignity. In addition, he argued that human rights should be expanded to a *flourishing life*, that is, a maximal dignity encompassing the domain of justice by encompassing the demands of condition-dignity.[15] Consequently, humanist justice aims comprehensively at improving "the forms of condition-dignity people are entitled to in their social relations."

2.3.3.2. The Expansionist View of Dignitarian Justice

As reviewed above, while human dignity is the ideological foundation of the modern concept of human rights, it provides theoretical clues that can effectively solve various challenges to human rights. Typically, human dignity supplements the blind spots of the minimalistic views of human rights, in which individual relief from absolute poverty is the ultimate goal (Gilabert, 2018). For example, if a poor enslaved person is provided with an abundance of material goods, is he or she treated as a dignified human being? Human dignity goes beyond a sufficient level of provision and can be realized by redressing structural injustice.

[15] Gilabert (personal communication, December 30, 2022) explains that "a flourishing life" pursued in his dignitarian framework based on the deontological perspective differs from the concept of Aristotle and virtue ethics. Nonetheless, he reveals that "a stronger view of the good as the development and exercise of the valuable capacities" of human beings was accepted to complement deontological normative theory. In this context, he claims that "human flourishing consists in conditions in which human beings develop and exercise their valuable capacities in some activities" and defines it as part of "people's well-being" (Gilabert, 2020). Also, "self-identity," "self-determination," and "self-realization" are categories related to "well-being as human flourishing." From this point of view, "conditions for self-alienation" that cause "a lack of self-identification" are existential and structural injustices that impede a human flourishing life. I express my gratitude to the reviewer who made important points about this and to Gilabert's account for strengthening the theoretical coherence of dignitarian justice in this dissertation.

In addition, the highest priority should be given to ensuring maximal dignity to address today's injustices entrenched at the transnational level, such as poverty, inequality, sexism, refugees, climate crisis, and epidemics of infectious diseases. In this sense, Gilabert adopts "expansive views," embracing human rights and social justice in a coherent framework of dignitarian justice in pursuit of global justice.

Dignitarian justice expands human rights as basic dignity to social justice as maximal dignity. Gilabert (2018, p. 297), in this light, maintains the urgency of the minimum threshold of sufficientarian human rights while endorsing a *moderate form of expansivism* accommodating the demand for social justice. He argues that the expansivist position on human rights mainly has the following strengths:[16]

First, it sets human rights as a long-term political agenda and provides a basis for realizing it through international cooperation. Second, acknowledging the imperfections of human rights provides room for setting and achieving obligatory goals suitable for specific social contexts. Third, the expansivist views accommodate both positive and negative duties specified in human rights and support domestic political movements and international incentives to realize them. Fourth, the parochial element of social justice, which can be limited to a specific country or social system, can be expanded into a universal human rights discourse through cosmopolitanism. Fifth, by adopting the premise that urgency can change

[16] Gilabert (2018) refuted the minimalist view of human rights with nine arguments. However, since his theory of dignitarian justice was modified in this dissertation according to the research purpose, only five of them were employed here.

over time, expansivism solves the problem of fixed urgency and priority, where the theory of human rights or social justice is criticized.

Since it is positioned as "only a proper subset of the requirements of justice" in the framework of dignitarian justice, human rights are given the role of basic dignity in which the most urgent needs can be normatively identified (Gilabert, 2018, p. 309). Therefore, dignitarian justice encompasses human rights as basic dignity and social justice as maximal dignity. It is realized when a decent life advocated by basic dignity is advanced to a flourishing life pursued by maximal dignity.[17] This dynamic is implemented through *solidaristic empowerment* of individuals given "equal political liberties."[18] The realization of dignitarian justice requires the participation of "those who will be subject to its results." Also, those who make decisions are responsible for presenting realistic alternatives to agents in different circumstances.

Meanwhile, open impartiality and intersubjectivity on which human dignity is grounded serve as moral lenses for identifying and redressing injustice in the framework of dignitarian justice. In other words, the two perceptions redress injustice in the interactional, structural, and existential dimensions that Lu (2017) conceptualizes as a lens for applying the normative concept of dignitarian justice in practice. First, *interactional injustice*, responding to both domains of human

[17] A decent life as the focus of human rights is "the most urgent part" of a flourishing life pursued by social justice (Gilabert, 2018, p. 175; p. 309).

[18] Noting that *solidarity* is less discussed compared to "freedom" or "equality," Gilabert (2018) explains it as "a feature of human relationships and interactions" associated with "a fundamentally non-instrumental and positive concern." In this light, he states solidaristic empowerment based on Kantian views: "We should support people in their pursuit of a flourishing life by fulfilling both negative duties not to destroy or block their valuable human capacities and positive duties to protect and facilitate their development and exercise (p. 175)." Solidaristic empowerment presupposes "fair reciprocity" between autonomous agencies, and is applied not only to individuals but also to institutions such as the state, international organizations, and corporations.

rights and justice based on open impartiality, refers to the injustice "between agents for wrongful conduct or unjust interactions and for underserved harms and losses or injuries (p. 19)." It identifies and judges injustice that occurs in the process of interaction between agents and requires correction and rectification at the agential level. Second, *structural injustice* to be dealt with in the social justice domain is "the institutions, norms, practices, and material conditions that played a causal or conditioning role in producing or reproducing objectionable social positions, conduct, or outcomes." That is, it arises from "the social and political practices and structures that mediate agents' activities and relations (p. 25)." Young's (1990) view of the structure was accepted in this concept. She sees the structure that oppresses and dominates the agent as injustice.

Finally, *existential injustice*, identified through the lens of intersubjectivity in social justice, notes "the internal or self-alienation of agents" when they experience interactional and structural injustice.[19] Consequently, dignitarian justice in pursuit of global justice is achieved by identifying and redressing the structures of oppression as well as the injustices that occur in the interactions between the agents under these oppressive structures. In so doing, it leads to overcoming existential alienation from the experiences of injustice.

Based on the above theoretical considerations, I reconstruct the ideals and values of human dignity in Section 2.3.1 into the framework of coherent dignitarian justice, as shown in Table 2.3.

[19] In fact, the concept proposed by Lu (2017, p. 25) to counter "the internal or self-alienation of agents" is not existential justice but *existential reconciliation*. However, she argued that this could occur structurally and between agents without clearly defining the concept of *alienation*. It, in turn, blurs the difference between alienation and injustice conceptually. Therefore, to prevent conceptual confusion if the concept of *reconciliation* is accepted, this dissertation approaches alienation as a kind of injustice and adopts justice as a corresponding concept.

[Table 2.3]

The Framework of Dignitarian Justice

Tradition		Cosmopolitanism		
Domain		Human Rights	Social Justice	
Ideal		Decent life	Flourishing life	
Orientation		Sufficientarianism	Egalitarianism	
Dignity	Condition	Basic dignity	Maximal dignity	
	Status	Endowment-based	Achievement-based	
Linkage concept		Solidaristic empowerment		
Moral lens		Open Impartiality		Intersubjectivity
Dimension of injustice		Interactional	Structural	Structural Existential

2.3.4. Applying the Framework of Dignitarian Justice in Education

2.3.4.1. Beyond Equality of Opportunity in Education

As noted, dignitarian justice applying an expansive view of human rights is realized through open impartiality and intersubjectivity in three dimensions: interactional, structural, and existential. So then, how can equality of educational opportunities that UNESCO has advocated based on the RTE discourse be expanded in the framework of dignitarian justice? I will answer this by deriving the elements of equality contained in human rights norms and then reexamining Gilabert's argument that justifies the feasibility of equality in dignitarian justice.

To demonstrate the feasibility of human rights pursuing egalitarianism, he argues that the procedural and substantive aspects of equality are embedded in the following two normative statements (Gilabert, 2018, p. 305):

> (E1) Individuals A and B *equally* have a right to some good or condition O.
> (E2) Individuals A and B have a right to *equal* amounts or extents of the good or condition O.

In the above two statements, I will replace the goods corresponding to O with *education* and modify them as follows:

> (E1') Individuals A and B *equally* have a right to education.
> (E2') Individuals A and B have a right to *equal* education.

E1 is a statement of the procedural aspect of equality, while E2 is the substantive aspect. If only the former RTE (E1') were ensured so that access to education was "equally" ensured in this society, inequality in the substance of education might be difficult to resolve. Conversely, even if only the latter RTE (E2') ensured that "equal" quality education was provided in a particular society, individuals or groups who did not have access to education may still arise. In this regard, Gilabert (2018) argues that both aspects of egalitarian conditions must be satisfied to realize RTE.

However, I conceive that there is one more statement to be added to Gilabert's propositions. It is crucial to note that his statements specifying the procedural and substantive aspects of RTE are realized through social institutions.

In reality, equal distribution of rights through institutions is often not substantially enjoyed depending on the context and arrangements of the individual as the rights-holder. In particular, in a society where democratic institutions have not been established for political and economic reasons or where institutions do not function effectively due to socio-cultural oppression, some individuals or groups will likely be unable to access their rights regardless of the establishment of the institutions. Moreover, even if education is provided, it is another matter for those educated to become subjects with natality (Arendt, 2013) who work to build a common world through action. From a similar point of view, even if workers' productivity is improved through the provision of education, their condition-dignity is not met unless they promote their capacity to participate in decision-making and deliberate responsibly. Furthermore, Unterhalter (2003; 2007) and Greany (2008) found that girls' primary school attendance in Africa was significantly lower than that of boys. Research also suggested that the "efficiency approach" for women's education helped women maintain their repressed identities by reinforcing traditional roles such as mother or wife (Moser, 1993; Robinson-Pant, 2014). Thus, structurally and existentially, socio-cultural arrangements that lack recognition of identity deprive the RTE of minorities.

The capabilities theorized by Sen (2009) and Nussbaum (2011; 2019) aim to improve social arrangements that impede individual agency and well-being. The capability approach based on open impartiality goes beyond equal opportunities to *what people can be and do*. In short, it pays attention to the substantive freedom of the subject (Sen, 1999; Walker, 2005; Nussbaum, 2011). According to Sen (2009, pp. 288-289), substantive freedom is achieved when individual capabilities are fully developed, including *well-being freedom* (the freedom to advance one's

own well-being) and *agency freedom* (the freedom to advance whatever goals and values a person has reason to advance). In this sense, the capability approach insists on eliminating injustice at the interactional and structural level that hinders the realization of human dignity. Furthermore, the capability approach based on open impartiality identifies injustice through comparison with other societies across national boundaries. The comparison adopted by the capability approach presupposes compassion for others in other societies by exercising narrative imagination. The sense of otherness leads to the existential realm of human dignity based on intersubjectivity. Consequently, equality of opportunity in dignitarian justice can be realized by adding the following proposition regarding capabilities to the above two propositions (E1' and E2'):

(E3) Individuals A and B equally have a right to *capabilities*.

In the E3 proposition, the right to capabilities goes beyond objects such as goods and assigns excellence on the freedom to choose and enjoy them based on individual personality and circumstances. Consequently, dignitarian justice requires equality of what, by whom, and for whom to be expanded to identify and redress interactional, structural, and existential injustices that hinder the development of capabilities.

2.3.4.2. Three Dimensions of Injustice in Education

As theorized above, dignitarian justice identifies injustices in the interactional, structural, and existential dimensions through the moral lenses of

open impartiality and intersubjectivity and demands that they be corrected. I argue that these three dimensions of injustice are discernible in education by noting the following:

First, interactional injustice is a type of injustice that open impartiality across the realms of human rights and social justice seeks to correct. Illiteracy is a prime example of interactional injustice in education, in which the subject is made the victim of wrongdoing. As a result and cause of deprivation of RTE, illiteracy occurs when the role of the duty-bearer is not adequately fulfilled. The cause of interactional injustice, which appears as a phenomenon that mainly accompanies material or moral suffering of the educational subject, can be identified through the analysis of the educational actors' responsibility, authority, and power. Therefore, interactional injustice in education can be rectified by paying attention to the changing patterns of the actors' roles and dynamics rather than by noting the phenomenon itself.

Second, injustice in the structural dimension can be identified by analyzing the procedures in which education is implemented and managed. As noted, structural injustice occurs through mechanisms of oppression and domination that operate historically, institutionally, or culturally. Young (1990) presented this structural oppression as the "five faces of oppression," namely, *exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence*. In the lens of intersubjectivity, this mechanism of oppression prevents the realization of a decent society by refusing to recognize a specific group or member as a subject with equal dignity in a particular society. This unjust structure suppresses *well-being freedom*, which is one of the indicators for evaluating

capabilities based on open impartiality (Sen, 2009).[20] Consequently, this level of injustice can be identified by analyzing the mechanisms of oppression operating in the methods and procedures of managing education, including planning, implementation, dissemination, monitoring, and evaluation.

Third, injustice in the existential dimension arises from the alienation experienced by the subject in the implementation and results of education. Here, alienation means existential injury and loss of the self, which is not recognized as being with the agency in the overall process of education. Therefore, existential injustice in education can be grasped by identifying and analyzing the subject of education. Existential justice must be realized through the manifestation of dignity through the self-realization of an individual with a unique identity.

The dignitarian justice framework theorized thus far will be used to recontextualize the order of discourse established by UNESCO in adult education. In this process, injustices embedded in UNESCO's discourse in pursuit of RTE will be identified and redressed.

[20] Sen (2009) suggests *well-being freedom* and *agency freedom* as indicators for evaluating capabilities. *Freedom,* distinct from *achievement,* means freedom of the possibility that an individual as an agent can choose. In this context, well-being freedom refers to "the freedom to advance one's own well-being," while agency freedom means "the freedom to advance whatever goals and values a person has reason to advance."

CHAPTER III. RESEARCH METHODS

3.1. Research Design

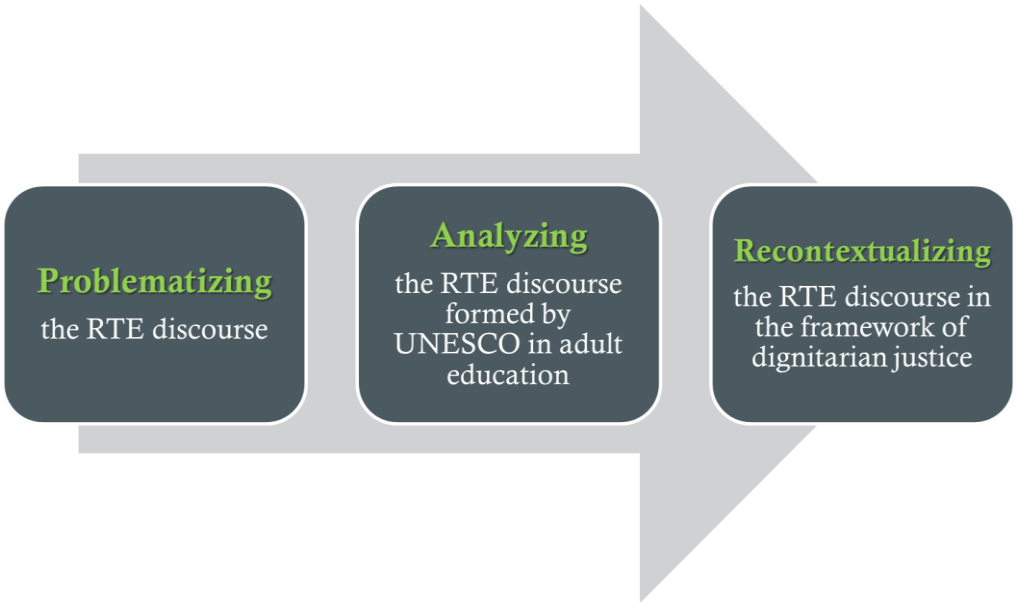
This research aims to analyze the discourse produced by UNESCO on adult education from 1990 to 2015, the period in which EFA was in effect in global education governance in aspects of RTE, and to expansively reinterpret it through the ideological lens of human dignity. As detailed in Chapter II, UNESCO is an international regime in educational multilateralism in which the interests of each MS and educational actors sharply clash. Therefore, in UNESCO's education sector, discourses, policies, and programs are not simply a set of idealistic or a priori statements but discursive realities constructed in the interactions among actors in a global political system. Accordingly, UNESCO's discourse on adult education should be analyzed and interpreted while considering the power relations that act in the dynamics of international political economy from a multi-layered perspective. In this context, this discourse study was conducted sequentially to problematize the RTE discourse, analyze it based on social constructivism, [21] and recontextualize it in the theoretical framework of

[21] Social constructivism is a theoretical perspective that provides radical and critical alternatives in the social sciences and humanities. It encompasses a set of alternative theories of culture and society that approach human beings as "social animals" (Burr, 2015, p. 1; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 4). Due to the nature of social constructivism which provides a theoretical foundation for various fields of study, there is no single definition. Instead, Burr (pp. 5-6) presents four premises shared by social constructivism based on Kenneth Gergen's theory: 1) a critical approach to taken-for-granted knowledge, 2) human's view and knowledge about the world as historical and cultural specificity, 3) link between knowledge and social processes, and 4) link between knowledge and social action. Consequently, the knowledge that appears in the discourse analyzed from the point of view of social constructivism is not a fixed and objective truth but is historically and culturally formed based on the connection with social processes and actions.

dignitarian justice. In particular, I employed *multiperspectival discourse analysis* as the most appropriate methodological approach to critically analyze the RTE discourse. This process is schematized as shown in Figure 3.1.

<Figure 3.1>

Research Design



3.2. Research Process

3.2.1. Data Collection

This study used documents related to adult education published by UNESCO from 1990 to 2015 as data for discourse analysis. As reviewed in Chapter II, due to the ambiguity of its conceptual boundaries, research on adult education could be classified as one that inferred changes in adult education from

a comprehensive discourse on lifelong education and the other that approached adult education through the concept of literacy. This way of classification was also reflected in this study's document collection and selection.

[Table 3.1]

Classification of Materials for Discourse Analysis by Genre

Genre	Numbers	Sampling method
DG and ADG's speech and message	24	Keyword search
Conference material (CONFINTEA)	2	Keyword search
Education report	7	Keyword search (4) Purposeful sampling (3)
Recommendation	2	Keyword search (1) Purposeful sampling (1)
Policy document	1	Purposeful sampling
Miscellaneous (webpage and brochure)	2	Purposeful sampling

Documents for discourse analysis were collected using UNESCO's Digital Library (UNESDOC). I first accessed UNESDOC and entered "adult education," "adult learning," "adult literacy," "adult learning and education," "lifelong learning," or "lifelong education" from 1990 to 2015 as the title and the main topic. Among the 389 documents derived from the search, documents that have little relevance to adult education and reflect only the positions of specific regions and countries were excluded. Then, the remaining 85 documents were selected as initial data. I conducted *purposeful sampling* on them and selected 31 documents as secondary data judged to have had a direct or indirect impact on

UNESCO's adult education policies and programs. These data were summarized in chronological order to reveal rough trends in the discourses UNESCO had produced on adult education during the EFA period. However, the amount of data required for discourse analysis was remarkably insufficient in some periods. Accordingly, purposeful sampling was once again conducted to supplement this, and the 38 documents were finally selected, as shown in Table 3.1.

3.2.2. Data Processing

3.2.2.1. Comparing UNESCO's Two Recommendations on Adult Education

On November 13, 2015, at the 38th UNESCO GC, the *Recommendation on Adult Learning and Education* (hereafter, the 2015 recommendation) was finally adopted. This historic event took place in the field of adult education to "supersede" the *Recommendation on the Development of Adult Education* (hereafter, the 1976 recommendation). UIL, which played a leading role in the adoption of the recommendation, explains the implications of adopting the new recommendation as follows:

> It calls upon Member States to take action in the areas already defined in the Belém Framework for Action (hereafter BFA) – i.e. policy, *governance,* finance, participation, inclusion and *equity, and quality* [emphasis added]– while building on the potentials of information and communication technologies. This recommendation draws on the concept of lifelong learning, and underlines the overarching aim of *adult learning and education* [emphasis added], which is to

ensure that all adults participate in society and in *the world of work* [emphasis added]. (UIL, 2016b)

In this study, to take as a starting point for analysis of the macroscopic characteristics of UNESCO's discourse on adult education over 40 years, the above 2015 recommendation (UIL, 2016a) and the 1976 recommendation (UNESCO, 1976) were first compared.

Jørgensen and Phillips (2002, p. 149) suggest that the comparison is "the simplest way of building an impression of the nature of a text." Researchers can discover conceptual similarities, distinct categories, or patterns by comparing an event with another, a concept with another, or concepts to events that appear in materials (Glaser, 1992). In discourse analysis influenced by the tradition of critical theory, the strategy of comparison is appropriate to reveal "neutralized and taken-for-granted assumptions" and the unrecognized understanding of the world in the data by requiring the researcher to distance himself from the materials.

There were practical limitations in analyzing all the documents UNESCO produced in adult education for 25 years. Above all, it was difficult to determine the scope of the data to be analyzed due to the nature of adult education, where conceptual boundaries were vague, and even if the analysis was possible, it was not easy to secure the validity of the results. To compensate for these limitations, I compared the 2015 recommendation, the only international norm adopted by UNESCO in the field of adult education, with its predecessor, the 1976 recommendation, and thereby identified some broad differences in discourse between the two norms, as shown in Table 3.2.

[Table 3.2]

Comparing the Contents of the 1976 Recommendation by Areas of Action in the 2015 Recommendation

Areas of Action (2015 recommendation)	Chapters (1976 recommendation)
Policy	Management, administration, coordination and financing of adult education (IX)
Governance	The structure of adult education (V) Management, administration, coordination and financing of adult education (IX)
Financing	Management, administration, coordination and financing of adult education (IX)
Participation / Inclusion / Equity	Content of adult education (III)
Quality	Methods, means, research and evaluation (IV) The structure of adult education (V) Training and status of persons engaged in the adult education work (VI)

3.2.2.2. Identifying "Learning" as a Thematic Signifier

Differences between the 2015 and the 1976 recommendations are most pronounced in educational concepts. Above all, it can be grasped symbolically from the fact that adult education, which meant "the entire body of organized educational processes," has been extended to *Adult Learning and Education* (hereafter ALE), encompassing "the entire body of learning processes." Education, which took place through "apprenticeships" as well as "schools, colleges and universities," gave way to learning that takes place beyond educational institutions to "communities, organizations, and societies." "A global scheme for lifelong education and learning," advocated by the 1976 recommendation, seems to have

been realized largely through ALE in 2015. That is, ALE is positioned as a "subdivision" and "a core component" of "lifelong learning." It "comprises all forms of education and learning that aim to ensure that all adults participate in their societies and the world of work." In line with global lifelong learning, ALE is now "sustained activities and processes of acquiring, recognizing, exchanging, and adapting capabilities," regardless of location. It encompasses all formal, non-formal, and informal learning processes.

The 2015 recommendation states that the primary aim of ALE is "to equip people with the necessary capabilities to exercise and realize their rights and take control of their destinies." Based on the "economic growth and decent work prospects" provided by ALE, learners can now develop "critical thinking" and "autonomy and a sense of responsibility" and adapt flexibly to "the economy and the world of work." Unlike 2015, when ALE's primary purpose was to foster individuals for economic growth, the 1976 recommendation set the purpose of "work" as "peace, international understanding and cooperation." In addition, it specified incorporating an individual's "spiritual and aesthetic values" into "working life." Likewise, it placed "work" on the realization of an individual's intrinsic values by "developing the aptitude for acquiring new knowledge, qualifications, attitudes, or forms of behavior conducive to the full maturity of the personality" and "ensuring the individuals' conscious and effective incorporation into working life." There is a clear contrast in 2015 when "literacy and basic skills," "continuing training and professional development," and "active citizenship" are found in separate domains of ALE.

A similar trend is also found in changes to the concept of literacy. In 1976, literacy as "a crucial factor in political and economic development" was "an

integral part" of plans for adult education. In 2015, in the overflow of "technology and information," literacy refers to the ability to "cope with the challenges and complexities of life, culture, economy and society" and "solve problems." Moreover, literacy for full participation in lifelong learning "in community, workplace and society" as "a continuum of learning and proficiency levels" is now "an essential means" for building "knowledge," "skills," and "competencies."

The relationship between lifelong learning, adult education, and literacy has not changed significantly since 1976. According to the 2015 recommendation, literacy is "a key component" of ALE and "an indispensable foundation" of lifelong learning. ALE is also "an integral part" of lifelong learning. However, while the 2015 recommendation clearly states the relationship between key concepts from a value-neutral position, the 1976 recommendation emphasizes adult education's political and social aspects. For example, the 1976 recommendation specified adult education for "a more rational and more equitable distribution of educational resources" between different social groups and intergenerational understanding between young people and adults. The recommendation also required adult education for political, social, and economic equality among social groups and genders. Similarly, the recommendation asserts that literacy is "a critical factor" in "political, economic development, social and cultural changes and technical advancement."

As a result of comparison, "learning," which was not prominent in the 1976 recommendation, emerged as a key concept and signifier embracing the discourses of "development" and "work" in the 2015 recommendation. Accordingly, I identified learning as a thematic signifier for discourse analysis and

analyzed texts and discourses "produced, consumed, and distributed" (Fairclough, 1992) in relation to learning.

3.2.2.3. Indexing Texts to the Thematic Signifier

Ritchie and Spencer (1994, p. 182) define indexing as "the process whereby the thematic framework or index is systematically applied to the data in its textual form." At this stage, the researcher can further explore and discuss each topic by reflecting on the data emerging from the materials in the thematic framework. In this sense, indexing is a preliminary step to identify meaningful discursive data for full-scale discourse analysis by applying textual data that appears inductively to a theme set in a deductive way.[22]

In this study, indexing was conducted using the Text Indexing Form (hereafter TIF) as a text analysis framework corresponding to a thematic signifier, "learning" (see Appendix A). That is, I entered the title of the document on the TIF and summarized the texts in relation to "learning" in the document. By indexing the texts into the theme of "learning," I naturally discovered how learning was expanded and transformed into learnification[23] in UNESCO's discourse on adult education.

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[22] Botelle and Willott (2020) conducted a study using "the combination of thematic analysis with discourse analysis." According to them, "thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting repeated patterns of meaning across a dataset and involves repetitive coding and re-coding of text and aggregation of these codes into larger themes." Thus, the themes identified in this process can be analyzed at a deeper level of social discourse through discourse analysis. For similar studies combining discourse and thematic analysis, see Taylor and Ussher (2001) and Clarke (2005).

[23] Biesta (2010; 2015b) conceptualized the discourse on "learning" or "learner" that emerged globally in the education sector around 1990 as learnification. A series of changes in the educational talk where education is redefined as "the provision of learning opportunities or learning experiences," "students" as "learners," and "adult education" as "adult learning" are all instances

[Table 3.3]

TIFs Produced by Genre

TIF #	Genre	Documents
1	Address / Speech / Message	DGs and ADG's speeches
2	Conference material	CONFINTEA V
3	Conference material	CONFINTEA VI
4	Recommendation	2015 Recommendation
5	Recommendation	1976 Recommendation
6	Education report	Delors report
7	Education report	Rethinking education
8	Education report	1st GRALE
9	Education report	2nd GRALE

Note. Among the 38 materials in Table 3.1, 32 were included in the TIF. Of the 38, 2 were added and analyzed separately by purposeful sampling in the comparison phase (Section 3.2.2.1) and 4 in the description and interpretation phase (Section 3.2.3.1).

The texts subcategorized into "learning" were analyzed discursively with conceptual tools such as articulation, nodal points or discourses, floating or empty signifiers, and the logic of equivalence or difference, which will be introduced in Section 3.2.3. Through this indexing, I have integrated 32 documents published by UNESCO related to adult education into the above nine genre-specific TIFs.

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of learnification. As the main factors of learnification, he points out the rise of a new learning theory that emphasizes the active role of students and the facilitating role of teachers in understanding and building knowledge, a postmodern critique of the idea that teachers should control the curriculum, and the rise of neoliberal policies. In this dissertation, by employing Biesta's concept, the variation and expansion of learning in UNESCO's discourse on adult education is referred to as learnification.

3.2.3. Multiperspectival Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis pays attention to knowledge about language beyond words, clauses, phrases, and sentences necessary for communication. In other words, discourse analysis is concerned with not only the overall pattern of the language appearing across texts but also the relationship with the social and cultural context in which language is used. It means that discourse can be accessed as "a particular way of talking about and understanding the world" through different perspectives and understandings of social identities and relationships (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; Paltridge, 2006). Thus, discourse analysis examines the use of discourse to explore how different views of the world and identity are constructed and does not claim the possibility of generalization.

Among the three different approaches to *social constructionist discourse analysis* introduced by Jørgensen and Phillips (2002), this study employed the *multiperspectival research framework* [24] combining Laclau and Mouffe's

[24] Multiperspectivalism provides a conceptual foundation for approaching social knowledge and phenomena as an "integrated whole" by combining Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory and Fairclough's CDA based on post-structuralism and structuralism, respectively. However, to apply multiperspectivalism to research, it is necessary to compare the above two approaches to discourse analysis and examine internal coherence and relevance as a research framework. As a result of the examination, theoretical foundations and their concepts of critique, power, ideology, and hegemony were identified in both approaches (Wodak & Meyer, 2015; van Dijk, 1993; 2015; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; Fairclough, 2003).

discourse theory[25] with Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis[26] (hereafter CDA) in an integrative fashion. By "casting light on the discursive dimension of social practice," the framework enabled a broader understanding of the discourse on adult education that UNESCO has produced.

3.2.3.1. Order of Discourse

In this study, Fairclough's (2003) order of discourse was employed as a conceptual basis for applying multiperspectivalism integrating the discourse theory and CDA, as mentioned earlier. It played a crucial role as a concept that provides a foundation for discourse analysis, encompassing social constructivism and multiperspectivalism.

A Three-Dimensional Conception of Discourse

Fairclough (2003) divides discourse into three dimensions: *text,*

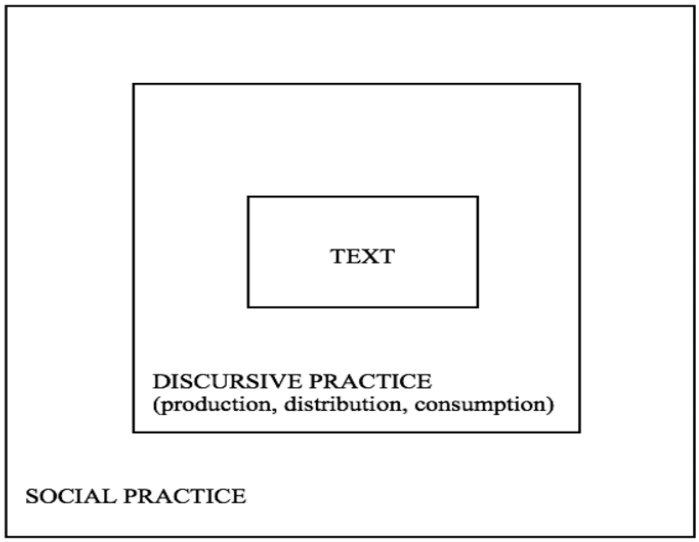
[25] Discourse theory is a post-structuralist theory to understand *the social* as a discursive construction, based on the principle that all social phenomena can be analyzed with tools of discourse analysis. It explains the formation and transformation of all social discourses through various *articulations* between texts based on *intertextuality* and aims to "deconstruct" the structures we take for granted. Thus, "the social" in discourse theory consists entirely of discourse, which rejects the distinction between discursive and non-discursive phenomena. That is, in discourse theory, discourse spans all social phenomena as well as language. In addition, it is built by the totality of the *moment* in which signs are in fixation in a contingent relationship (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

[26] In contrast to Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory based on post-structuralism, Fairclough's CDA was theorized on structuralism. In other words, in CDA, which presupposes the dialectical interaction between discourse and society, discourse is both constitutive and constituted in the social context. Therefore, CDA is a methodology that understands discourse as a social practice or rule system that reflects social ideology or power relations and empirically analyzes the relationship between *texts, discursive practice, and social practice* (Fairclough, 2013; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

discursive practice, and social practice. As schematized in Figure 3.2, the text produced in the domain of structure and form of grammar is a dimension in which the actual appearance of language is revealed by *description*. The discursive practice in which interaction between texts or discourses occurs is the dimension in which texts' production, distribution, and consumption occur. In discursive practice, the particular type of discourse involved in communication within an event is understood by *interpretation*.

<Figure 3.2>

A Three-Dimensional Conception of Discourse



Source. Fairclough (1992, p. 73)

Finally, in social practice related to the social conditions of production and interpretation of texts, discourse is *explained* in such contexts as social

situations, history, institutions, and society as a whole. In this respect, Fairclough (2003, p. 23) describes social practice as "intermediate organizational entities" between social structures and events, which can "control the selection of certain structural possibilities and the exclusion of others, and the retention of these selections over time." Here, language is "a form of social practice" and "a socially conditioned process" (Fairclough, 2015, pp. 55-56).

Genres, Dicourses, Styles[27]

Of these three dimensions, discourse is represented in social practice in three main ways: *genres, discourses,* and *styles*. Through the mix of these three ways, social practices structured in social institutions and conventions are reproduced as social order. Likewise, Fairclough (2015) conceptualizes a language structured and determined in the conventions underlying the discourse as the order of discourse, borrowing Foucault's terminology. In short, the order of discourse is the "configuration" of socially structured genres and discourses for a particular institution. In this regard, Jørgensen and Phillips (2002, p. 73) argue that the role of the order of discourse could be strengthened as a conceptual tool by being reconceptualized as a "potentially conflictual configuration of discourses" in the social field. Therefore, the order of discourse is analyzed in discursive practice

[27] Genres are "ways of acting," socially approved discursive ways of interaction. For example, categories such as interviews, news articles, and speeches belong to genres. Discourses, on the other hand, as part of social practice, are "ways of representing" discourse. For example, rhetoric such as the political *The Third Way*, which is distinct from the traditional progressives and conservatives, and *the Fourth Industrial Revolution*, which is different from the previous industry and economy, can be used as discourses. Finally, discourse is represented differently in social practice depending on "ways of being," which are called styles. Styles emerge through how people attribute identities to themselves and others, such as phonological characteristics, vocabulary, and metaphors related to agency.

among the three dimensions of discourse.

Despite being a concept derived from CDA, the order of discourse provides space to accommodate the analytical concepts of Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory in a multiperspectival research framework. Moreover, from the perspective of social constructivism, it derives a "terrain" in which different discourses can compete in separate ways for the "fixation of meanings" (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). In other words, as the hegemonic tension among discourses, which is the focus of discourse theory, is accepted into the order of discourse, the room for interpretation between the objective and the political becomes more open.

Description and Interpretation

Despite suggesting analysis methods for each of the three dimensions of discourse, Fairclough (1992) points out that in reality, the distinction between description-interpretation-explanation is unclear, and therefore analysis is often not conducted in linear order. However, unless the text is arranged to a level where the description is possible, it cannot advance to the stage where the discursive practice is interpreted. For this reason, Fairclough (2003) proposes to analyze the characteristics of the text's form and content by structuring it into discourses, genres, and styles that constitute the order of discourse.

Once the description of the text is complete, the discursive practice as an "interwoven text" should be interpreted. If the types of discourses are not identified in interpreting the described text, the discursive practice in which homogenized text bundles or heterogeneous texts appear cannot be grasped. For this reason, I integrated the texts indexed in the TIF by genre according to the

period when learnification progressed in the Discursive Order Analysis (DOA) and then analyzed the discourses for each period (see Appendix B). As a result, the nine DOAs, consolidated by period and phase, were produced as follows:

[Table 3.4]

DOAs Produced by the Period of the Progression of Learnification

DOA #	Period	Phase of learnification	Genre
1	1990 - 1996	Pre-learnification	Address / Speech / Message
2	1996 - 2000	Diversification of learning	Education report
3	1996 - 2000	Diversification of learning	Conference material
4	1996 - 2000	Diversification of learning	Address / Speech / Message
5	2000 - 2009	Technocratization of learning	Address / Speech / Message
6	2009 - 2015	Suprematization of learning	Address / Speech / Message
7	2009 - 2015	Suprematization of learning	Conference material
8	2009 - 2015	Suprematization of learning	Education report
9	2009 - 2015	Suprematization of learning	Education report

In Table 3.4, the order of discourse that UNESCO built up in adult education during the EFA period is described and interpreted based on the contents of the DOA. In this process, under the judgment that the discursive data during the technocratization and suprematization of learning was insufficient for discourse analysis, I conducted purposeful sampling and collected and analyzed four more documents.

Recontextualization

UNESCO's policies and programs in adult education, which have advocated equality of educational opportunities as the ideal based on RTE, are, in fact, the product of the interaction between the dominant international political and economic structure and discursive practice. So, in what sense can the order of discourse constructed through the dialectic between social practice and discursive practice be reinterpreted in the theory of dignitarian justice?

In response, the orders of discourse analyzed through description and interpretation were recontextualized in the framework of dignitarian justice theorized in Chapter II. Wodak (2015, p. 7) defines *recontextualization* as "the process of transferring given elements to new contexts." In other words, the order of discourse is given a new theoretical context and reinterpreted by dignitarian justice. Through this, I urged to identify and rectify the injustices embedded in the orders of discourse established by UNESCO in adult education.

3.2.3.2. Analytical Concepts

In the multiperspectival research framework, conceptual tools for practical discourse analysis were employed as follows.

Articulation and Interdiscursivity

> We will call *articulation* [emphasis added] any practice establishing a relation among *elements* [emphasis added] such that their identity is modified as a result

> of the articulatory practice. The structured totality resulting from the articulatory practice, we will call *discourse* [emphasis added]. The differential positions, insofar as they appear articulated within a discourse, we will call *moments* [emphasis added]. By contrast, we will call *element* [emphasis added] any difference that is not discursively articulated. (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, p. 105)

As in the above paragraph, articulation, moments, and elements are essential concepts that form the basis of Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory. In particular, articulation between elements at specific moments is the core concept of post-structuralist discourse theory that presupposes infinite discursive variation. In short, various "webs of meanings" are formed through articulation among different elements in discourse theory.

Articulation in discourse theory can be connected with interdiscursivity, the core concept of CDA, without conflict. Interdiscursivity as a form of intertextuality is a condition in which the reproduced meaning can be compared with the formation of previous meanings through articulation among discourses or genres. In interdiscursivity, CDA suggests exploring different discourses articulated into one particular text, the same discourses articulated across a set of texts, and different discourses combined by new articulation. According to Fairclough, the higher the level of interdiscursivity, the more changes occur between discourses before and after articulation. Simply put, interdiscursivity is a concept for analyzing the context produced by a particular discourse across genres, styles, and discourses.

Nodal Points / Discourses

Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory defines discourse as "the fixation of a web of meanings." It presents a nodal point as a specific signifier or a reference point that leads to the "fixation" of signifiers with various meanings. Nodal points are articulated with elements that derive various meanings at the center of a specific "chain of signification," giving structure to the discourse and meaning to other signifiers. Conversely, other signifiers "acquire their meaning from their relationship to the nodal point" (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 26). For example, the signifier *life* acquires different meanings as the signified by being articulated with different signifiers within each chain of signification that constitutes discourses in the philosophical and medical fields.

In a similar context, nodal discourse means a discourse that can embrace and reflect many other discourses underneath. Fairclough uses the concept of nodal discourse as a critical area in which hegemonic struggle occurs while other constituent discourses organize relationships (Rear, 2013). Cummings et al. (2018) also found that the tacit position of advanced countries that support the "techno-scientific-economic knowledge society" was reflected in the Sustainable Development Goals (hereafter SDGs) document by approaching *the knowledge society* as a nodal discourse.

Floating / Empty Signifiers

The nodal points are "privileged empty signs around which the other signs are ordered and a discourse is organized" (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 26). For example, *democracy* is a nodal point that constructs a discourse with different

meanings depending on the national political environment and context. In this respect, democracy as the signifier can be said to be “floating” across different discourses. The elements in which discourses with these different meanings “invest” in their own ways are called floating signifiers. Floating in various contexts without clearly defined objects, they are fixated on specific signs at specific moments and take their place as answers to various social questions. Whereas nodal points refer to points determined within a particular discourse, floating signifiers continuously struggle among conflicting discourses for the fixation of the meaning of important signs (Laclau, 1990). Researchers can identify the struggles by analyzing the competing web of meanings surrounding floating signifiers.

Among floating signifiers, signifiers with “zero symbolic value” are called empty signifiers. Empty signifiers conceptualized only in the abstract are filled with concrete meaning in specific contexts. As such, since empty signifiers, or “signifiers without the signified,” are used to deny the a priori and fixedness of discourse, they mainly acquire the signified in an inexplicable, contradictory, and complex reality. The reality named by an empty signifier becomes communicable as it is accepted by the members of society, enabling them to continue their social life (Choi, 2020).

Offe (2009) analyzed the underlying meaning of *governance* as an example of an empty signifier. Governance, which began to be used by the WB in the late 1980s, is a modality of the regulatory structure that accompanies political decision-making. He argues that the concept of governance semantically fuses institutional discipline by the government and non-institutional discipline by markets and civil society, blurring the difference between the two forms of

discipline. He also points out that governance reduces the role of politics to functionalism by masking the weakening role of the government as a "soft mode of regulation" and glorifying the participation of various stakeholders in governance as more effective in solving problems. Offe asserts that governance as an empty signifier plays a discursive role in privatizing the public sphere.

The Logic of Equivalence / Difference

The "webs of meanings" that make up the discourse are built on *chains of equivalence*. Laclau and Mouffe (1985) explain that individual or collective identities are discursively formed as meanings are given to signifiers in chains of equivalence. For example, at the nodal point of *the West*, elements such as "civilization," "white people," and "liberal democracy" are articulated to form chains of equivalence. In this discursive process, nodal points function as empty signifiers through signifiers articulated with *a logic of equivalence* (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; Rear, 2013).

However, a logic of equivalence has the disadvantage of masking the differences within the discourse. For example, simply classifying all identities in the *non-white* discourse that resist *the white* discourse into a single group based on race ignores compounded injustices based on gender or class. In contrast, *a logic of difference* deconstructs "the polar opposition" to reveal more individual identities. Although this effectively represents detailed and microscopic injustices at individual levels, it exposes limitations in producing a macroscopic and unifying discourse for struggle (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

Meanwhile, CDA also uses the concept of the *relationship* of

equivalence/difference as a concept similar to the *logic* of equivalence/difference (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). For example, Hatley (2019) analyzed the discursive position of elements that reproduced educational values in UNESCO's publications on *Global Citizenship Education* using the above two concepts. According to Hatley, values structured in a relationship of equivalence acquired universality, whereas, in a relationship of difference, structured values resisted universality and prioritized the possibility of a particular identity and context.

3.3. Research Validity: Coherence, Fruitfulness, Reflexivity

This research was conducted to reveal the order of discourse that UNESCO built in adult education based on social constructivism and to recontextualize it in the theory of dignitarian justice. As mentioned earlier, social constructivism rejects the positivist approach that presupposes objectivity to knowledge by treating knowledge as a construct between social relations and identities. Therefore, the validity and reliability of qualitative research based on social constructivism, especially in discourse analysis, must be secured by methods different from those in quantitative research. Nevertheless, there is also no general agreement on the criteria of validity applied to discourse analysis (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 172).

Given the above academic trends in discourse analysis, I have identified two concepts that many social constructivists agree on (Potter and Wetherell, 1987): *coherence* and *fruitfulness*. They were accepted as criteria to improve the validity of my research. In addition, *reflexivity* was adopted as the third criterion. It has been widely used as a major strategy to secure the validity of qualitative

research (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; Burr, 2015; Jung, 2019).

Coherence is the first criterion for determining the validity of discourse analysis. According to Potter and Wetherell (1987), discourse inconsistent with reasonable explanations reduces readers' acceptance of analytical results. However, it should be noted here that coherence in discourse analysis does not necessarily mean logical causation as in quantitative research. Often contradictory and conflicting viewpoints in a particular discourse are compatible in a paradoxical way. This contradiction is valid in research that analyzes the discourses formed from the power relations among different identities and groups.

To ensure coherence, I applied a deductive approach, comparison and indexing, in the data processing. As introduced in Section 3.2.2, these strategies significantly mitigate the possibility that the unpredictability of the discourses produced and mutated through the infinite articulation among texts in the data undermines the validity of the research. Above all, comparison was a very effective method in determining the starting point of discourse analysis by deriving "learning" as a thematic signifier that has macroscopically changed throughout UNESCO's 40-year discourse on adult education. Afterward, I preserved research coherence by indexing in the TIF the discourses that UNESCO produced for 25 years with "learning."

Peer debriefing was used in this research as another method for strengthening coherence. According to Creswell and Miller (2000, p. 129), peer debriefing means "the review of the data and research process by someone who is familiar with the research or the phenomenon being explored." In this regard, I explained the research process and major findings to the professionals working in

UNESCO's education sector for more than 20 years and to my Ph.D. colleagues who have majored in international education. They reviewed the research and provided important insights for coherence, along with questions and comments.

Nevertheless, an overemphasis on coherence either "flattens out" the dynamic messages inherent in discourse or enhances the likelihood of "potential conservatism" accepted only by "the community of scholars" (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 172). Therefore, fruitfulness was adopted as the second criterion of validity to overcome the limitations revealed by this criterion of coherence. It emphasizes "the production of new knowledge" and "new scientific explanations" that reinforce "new types of thinking and action." Through fruitfulness, the dynamic and sometimes "ironic validity" (Lather, 1993) of discourse analysis can be delivered vividly.

To enhance the fruitfulness of the research, I tried to provide as rich a theoretical explanation as possible by recontextualizing the order of discourse. As will be described later, the most striking discovery of the research was the immediate relevance of UNESCO's discursive strategy to the progression of learnification in its discourse on adult education over the past 25 years. In particular, this dissertation acquires the status of educational research by analyzing the order of discourse established by UNESCO in three aspects of RTE – substance, agents, and subjects – and providing a theoretical explanation for the embedded elements of educational injustice. This research, conducted based on political theories on human dignity, opens up the possibility of a richer educational discussion by illuminating the variations of learning discourse.

In order to comply with the above two criteria for securing the validity of the research, the last internal criterion I accepted as a researcher was reflexivity.

Reflexivity demands continuous “self-reflection” and “self-examination” for the researcher to apply his or her theories, assertions, and beliefs to the research practice (Jung, 2019, p. 67). Thus, reflexivity “compels” the researcher to consider his or her role and justify the choices made in the research (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002, p. 118).

Throughout this research, I attempted to analyze and interpret all data as a “critical” researcher, abandoning an insider’s perspective who has been working in the UNESCO system for 15 years. As stated in Section 3.1.3, the core of the multiperspectival discourse analysis adopted as the analysis method in this research lies in criticism. Criticism means “the examination, assessment and evaluation” which the researcher conducts at a distance “from a normative perspective of persons, objects, actions, social institutions and so forth” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2015, p. 24). In other words, the critical researcher must continuously strive to secure a position independent from the social context.

During my research, I worked as a labor union leader at the National Commission for UNESCO, where I could keep a distance from the organization while maintaining membership. In other words, as an independent insider not directly affiliated with the UNESCO system, I had easy access to research-related information and data. In addition, as a member of a civil society organization (hereafter CSO) in the field of education, I was able to review UNESCO’s education policies and activities from the perspective of a civic activist. As such, by locating myself at a certain distance from the research object, I could secure the “academic value” and “political significance” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 125) of this research as a critical researcher based on reflexivity.

CHAPTER IV. ANALYZING UNESCO'S DISCOURSE ON ADULT EDUCATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THREE ASPECTS ON THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION

4.1. UNESCO's Discursive Strategies for the Progression of Learnification

The results of analyzing the discourses produced, consumed and distributed by UNESCO on adult education during the EFA period show that learning has obtained various signifieds, forming different discourses through articulation with texts and discourses. In other words, learning played a role as a floating signifier across the order of discourse established by UNESCO in adult education. In particular, the discourses produced by learning were diversified, technocratized, and suprematized as they combined in multi-layered relationships with other signifiers and nodal discourses that emerged over time. In this study, this phenomenon of discursive variation and expansion of learning is called the progression of learnification. UNESCO contributed to this progression of learnification in its discourse on adult education by implementing various discursive strategies. In this chapter, the progression of learning in the order of discourse established by UNESCO on adult education is divided into four phases: pre-learnification, diversification, technocratization, and suprematization. Also, the discursive strategies that contributed to this learnification will be interpreted based on the discourse theory.

4.1.1. The Four Phases of Learnification

4.1.1.1. Pre-Learnification (1990 – the mid-1990s)

Pre-learnification is the period before full-scale learnification progresses in UNESCO's discourse on adult education. In this period, education as a public good was identified with general schooling, and the state's role as the leading educational actor was emphasized. Learning meant non-formal or informal education that occurred mainly in the private and cultural sphere, isolated from schooling. However, with the rise of the concept of knowledge in the mid-1990s, lifelong education was re-highlighted, and its discursive realm was gradually expanded.

The discourse on *endogenous development* emerged in UNESCO's adult education literature during the pre-learnification period. Endogenous development consisted of two discourses: human resource development and the development of peace and democracy. UNESCO highlighted the role of the state in this development process. In other words, as an agent of development, the state should achieve economic development through human resource development and grant "personal sovereignty" to "well-informed citizens" through democratic education. While this state-led education stressed schooling, adult education was mainly conducted outside school and was limited to learning to preserve cultural identity.

Meanwhile, a few years before the turn of the century, a reconceptualization of knowledge took place. UNESCO was concerned about the knowledge gap between countries, which would result from limited access to new

knowledge and information while proposing a knowledge-based learning society in the 21st century. As a result, the knowledge conceptualized by UNESCO at this time, emphasizing democracy, referred to indigenous knowledge and wisdom rooted in each country based on cultural diversity rather than uniform knowledge centered on developed countries. In this respect, it can be said that UNESCO's discourse on knowledge bore post-colonialism.

4.1.1.2. Diversification of Learning (the mid-1990s – early 2000s)

In the mid-1990s, learnification began earnestly in UNESCO's discourse on adult education. The most remarkable feature of this period was the differentiation of learning under *the four pillars of education*. The publication of the *Delors Report* significantly influenced the diversification of learning. Faced with "the challenges posed by a rapidly changing world," the report declared the flexibility of education, emphasizing "learning throughout life" "beyond the traditional distinction" between initial education and continuing education. The report also justified the need for "learning throughout life" to meet two demands that appeared to be "contradictory" in a "complex and interdependent world." That is, as "knowledge and know-how" to adapt to "knowledge-driven civilization" has evolved, education should meet the need to "keep the development of individuals and communities as its end" while "not being overwhelmed by the flows of information" (Delors, 1996, pp. 22, 85). As it was taken for granted that the discourse of knowledge and development contains a "great transformation," *learning throughout life* as a nodal discourse encompassed other discourses in adult education.

In the process of diversification of learning, global meta-discourses that spread before the turn of the century exerted a powerful influence. They were the globalization discourse that accelerated with the development of ICT, the sustainable human development discourse that arose to correct the economic growth-oriented development discourse, and the discourse of knowledge society as a new learning society that transcends the boundary between learning and work. In other words, as the utilitarian development paradigm centered on economic growth at the international level shifted to this "sustainable development" and "human development," these elements began to appear in UNESCO's discourse.

Meanwhile, the purpose of education for democracy and endogenous development continued while learning expanded in time and space as it was articulated with elements such as "throughout life" and "to live together." "Learning to live together" was a prime example of spatially expanded learning in global development discourse. The development discourse highlighting decentralization also influenced the transfer of responsibility for education to regional and local levels under "educational reform." Paradoxically, this discourse on decentralization of development resulted in a discourse stressing the empowerment of learners and the cultural diversity of local and minority groups.

Consequently, the diversification of learning was a discursive strategy implemented by UNESCO to realize RTE through equality of educational opportunities while accepting the above meta-discourses as nodal discourses in adult education.

4.1.1.3. Technocratization of Learning (the 2000s)

Learning, divided into the four pillars of education, seemed to align with the MDGs, a new internationally agreed development agenda to spread a discourse emphasizing poverty alleviation in developing countries. EFA, notably advocated by UNESCO to ensure access to adult and basic education, absorbed discourses that presupposed *measurability and causality* into adult education by linking with *achieving universal primary education*, the second goal of the MDGs and its quantitative indicators. The UN's adoption of the MDGs and UNESCO's implementation of EFA influenced the discourse on adult education as a social practice. In particular, the emphasis on *quality* indicated that *the technocratization of learning* progressed in UNESCO's discourse on adult education. It came along with attempts to technically manage the learning context by integrating it into the concept of *competencies*. The context-based approach was also applied to literacy, enabling conceptualized "literacies" multidimensionally according to local needs and contexts. Finally, it resulted in the view that they may be converted into competencies such as qualifications and skills employed in the job market.

Meanwhile, lifelong learning acquired the neoliberal signified that approaches global development as a technologically controllable project (McMichael & Weber, 2020). It tended to be actively recontextualized within the discourse of the knowledge society. In other words, lifelong learning was declared as a new "organizing principle" linking work, time, and knowledge in the knowledge society. Similarly, lifelong learning for a knowledge-based economy was considered an "investment" through the construction of "models of governance." The purpose of lifelong learning managed through effective governance was for learners to acquire skills to adapt to the job market and thus strengthen their competitiveness. The discourse of *marketized* lifelong learning

advocated a knowledge-based economy and stressed individual competitiveness. It was, in fact, a discourse that imposed the responsibility for the structural instability of the job market, which increased due to the global financial crisis in the late 2000s, on individuals by integrating "the world of learning" and "the world of work."

4.1.1.4. Suprematization[28] of Learning (the late 2000s – 2015)

Following technocratization in the 2000s, learning acquired priority within UNESCO's discourse on adult education. In particular, since 2012, when the international consensus process on the post-2015 development agenda was in progress, UNESCO has made an active effort to mainstream lifelong learning in global education governance. Accordingly, even in adult education, the orders of discourse were reorganized around lifelong learning as a nodal discourse. However, in this process, tensions formed between discourses that had not been observed before.

As in the previous period, "sustainable development" and "human development" still functioned as nodal discourses reflecting UNESCO's intentions. However, the development discourses of this period incorporating environmental issues such as climate change, food, and energy differed from the

[28] Suprematization was borrowed from the term *suprematism* coined by the Russian artist Kazimir Malevich (1878 - 1935). He acknowledged only "supremacy of pure feeling or perception" "beyond reason" in the art of painting and suprematism to explain a new mode of abstract painting that was liberated from all references to the outside world (Douglas, 1975; MoMA, n.d.). In this section, when setting the post-2015 development agenda, learning that has acquired supremacy through the dialectical dynamic between all discourses in adult education is represented by suprematization.

previous period's emphasis on social aspects of development.

The discourse of lifelong learning combined with ALE at this time actively absorbed not only the element of the "post-2015 development agenda" but also the discourses of "partnership" and "governance" for "effective implementation" of the project in the development sector and the Global North's discourse emphasizing individual learners. In their absorption into the discourse of lifelong learning, knowledge played a role as a floating signifier and a nodal point.

4.1.2. UNESCO's Discursive Strategies and Its Dilemma

4.1.2.1. Discursive Strategies

As a result of analyzing UNESCO's discourse on adult education during the EFA period, the following discursive strategies were found. First, social practices such as global development agenda-setting, the turn of the century, the declaration and implementation of EFA, the outbreak of the global financial crisis, and the implementation of the LWF project were absorbed into adult education. In this process, nodal discourses acquired meaning as hegemonic interventions that implicitly reflected UNESCO's view. For example, in UNESCO's literature on adult education in the early 2000s, the discourse of "globalization" was combined with the discourse of "information society," which focused mainly on information spreading through ICT development. In contrast, globalization in the mid-2000s was intertextually articulated with elements such as "economic systems" and "knowledge-based economies" and thereby fixated on the economic meaning. The

following speech epitomizes then DG's discursive strategy of combining globalization discourse with the discourse of knowledge-based societies in adult education.

> *Globalization* [emphasis added], though first and foremost an economic and financial process, is also a *scientific and technological one* [emphasis added], in which the new information and communication technologies are networking the world through links that are as dense as they are flexible. But above all, *globalization* is a cultural process. *It is spreading and imposing a new economy, and hence a new form of social organization, based on knowledge* [emphasis added]. (Matsuura, 2000, p. 2)

Whereas the former DG Mayor was a passionate orator who expressed his beliefs and will using the rhetoric of *oughts* in speech, Matsuura used the typical diplomat's speech to persuade listeners by relying on neutralized meta-discourse without explicitly revealing his arguments. The use of the globalization discourse as a nodal discourse effectively removed the spatiotemporal context based on historicity while strongly imparting an irreversible and neutral feeling to his argument for a knowledge-based society.

Globalization since 2010 has been combined with the discourse on sustainable development in the ecological dimension, problematizing issues such as climate change, energy, and food. In short, UNESCO justified the progression of learnification in adult education by combining the social practice of the time with the nodal discourse of the neutral meaning of globalization.

Second, "lifelong learning" not only served as a nodal point and nodal discourse that combined heterogeneous elements but also as an empty signifier

floating inside and outside the discourses that contributed to the progression of learninfication. As such, it enabled UNESCO's hegemonic interventions. Lifelong learning began to acquire a future-oriented meaning as it was connected with "a survival concept for the 21st century" in the pre-learnification stage. It was later recontextualized within the discourse on "knowledge societies" in advanced European countries and combined with the discourse on marketization. In addition, it acquired hegemonic status as "a philosophy, a conceptual framework and an organizing principle" in response to the social discourse of a new global development agenda. The DG's speech below exemplifies UNESCO's active efforts to link lifelong learning with the new global development agenda:

> The conviction that learning is essential for the dignity of every woman and man, that *it is the best way to bring sustainability to development*. This conviction has never been as important as it is today. Change is racing across the world. New technologies are connecting individuals and opening vast opportunities for creating and sharing knowledge [emphasis added]. (Bokova, 2012b, p. 2)

In the above speech, Bokova, then DG, maximized the presentness of change and crisis by using the present progressive form. Here, lifelong learning was reaffirmed as a "conceptual framework and organizing principle" that required the knowledge society for sustainable development. In addition, Bokova found the historical legitimacy of lifelong learning in the *Faure Report* and the *Delors Report*, both of which were cited to promote equity and quality of education that the post-2015 global development agenda stressed (Bokova, 2012b, p. 6).

In a speech at the University of Hamburg on the same day, the DG combined her new rhetoric, “new humanism,” with “the post-2015 development agenda”, highlighting the skills “for green economies and societies” along with “quality,” “relevance” and “equity.” Here, lifelong learning was the “cornerstone” and “the motor” to achieve “a new vision for the future,” that is, “sustainable development,” for which the new development agenda aims. As such, lifelong learning functioned as a nodal point to absorb the discourse of development into adult education (Bokova, 2012a, pp. 2-3).

It was rare for the head of an international organization who had to find compromises and trade-offs among sometimes even sharp conflicts and tensions of MS to explicitly reveal specific social agents on problematic issues. Like her predecessors, Bokova also attempted to problematize only certain phenomena with neutral and ambiguous texts such as “globalization,” “change,” and “challenge,” rather than explicitly addressing the causes and responsibilities of global crisis. Nevertheless, Bokova’s perception of these issues seemed somewhat different from that of his predecessor Matsuura. In particular, whereas Matsuura viewed the main challenge posed by globalization as the intensifying uncertainty of the labor market, Bokova saw more multi-layered issues such as climate change, food, energy, and inequality occurring in the environmental, social, and economic areas of sustainable development. From this perspective, globalization was problematized. Combining “sustainable development” with knowledge and learning, she used a discursive strategy to secure their status equivalent to lifelong learning (Bokova, 2013, p. 2).

Through this discourse formation process, lifelong learning as a nodal point was suprematized as it effectively included higher education, basic education,

adult education, and TVET.

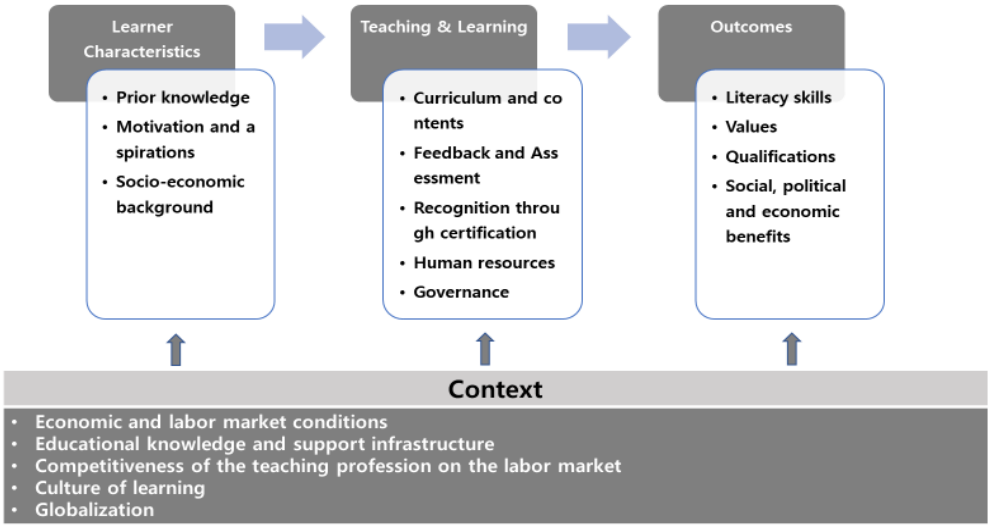
Lastly, the articulation between floating signifiers and different elements formed a logic of equivalence or difference, thereby generating tension between discourses or establishing new orders of discourse. In particular, knowledge was a floating signifier that appeared throughout the EFA period. It was articulated with elements representing each phase of learnification and established orders of discourse conducive to the progression of learnification. Typically, by articulating elements with pluralistic (i.e., “endogenous knowledge”), informational (i.e., “knowledge and information”), economic (i.e., “knowledge-based economies”), and contextual (“knowledge and competencies”) meanings, knowledge as floating signifier that appeared over all periods of EFA drove the progression of learnification in UNESCO’s discourse on adult education.

4.1.2.2. The Discursive Dilemma Caused by Quality and Governance

Quality and governance as empty signifiers articulated with elements in particular contexts formed conflicting discourses among the floating signifiers. In other words, quality instigated tension between the measurability discourse and the learner-centeredness discourse, and governance caused conflict between the decentralization and centralization discourses. These tensions and conflicts emerged between UNESCO’s traditional discourse on education as a public good and the discourses that emerged from changes in global education governance. They contributed dialectically to the suprematization of learning by causing a discursive dilemma in UNESCO’s discourse on adult education.

<Figure 4.1>

An Adapted Framework for Understanding Education Quality



Note. The framework does not include all elements belonging to the source. It shows a causality-based approach to education quality, including socio-cultural context (UNESCO, 2009, p. 86).

The quality of ALE guaranteed the diversity of the context or learner of the learning activities while at the same time, it was enhanced by acknowledging and assessing learning outcomes or competences based on causality. It caused tension between the discourse of measurability [29] that presupposed

[29] UNESCO (2009, p. 79) explained the background highlighting learning outcomes in adult education as "the demands of social and economic development," the necessity of "efficient and effective use" of limited resources in "lifelong and life-wide learning," and "new kinds of monitoring and evaluation systems and processes" due to "increased deregulation and decentralization of educational provision." From the conceptual texts constituting the above discourse, it could be confirmed that the economic perspective centered on efficiency was deeply embedded in the quality discourse regarding learning outcomes.

standardizations like the RVA[30] and the discourse of learner-centeredness that highlighted individual learners' diversity and socio-cultural context.[31] Figure 4.1 schematically expresses the "quality assurance" framework of ALE, which contains structural tension between these two discourses.

The tension between discourses of measurability and learner-centeredness could be represented in UNESCO's approach to literacy. The 2nd Global Report on Adult Learning and Education (hereafter GRALE) described how, to a large extent, the methods for measuring literacy as "continuous and context-bounded processes" faced limitations. To this end, the report suggested a "dual approach," "developing culturally appropriate measurement tools and methods," and "improving the quality of conventional, cost-effective, self-reporting surveys." Moreover, regardless of the investment in adult education, it asserted that learning and learner diversity should not be compromised for the "financial efficiency" of "funders." Among the two discourses on the quality that emerged as the suprematization of learning progressed, it was a glimpse into the deepening concerns of UNESCO.

In addition, the 2nd GRALE defined learning outcomes representing measurability as "descriptions of what a learner knows, understands or is able to do at the end of the learning process." It was argued to be important that

[30] "Recognition is a process of granting official status to learning outcomes and/or competences, which can lead to the acknowledgement of their value in society. Validation is the confirmation by an approved body that learning outcomes or competences acquired by an individual have been assessed against reference points or standards through pre-defined assessment methodologies. Accreditation is a process by which an approved body, on the basis of assessment of learning outcomes and/or competences, awards qualifications (certificates, diplomas or titles), grants equivalencies, credit units or exemptions, or issues documents such as portfolios of competences" (UNESCO, 2013, p. 137).

[31] Quality adult education takes "what the learner already knows" and "values" as "the starting point" of adult learning programs. In addition, it should approach the diversity of learning through "inclusive and inter-cultural education" (UNESCO, 2009, p. 93).

“identification of learning outcomes,” that is, the measurement of outcomes, “increase transparency, flexibility and accountability of systems and institutions,” “facilitate learning and support the individual learner,” and “clarify the objectives and aims for learners.” Although “individual learners” were central to the discourse of learning outcomes, they were combined with managerial elements such as “transparency, flexibility, and accountability.” Finally, these learning outcomes were increasingly expressed as “education standards” (UNESCO, 2013, p. 134).

As stated earlier, the discourse of quality emphasizing learning outcomes led to “the shift to an outcomes-based approach” for “assessment, validation and certification.” In addition, the development of approaches based on learning outcomes resulted in “courses,” “assessment methods,” and “diversification” of “the terms of verification criteria” depending on “the type of learner.” In this view, learning outcomes could be divided into “three possible ways” of curriculum, National Qualification Frameworks (NQFs), and learning objectives. In particular, NQFs for RVA were presented as essential for “maintaining quality standards” (UNESCO, 2013, pp. 135, 137, 143).

Although the 2nd GRALE encouraged this qualification-based measurement of learning outcomes, it also expressed concern about the risk of falling into “a narrowly technicist manner” in which “learning outcomes-based qualification” was being advanced in developing countries to mean only skills. The report clearly defined the boundaries of the discourse of measurability by using a discursive strategy in a logic of difference (UNESCO, 2013, p. 136).

On the other hand, the discourse on quality emphasizing learner-centeredness required “culture-specific responses” for adult learning from the

perspective of “lifelong learning strategies.” In this context, adult learning should respect “learners’ cultural traditions and bodies of knowledge” and “cultural values and religious beliefs” while improving “learners’ self-esteem and cultural pride” (UNESCO, 2009, pp. 80-81).

The discourse of quality stressing the heterogeneity of learners appeared in the context of multilingual policy in terms of “linguistic and cultural diversity.” For example, “language policies for inclusiveness” were connected to “social justice,” “social cohesion,” and “individual development” in a logic of equivalence. Similarly, “linguistic rights” were declared to be “embedded in the rights to education and learning” (UNESCO, 2013, p. 52).

This discourse emphasizing the identity and diversity of learners was maintained in the 2015 recommendation. In other words, the recommendation stated to “respect cultural and other forms of diversity, including multilingualism” and “reflect the diversity of learners’ languages and heritage, including indigenous culture and values. Furthermore, it declared the will to recognize and protect the diverse identities of marginalized groups by opposing discrimination of any kind, such as “age, gender, ethnicity, migrant status, language, religion, disability, illness, rurality, sexual identity or orientation, poverty, displacement, prison, occupation or profession” (UIL, 2016a, p. 11).

UNESCO underscored the discourse of learner-centeredness in order to define the meaning of quality as an empty signifier. For example, in a “teacher-centered approach,” learning was “arranged in discrete subjects with few explicit links to real-life contexts.” Also, “measuring performance” was described as “the primary goal” of the approach. On the contrary, the “learner-centered approach” was articulated with comprehensive and professional elements such as “active

learning," "integration of theoretical and practical learning," and "evaluation for learning purposes" (UNESCO, 2013, p. 142). As a result, the report defended the latter by contrasting the discourses of the "teacher-centered approach" and "learner-centered approach" in a logic of difference. Despite tacit support for the supremacy of learner-centeredness, UNESCO stated in the report that the two views should not be interpreted as conflicting (UNESCO, 2009, pp. 93-94).

As analyzed above, quality as an empty signifier was recontextualized between the two discourses of measurability and learner-centeredness, causing tensions. In order to alleviate the tension between the two discourses constituting the discourse of quality, UNESCO presented the role of an "organized civil society" as a compromise. In a learner-centered approach, democratic "participatory" and "locally-adopted" learning activities must operate "in a transparent and professionalized environment" and provide for both "providers and participants alike" with "demonstrable outcomes." In the 1st GRALE, organized civil society was described as a key stakeholder capable of performing "appropriate quality assurance" among providers, learners, and communities (UNESCO, 2009, pp. 93-94).

Dilemma 2: Enhancing State Responsibility Through "Good Governance"?

Governance was interdiscursively related to the tension between the discourses formed around quality. In fact, in the 2009 EFA GMR, UNESCO accepted the concept of governance in the education sector to "raise quality and strengthen equity." Seeking to promote coherence between the MDGs and EFA, UNESCO stated that "education remains poorly integrated into poverty reduction

planning." Accordingly, it adopted the concept of governance from the development sector to reconnect the "missing link" between education and poverty reduction. By embracing the governance discourse in the development sector, UNESCO intended to enhance legitimacy for EFA while providing a "consistent voice" with the international development agenda (UNESCO, 2008).

According to UNESCO (2008, p. 128), "governance describes the institutions, rules and norms through which policies are developed and implemented – and through which accountability is enforced." However, governance is not only limited to policy and institutional domains. "Governance systems define who decides on policies, how resources are distributed across society and how governments are held accountable." It is, therefore, "about power relationships."

Since the late 2000s, the governance concept has caused tension between the decentralization and centralization discourses, floating across the order of discourse established by UNESCO in adult education. The discourse of decentralization was summarized in the following articulation of texts: "greater organizational and financial decentralization and autonomy." It formed the tension with the discourse of centralization represented by "greater regulation and quality monitoring mechanism steered by centralized public administration and its agencies." Addressing the tension between these discourses, UNESCO recalled that adult education is "embedded in a social, economic, and cultural context" and stated that governance is essentially a "political process" which makes "devolution of governance" "a political imperative" (UNESCO, 2009, pp. 35, 38). In short, UNESCO drew attention to the public responsibility of governance by contrasting the centralization discourse with a discourse of decentralization in a relationship

of difference and highlighting the political aspect of governance. After implementing this discursive strategy, UNESCO indirectly criticized the limitations of the governance discourse as "a back-door retreat of the state from its responsibilities to citizens and civil society" and underscored the "meaningful public participation" of "stakeholder networks" (p. 41).

In addition, UNESCO warned of a tendency of governments and international development partners to focus on "austerity measures to reduce all forms of public spending" in adult education to produce "short-term, clear and explicit return on investment" in the face of the global financial crisis (UNESCO, 2013, pp. 99-100).

In order to reconcile the discursive tension between decentralization and centralization, UNESCO strategically presented the discourse on "good governance." It was a political discourse that created the possibility of compromise in the marketization discourse, as governance as an empty signifier was articulated with the value-based text of *good*. From this perspective, UNESCO (2013, p. 62) conceptualized *good governance* as a "political process" that integrated the will of stakeholders into public policy and as "an ideal" that established "the rules for efficient and effective delivery of services to all members of society." In other words, in the discourse of good governance, adult education was regarded as a service efficiently delivered and a public good with the possibility of democratic participation.

The discourse of good governance for implementing the ALE policy was first presented around CONFINTEA VI. In the 1st GRALE, UNESCO pointed out that the vulnerability of the adult education sector was increasing, and the reasons for this were "the development of market-driven adult education provision" and

"changes in public resources and instability" (UNESCO, 2009, p. 56). In response to this increasing "sensitivity" in the adult education sector, UNESCO's solution was "effective, transparent, accountable, equitable," and "good governance" (UIL, 2010, p. 7).

Governance enabled non-state actors and the private sector to participate in the formerly state-led adult education sector, providing a *field of discursivity* occurring in the hegemonic struggle between stakeholders to dominate the discourse in adult education. For example, in the paragraph above, two signifiers articulated by a relationship of equivalence, efficiency and equity, are semantically in a trade-off relationship. Efficiency is obtaining the maximum effect by selectively investing limited resources, whereas equity is distributing goods and resources equally to all members.

In the discourse of good governance that required a "highly effective consultation and coordination mechanism" involved in all relevant actors (UNESCO, 2013, p. 73), tensions among discourses each stakeholder represented were concealed. Potential tensions among stakeholders pursuing different values allowed for efficiency in the private sector aimed at "investment in human resources" while at the same time resulting in "the principles of accountability" emphasizing "contribution" to adult education and public "responsibility" (pp. 61, 88).

As analyzed above, governance produced an interdiscursive and compromised discourse of good governance between the discourses of decentralization and centralization and the discourses of efficiency and equity. The tension between these discourses surrounding governance gave it a discursive role as an empty signifier. In addition, the good governance discourse, which contained

the hegemonic tension among the discourses, dialectically reinforced the suprematization of learning while concealing the power relationship among the more diverse stakeholders participating in ALE.

4.2. Orders of Discourse Revealed in Three Aspects of the Right to Education

Then, what is the impact of the learninification progress in the discourse on adult education in terms of the three aspects of RTE: substance, agents, and subjects? In this section, by applying the conceptual tools of discourse theory introduced in Chapter III, the orders of discourse established by UNESCO in adult education by each of the four phases of learnification will be analyzed through the three aspects of the RTE discourse.

4.2.1. Pre-Learnification (1990 – the mid-1990s)

4.2.1.1. Substance: Access to Endogenous Knowledge

Conferring "Personal Sovereignty" Through Democratic Education

In the period of pre-learnification, which stressed the role of democracy for endogenous development, UNESCO's perspective was also reflected in the discourse on adult education. DG defined illiteracy as "a complex socio-economic and socio-cultural problem that can only be solved within the context of a wider

struggle for social participation and economic development" (Mayor, 1994a, p. 1). Simply put, the purpose of the adult education implemented by UNESCO was also to build an "interactive triangle of peace, development and democracy." To this end, individuals who are agents of adult education must achieve "the democratization of societies" by acquiring knowledge and exercising "civic rights and responsibilities" through "solidarity" (Mayor, 1990a). Conversely, democracy ensured active social and political participation for "well-informed citizens." Thus, adult education had an emancipatory nature, overcoming external oppression and moving toward "freedom" by giving learners "personal sovereignty" through democracy:

> *The bridge from slavery… to freedom is education* [emphasis added]. Education encourages civic participation, which is the essence of democracy, promotes economic development and fosters peace. Education confers the *'personal sovereignty'* enabling decisions to be made without external pressure. Education is, in short, what defines the human condition. (Mayor, 1996, p. 3)

Learning to Preserve Cultural Identity

Mayor (1996, p. 4), then DG, strongly criticized that existing ways of development "imposed our economic, political and social models on them with no regard for the personality, history or distinctive features of each culture" instead of "sharing resources and knowledge" contributing to "the integral development of those people in developing countries." It naturally resulted in learning that emphasizes "cultural identity." For example, DG cited personal anecdotes and

spoke very emotionally about the importance of "mother tongue learning" and "multilingualism" for preserving cultural identity. He made it clear here that the purpose of learning to cultivate cultural identity was not merely for an individual's existence but "creating in our consciousness an openness to others" (Mayor, 1994b).

On the other hand, during the pre-learnification period, when education was recognized as a public good for human resource development and the state's role was highlighted, discourses on adult education tended to equate schooling with education. In schooling, learning was mainly understood as a subcategorized educational concept occurring within the private sphere of the family. For example, the family was likened to "the first school" for all children and viewed as "the principal source of support and motivation for learning." As adult education was seen as learning that meant anything other than education, it was natural that EFA was focused mainly on primary education, leaving adult education behind as a priority.

Access to Knowledge and Information

During the pre-learnification period, adult education still stressed the importance of literacy to achieve the "ideal of equality of educational opportunity" specified in UNESCO's constitution. However, in the 1990s, the role of literacy changed to "improving access to knowledge and information" to promote "democracy and a culture of peace" (Mayor, 1994a, p. 2). The educational gap between countries, in particular, was identified as the "knowledge and information gap" that produced "the knows" and "the know-nots." As a result, as the

importance of knowledge became prominent, UNESCO embraced the discourse of *access to knowledge and information* in order to realize equality of educational opportunities.

As the importance of knowledge and information was emphasized in the discourse on adult education, traces of conceptual acceptance were also identified. For a prime example, adult education was given a new role of "refreshing knowledge." Here, "refreshing knowledge" was combined in a logic of equivalence with "adjusting technical skills":

> In modern societies, the preparatory and active phases are coterminous. The half-life of knowledge is often measured in months rather than years or decades. Adult education must thus serve as a spring for *refreshing knowledge* [emphasis added] and for enabling individuals *to adjust their technical skills to meet the changing needs of the workplace* [emphasis added]. (Mayor, 1990a, p. 3)

The discursive strategy employed by then DG for "refreshing knowledge" was to highlight a relationship of difference around knowledge as a floating signifier. In the following speech, for example, he clarified the boundary between the two discourses of knowledge by contrasting the existing knowledge as "merely transmitted," "outdated," and "routine" in terms of content, method, and structure to new knowledge "to be learned and generated."

> In our actions to enhance the quality of basic education and to attain the objective of education for all, we must make the best possible use of the modern methods of communication which are giving new form to the progress of knowledge. New pedagogical, epistemological, psychological and technological insights will

> allow us to destroy the old moulds and break with routine methods, outdated content and antiquated structures. Learning and generating one's knowledge will ultimately become more important than the mere transmission of knowledge. (Mayor, 1990b, p. 2)

Mayor, then DG, contrasted knowledge before and after EFA through a logic of difference but did not mention specific content or purpose. It was a very clever discursive strategy, combining the knowledge of developing countries with "wisdom" with historicity and contrasting it with the knowledge discourse of industrialized countries represented by "knowledge and know-how," thereby clarifying the boundaries between discourses. He argued, as a result, the decolonization of knowledge through this strategy:

> "An illiterate but very wise woman, my mother told me that the best way to protect our human rights is to observe our human duties." This quotation highlights the crucial difference between illiteracy and ignorance. Illiterate people are not ignorant. They are not hopelessly handicapped. My own experience is that the industrialized countries are richer in *knowledge and know-how,* but the developing ones are richer in *wisdom,* in a sense of fellowship and compassion [emphasis added]. (Mayor, 1994a, p. 2)

Lifelong Learning for the Most Disadvantaged

As mentioned above, in UNESCO's discourse on adult education in the first half of the 1990s, learning was limited to private and cultural spheres as a supplement to schooling. However, UNESCO's intention to expand the realm of

learning germinated in the *World Conference on Education for All* held in Jomtien in 1990. Through EFA, a social event, UNESCO was required "to devise means enabling all people throughout the world to obtain access to all forms and levels of education within the context of lifelong education which would establish a continuum between universal primary education and higher forms of education." It led to the implementation of *Learning Without Frontiers* (hereafter LWF) projects involving public and private partners (Mayor, 1994c, p. 6). Along with these social practices, learning in UNESCO's discourse on adult education began to expand into a broader concept in preparation for the 21st century, entering the mid-1990s. This tendency was particularly evident in UNESCO's discourse on *lifelong education*. For example, at the 1994 *Global Conference on Lifelong Learning* held in Rome, the DG declared that the purpose of lifelong education was to reduce "the gaps and inequalities in education and access to information between the rich and poor," contributing to "sustainable development" (p. 3). In the expanded framework of lifelong education, he re-purposed literacy as "access to even the most rudimentary of information technologies." As it was in line with access to knowledge and information described above, Mayor emphasized the importance of the "information revolution" and "the new techno-economic paradigm" and called for a change in the role of education. By citing such seemingly objective and scientific rhetoric, he effectively gained the legitimacy of lifelong education without revealing the agents that caused this tremendous global change (p. 1).

This discourse of lifelong education on how the information revolution from a techno-economic point of view leads to an increase in productivity reflected European countries' perspectives on the importance of human capital. However,

the DG neutralized non-European integration of adult education in lifelong learning policies by calling them "global perspective," thereby raising adult education's integration into lifelong learning to the realm of objectivity (Mayor, 1994c, pp. 2-3).

Lifelong learning, recontextualized in the techno-economic discourse, was also necessary to address issues such as cuts to the workforce that the "knowledge-intensive economy" might entail. Although this was an economic issue, UNESCO mandated governments to play their role for the "educationally excluded." It also underlined the obligation of corporations to pursue "policies for competitiveness" (Mayor, 1994c, p. 4).

In this way, during the pre-learnification period, UNESCO specified lifelong education as a core agenda in the *medium-term strategy for 1996 – 2001* and declared lifelong learning as a "survival concept for the 21st Century" while factualizing timely global-level discourses such as sustainable development, information revolution, and the gap in access to information. These efforts were UNESCO's discursive strategy to maintain its leadership in global education governance in the new century.

4.2.1.2. Agents

State-led Education for Endogenous Development

The main view of development in UNESCO's discourse on adult education in this period was the state-led "endogenous development" (Mayor, 1990b). Here, education was regarded as a "human resources development

strategy" for national development, which inevitably placed considerable responsibility on the state rather than external support. UNESCO's position on endogenous development could also be found in the speech of the Director-General (hereafter DG) at the time (p. 3).

UNESCO presented endogenous development in its rhetoric of an "interactive triangle of peace, development and democracy" that connected peace and democracy in a relationship of equivalence. It logically stressed the importance of education as a prerequisite for democracy. To justify this view of development, the DG, in his speech, defined the existing development model as a "bipolar" model that resulted in "the inequitable creation and distribution of wealth" and criticized it for overlooking "the personality, history, or distinctive features of each culture" (Mayor, 1996, p. 4). Similarly, he used rhetoric that sharply contrasted education as a prerequisite for peace and development and "exclusion," a significant factor in poverty, conflict, and violence. It was to apply a relationship of difference as a discursive strategy, through which UNESCO underscored the importance of education for promoting democracy and urged the vital role of the state (pp. 2-3).

4.2.1.3. Subjects

Indigenous Knowledge and Wisdom "in a Sense of Fellowship and Compassion"

During pre-learnification, new meanings were given to knowledge, mainly from a cultural perspective. As a result, the discourse formed by knowledge during this period was "the pluralist-participatory discourse." In other words,

UNESCO advocated a knowledge-based learning society in which the endogenous and indigenous "wisdom" in developing countries could be protected and participated in pluralistic ways from a post-colonial perspective on knowledge. From this discourse, knowledge acquired the status of "non-rival public goods" that could be shared and collaborated (Cummings et al., 2018). From this perspective, industrialized countries, developing countries, and individuals were all assumed to be equal agents. For example, then DG compared the "wisdom" of developing countries in "a sense of fellowship and compassion" with the "knowledge and know-how" of industrialized countries on an equal footing (Mayor, 1994a, p. 2). In other words, by forming a relationship of difference between the two discourses, he effectively presented UNESCO's conception of knowledge based on pluralism.

While focusing on traditional and endogenous knowledge, UNESCO's discourse stressed that all citizens, including minorities, can voice themselves based on their "heritage, culture, values, and previous experiences" through adult learning based on cultural values (UIE, 1997, p. 2). The following paragraph from the *Hamburg Declaration* exemplified this notion of knowledge:

> Adult learning should reflect *the richness of cultural diversity and respect traditional and indigenous peoples' knowledge and systems of learning* [emphasis added]… Adult education faces an acute challenge in preserving and documenting *the oral wisdom of minority groups, indigenous peoples and nomadic peoples* [emphasis added]. In turn, intercultural education should encourage *learning between and about different cultures* [emphasis added] in

> support of peace, human rights and fundamental freedoms, democracy, justice, liberty, coexistence and diversity. (UIE, 1997, p. 5)

Pluralistic Societies where "Every Citizen Can Shape His or Her Identity and Enter into Dialogue with Others"

> Individuals cannot benefit from lifelong education if courses are not offered in their native language, if they cannot integrate what is learned into their own experience, or if they cannot establish connections to give meaning and relevance to this external knowledge. We must therefore reconsider the goal of equal opportunity and view it *in the context of a pluralistic world where equality and diversity are recognized as complementary dimensions* [emphasis added] and are acknowledged as such in education systems and plans. We must encourage progress towards *'rainbow societies'* where every citizen, throughout life, can find fulfillment, *shape his or her identity and enter into dialogue with others* [emphasis added]. (Mayor, 1997b, p. 4)

As quoted above, then DG advocated moving toward "rainbow societies" where "every citizen can shape his or her identity and enter into dialogue with others" "in the context of a pluralistic world where equality and diversity are recognized." Here, "a pluralistic world" implicitly emphasized the importance of endogenous knowledge while forming a relationship of difference with "external knowledge." In other words, even in times of diversification of learning, UNESCO's discourse on knowledge maintained the post-colonial tradition of underlining individual cultural identity.

4.2.2. Diversification of Learning (the mid-1990s - early 2000s)

4.2.2.1. Substance 1: Opportunities for Human Development

Education from the Perspective of Human Development

In the mid-to-late 1990s, skepticism about the advanced countries' pursuit of economic growth alone emerged to highlight the concept of human development that puts human freedom as the ultimate goal of development (Sen, 1999; Nussbaum, 2011). The *Delors Report*, faithfully reflecting this tendency, also clearly pointed out that the "utilitarian" development of advanced countries had caused structural injustice such as inequality and suggested "a broader perspective of human development" as an alternative (Delors, 1996, p. 69).

Education for human development "should serve to make human beings, not the means but the justification of development." In this context, the *Delors Report* embraced the concept of human development and highlighted learning as "the precondition for the harmonious and continuous development of the individual." The purpose of learning was to "discover, unearth and enrich his or her creative potential" and "reveal the treasure within each of us." It meant "learning to be" for "the development of the complete person" beyond "an instrumental view of education" (Delors, 1996, pp. 80, 86).

All educational policies based on the perspective of human development should reflect the need for "endogenous development" respecting tradition, culture, and the environment. In combination with the social dimension of human

development, education should play a role in disarmament and bridging the gaps in unemployment, exclusion, and development that cause instability between countries, races, and religions (Delors, 1996, pp. 80, 165). By underscoring the socio-cultural and environmental aspects of development, the *Delors Report*'s view of learning was differentiated from the WB (2003) in a similar period stressing that education and training of the workforce would enable them to enter the global economic market centered on developed countries.

Lifelong Education Contributing to Democracy for Sustainable Development

"Peace," "development," and "democracy," articulated in a relationship of equivalence during the pre-learnification period, have been transformed into a causal relationship in a new development discourse called "sustainable development" as diversification of learning progressed. For example, peace and democracy became "preconditions" for sustainable development, along with justice, equality, and freedom. The fact that development explicitly won the highest status in UNESCO's discourse on adult education suggests that the development discourse has increased its influence in global education governance.

The DG spoke of achieving the goal of sustainable development "through a process of lifelong education," which called for "a fundamental transformation in the way we perceive the world" (Mayor, 1997b, p. 3). He also urged to expand the inclusiveness of adult education by providing "equal educational opportunities" to the disadvantaged, such as "street children, refugees, the handicapped," under the banner of democracy (Mayor, 1998b, p. 4). As a result, the two development discourses, human development and sustainable development, were semantically

combined by providing educational opportunities for excluded individuals and groups. The relationship between these two developments was reconfirmed in the *Hamburg Declaration* as "only human-centered development and a participatory society based on full respect for human rights will lead to sustainable and equitable development" (UIE, 1997, p. 1). In short, sustainable human development can be achieved through inclusive and equitable educational opportunities provided on the basis of pluralistic democracy.

Empowerment Through "Learning Throughout Life"

UNESCO's view of human development was apparent in the then DG's persuasive speech that it is "impossible to reduce the fundamental values of the human race to a simple question" and that no price could be put on the values of "willingness, enthusiasm, dignity, equality and mutual respect" (Mayor, 1998a, p. 3). The ultimate goal of such human-centered development was the emergence of active citizens who would enjoy freedom. UNESCO intended to achieve this by "learning for participation, full citizenship, and empowerment" (Mayor, 1997b, p. 5).

Then, how could UNESCO encourage learners' participation, foster citizenship, and empower learners? To answer this, it proposed "learning throughout life." Here, "throughout life" served to prevent "educational exclusion" from the formal education system (Mayor, 1998a, p. 3). The ideological foundation of learning throughout life was built on UNESCO's political and critical tradition of adult education. It was evident in DG's passionate opening speech for CONFINTEA V, naming educational thinkers who advocated

conscientization, namely Grundvig, Barrow, Freire, and Nyerere (Mayor, 1997b, p. 4).

At the core of political adult education for human development was "freedom." Citing Latin American post-colonial leader Bolivar's maxim, "education is the foundation of freedom," the DG claimed education as a process meaning "the ability to make an informed choice for oneself." According to the DG, individuals who acquire "personal sovereignty" through education have "self-control" and can also control "the outside world" (Mayor, 1998a, p. 1). He contended that "empowering education" could "include the excluded and reach the unreached" (Mayor, 1998b, p. 3). It referred to "education for all throughout life," located at the center of the four pillars of education in the *Delors Report*. He argued that "autonomous citizens" emerge through "learning to be," which was also the purpose of empowering education. To its end, education should "renovate" "democracies" and overcome the "crisis of ethics" (Mayor, 1998a, p. 4).

"Learning to Live Together"

"Learning to live together" is one of the four pillars of education suggested by UNESCO in the *Delors Report*. It indicates that learning "develops an understanding of other people and an appreciation of interdependence" (Delors, 1996, p. 97). Since it was conceptualized in the period of diversification of learning, learning to live together has expanded the epistemological horizon of *the other* in space and time, resulting in a conceptual reinforcement of UNESCO's learning throughout life and lifelong education based on human development.

UNESCO's educational discourse, which has traditionally emphasized indigenous culture and linguistic diversity from a historical and post-colonial point of view, was shifted to a future-oriented direction with the creation of the discourse of learning to live together. That is, learning to live together was conducted on "recognition of our growing interdependence and a common analysis of the risks and challenges of the future" by understanding others and their history, traditions and spiritual values" (Delors, 1996, pp. 22, 45). It was to give lifelong education the role of "pass[ing] on to future generations through education in the values" by "remembering the future" (Mayor, 1998a, p. 1).

Interactive Sharing of Endogenous Knowledge

The discourse of human development based on endogenous development that UNESCO accepted was reflected in UNESCO's perspective on knowledge. For example, the DG underscored that the development of ICT should be linked to "produce and disseminate endogenous knowledge" in developing countries (Mayor, 1997a, p. 5).

The DG argued that "access to education and sharing knowledge" is "in interaction" for "mutual benefit." It was predicated on the belief that human existence should not be ignored because of the lack of access to knowledge. He called for overcoming the poverty and exclusion caused by the free market system by sharing the "wisdom" that all humans have (Mayor, 1998a, p. 4).

Asserting that through "actions" based on "knowledge and experience," humanity can find solutions to "inequality and imbalances" brought about by

"rapid technological development," the DG stressed knowledge distinct from science and technology (Mayor, 1998a, p. 5). The sharing of knowledge and resources was considered a matter of "survival" as important as preserving "the riches of nature" and "the diversity of cultures." Also, sharing knowledge was "living in harmony" beyond inequality by accepting "our own identity" and "our differences from others" (p. 1).

By what "paths" is this endogenous knowledge transmitted, spread, and acquired? In response, the *Delors Report* strongly advocated organizing education into "four fundamental types of learning" that would become the famous "pillars of knowledge":

> If it is to succeed in its tasks, education must be organized around *four fundamental types of learning* which, throughout a person's life, will in a way be *the pillars of knowledge*: *learning to know* [emphasis added], that is acquiring the instruments of understanding; *learning to do*, so as to be able to act creatively on one's environment; *learning to live together*, so as to participate and co-operate with other people in all human activities; and *learning to be* [emphasis added], an essential progression which proceeds from the previous three. Of course, these *four paths of knowledge* [emphasis added] all form a whole, because there are many points of contact, intersection and exchange among them. (Delors, 1996, p. 86)

4.2.2.2. Substance 2: Access to Science and Technology

Information Societies Led by "Unavoidable" Development of Science and Technology

According to the *Delors Report*, a "utopian" learning society would be built on the foundation of "acquisition, renewal, and use of the knowledge." In a learning society, knowledge is "communicated and exchanged" through "a delivery system" called "ICT," which contributes to "personal fulfillment" in "new modes of a social life." The report predicted that the impact of the development of ICT would go beyond changing the medium of instruction to changing access to knowledge and learning fundamentally (Delors, 1996, pp. 24, 66, 80, 169). These new skills must be linked to adult education in the context of learning throughout life. The *Delors Report* defined "information societies" as those that "diversify the sources of knowledge and learning" and "create a cultural and educational environment" based on learning using information technology (p. 170).

Information societies were described as those where an "intellectual revolution" takes place and intangible knowledge and know-how create new economic values based on "the rapid progress of technologies." Individuals living in such a society would be required to "innovate," "evolve," and "adapt." ICT was named as "the most important delivery system in the information society," enabling everyone to access non-formal education and "a continuous broadening of knowledge." Similarly, UNESCO suggested that citizens in developing countries be exposed to "the science and technology that pervade the modern world" through mass media (Delors, 1996, pp. 65-66, 122). "Scientific and technological progress" and "the widespread advance of knowledge" were combined in a chain of equivalence. The combination declared the "unavoidable" and "necessary" "entree into the world of science and technology" (pp. 72-73).

UNESCO factualized such technological progress as "unavoidable

development" and asserted to rectify "the uneven distribution of knowledge" between industrialized and developing countries through technology transfer. It should be done in a way that utilizes "local knowledge" in a developing country or group in the context of "endogenous development." The issue of inequality caused by technological advances was also raised in the *Delors Report*, warning that jobless development would deepen "inequality" and paralyze "national solidarity" and urged "a rethinking of the organization of society." It was the interdiscursive combination of the discourse of *knowledge-based societies* and *technological progress* that dominated the 2000s after the information society discourse (Delors, 1996, pp. 77-78).

The influence of the *Delors Report* on the role of science and technology in the "production, exchange, sharing, and access" of "knowledge and information" continued into the early 2000s. In this process, "globalization" in a "dialectical link" with "the expansion of ICT" and "scientific and technological advances" shaped the discourse of *globalization of information societies* (Matsuura, 2000, p. 5).

Dual Approach to Lifelong Learning "to Reach the Educationally Unreached, to Include the Excluded" Using "the New ICTs"

UNESCO's view of education, newly established in the *Delors Report*, was largely reflected in subsequent DG speeches. In particular, lifelong education combined with the discourse of ICT-centered information societies began to function as a nodal discourse as it was transformed into spatiotemporally expanded lifelong learning. In other words, UNESCO took a dual approach by including

basic education and higher education through the discourse of lifelong learning. Furthermore, the discourse of lifelong learning was spread explicitly through the social practice of LWF. Implemented as part of the worldwide EFA program, it inherited the target of basic education "to reach the educationally unreached, to include the excluded." At the same time, it aimed to overcome "the traditional distinction between levels of education" through "the new ICTs" under the umbrella of lifelong learning (Mayor, 1997a, p. 5). In addition, the DG underlined "lifetime learning" for "continual knowledge update and retraining" of those excluded from higher education due to "social pressures and the pull of the labor market." Scientific progress represented by ICT was a powerful means of providing lifelong learning to all who were excluded from educational opportunities, whether in basic or higher education (p. 4).

The horizon of lifelong learning was expanded not only in the *field* of education but also in its *formality*. In other words, UNESCO suggested improving the relevance of basic education and lifelong learning "by eliminating barriers between non-formal and formal education" (UIE, 1997, p. 15).

4.2.2.3. Substance 3: Knowledge, Skills, and Competences

Skills and Competences to Adapt to "the Changing World of Work"

In the "information societies" of the "globalization" era, where the free exchange of knowledge is possible, learnification became visible as learning traverses lifespans, escaping the bounds of school. Learning reaching life outside of school was recontextualized in the discourse of *work and employment*, at which

point existing skills were relegated to the traditional and outdated and replaced by "competence" and "adaptability." In addition, existing indigenous and endogenous knowledge was converted into "acquired competences" through learning throughout life and was exchanged and spread through "certification" in information societies (Delors, 1996, pp. 99, 136).

The tendency of the discourse of *work and employment* to be strengthened in the discourses produced by UNESCO in adult education was explicit at CONFINTEA V held in 1997. The outcome document of the conference, *the Hamburg Declaration and the Agenda for the Future,* recommended that individuals in developing countries be equipped with "new skills" and "increased competences" to adapt to "the continuously changing demands of employment" (UIE, 1997, pp. 19-20). However, it concealed the factors and responsibilities that aggravate job insecurity by justifying the "changing world of work" and the "right to work" under the discourse of globalization. "The right to work" articulated in a relationship of equivalence with "the right to work-related adult learning" justified individual "specific competences and skills" by vocational adult education to adapt to "the labor market and occupational mobility." This way, vocational education for entry into the labor market was carried out "in the lifelong learning process."

> Promoting *the right to work and the right to work-related adult learning* [emphasis added]: by ensuring that work-related adult education provides *the specific competences and skills for entry into the labor market and occupational mobility* [emphasis added], and improves the ability of individuals to take part in diversified models of employment; by ensuring that knowledge and skills

> informally acquired are fully recognized; by emphasizing the powerful role of vocational adult education in the *lifelong learning process* [emphasis added]. (UIE, 1997, p. 20)

Adult Continuing Education to "Renew Knowledge and Skills" in Knowledge-Based Societies

The discourse of information societies where information is distributed through ICT cannot on its own adequately cope with "profound changes" that are occurring "globally and locally," such as "the globalization of economic systems," "the rapid development of science and technology," and "the age structure and mobility of populations." Changes in work patterns and rising unemployment, in particular, require the transformation of existing knowledge into new skills and competences. In this context, as the diversification of learning was progressing, the discourse of knowledge-based societies was justified as an ideal learning society (UIE, 1997).

In the *Hamburg Declaration*, it was not difficult to glimpse the discursive strategy employed by UNESCO to link "the emergence of a knowledge-based society" with adult education. For example, the declaration made the purpose of adult education "develop abilities" and "improve technical or professional qualification." In a knowledge-based society, adult continuing education "renewing knowledge and skills" was to be implemented "throughout the whole of his or her life" (UIE, 1997, pp. 1-3).

In the declaration, literacy, understood as "the basic knowledge and skills" necessary in a rapidly changing knowledge-based society, was considered a

fundamental human right. In other words, “knowledge and skills” were equated with human rights. “Knowledge and skills” were combined with human rights through literacy in a logic of equivalence:

> Literacy, broadly conceived as the basic knowledge and skills needed by all in a rapidly changing world, is a fundamental human right. In every society literacy is a necessary skill in itself and one of the foundations of other life skills. (UIE, 1997, p. 4)

Diffusion of Knowledge as Skills and Competences

UNESCO judged that it is difficult to accommodate fundamental changes such as the globalization of the economic system and the population change and movement only with the discourse of information societies that mainly stressed the diffusion of information through ICT. Therefore, the discourse of “knowledge societies” was proposed to accept the discourse of globalization in a more positive light while supplementing the limitations of discourses of information societies. For example, the discourse of knowledge societies combined with economic globalization justified the need for learners to acquire new “skills and competencies” to adapt to “the changing world of work.” In sum, UNESCO actively accepted science and technology, such as ICT, as a way to rectify the uneven distribution of knowledge while maintaining the pluralistic and participatory “knowledge” concept that emerged during pre-learnification. It also highlighted “a public domain of knowledge” that stood for “universality” and

"freedom" while at the same time forming the discourse of "knowledge societies" that embraced specific skills and competences required by the globalized labor market (UNESCO, 2002).

4.2.2.4. Agents

Decentralization as "Educational Reform"

The human development discourse accepted by UNESCO in adult education urged the transformation of the existing utilitarian economic growth-centered development into diversified development according to the various aspects and contexts of life faced by heterogeneous individuals. This approach embraced the decentralized community rather than the centralized state as the agent of development and expanded the development realm from the economic to the socio-cultural sphere. For example, it encouraged "learning and development initiatives" of "grassroots organizations and social movement" and called for linking and integrating "learners' social, cultural and economic aspirations of development" with literacy (UIE, 1997, p. 16).

As the development discourse stressed decentralization, the importance of "educational establishments' responsibilities" and "innovation" besides those of the state was highlighted. Calling this "educational reform," the *Delors Report* set its aims as "transferring responsibility to regional or local level" and allowing all stakeholders to participate in making decisions. Interestingly, the discourse of *decentralization* articulated with texts such as "multilingualism" and "local circumstances" while shifting responsibility to the local led to the discourse of

diversity to take into consideration local culture or minority groups' language (Delors, 1996, pp. 29, 45, 158-159; Mayor, 1997b, p. 3).

It should be noted here that the report called for a "cautious measure," expressing concerns about the potential for decentralization in education to weaken the state and thus lead to authoritarianism, causing social exclusion while accepting as beneficial the discourse of decentralization "to mobilize local knowledge, local people and institutions to create new activities" in terms of endogenous development (Delors, 1996, p. 80). Traces of how the discourse of decentralization justified by human development is displacing the state as the main agent responsible for adult education can be easily found in relevant documents of the time. For example, the shift in responsibility for adult education strengthened "local expertise," expanded "partnerships" with civil society, and spread discourse emphasizing their "accountability" (Mayor, 1997b; UIE, 1997). In a dilemma between decentralization highlighting the participation of various stakeholders, and centralization stressing the role of the state, a compromise was reached by advocating for a public-private partnership (PPP):

> The Commission advocates the implementation of measures for involving the different persons and institutions active in society in educational decision-making: *administrative decentralization and the autonomy of educational establishments* [emphasis added] are conducive in most cases, it believes, to the development and generalization of innovation. The Commission nonetheless does not underrate the force of financial constraints and it advocates the bringing into operation of *public/private partnerships* [emphasis added]. (Delors, 1996, p. 176)

The *Delors Report* was meaningful because it explicitly problematized structural injustices such as inequality by embracing the human development discourse. However, the report also revealed the limits of distributing public responsibility for solving this problem to regions and individuals. The report may have approached human development only in decentralization and neglected the state's role. The discourse of decentralization, which began with the diversification of learning, was continuously maintained during the EFA period.

Emerging Partnerships Between the Public and Private Sectors

Meanwhile, the state's role was shifted in the knowledge-based society as partnerships "emerged" between the public, private, and community sectors. While the state was to ensure "the right to education for the most vulnerable groups," it also had to perform diverse functions as a service provider, advisor, funder, and agency for evaluation and monitoring (UIE, 1997, p. 3).

Resolution to "Mobilize the Support of All Partners" for the "Shared Responsibility" of Adult Learning

CONFINTEA V, held in 1997, the year after the *Delors Report* was published, was a social practice in which learnification progressing in UNESCO's discourse on adult education was legitimized. The MS who participated in the conference urged UNESCO to play a leading role "in promoting adult education as an integral part of a system of learning." They also resolved to "mobilize the support of all partners" for "a shared responsibility" of "adult learning" and

"extend alliances to share resources." The transition from education to learning specified in the outcome document of CONFINTEA V, as described in Section 4.2.2.1, absorbed the discourses of decentralization and diversity contained in the human development discourse into the discursive practice of adult education (UIE, 1997).

As such, adult learning as the new *learnified* concept of adult education had to take "the perspective of learning throughout life" as a new educational vision. In this series of processes, all MS and organizations participating in CONFINTEA V finally decided to "explore together the potential and the future of adult learning, broadly and dynamically conceived within a framework of lifelong learning" (UIE, 1997).

4.2.2.5. Subjects

Individuals as "Masters of Their Own Destinies" to Exercise Active Citizenship

In the discourse of globalized work, learning throughout life tended to become more apparent. In other words, learning throughout life was discursively combined with continuing vocational education to "update knowledge" and "improve earning power" for cultivating competent individuals from an economic point of view (Delors, 1996, pp. 100-101).

It should be noted that the *Delors Report* emphasized only the role of "individuals" as adaptive agents, neutralizing macro changes such as "globalization" or "scientific progress" without revealing the social agents or power relations that drove them. In other words, learning throughout life played a

discursive role that concealed the structural problems of the globalized information society as it gave individuals the agency for "the exercise of active citizenship" and "mastery of their own destinies."

Citizens Who Respect Cultural Diversity, Exercise Basic Rights, and Contribute to Economic Productivity

In adult education, during the period of diversification of learning that pursues relevance to human development, UNESCO's discourse rejected *utilitarianism*, which carries the risk of uniformity and standardization by protecting the culture of excluded individuals and groups. In *the Hamburg Declaration and the Agenda for the Futures*, the outcome document of CONFINTEA V held in 1997, much emphasis was placed on education for respect for cultural diversity and the "identity" of stateless and minority groups that could be excluded due to the side effects of globalization, and their access and participation in education (UIE, 1997). The discourse during this period, directly rejecting utilitarianism in human development, culminated in the passage calling for strengthening global networks to prevent "the negative impact of structural adjustment programs on education."

> The education of adults contributes to their self-reliance and personal autonomy, to the exercise of basic rights and to increased productivity and labor efficiency… Adult education, being a human development and productive investment, *should be protected from the constraints of structural adjustment* [emphasis added]. (UIE, 1997, p. 26)

4.2.3. Technocratization of Learning (the 2000s)

4.2.3.1. Substance: Quality Education Meeting Basic Learning Needs in Knowledge-Based Economies

Learning Context and Functional Literacy Converging into Education Quality

In the mid-2000s, UNESCO's education policy was developed in the direction of increasing relevance to the global development agenda represented by the MDGs. The document that most clearly expresses UNESCO's educational perspective at that time was the *Global Monitoring Report* (hereafter GMR), which was published annually since 2002 to monitor the implementation of EFA.

Among the seven GMRs published up to 2009, the two reports, namely *The Quality Imperative* (UNESCO, 2004) and *Literacy for Life* (UNESCO, 2005), were related to adult education. The 2004 GMR conceptualized factors related to education quality implicitly reflected in the *Faure Report*, the *Delors Report,* and international treaties such as the MDGs and EFA. At the same time, it pointed out the limitations of the development goals set in the field of education, which had been evaluated mainly quantitatively, such as attendance rate. The report suggested that learners' "cognitive," "creative," and "emotional" development be the key elements of the quality of education. In addition, educational traditions related to the concept of quality have been classified into *adult education approaches* identified as *humanist, behaviorist, critical, and indigenous* and presented a framework for understanding them. The framework for the quality of

education divided into five dimensions was based on the causality represented by inputs and outcomes while considering learner characteristics and context (UNESCO, 2004, pp. 29-37).

The GMR, published in 2005, urged countries to work on literacy, emphasizing that illiteracy is the biggest obstacle to the progress of EFA. According to the report, literacy is deeply linked to an individual's self-esteem, confidence, and empowerment. In addition, the report summarized the concept of literacy that has changed since the 1950s. Whereas the role of literacy in economic development in newly independent countries was highlighted during the 1960s and the 1970s, *functional literacy* was widely spread after the 1980s. Also, literacy after the 1990s embraced "the emergence of knowledge economies" and "the challenges of globalization," including the development of new technologies and information media. In particular, a wide range of contexts to meet the cultural and linguistic minorities and the "basic learning needs" of learners were reflected (UNESCO, 2005).

As seen from the above two GMRs, the change in UNESCO's perspective on education quality and literacy, along with the emergence of nodal discourses such as globalization and the knowledge economy at the time, acted as a social practice that exerted a strong influence on UNESCO's discourse in adult education.

"Economics of Basic Education" Contributing to the Eradication of Poverty

The UN set the MDGs as a global development agenda to halve the world's population in absolute poverty by 2015. As noted, the MDGs disseminated development discourses aimed primarily at measurable progress in developing

countries, advocating for “less poverty, better health, better nutrition” (Burnett, 2008, p. 2). UNESCO strived to synchronize EFA and basic education with the MDGs, which paid attention to quantitative development. This effort was not difficult to find in the speeches and publications of UNESCO’s education policymakers at the time (Matsuura, 2004; Burnett, 2008).

> *Every investment in basic education must be measured* [emphasis added] against how well it serves both to expand access to education and to improve learning for all children, youth and adults. This endeavor begins at home, with a national consensus on *quality* [emphasis added] and a robust long-term commitment to achieve excellence. (UNESCO, 2004)

While basic education was likened to an “essential building-block of national development” in the South, it was articulated with global development aimed at eradicating poverty in a relationship of equivalence. As such, the development discourse aimed at eradicating poverty tended to highlight basic education mainly in terms of economic and functional aspects. According to the DG, “basic education, in particular, contributes to economic growth in developing countries. Investment in basic education produces high rates of return.” Basic education produced “substantial value for money” and decisively contributed to promoting quality of life in the community through “improved health, better food consumption and sanitary practices, better fertility control, improved child health and nutrition.” Finally, he argued that “the economics of basic education, including the mobilization of resources and the returns on investment,” is the goal necessary for EFA to be achieved (Matsuura, 2001, pp. 1-2, 6).

Quality of Education, Literacy, and Lifelong Learning

Quality was a key signifier that began to be highlighted when the technocratization of learning progressed. In the mid-2000s, the number of quality mentions gradually increased in UNESCO's literature on adult education, which had traditionally emphasized access to equal opportunities for realizing RTE. Matsuura, then DG, even problematized both "poor quality" and "lack of access" as a result of injustice (Matsuura, 2004, p. 2).

Quality formed a techno-managerial discourse by being articulated with texts that appeared to be measurable and value-neutral. For example, DG's speech was symbolic, stressing quality and suggesting "new directions of policy and practice must be based on clear evidence of current progress and sound analysis of trends and challenges." Based on this premise, he connected "quality" and "literacy" and further extended it to EFA as a discursive strategy emphasizing the importance of a techno-managerial approach to education as a whole:

> The EFA Global Monitoring Reports in 2005 and 2006 focus on the themes of *quality and literacy* [emphasis added] respectively, and we shall examine these themes in tandem. It will be important also to *relate these topics to wider progress across the whole EFA agenda* [emphasis added]. (Matsuura, 2006, p. 1)

Finally, quality beyond education was recontextualized within the discourse of lifelong learning. Lifelong learning to embrace those excluded from "the possibility of learning" had to be "accessible," "affordable," and "of high

quality." Here, quality gained equal status with "access" articulated in a chain of equivalence:

> [Lifelong learning] must be *accessible, affordable and of high quality* [emphasis added]. That is an absolute requirement if we truly wish to make education systems more equitable in order to enhance access and quality, while fostering the principles of participation and of responsibility [emphasis added]. (Matsuura, 2008, p. 3)

Functionalization of "Literacies" to Enter Employment

The discourse of globalization underscored learning to promote competencies that could be adapted without "suffering a fundamental exclusion" by "spreading technologies" and "making information more readily and quickly." Learning in the age of globalization was to acquire competencies that responded to "local needs," advocating the construction of a particular knowledge society. Here, literacy became the fundamental "basis" for acquiring competencies. Accordingly, literacy was also diversified into "literacies" conceptualized in various "multi-dimensional" ways according to local needs and contexts. In this way, "diversity of literacy" was justified within the discourse of globalization and knowledge society (Matsuura, 2002, p. 2; 2009, p. 3).

Types of literacy have diversified, but the purpose of literacy was limited to the acquisition of "skills and aptitudes." Literacy for this functional purpose was justified as "fundamental competencies" that must be "effectively acquired and utilized" in connection with the development of "ICT" (Matsuura, 2004, pp.

1-2). The purpose of functional literacy ultimately resulted in entry into the labor market. Nevertheless, in UNESCO's discourse, this was expressed as responding to "learners' demands and expectations" rather than market demands (Burnett, 2008, p. 4). According to this view, educational systems and programs that prevented them from achieving the "literacy skills" or "numeracy skills" and "qualifications" required for employment were neither "decent" "from an equity and rights perspective" nor good in terms of "quality" (Matsuura, 2004, p. 1).

Recognition, Validation, and Accreditation (RVA) for Achieving Greater Participation in Lifelong Learning

The UNESCO GC held in 2004 commissioned UIL to conduct international-level research on Recognition, Validation, and Accreditation (hereafter RVA) in non-formal and informal education and to disseminate its practices. Accordingly, UIL investigated the "recognition, validation and certification policy, practice and challenges" of 36 MS and reported the results in the *Synthesis Report* in 2009.

According to the report, UIL established an "International Observatory" as "a strategic platform that provides guidance on integrating RVA into education reform" and interconnected "lifelong learning policy," "qualification reference points," and "recognition and assessment practices." Its purpose is as follows:

> [The Observatory] identifies progression pathways between sub-sectors of the education and training system; and looks into the support structures that assist in *the implementation of RVA in lifelong learning* [emphasis added]. (UIL, 2009)

In short, RVA was implemented with the education and training system within the lifelong learning framework. Similarly, the report stated that the RVA program aimed to achieve "EFA goals" by providing "lifelong learning for all" through formal and non-formal learning. The purposes of the RVA were presented to be specified in each MS. Approaching this from the perspective of discourse theory, RVA as a signifier articulated with "partnership" combined "developing countries," "developed countries," and "all actors" into a chain of equivalence, while combining technical-managerial signifiers such as "standards," "framework" and "reference points" with the "labor market." As such, RVA functioned as a nodal point, and thus the discourse formed by RVA served the marketization discourse of lifelong learning led by developed countries that stressed learning for entry into the labor market (UIL, 2009).

4.2.3.2. Agents

"Models of Governance" of Lifelong Learning for Knowledge Economies

At *the First Lifelong Education Forum* held at UNESCO in 2008, then DG officialized the "emergence of the knowledge society," emphasizing knowledge as "a prerequisite for new economies and societies" (Matsuura, 2008, p. 1) and likening the conception of a society revolving around knowledge to "the Copernican revolution." The discourse of globalized knowledge societies required learners to adapt and acquire new skills. For this purpose, he declared lifelong learning as "an organizing and guiding principle of education policy" that

connected work, time, and knowledge (Burnett, 2008, p. 2). Lifelong learning, recontextualized as "the reinvented idea of learning" in the discourse of the knowledge society, was also given a role in driving global development goals. It had to be done with increased efficiency and equity "reconciled" in the "models of governance." As such, the knowledge society, which was UNESCO's hegemonic discourse in adult education at this time, was connected with the discourse of techno-managerial development through lifelong learning as a nodal point. In this discourse of lifelong learning produced through the interdiscursive encounter between the knowledge society and development, historicity faded, and only *oughts* remained (Matsuura, 2008, pp. 2- 3).

The concept of lifelong learning that then appeared in the UNESCO literature was not formed on the basis of universal historicity but rather the discourse of knowledge economies advocated by advanced European countries to enhance economic competitiveness. For example, in a speech on the theme of *Creating a Culture of Lifelong Learning* presented at *the First Lifelong Education Forum* held at UNESCO, Burnett, then ADG, revealed the purpose of lifelong learning as "growth and economic development" and "economic competitiveness," mentioning the OECD's research and related statistics four times (Burnett, 2008, p. 3).

4.2.3.3. Subjects

Continual Knowledge and Skills Updating and Retraining Spurred by "Learning Needs"

The discourse of quality that emerged as the technocratization of learning progressed significantly expanded the discursive domain of knowledge by combining "learning needs" in the decentralization discourse with competencies based on measurability in a chain of equivalence. As stated above, UNESCO at that time presented diversified "literacies" as the "basis" for the acquisition of competencies integrated with local needs and contexts (Matsuura, 2002; 2009).

As stated previously, lifelong learning in this period tended to combine with the discourse of work as a nodal point. In this interdiscursive process, floating knowledge was required for continuous "updating and retraining" in the discourse of lifelong education, which was exposed to "social pressures and the pull of the labor market":

> *Social pressures and the pull of the labor market* [emphasis added] have resulted in widespread diversification, leading to great complexity of structures, programmes, student populations and funding arrangements. Increasingly, the universities must respond to pressures to become more open, to reach out to those traditionally excluded from higher education, to cater for *the demand for lifelong learning* [emphasis added], making use of the rapidly expanding possibilities of distance education... *The other major challenge to higher education is lifetime learning. The pace of technological change in the information society* [emphasis added] is such that no fund of learning can last a lifetime. Institutions of higher education must increasingly cater to the need for *continual knowledge updating and retraining* [emphasis added]. (Mayor, 1997a, p. 4)

Competitive and Productive Workforce Through "Integration Between the World of Work and the World of Learning"

Knowledge societies were also societies run by "knowledge-based economies." Globalized knowledge crosses borders and individuals, making the difference between countries with and without "competitiveness" and leaving "the low-skilled worker" behind. In order to respond to this flow of knowledge, education faced the need to transform in an "innovative" and "a more holistic, flexible, open-minded way" (Burnett, 2008, p. 3). In particular, the financial crisis that occurred in 2008 was a social practice that allowed the discourse of marketized work to flow into UNESCO's discourse on adult education in earnest. The marketized work discourse embraced lifelong learning as a tool serving the neoliberal "global market" through a hegemonic intervention called knowledge-based economies (UNESCO, 2009, p. 121). From the viewpoint premising education, learning, and knowledge as goods or services managed by the laws of market supply and demand, the poor or the least advantaged were regarded as those with low economic "competitiveness" or "productivity." Accordingly, education for them was mere "services" given charitably (Burnett, 2008, p. 1).

In the discourse of marketized work, the cause of inequality and social polarization was seen as an imbalance between supply and demand. Therefore, social inequality could be resolved by providing the market with sufficient supply of a "workforce" capable of meeting the demands of the labor market. Lifelong learning was aimed at nurturing skilled workers by encouraging and giving value to "professional development." This tendency to emphasize the importance of skills in the labor market was observed in UNESCO's discourse on adult education until the early 2010s when the global financial crisis continued. As a result, in the late 2000s, "lifelong learning calls for closer integration between the world of

learning and the world of work" (Burnett, 2008, p. 4).

4.2.4. Suprematization of Learning (the late 2000s - 2015)

4.2.4.1. Provision of Competencies in the Knowledge Management System

Evolving Competencies[32] *Beyond the Labor Market*

In the late 2000s, when CONFINTEA VI was held, labor market instability significantly increased due to an unprecedented global financial crisis. The discourse of the global knowledge economy that spread along with these social practices has raised the need for a new form of social organization and communication channels and the "skills and competences." This intensified work instability acted as a decisive factor for ALE to place "the primary focus" on "vocational and professional education and training" from the perspective of "human resource development" (UIL, 2010, pp. 10-12; UNESCO, 2013, p. 43).

The competencies required of learners to enter the rapidly changing labor market were conceptually reinforced. For example, in *Rethinking Education*, published in 2015 with the adoption of a new global development goal, competencies called for "the multi-layered dimensions of human existence"

[32] In the literature published by UNESCO during this period, *competences* and *competencies* were mixed. For example, while competence(s) was used 16 times, competencies seven times in the 1st GRALE, the former was used 65 times, and the latter 16 times in the 2nd GRALE. According to Macmillan (n.d.; n.d.), competence is "the ability to do something in a satisfactory or effective way." On the other hand, competency not only includes the meaning of competence but also has the meaning of "an ability to do something, especially measured against a standard." This dissertation, rather than focusing on the conceptual difference between competence and competency, noted that two signifiers that have increased in UNESCO's discourse on adult education reinforced discourses of efficiency, measurability, and standardization.

beyond “the economic function of education” (UNESCO, 2015b, pp. 40-41).

Knowledge Management System for Effective Monitoring of “Learning Continuum”

In UNESCO’s discourse on adult education, learning, which had lingered mainly in the cultural and private sphere before learnification progressed in earnest, was extended to the social and public sphere with the hosting of CONFINTEA VI (UIL, 2010, p. 5). Adult education, named ALE, was recognized as “a significant component of the lifelong learning process” and “a learning continuum” encompassing formal, non-formal, and informal learning. Literacy was also “an indispensable foundation” for young people and adults to engage with learning opportunities at all stages of the learning continuum (p. 6).

Learning across all types and fields of education needed to be managed effectively. In this regard, after CONFINTEA V, the BFA justified the need for a learning management system by introducing the system of “information, documentation, monitoring and evaluation” for ALE and “effective instruments and systems of recognition, validation, and accreditation of learning.” According to the BFA, management systems of learning, termed “equivalency frameworks,” overemphasized “formally accredited skills and competences” while neglecting informal, non-formal, and experiential learning. However, given that knowledge results from all learning regardless of its forms, this kind of learning boundary was meaningless. Therefore, the management of learning could eventually be achieved through establishing “knowledge management systems” to be monitored at national and international levels (UIL, 2010, pp. 7-12).

Learner-Centered Approach to Learning Outcomes

Another discourse highlighted with the declaration of ALE was the *learner-centered approach to learning outcomes*. As the need for learning management emerged, there was a growing interest in the knowledge, capabilities, skills, competences, and values individuals would acquire as a result of learning. The discourse that valued learning outcomes in this way presented "the acquisition of multiple competences and knowledge" as a criterion for evaluating the "quality" of adult learning, "learner-centered assessment" to measure them, "the enrichment of learning environments" for effective delivery of learning, and "the professionalization of educators" (UIL, 2010, pp. 5-9).

In the meantime, literacy was also conceptualized as a factor for empowerment in the learner-centered discourse. For instance, literacy as "an inherent part of the RTE" was "a prerequisite for the development of personal, social, economic and political empowerment." Thus, literacy was "an essential means of building people's capabilities" to cope with the challenges and complexities that people faced in all areas of life (UIL, 2010, p. 6).

Lifelong Learning as a Philosophy, a Conceptual Framework and an Organizing Principle of All Forms of Education

> *Lifelong learning is more than adult education. It is more than technical and vocational education and training* [emphasis added]. It reaches beyond the walls of classrooms and formal education, *to take in all forms of non-formal and*

> *informal learning*. It is about *the kind of society we need for a better future* [emphasis added]… We must make the most of every opportunity offered by globalization, by new information and communication technologies, *to support lifelong learning… Lifelong learning is the philosophy, conceptual framework and organizing principle for education in the 21st century* [emphasis added]. (Bokova, 2012a, pp. 4-5)

As described above, UNESCO made efforts to bring lifelong learning to the fore as an educational discourse corresponding to the post-2015 development agenda. Accordingly, lifelong learning, which had functioned as a nodal discourse on adult education, began to rapidly mainstream as a discourse that achieved equal status with development. As the status of the discourse of lifelong learning was equated with development, the existing types of adult education, namely, adult literacy, adult education, and TVET, were included under the umbrella of lifelong learning. Above all, adult education, as "merely a significant component" of lifelong learning, was "situated within a lifelong learning perspective" (UNESCO, 2009, p. 15). The following paragraphs of the 2nd GRALE explicitly describe the hierarchy among the educational fields related to adult education:

> National and international education stakeholders need to remind themselves that *adult education is not synonymous with lifelong learning, but merely a significant component of it* [emphasis added]. Concomitantly, it needs to be clear that *adult education is more than literacy, or that lifelong learning is larger than TVET* [emphasis added]. (UNESCO, 2013, p. 57)

In addition, adult learning and vocational education and training were

converged as follows:

> Vocational education and training systems face the challenge of accommodating a broader range of *vocationally relevant adult learning, merging general with vocational education, and formal with non-formal and informal learning modalities* [emphasis added]. These developments are part of the redesign of education and training systems and practices in conformity with *the paradigm shift towards lifelong and life-wide learning* [emphasis added]. (UNESCO, 2013, p. 148)

Literacy was also included in lifelong learning. Literacy policies should aim to foster and develop literacy as "basic skills" through "the lens of lifelong and life-wide learning" (UNESCO, 2013, pp. 8, 35). Also, literacy, the ability to be "acquired and developed" to select and use knowledge and information, has become "part of a broader conception of key competencies, human resource development and lifelong learning." In this respect, literacy was "measured and assessed" (pp. 17-18).

In this way, lifelong learning was given the status of a "philosophy, a conceptual framework, and an organizing principle" for education in "knowledge-based societies" (UIL, 2010, pp. 5-6). Consequently, it has taken a dominant position in the discourse on adult education as the development agenda as a social practice has shifted to sustainable development since 2012. In this *suprematized* discourse of lifelong learning, the order of discourse was reorganized. The meaning of signifiers such as *equity* and quality was repositioned, concentrating mainly on the procedure rather than the aims and ends of education. In other words, these signifiers produced a hegemonically conflicting space by being

recontextualized in different discursive domains of labor market flexibility in the *economic arena*, alleviation of poverty and inequality in the *social arena,* and preservation of cultural diversity of marginalized groups in the *cultural arena*.

Meanwhile, as the suprematization of learning progressed, the development of ICT as a means was combined to improve the quality and equity of lifelong learning in adult education. In other words, "the effective and innovative use of ICT" enabled "adult learning strategies" that connected formal, non-formal, and informal learning, by which adults would adapt, develop, and learn new tools. DG's speech, at that time, effectively conveyed the argument that ICT, used for adult learning and literacy in a chain of equivalence, was contributing to lifelong learning, a holistic vision of education (Bokova, 2011). The discourse of lifelong learning was suprematized, effectively recontextualizing the signifiers of quality and equity.

Recontextualization of Knowledge in Lifelong Learning

During the technocratization of learning in the 2000s, a significant change occurred in UNESCO's discourse, which traditionally put a high premium on endogenous knowledge. In particular, nodal discourses such as globalization, global development, and knowledge society recontextualized knowledge as a floating signifier by giving it a mutually overlapping and distinct signified. As a result, five discourses on knowledge were formed from the late 2000s to 2015, along with the suprematization of learning in UNESCO's discourse on adult education. They were *creation and innovation in knowledge production*, *knowledge for human development*, *knowledge as a skill to enhance the quality of*

lifelong learning, *knowledge as a poverty reduction strategy*, and *knowledge as evolving competencies in the "fast-changing world of work."*

Assessment of Learning Outcomes and Learner Competencies Through "Quality Assurance"

The order of discourse during this period, built through this interdiscursive encounter with these vast discourses, was mainstreamed with hegemonic tension between the various discourses that constituted it internally. In particular, quality, an empty signifier, was fixated on multi-layered meanings in the hegemonic discourses UNESCO has employed in adult education since the late 2000s.

> *The key dimensions of quality*, identified as *relevance, equity, effectiveness and efficiency, structure, process and results of programmes* [emphasis added], are not new constructs in the discourse on adult learning and education. The renewed emphases arising from the Belém Framework for Action are *the juxtaposition of equity and quality* [emphasis added], justification and validation of input and process by outcome criteria, and *the placing of adult education within the framework of lifelong learning* [emphasis added]. Conceptualizing quality in terms of *learning outcomes and results of programmes* [emphasis added], and assessing learning that emphasizes *recognition, validation and accreditation* [emphasis added] of diverse learning experiences, are important steps towards lifelong learning. (UNESCO, 2009, p. 147)

As seen in the above paragraph, in the 1st GRALE published in 2009,

quality was conceptualized by articulations such as "the key dimensions of quality," "the juxtaposition of equity and quality," and "justification and validation of input and process." However, in a web of meanings that mixed these multi-dimensional values, quality with its own ambiguity was floating across the discourses that UNESCO produced on adult education.

In the 2nd GRALE published four years later, the dimensions of quality in ALE were summarized as *relevance, equity, effectiveness, and efficiency*,[33] but instead of specifying the aims and ends pursued by ALE, only procedural aspects were presented. This tendency could also be seen in the following paragraph where "effective monitoring" and "quality assurance" were articulated in a relationship of equivalence:

> Improving quality in adult education entails *effective monitoring and quality assurance* [emphasis added], preferably undertaken by representative, non-bureaucratic and autonomous adult education councils. (UNESCO, 2009, p. 87)

According to the 1st GRALE, "quality indicators" were inseparable from the context of ALE activities since the quality was intrinsically enhanced and sustained in the educational process (UNESCO, 2009, p. 87). The 2015 recommendation also called on MS to "assess" effectiveness and efficiency through "contextualized and learner-centered culturally and linguistically

[33] The four dimensions of quality were each defined as follows. "Relevance means that provision is aligned with the needs of all stakeholders, so as to achieve personal, socio-cultural, economic and educational goals. Equity is about fair access to and participation in adult education. Effectiveness expresses the degree to which programme aims are achieved. Efficiency concerns both the capacity of a system to achieve aims and the relationship of financial and other inputs to benefits. Ensuring quality in adult education, including adult literacy, means paying attention to these dimensions (UNESCO, 2013, p. 133)."

appropriate programs" (UIL, 2016a). From a similar point of view, the 2nd GRALE also presented six quality-related tasks (UNESCO, 2013, p. 134).[34]

4.2.4.2. Agents

Lifelong Learning Led by the Global North with Emphasis on Individual Learners

As the status and scope of lifelong learning expanded horizontally and vertically, lifelong learning acquired a discursive feature that could be interpreted differently in each country's socio-economic context and carried internal tension. For example, the Global North focused on "the operationalization of the discourse of lifelong learning," while the Global South was concerned about "basic education for all." As these differing understandings of adult learning and "a policy discourse divide" remained unresolved between the two, UNESCO (2009, p. 24) placed the ambiguity of adult education within the discourse of lifelong learning, identifying three aspects of a "continuum" as a nodal point:

> The framework for the future lies within the concept of lifelong learning – understood here as an overarching framework that genuinely integrates the specific purposes and scope of adult education within a global frame of reference *encompassing the full continuum between basic literacy and professional*

[34] The six tasks to be identified concerning quality were: (a) developing quality criteria for curricula, learning materials and teaching methodologies; (b) recognizing the diversity and plurality of providers; (c) improving training, capacity-building, employment conditions and the professionalization of adult educators; (d) elaborating quality criteria for the assessment of learning outcomes; (e) putting in place precise quality indicators; and (f) lending greater support to research in adult learning and education, complemented by knowledge management systems.

> *continuing education, while valuing personal and social development as well as vocational training and human resources development* [emphasis added]. (UNESCO, 2009, p. 40)

Nevertheless, UNESCO stated in the 2nd GRALE that the discourse of lifelong learning policy was being formed "in the direction of the North" worldwide. The report revealed that EU member states have established policies, strategies, and plans for lifelong learning and influenced the policy discourse on lifelong learning around the world, particularly since the *2000 Lisbon Strategy* on the development of lifelong learning (UNESCO, 2013, pp. 46, 49). Above all, the North-centered discourse of lifelong learning underscored that individuals "retrain and learn new skills" "to cope with the demands of the rapidly-changing workplace." Moreover, it placed emphasis on the learner, allocating considerable "agency" to the individual (UNESCO, 2009, pp. 22-23).

Partnership and Governance for the Effective Implementation of Lifelong Learning

For the effective implementation of lifelong learning, national strategy and capacity are required above all else. However, in a situation where learning has transcended the realm of education, the state's role alone was insufficient for adult learning to "really take off and show its full potential." In this context, a "strong partnership" between the state, civil society, and the private sector was emphasized (Bokova, 2009, p. 4; 2012b, p. 3).

Partnerships among various stakeholders required "clearly defined targets

and governance arrangements." By doing so, lifelong learning was established as "a guiding principle of educational policy" (UNESCO, 2009, p. 9). Governance was also headlined in the 2009 EFA GMR published by UNESCO as "a key factor in overcoming educational inequalities." The concept of governance was also introduced into UNESCO's discourse on adult education,[35] which contributed to the formation of a discourse of decentralization in adult education articulated with neoliberal elements such as *efficiency, accountability, transparency, and partnership*. In addition, "effective, transparent and accountable" lifelong learning should be more sensitive to "learner needs, language and culture," require an "all-round culture of quality," and be "appropriate and empowering programs." It placed emphasis on a learner-centered approach, along with partnerships with various stakeholders. As such, partnerships and learner-centered cultural discourse eventually decentralized the state's responsibility and authority for lifelong learning (Bokova, 2009, p. 2).

Participation of the Private Sector to "Ensure the Availability of Cost-Effective and Quality Provision to the Most Marginalized"

Equity and *efficiency* were the set of discourses that formed tensions around quality as an empty signifier. UNESCO specified "RBA," "lifelong learning framework," and "comprehensive and multi-dimensional character" as three principles for adult education policy in the BFA adopted in CONFINTEA VI. The first of these principles, the RBA, stated that adult education, including adult

[35] UNESCO (2009, p. 35) describes "governance as institutions, rules, and norms through which policies are developed and implemented - and through which accountability is enforced."

literacy, was “part of the human right to education” and “imposed certain obligations on the state and society” (UNESCO, 2013, pp. 39-40).

From the perspective of RTE, UNESCO stipulated the situation as “the key challenges for adult education” in the late 2000s, in which “systematically marginalized” people could not participate in adult education and had unequal access to it. In particular, UNESCO addressed “a striking pattern” in which minimally educated people continued to receive only minimal education, called a “wicked issue” that adult education should “attack.” It was raised to promote equity in the first GRALE (UNESCO, 2009, pp. 14, 77). From the perspective of discourse theory, this meant that equity in the center of the “new vision of adult learning and education” was combined with “access and participation,” “sustainable educational inclusion,” and “social justice” in a logic of equivalence (p. 59).

Meanwhile, UNESCO urged to set specific target groups, such as vulnerable youth and “groups with multiple disadvantages,” and improve their accessibility to respond to low participation and exclusion in ALE. In addition, to “ensure the availability of cost-effective and quality provision to the most marginalized,” various actors, such as the private sector and NGOs, were encouraged to participate (UNESCO, 2009, p. 77). As such, the discourse to effectively promote equity naturally entailed issues of control and regulation of the “invisible hand of the learning market.”

In summary, the challenge in adult education was to prevent the “imbalance” caused by “fast-growing profit-driven providers” from “dominating” educational provision. Again, the role of the state was raised here.

"Decentralization of Governance"

In a period when the learning discourse rose while acquiring a status equivalent to development, attention on governance was concentrated in adult education, one of the fields of EFA. As noted, when EFA's financial resources and policy focused mainly on primary education, securing financial resources was the adult education sector's top priority. In particular, during 2010-2013, when the global financial crisis hit the world, public financing for adult education focused on "equity and pro-poor policies," "efficiency in the public funding," and "decentralizing funding and delivery." In this regard, "output-based funding," "more autonomy" granted to local education and training institutions, "greater responsibility" assigned to local governments, and "competition for government contracts" were all signifiers combined with the neoliberal discourse of marketization that was expanding in adult education at this time (UNESCO, 2013).

Governance in adult education was also articulated with the texts constituting the discourse of marketization. Among them, "the decentralization of governance" was a prominent discourse, a discursive strategy to transfer financial responsibility in adult education to the local under the pretext of "local government is being assigned greater responsibility" (UNESCO, 2013, pp. 86-88).

The discourse encouraging the participation of various actors led to the 2015 recommendation. Unlike the 1976 recommendation, a tendency for decentralization appeared in the 2015 recommendation, emphasizing partnership and participation with various stakeholders such as civil society, the private sector, and the media (UIL, 2016a).

The biggest reason UNESCO stressed the participation of various

stakeholders in adult literacy and adult education and the "partnership" among them through the discourse on decentralization was to "promote new sources of funding." In particular, adult education, including non-formal and informal education out of school, had no choice but to establish a broader range of links with stakeholders in the non-governmental and private sectors compared to formal education. Therefore, for "involvement" and "wide distribution of responsibilities" among them, "effective coordination" through governance was of paramount importance. In a similar vein, UNESCO expressed the position that it is necessary for countries to "decentralize" adult literacy and adult education at "regional and local levels" and to design a framework to monitor them at the national level (UNESCO, 2013, pp. 71, 77, 121, 126). At the same time, UNESCO recommended capacity development of local stakeholders and communities and "more monitoring and evaluation" for the implementation of "effective programs" that incorporated "basic education and literacy with vocational and skills training" (p. 73).

As seen above, the discourse of decentralization of governance shifted educational responsibility to local stakeholders and communities under the pretext of "effective implementation" of adult education. Like the discourse of quality described in the previous section, this discourse emphasized the procedural aspect of learning provision rather than the aims and ends of adult education. This discourse of decentralization aimed at the efficient delivery of education often caused debilitating "negative side-effects," weakening equity by acknowledging "a concentration of power in the hands of local elites who have an agenda" (UNESCO, 2009, p. 113).

4.2.4.3. Subjects

Learners as the "Educated Workforce" in Knowledge-Driven Economies

Biesta (2010) conceptualized the tendency to emphasize acquiring knowledge as skills and competencies as one of the educational functions called *qualification*. The trend of expanding the qualification in education in the 2000s was not unrelated to the spread of neoliberalism that pursued global marketization. From a neoliberal point of view, education was a "service" provided and translated into measurable "credits." The influence of neoliberalism was found in the discourse of knowledge economy at the time as follows:

> It is very important that *education services* [emphasis added] be continued in these difficult situations, especially for the most poor and disadvantaged… Curricula must respond to new demands of *the global market and knowledge economy* [emphasis added], providing skills such as communication, critical thinking, science and technology education and environmental knowledge. (Burnett, 2008, pp. 1-5)

In a similar vein, learners in neoliberal "knowledge-driven economies" were targeted as human resources serving national competitiveness as an "educated workforce." In the discourse produced by knowledge along with progressed technocratization of learning in the 2000s, "wage gaps between skilled and unskilled" were pointed out as "a source of inequality and social polarization." That is, educational elements other than measurable skills were excluded.

> Wage gaps between skilled and unskilled are a source of inequality and social polarization. The skills gap is fuelling inequality in both developing and industrialized countries and is a leading source of concern for governments. Again this calls for appropriate lifelong learning opportunities… *our knowledge-driven economies are increasingly reliant on an educated workforce capable of adapting to change*. *A country cannot be competitive with a weak skills base* [emphasis added]. In short there is an increasingly high premium placed on education in today's knowledge-based economy. (Burnett, 2008, pp. 2-3)

After the concept of ALE was officially declared, UNESCO acknowledged that "skills and competencies" serving the labor market reflected the view of "human resources" that "dominated" the field of adult education at this time (UNESCO, 2013, p. 43). This trend was similarly found in UNESCO's discourses on adult education in the period when the suprematization of learning was progressing. The following paragraph in the BFA articulated "knowledge" in a relationship of equivalence with "abilities" and "technical or professional qualification" and redefined adult education. It was a prime example of the fact that the domain of qualification was still dominant in UNESCO's discourse on adult education:

> Adult education denotes "the entire body of ongoing learning processes, formal or otherwise, whereby people regarded as adults by the society to which they belong *develop their abilities, enrich their knowledge, and improve their technical or professional qualifications* [emphasis added] or turn them in a new direction to meet their own needs and those of their society.*"* (UIL, 2010, p. 5)

The "human resources" approach to adult education was also applied to literacy, which was "part of a broader conception of key competencies." In the phase of technocratization of learning, the meaning of competencies that formed the knowledge economy discourse through articulation with knowledge as a floating signifier was maintained. Under the influence of the discourse of knowledge economy that spread neoliberalism in adult education, literacy remained as "skills" that were "measured and assessed":

> *Increasing amounts of information and the need to select and use knowledge* [emphasis added] from a range of sources, pose a challenge for people with poor reading and writing skills… Increasingly, teaching and learning reading, writing, language (written and spoken communication) and numeracy are viewed as *part of a broader conception of key competencies, human resource development and lifelong learning* [emphasis added]... It further examines the evolution of the concept of 'literacy', followed by a discussion of the different ways *literacy is measured and assessed* [emphasis added]. (UNESCO, 2013, pp. 17-18)

Inclusive ALE to "Live Together in Harmony and with Dignity"

In the phase of suprematization of learning, the development that UNESCO intended to contribute by ALE was based on universal and transnational "human development." For instance, UNESCO highlighted the need for ALE as an "effective educational response" to migrants, refugees, indigenous peoples, and women and rejected the exclusion based on "age, gender, ethnicity, migrant status, language, religion, disability, rurality, sexual identity or orientation, poverty,

displacement or imprisonment." Moreover, it also called for "inclusive education" "to live together in harmony and with dignity" (UIL, 2010, pp. 8-13). They all aimed at "the achievement of human, social and economic development."

However, this holistic human development could not be achieved only through education policy. In the BFA, UNESCO pointed out the "fragmentation" of ALE as a "challenge of adult learning and education." It indicated that ALE should go beyond education and be deeply linked to socio-economic policy (UIL, 2010, p. 12).

As a result of analyzing UNESCO's discourse on adult education during the EFA period in three aspects of RTE as above, the following order of discourse was revealed, summarized in Table 4.1.

[Table 4.1]

The Order of Discourse Established by UNESCO in Adult Education During the EFA Period

Progression of learning	Nodal discourse	Orders of discourse (in three aspects of RTE)		Signifier
Pre-learnification (1990 - the mid-1990s)	- Information revolution	Substance	- Access to endogenous knowledge • Conferring "personal sovereignty" through democratic education • Learning to preserve cultural identity • Access to knowledge and information • Lifelong learning for the most disadvantaged	- Learning - Knowledge
		Agents	- State-led education for endogenous development	
		Subjects	- Indigenous knowledge and wisdom "in a sense of fellowship and compassion" - Pluralistic societies where "every citizen can shape his or her identity and enter into dialogue with others"	
Diversification (the mid-1990 - early 2000s)	- Human development - Sustainable development - Learning throughout life - Globalization - Information society - Knowledge society - Lifelong learning	Substance	- Opportunities for human development • Education from the perspective of human development • Lifelong education contributing to democracy for sustainable development • Empowerment through "learning throughout life" • "Learning to live together" • Interactive sharing of endogenous knowledge	- Learning - Knowledge - Information

			- Access to science and technology • Information societies led by the "unavoidable" development of science and technology • Dual approach to lifelong learning "to reach the educationally unreached, to include the excluded" using "the new ICTs" - Knowledge, skills, and competences • Skills and competences to adapt to "the changing world of work" • Adult continuing education to "renew knowledge and skills" in knowledge-based societies • Diffusion of knowledge as skills and competences	
		Agents	- Decentralization as "educational reform" - Emerging partnerships between the public and private sectors - Resolution to "mobilize the support of all partners" for the "shared responsibility" of adult learning	
		Subjects	- Individuals as "masters of their own destinies" to exercise active citizenship - Citizens who respect cultural diversity based on their identity, exercise basic rights, and contribute to economic productivity	
Technocratization (the 2000s)	- Globalization - Knowledge societies - Lifelong learning - Knowledge-based economies	Substance	- Quality education meeting basic learning needs in knowledge-based economies • Learning context and functional literacy converging into education quality	- Learning - Knowledge - Quality

			• "Economics of basic education" contributing to the eradication of poverty • Quality of education, literacy, and lifelong learning • Functionalization of "literacies" to enter employment • Recognition, Validation, and Accreditation (RVA) for achieving greater participation in lifelong learning	
		Agents	- "Models of governance" of lifelong learning for knowledge economies	
		Subjects	- Continual knowledge and skills updating and retraining spurred by "learning needs" - Competitive and productive workforce through "integration between the world of work and the world of learning"	
Suprematization (late 2000s - 2015)	- Globalization - Human development - Sustainable Development - Knowledge societies - Lifelong learning - Knowledge-driven economies	Substance	- Provision of competencies in the knowledge management system • Evolving competencies beyond the labor market • Knowledge management system for effective monitoring of "learning continuum" • Learner-centered approach to learning outcomes • Lifelong learning as a philosophy, a conceptual framework and an organizing principle of all forms of education • Recontextualization of knowledge in lifelong	- Learning - Knowledge - Quality - Governance

			learning • Assessment of learning outcomes and learner competencies through “quality assurance”	
		Agents	- Lifelong learning led by the Global North with emphasis on individual learners - Partnership and governance for the effective implementation of lifelong learning - Participation of the private sector to “ensure the availability of cost-effective and quality provision to the most marginalized” - “Decentralization of governance”	
		Subjects	- Learners as the “educated workforce” in knowledge-driven economies - Inclusive ALE to “live together in harmony and with dignity”	

CHAPTER V. RECONTEXTUALIZING UNESCO'S DISCOURSE ON ADULT EDUCATION THROUGH THE LENS OF DIGNITARIAN JUSTICE

In this chapter, the order of discourse revealed in the three aspects of RTE will be recontextualized in the framework of dignitarian justice. As argued in Chapter II, dignitarian justice is realized when injustice in the interactional and structural dimension is rectified, and alienation in the existential dimension is overcome. Accordingly, the three dimensions of dignitarian justice correspond to the three aspects to be discussed on expanding the RTE discourse: substance, agents, and subjects.

Based on the results of the discourse analysis conducted so far, Chapter V will first identify the discourses of injustice that stemmed from the learnification progressed by recontextualizing the order of discourse in each dimension of dignitarian justice. Next, theoretical solutions to redress the identified injustices will be presented for each dimension.

5.1. Identifying Injustice in the Dimensions of Dignitarian Justice

In this section, I intend to identify the injustices embedded in the orders of discourse revealed in Chapter IV in three dimensions of dignitarian justice: interactional, structural, and existential.

Dignitarian justice aims to identify interactional injustice and the structural oppression that acted on the occurrence of such injustice and then presents alternatives to redress it in the existential dimension. However, in this research, the order of discourse established by UNESCO in adult education was first analyzed in terms of the substance of RTE corresponding to the structural dimension of dignitarian justice. With this in mind, in this section, I will first attempt to unravel the injustice inherent in the orders of discourse in the structural dimension. Then, the interactional injustice will be explained in the dynamics between the education actors under this structure. Lastly, I reveal *the adult* as the educational subject, assumed by UNESCO's discourse on adult education, in which the above two-dimensional injustices are inherent. By doing so, the existential injustice within will be explained.

5.1.1. Identifying Structural Injustice

As discussed in Chapter II, structural injustice is defined as "the institutions, norms, practices, and material conditions" that cause or condition "objectionable social positions, conduct, or outcomes" which mediate the activities or relationships of actors (Lu, 2017). In UNESCO's discourse on adult education, this is mainly an injustice embedded in the processes of production, access, exchange, sharing, and dissemination of knowledge.

As noted, the discourse of knowledge that UNESCO advocated was "the pluralist-participatory discourse" (Cummings et al., 2018). It is the discourse of knowledge that UNESCO has been advocating since the 1960s, emphasizing freedom of expression, universal access to knowledge, and respect for language

and cultural diversity. Until learnification progressed in the adult education discourse, UNESCO sought the abolition of educational exclusion and the decolonization of knowledge through "the democratization of societies," advocating "including the excluded and reaching the unreached" (Mayor, 1990a). Therefore, knowledge in the pluralist-participatory discourse was equated with the preservation of "indigenous languages and cultures," thereby placing a prime on "social and political integration" to enable "all citizens to participate fully in public life." The role of "modern technology" in this discourse of knowledge was to achieve *equal access to endogenous knowledge and information*:

> The inflexibility of traditional systems of academic study and qualifications, the neglect of *indigenous languages and cultures* [emphasis added], and the imposition of standards and models that are alien to national sensibilities have all contributed to this trend toward segregation in formal education. It is only natural then that one of UNESCO's major concerns should be gradual transformation of education systems into authentic instruments of social and political integration which will enable *all citizens to participate fully in public life* [emphasis added]. Providing lifelong education for all is one way of *including the excluded and reaching the unreached, especially with the aid of resources offered to us by modern technology* [emphasis added]. (Mayor, 1998a, p. 4)

UNESCO's concept of knowledge in pursuit of pluralistic democracy rejected utilitarianism that could undermine the diversity and identity of nations or minorities in education. This position was found in the following paragraph of the *Hamburg Declaration*, which directly set out "the allocation of resources" for

the adult education sector or the "negative impacts of structural adjustment programs" that may arise from the policy:

> Strengthening national, regional and global cooperation, organizations and networks in the field of adult learning: (d) by monitoring and taking steps *to avoid negative impacts of structural adjustment programmes* [emphasis added] and other policies (fiscal, trade, work, health, industry) on the allocation of resources to the education sector, with special reference to adult education; (f) by involving the multilateral financial institutions in the debate on adult learning and more particularly on educational policies in relation to *the negative impact of structural adjustment programmes on education* [emphasis added]. (UIE, 1997, p. 28)

Discourse on Knowledge as Qualification

Nevertheless, with learnification since the late 1990s, there has been a consistent and significant shift in the knowledge discourse that UNESCO has produced in adult education. It was a discursive trend that called for qualification (Biesta, 2010) to transform knowledge into abilities, skills, and competencies to adapt to the development of science and technology efficiently. *Knowledge as qualification* often emphasized the role of science and technology for efficient and effective management in production, access, exchange, sharing, and diffusion.

Knowledge as qualification has emerged in the discourse that UNESCO produced in adult education throughout the EFA period since the diversification of learning progressed for the "continuous broadening" of information. In particular, the development of science and technology stressed the role of ICT as "the most

important delivery system" for the diffusion of knowledge and information. However, as science and technology as a "transmission system" of knowledge and information was emphasized, the attention to the essence of knowledge was neglected. As a result, science and technology intended to enhance "access to endogenous knowledge" became a means of facilitating the transfer and acquisition of "skills and competences" suitable for "a changing world of work" in response to economic globalization.

Qualification of knowledge accelerated in the 2000s when the discourse of "knowledge economies" was introduced into adult education along with the technocratization of learning. This tendency was particularly strengthened when Matsuura was appointed as the new DG. He advocated "the economics of basic education" and argued for an approach to education from an economic point of view. Moreover, his belief in education based on "the returns on investment" vehemently mandated "evidence-based" policies and practices in adult education. Against this background, *key competencies* developed by OECD (n.d.) at the time significantly impacted UNESCO's discourse on knowledge. That is, competencies emerged in adult education as the knowledge discourse based on measurability. Competencies were technically managed in the "knowledge societies" that were the hegemonic discourses used by UNESCO. For example, the emphasis on the quality of education, the integration of the world of work and learning, the presentation of partnership-based governance, and the functional "literacies" diversified as skills all played a role as elements for efficiently managing competencies in the discourse of marketized lifelong learning:

> When young people *gain qualifications and seek to enter employment* [emphasis added] and it turns out that they cannot perform simple *literacy or numeracy* [emphasis added] tasks, both parents and employers, not to mention the young people themselves, have the right to ask the following question: *what happened to the right to a decent education, to a basic education of quality?* [emphasis added]. (Matsuura, 2004, p. 1)

As analyzed in Chapter IV, as the technocratization of learning deepened after the mid-2000s, quality as an empty signifier produced a web of meanings in UNESCO's discourse on adult education. It was produced by combining the cultural, social, and economic "contexts" with the learner's or region's quality in a chain of equivalence. "Learning contexts," "learner-centeredness," and "functional literacy" were intertextually articulated to produce a discourse of quality.

In this process, "competencies" were regarded as indicators to measure the "quality of education." In other words, competencies became a concept that transformed not only skills as technocratic knowledge but also contextualized knowledge into measurable qualifications. As a result, this contributed to strengthening the discourse of lifelong learning, which UNESCO has mainstreamed to gain hegemony in global education governance since the late 2000s. Then, as the suprematization of learning progressed, a "knowledge management system" was presented to "effectively monitor" the evolving competencies beyond the labor market in lifelong learning. In sum, the expansion and deepening of the qualification of knowledge was a critical discursive change during the transition of learning from technocratization to suprematization.

Discourse on Measurability

Knowledge was signified as qualification in the discourse on measurability found across the order of discourse established by UNESCO in adult education. As analyzed in Chapter IV, the discourse on measurability emerged in combining texts such as the development of science and technology and the information revolution under a nodal discourse of "globalization" underlined around the 2000s. While floating across the discourse of measurability, knowledge reinforced the qualification of adult education by articulating "skills," "competences," and "competencies" in a relationship of equivalence. In the mid-2000s, competencies introduced into the discourse around quality (an empty signifier) were integrated into the discourse on measurability by combining elements of diversity, such as learners' characteristics and local culture and customs, with the text of "learning contexts." As a result, the domain of qualification in UNESCO's discourse on adult education was expanded.

The discourse on measurability presupposes that human knowledge can be socially recognized by some kind of standardized criterion, namely the principle of impartiality. For this principle to be applied, it must be possible to measure an individual's abilities, merits, and performance with an objective and neutral scale. However, no impartial scale can completely separate individuals from the norms and culture of their group or society. In particular, in adult education, where the influence of the labor market has been continuously strengthened, the power to determine the standards and measures of knowledge

suitable for a particular job is inevitably given to the "invisible hand" of the market where work and learning are integrated.

Qualified knowledge is chosen through measurements by the market. The market, gaining the power to choose this way, spreads meritocracy and thus justifies *the politics of qualifications* (Young, 1990). The discourse of marketization combined with *technicism* necessarily grants a small elite of experts the authority to "develop objective, impartial, and standardized criteria" for measuring qualifications (p. 211). It justifies the *professionalism* that divides society into groups of experts and laypeople and creates inequality between them (Sandel, 2020). The technocratization of learning that emerged in UNESCO's discourse on adult education also evolved from the measurability discourse produced by this qualified knowledge.

An impartial criterion determined by a group of experts according to the needs of the labor market takes for granted the hierarchical structure of the social division of labor. In order to occupy a top position in the hierarchy, an individual is exposed to competition for qualification. Individuals who fall out of the competition are given lower-level jobs or positions. Young (1990) argues that this division process in the labor market subjugates the individual to the structural oppression of exploitation, powerlessness, and cultural imperialism. Similarly, Sandel (2020) also describes from a sociopsychological point of view the "hubris and humiliation" caused by class differences that merits have justified in American society, where meritocracy discourse has dominated for over 40 years as follows:

> Among those who land on top, it induces anxiety, a debilitating perfectionism, and a meritocratic hubris that struggles to conceal a fragile self-esteem. Among

> those it leaves behind, it imposes a demoralizing, even humiliating sense of failure. (Hubris and humiliation section, para. 2)

In addition, the standardization of knowledge assumed in the discourse on measurability structurally excludes individuals by defining or even eliminating the difference between individual identities as "deviating" or "undervalued" (Young, 1990). In the world of work that aims solely to increase productivity, the individual is a subject as a worker who acquires competencies through "continual knowledge update and retraining." On the scale of *normalization* that assumes a subject with a single identity (Foucault, 1995), the weight of heterogeneous and intersectional identities such as gender, disability, nationality, and race is systematically excluded. In particular, as analyzed in Chapter IV, quality as an empty signifier absorbed the learner's culture, as it was combined with knowledge as competencies in a chain of equivalence. Although this was an attempt to integrate the socio-cultural context that determines individual identity into the category of knowledge, it could result in subordination to the market as a uniform instrument for economic reproduction by abstracting and universalizing the qualitative characteristics of diversified subjects.

In this regard, Biesta (2020) argues that the measurability discourse introduced into the field of education stems from the welfare state system and neoliberalism that emerged globally around the 1990s. He criticizes that professionalism, which emerged in this background, undermines the democratic potential of society by strengthening the "global measurement industry" that spreads "the culture of measurement." Neoliberal terms such as *accountability, transparency, and evidence* highlighted in the measurement industry in the

education field are combined with discourses bearing values such as social justice and accessibility improvement in the culture of measurement, thereby obstructing the emergence of educational alternatives. Moreover, measurement that presupposes standardization and objectification effectively undermines the need for deliberation and discussion while evoking a sociopsychological effect of liberating people from the fear of value judgment.

Biesta's critique is generally consistent with the findings in the order of discourse that UNESCO has established in adult education since the 1990s. In particular, the technocratization of learning, which has progressed since the 2000s, adopted a professionalized measurement method such as RVA, emphasizing the importance of measurement for efficient management and dissemination of knowledge. This professionalism, combined with the development of science and technology, contributed to continuously expanding the discourse on measurability. As such, while the discourse highlighting standardized and efficient management of knowledge spread, the discourse for pluralistic democracy in adult education continued to shrink.

5.1.2. Identifying Interactional Injustice

Interactional injustice refers to "wrongful conduct, unjust interactions, or undeserved loss" that occurs between agents (Lu, 2017). In the learning discourse, the interactional dimension is the domain that identifies and corrects the injustice among the *actors* who produce, exchange, share, mediate, and disseminate knowledge. It is feasible by paying attention to the responsibilities, obligations, or dynamics among actors.

In the pre-learnification period, the state produced "endogenous knowledge" in UNESCO's discourse on adult education. It was a leading agent of "education for endogenous development" and was a public actor who gave "personal sovereignty" through democratic education:

> We must not forget that cooperation and external aid are subservient to national policies. As many of you have pointed out, external aid cannot by itself solve problems of this magnitude and where the *endogenous component* is of the essence. *It is therefore vital for governments to clearly define their educational requirements within the framework of human resources development strategies,* [emphasis added] and for them to determine how far their own resources can be used to reach the objectives of basic education for all by the year 2000, to redefine their priorities and to obtain additional resources for education. (Mayor, 1990b, p. 3)

This centralized role of the state as almost the sole educational actor, along with the diversification of learning, caused tensions in the discourse of decentralization combined with "educational reform":

> The Commission favors *a broad decentralization of education systems*, [emphasis added] based upon school autonomy and the effective participation of local stakeholders… *Decentralization* [emphasis added] measures can form part of a democratic process or, equally well, of *authoritarian processes leading to social exclusion…The weakening of the state's role with decentralization* [emphasis added] may then prevent the introduction of corrective measures. On the whole, 'international experience shows that the successful instances of

> decentralization are ones in which the central administration is strong', whence the need for overall regulation and a clear definition of the role of the public authorities in that regulation. (Delors, 1996, p. 160)

Discourse on Knowledge as Commodity

Recontextualizing the order of discourse established by UNESCO in the aspect of agents into the interactional dimension of dignitarian justice resulted in the discovery of a discursive tendency to regard knowledge as a commodity produced and traded in a globalized "learning market." It was a discourse that emerged in earnest along with the technocratization of learning in the 2000s when the marketization of lifelong learning was justified while advocating for "building knowledge societies." In the discourse of commodified knowledge, education that provides knowledge was measured in articulation with "service" and "learning experience" with "credit" (Burnett, 2008, pp. 1-5).

The commercialization of knowledge has been further strengthened since 2010 when the suprematization of learning proceeded. For example, in UNESCO's discourse on adult education, knowledge was described as being traded in the "education market" as individuals "exercise choice" by their "purchasing power."

> *Vouchers* have been discussed as an alternative to financing from government or other agencies. They are intended *to increase the demand for adult education by reducing its direct cost while improving the ability of individuals to exercise choice in the market* [emphasis added]. Instead of allocating budgets to suppliers directly, the state would direct money to individuals in the form of vouchers or

> entitlements. These individuals would then enjoy *increased purchasing power in the education market* [emphasis added]. (UNESCO, 2013, p. 94)

Meanwhile, for knowledge to be commodified in the market, skills to make good products were demanded. It required skilled workers as competitive "human resources." For this purpose, the discourse of *commodified knowledge* gave employers a "responsibility" to "invest" in their workers:

> In most countries, governmental funding of adult education is complemented by *private contributions* [emphasis added] by employers and private training organizations, since the private sector sees the further education and training of their employees as *an investment in human resources* [emphasis added]. It is argued that employers have *a primary responsibility* [emphasis added] for ensuring that their employees possess the necessary skills, and for enabling individuals to achieve, maintain and update job-specific skills appropriate to their organization. (UNESCO, 2013, p. 88)

Discourse on Decentralization

Knowledge was signified as commodification in the discourse on decentralization that emerged across the order of discourse established by UNESCO in adult education in the late 1990s. It was justified in combination with the rhetoric of "educational reform" in the context of the diversification of learning. The discourse on decentralization stressed "local expertise," "partnership," and "accountability," thereby dispersing the responsibility of the centralized government for adult education.

Decentralization expanded the discursive terrain through articulation with texts such as "local expertise," "partnership," and "accountability" under the pretext of "social pressures and the pull of the labor market" due to technological change (Mayor, 1997a; 1997b; UIE, 1997). However, in UNESCO's position, the state's central role as a duty-bearer to realize RTE could not be abandoned. In particular, the state's traditional role was "essential" to protect the rights of "the most vulnerable groups of society," such as minorities and indigenous peoples. Against this background, "partnership" was the discourse that UNESCO inevitably adopted to buffer the conflict between decentralization and centralization that occurred "between the public, the private and the community sectors." At the end of the 20th century, "the role of the state was shifting":

> At the heart of this transformation is *a new role for the state and the emergence of expanded partnerships devoted to adult learning within civil society* [emphasis added]. The state remains the essential vehicle for ensuring the right to education for all, particularly for the most vulnerable groups of society, such as minorities and indigenous peoples, and for providing an overall policy framework. *Within the new partnership emerging between the public, the private and the community sectors, the role of the state is shifting* [emphasis added]. It is not only *a provider* of adult education services but also *an adviser, a funder, and a monitoring and evaluation agency* [emphasis added]. (UIE, 1997, p. 3)

The discourse of partnership which symbolized "a back-door retreat of the state from its responsibilities," was reinforced as the technocratization of learning progressed (UNESCO, 2009, p. 41). In particular, "strong partnerships" based on the participation of "organized civil society" and "private providers" converge in

the discourse of governance (Bokova, 2009; 2012b). Governance meant "every level of the system" to "overcome educational inequalities" beyond a partnership that was simply cooperation or association among actors:

> The 2009 EFA Global Monitoring Report headlines *governance as a key factor in overcoming educational inequalities* [emphasis added]. It describes *governance* as "institutions, rules and norms through which policies are developed and implemented – and through which *accountability* is enforced". Governance therefore covers policy decision-making, resource allocation and government accountability. *Educational governance is not solely the concern of central government but encompasses every level of the system* [emphasis added], from the education ministry to schools and the community. (UNESCO, 2009, p. 35)

In the late 2000s, represented by "partnership" and "governance," the dynamics among actors in adult education were deeply associated with the expansion of the influence of the private sector. Active participation of the private sector in lifelong learning was justified by the discourse of "knowledge-based economy" that drove the "global market" (UNESCO, 2009, p. 121). In addition, the BFA identified the PPP's role in strengthening "a new form of adult education, sustainable development, peace and democracy." It was a norm strongly indicating the private sector's significantly increasing influence on adult education ahead of the adoption of the SDGs (UIL, 2010, p. 12).

In the meantime, UNESCO encouraged the participation of NGOs with "special skills" for "excluded groups" at the community level. Here, "special skills" were described as "ensuring the availability of cost-effective and quality provision

to the most marginalized" (UNESCO, 2009, p. 77). As a result, lifelong learning in the late 2000s required "better coordination of all partners" with sensitivity to "learner needs, language, and culture" and "effective, transparent and accountable action." While the role of the state infrequently was mentioned, all actors' decentralized role was combined in the market discourse:

> We need *effective, transparent and accountable action for lifelong learning* [emphasis added]. We need to align our actions with our words, by creating the conditions for young people and adults to benefit from *relevant and empowering learning programmes* [emphasis added]. This calls for more sensitivity to *learners' needs, language and culture*, better trained educators and an *all round culture of quality.* We need *better coordination of all partners* [emphasis added] and significantly higher levels of funding, with a systematic focus on serving the most disadvantaged groups, especially women and rural populations. (Bokova, 2009, p. 2)

The reason the discourse on decentralization was introduced into adult education in the late 2000s was the lack of resources for adult education due to the global financial crisis as a social practice. To overcome this, UNESCO needed a justification to promote the "broad participation" of actors. Decentralization was the discourse in response to these demands. In other words, by adopting the discourse of decentralization in adult education, UNESCO justified an "effective management structure" and "coordination of actors" that enhance "participation and efficiency in the provision of learning":

> Coordination of actors and activities in adult literacy and adult education is characterized by the interplay between two elements: on the one hand there is the need for effective management structures, sustainable funding sources and broad participation of actors in policy-making and provision, and on the other hand the ongoing development of a diverse adult literacy and adult education field. This interplay is also influenced by *decentralization*, which affects *not only policy formulation, accountability lines and distribution of funds, but also participation and effectiveness of learning provision* [emphasis added]. (UNESCO, 2013, p. 66)

UNESCO seemed to have been wary of the discourse of the market which resulted in the commercialization of knowledge. In other words, the tension between equity and efficiency discourses surrounding quality as an empty signifier indicated UNESCO's hegemonic intervention. Similarly, UNESCO indirectly expressed concern about the "commercialized learning market" that threatens equity:

> As the number and scope of private providers grow, *the issue of regulation over the 'invisible hand of the learning market' demands attention* [emphasis added]. In some countries, the increasingly *commercialized learning market and its new rules seriously threaten equity and balanced development* [emphasis added] in adult education provision and participation. (UNESCO, 2009, p. 57)

Nevertheless, the state's involvement in adult education continued to weaken. In short, the tension within the discourse surrounding quality is deeply related to the decline of the state in the field of adult education.

Amid the dynamics of actors being decentralized by emphasizing the quality of learning, UNESCO sought to impose on them the duty to protect RTE by compromising on two ought-propositions: First, the role of "regulating and setting standards of quality" was given to the state. In other words, the broader role of the state in "ensuring diversity of pathways" was guaranteed from "the lifelong learning perspective." In addition, the state was specified as an agent that should enable "all stakeholders including the private sector and NGOs" to create programs that respond to "different learning contexts and learning needs of adults" (UNESCO, 2013, p. 148). Moreover, the role of the government was encouraged to combine "market-based incentives" with "equity-based implementation strategies" (UNESCO, 2009, p. 113).

However, such a proposition failed to give the state substantial authority to control the marketization of adult education and the commercialization of knowledge. Instead, the government's role was limited to promoting more diverse stakeholder participation and decentralizing responsibility in the learning market. For example, UNESCO stressed the importance of "quality management" that presupposed "the causal chain" and encouraged the state to consider "the interest" of "different stakeholders." It assumed the shift of the state's role as an actor to spread the discourse of the market called "effectiveness and efficiency of adult education systems":

> It is important for research to contribute to *quality management in adult education*, taking into account *the causal chain* between input, process, output and outcome [emphasis added]. Emphasis needs to be placed on the interests at stake for *the different stakeholders* [emphasis added]. It is important *for*

> *countries to highlight the link between quality inputs and the achievement of equity* [emphasis added], social inclusion and economic development… These measures are needed to complement assessment and accountability procedures, in order to improve *effectiveness and efficiency of adult education systems* [emphasis added]. (UNESCO, 2013, p. 148)

The shifted role of the state in the discourse on decentralization was aimed at promoting the spread of neoliberalism in adult education. It is similar to the model of "the neoliberal developmental state," which underlines the state for neoliberal development (Liow, 2012; Behuria, 2018). In other words, the model of *the developmental state*[36] that drives national development through the *embedded autonomy* of the state appeared in UNESCO's discourse during the pre-learnification period. Moreover, as learnification progressed, the emphasis was placed on the "hybrid state" leading neoliberalism through deregulation and decentralization.

A second ought-proposition used by UNESCO to complement this "limited state intervention" was to highlight the role of civil society:

> It is clear that *civil society largely makes up for limited state intervention* [emphasis added] in adult literacy and adult education, compared to other fields in the education sector. In other words, *the state is not the sole actor*

[36] Johnson (1982) classified a capitalist state operating based on *market-rational* as a regulatory state and a socialist state operating by *plan ideological* as a command state. A unique type of state that operates an economic system by *plan-rational*, which does not belong to the former two, is conceptualized as a developmental state. The developmental state can be defined as a state centralizing sufficient power, autonomy, and capacity to achieve explicit development goals by establishing and promoting conditions and directions for economic growth or by their various combinations (Leftwich, 1995, p. 401).

> *implementing adult literacy and adult education policies* [emphasis added]. Implementation is often embedded in a range of development and public service delivery activities, such as entrepreneurship training, agricultural extension, health and sanitation. *Decentralization* in adult literacy and adult education, therefore, requires thorough monitoring and evaluation, as well as *local capacity-building activities to ensure delivery* [emphasis added]. (UNESCO, 2013, p. 67)

As identified in the above paragraph, civil society participation paradoxically served as a justification to highlight "monitoring and evaluation" and "local capacity-building" and to weaken the state through "decentralization." As if recognizing this contradiction, UNESCO emphasized "the active participation of CSOs," but at the same time, defined the limits of their role (UNESCO, 2009, p. 57).

The discourse on decentralization thus weakened the state's authority in adult education and strengthened the role of non-state actors. It also converted knowledge as a public good into commodities circulated and traded in the market along with the marketization of lifelong learning. The government, responsible for producing and managing knowledge, was transformed into governance, and education was regarded as a service. As a result, the obligation to ensure RTE in adult education was weakened, and the responsibility drifted. In this regard, it was also revealed that the self-interest pursued by the private sector and the interest of "the most vulnerable" are fundamentally different in the discourse of decentralization promoted to distribute commodified knowledge effectively (Menashy, 2019). According to Klees (2019, p. x), "partnership" that has been introduced into the discourse on decentralization "misses and actually negates the

dissent, struggle, and collective action that are necessary to transform fundamentally unequal, unfair, and often oppressive relations into partnerships of mutuality, reciprocity, and fairness."

In UNESCO's discourse on adult education, responsibility for education drifted among actors and eventually shifted to individuals. In the following quoted paragraph, the responsibility for "major transformations in the nature of employment" was effectively imposed on the individual, as the need for learning throughout life was presented. Here the individual was described as a subject who "retains mastery of their own destinies" while "exercising active citizenship":

> … in a world in which the accelerated rate of change and rapid globalization are transforming each individual's relationship with both time and space, *learning throughout life is essential for people to retain mastery of their own destinies*. *Major transformations in the nature of employment are taking place* in some parts of the world, *undoubtedly to spread*, that will involve a reorganization of individuals' use of time [emphasis added]. Learning throughout life can become, then, the means for each of us to establish an equilibrium between learning and working, continued adaptation for a number of occupations and for the exercise of active citizenship. (Delors, 1996, pp. 100-101)

In addition, public responsibilities placed on individuals were often expressed in combination with the "needs" in the discourse on decentralization. "Needs" particularly combined science and technology in a chain of equivalence with texts meaning the least advantaged, such as "disabled persons" and "indigenous peoples and nomadic peoples" (UIE, 1997, pp. 5-6, 25). ICT, for example, responded to the "specific needs" of learners who had been "excluded."

Furthermore, The purpose of ALE was to provide “learning contexts and processes” that correspond to “the needs of adults as active citizens” (UIL, 2010, pp. 11- 12). In short, in the discourse on decentralization, responsibility for adult education was imposed on individuals by their own needs. In this way, RTE was reduced to an option ensured by the “needs of the learner.”

5.1.3. Identifying Existential Injustice

Existential injustice is the alienation experienced by the subject in interactional and structural injustice (Lu, 2017). In this section, by exploring the adult, that is, *the educational self* implicitly assumed by the orders of discourse established by UNESCO in adult education, I will identify the embedded existential injustice.

As stated in Section 5.1.1, UNESCO’s conception of knowledge in adult education in the pre-learnification phase was “endogenous knowledge.” In other words, UNESCO pursued a learning society in which everyone realizes their own cultural identity by preserving knowledge as indigenous wisdom. The self that appeared in the discourse of knowledge produced by UNESCO during this period was an agent that transformed one’s life and community. The DG, for example, in response to “the knowledge explosion,” emphasized the importance of literacy to enable individuals with access to knowledge and information to “experience greater freedom” and to “make independent decisions” (Mayor, 1994a). All countries and groups pursuing development based on endogenous knowledge could find mutual benefits through equal interaction (Mayor, 1998a, p. 4).

Cultural identity was a critical factor in the formation of this individual and collective self. For example, adult learning assumed "citizens" who "have a voice" based on their "heritage, culture, value and prior experiences" (UIE, 1997, p. 2). Multilingualism was particularly underlined as a way of "creating in our consciousness an openness to others and a sense of their existence":

> We must not forget that for a child, *multilingualism* [emphasis added] is not a problem. It is a problem for us because we have another way of learning languages. But, in my own case, my mother tongue was forbidden when I went to school. Yet it was the language of my mother, and I can assure you that I count and I think in this language. It is therefore impossible to eradicate from us things that are very, very deeply rooted in our *cultural identity* [emphasis added]. So we must take the mother tongue into account, and we must realize that multilingualism is also a very good way of creating in *our consciousness an openness to others and a sense of their existence* [emphasis added]. (Mayor, 1994b)

In the phase of diversification of learning, sustainable development, which attained the highest status as a nodal discourse in UNESCO's discourse on adult education, tended to place a high premium on the social aspect, that is, democracy, rather than the original ecological meaning. It was pursued through a democracy that respected pluralism in the discourse of "endogenous development" that UNESCO aimed to achieve through lifelong education (Mayor, 1998a, p. 2). For example, the DG asked to move forward into "rainbow societies" where "every citizen can shape his or her identity and enter into dialogue with others" "in the context of a pluralistic world where equality and diversity are recognized."

In sustainable development discourse emphasizing pluralistic democracy, knowledge as a floating signifier was semiotically combined with "a pluralistic world where equality and diversity are recognized." In other words, even when the diversification of learning progressed, UNESCO's discourse on adult education maintained the post-colonial tradition of valuing individual cultural identity:

> Individuals cannot benefit from lifelong education if courses are not offered in their native language, if they cannot integrate what is learned into their own experience, or if they cannot establish connections to give meaning and relevance to this external knowledge. We must therefore reconsider the goal of equal opportunity and view it *in the context of a pluralistic world where equality and diversity are recognized as complementary dimensions* [emphasis added] and are acknowledged as such in education systems and plans. We must encourage progress towards *'rainbow societies'* where every citizen, throughout life, can find fulfillment, *shape his or her identity and enter into dialogue with others* [emphasis added]. (Mayor, 1997b, p. 4)

Paradoxically, the discourse of endogenous knowledge in adult education gradually disappeared in the mid-to-late 1990s as UNESCO accepted the "information revolution," highlighting science and technology as a means for equal access to endogenous knowledge and information.

Discourse on Depersonalized Knowledge

As stated previously, the discourse emphasizing the qualification of knowledge contributed to the diversification of learning that has progressed since

the late 1990s in the orders of discourse established by UNESCO in adult education. The qualification of knowledge that proceeded until the early 2000s appeared in the discourse of knowledge societies that emphasized a public domain of knowledge (UNESCO, 2002). However, in the subsequent marketized discourse of lifelong learning, qualified knowledge was converted into measurable skills and competencies and managed and distributed in the learning market. This qualified knowledge was standardized while excluding the values inherent in the holistic knowing that individuals learn through life experiences.

However, human knowledge is established on the proposition that "we can know more than we can tell" (Polanyi, 2009, p. 4). Polanyi points out "the impossibility of depersonalizing knowledge" as "the form of personal detachment" by asserting *tacit knowledge* that cannot be specified. Similarly, Ilya (2017) also criticized "alienated knowledge" from humans that "conversion of personal experiences" produces. In this regard, I define depersonalized knowledge as knowledge that subordinates humans to the needs of the market or society by objectifying them as homogeneous and out-of-context beings. This discourse of knowledge is an existential injustice that alienates human beings.

Depersonalized knowledge was mainly found after 2000 when the technocratization of learning progressed in UNESCO's discourse on adult education. In order to accelerate the achievement of EFA, "the economics of basic education" advocated by UNESCO at the time focused on the functional aspects of education to improve the quality of life. From this perspective, women's identity was assumed to be workers and mothers, the subjects of reproduction (Matsuura, 2001, p. 2; 2003, p. 1). On this fixation, women's functional literacy emphasized productivity, child education, reproduction, and population control.

By depersonalizing knowledge, women were shaped as instrumentalized beings serving socio-economic purposes.

> As mothers, literate women are key educators of their own children and counselors for other women. We also know that *literate mothers have fewer and healthier children. That leads in turn to lower population growth* [emphasis added]. Being educated, moreover, they want their own children to be educated. Thus, there is a virtuous circle associated with female literacy. (Matsuura, 2001, p. 2)

Discourse on Human Resource

In UNESCO's discourse on adult education, knowledge was depersonalized through the discourse of human resources, which assumes the human being as a means of serving economic development. In the discourse that assumes human beings as a factor constituting the market, individuals are generally assigned an identity as workers. However, adults appearing in the discourses constructed by UNESCO on adult education were described both as learners and workers. That is because the worlds of work and learning are integrated as the suprematization of learning progressed:

> [T]he greater mobility of *workers and learners between countries, across jobs and in learning spaces* [emphasis added] intensifies the need to reconsider how learning and competencies are recognized, validated and assessed. (UNESCO, 2015b, p. 16)

The discourse of human resources that gave adults their identity as workers and learners was justified by seemingly objective and neutral nodal discourses such as economic globalization, financial crisis, and unstable labor market. In this vast and irreversible world, the adult was *a subject of adaptability and vulnerability,* who could not but acquire skills to adapt to change:

> In today's *changing world economy* [emphasis added], this means ever more people at risk of being left behind. The report finds that the largest part of the increase in inequality comes from *changes in labor markets* [emphasis added]. *Low-skilled workers* are having ever-greater problems in *finding jobs* [emphasis added]. The report states that better education is a powerful way to achieve growth which benefits all and that education policies should aim to *equip people with the skills they need in today's labor market* [emphasis added]. (Burnett, 2008, p. 1)

On the other hand, these adults who adapted to market demands were also considered subjects with economic rationality. In other words, the motivation for adults to participate in learning was also deeply embedded in the market discourse. In the discourse on human resources, the adult was expressed as *a subject of rationality*, expecting a "reward" by "investing" in learning:

> Adults are more likely to participate in learning if they believe that they will gain some *personal, economic or social rewards from their learning in return for their investment* [emphasis added] of money, time, energy and commitment. (UNESCO, 2009, p. 79)

With the technocratization of learning, adults had to acquire vocational skills on their own to adapt to the instability of the labor market. However, by the 2010s, it was not just vocational skills that were required of adults. They also "must continually adapt, develop new skills, and learn new tools in order to participate fully in social, economic and political life" (Bokova, 2011, p. 2). This period was when the supprematization of learning progressed in UNESCO's discourse on adult education, along with globalization and sustainable development, combined in a chain of equivalence. Consequentially, with learnification in UNESCO's discourse on adult education furthered ahead of the adoption of SDG 4, the adult with internalized vulnerabilities appeared as *a subject of resilience* who must have "the necessary capabilities" "to exercise and realize their rights and take control of their destinies (UIL, 2016a, p. 8)."

In sum, as learnification progressed in adult education, the discourses derived from aspects of RTE and resulting injustices were identified in the three dimensions of dignitarian justice as in Table 5.1.

[Table 5.1]

Identifying Injustice in the Framework of Dignitarian Justice

	The framework of dignitarian justice		
Dimension	Structural	Interactional	Existential
Discourse on	- Knowledge as qualification - Measurability	- Knowledge as commodity - Decentralization	- Depersonalized knowledge - Human resource
Injustice identified	- Weakening the democratic potential of society • Eliminating the heterogeneity of identity • Justifying a social hierarchy based on merit • Reducing social deliberation	- Drifting public responsibility • Weakening state responsibility • Responsibility shifted to the individual • Rights reduced to individual needs	- The instrumentalization and objectification of human beings • Subject of vulnerability • Subject of adaptability • Subject of rationality • Subject of resilience

5.2. Redressing Injustice in the Dimensions of Dignitarian Justice

In Section 5.1, I recontextualized into three dimensions of dignitarian justice the order of discourse established by UNESCO in the three aspects of RTE as learnification progressed in the discourse on adult education. As a result, the injustices embedded in discourses in each dimension were identified. In this section, moral conditions and concepts for redressing the injustices identified so far will be presented by projecting them into the lens of each dimension of dignitarian justice.

5.2.1. Redressing Structural Injustice by the All-Subjected Principle

As learnification progressed during the EFA period, knowledge was signified as qualification that can be converted into skills and competencies managed by the RVA. Through this, UNESCO established the order of discourse in adult education in which the discourse on measurability was conceived. As stated above, I defined the discourse on measurability as injustice, which qualified knowledge. It weakens the democratic potential of education and further hinders the democratization of society by structurally excluding the heterogeneous and intersectional identities of subjects.

How can this structural injustice be rectified in the framework of dignitarian justice? As theorized in Chapter II, structural injustice can be redressed through the lens of intersubjectivity and open impartiality. It can be feasible by providing all subjects with the knowledge to be aware of the oppressive structure

at the intersecting global, national, and local levels and ensuring parity of participation for its rectification.

As stated above, Biesta (2010) argued that this "culture of measurement" has placed a premium on evidence-based education that focuses on the efficiency and effectiveness of processes rather than educational ends. He criticized this educational practice based on the "technical-managerial" perspective for overlooking the fundamental question of "what is educationally desirable." Alternatively, he presented a *transactional theory of knowing* based on Dewey's *practical epistemologies*. According to Dewey, knowledge is not detached from the person but built in the form of knowing. It is practically experienced through the interaction between the person and the world. Also, knowing arises from our "possible relationships between actions and consequences." Through this contingent experience of knowing, we think, reflect, and deliberate. "we change as a result of this" (pp. 39-41).

Knowing experienced transactionally cannot be formed by measuring and accrediting knowledge qualified by a small group of experts solely for procedural efficiency and effectiveness. In other words, structural injustice can be rectified by providing a dialogical and participatory structure in which all affected can be represented in the production and diffusion of knowledge. To this end, I propose to apply *the all-subjected principle* conceptualized by Fraser (2009) to adult education.

Fraser calls the post-90s world the "post-Westphalian world," where the boundaries between countries have blurred. She raised the need to reset the framework of Westphalian justice, which assumed the nation-state as an

epistemological category. In the era of globalization, the reframed framework of justice requires the reconstruction of *what, who, and how* of justice.

Redistribution, recognition, and representation are concepts that constitute her *three-dimensional theory of justice*[37] to respond to these demands. In particular, representation is a political dimension that assumes *misrepresentation*[38] as an injustice. It again manifests on two levels: *ordinary-political misrepresentation* within the framework of the state and *misframing* that occurs transnationally. Simply put, representation problematizes who is not structurally represented at the political level.

The all-subjected principle, thus, at the national or transnational level, grants "moral standing as subjects of justice" to "all those who are subject to a given governance structure" (Fraser, 2009, p. 65). Under this principle, anyone subjected to repressive structures operating somewhere in the world is recognized as a fellow citizen with equal dignity, regardless of nationality or membership. Moreover, they gain the status to rectify structural oppression through solidaristic empowerment (Gilabert, 2018).

5.2.2. Redressing Interactional Injustice by the Formative Agents of Justice

The discourse on decentralization commodified knowledge in the interactional dimension of dignitarian justice. The discourse on decentralization, which regards knowledge as a commodity supplied and traded in a marketized

[37] The three dimensions of justice proposed by Fraser differ from the three dimensions of dignitarian justice theorized from the idea of human dignity.

[38] "Misrepresentation occurs when political boundaries and/or decision rules function wrongly to deny some people the possibility of participating on a par with others in social interaction including in political arenas" (Fraser, 2009, p. 18).

learning society, “displaced” responsibility for education “from the state to the individual” (Scott, 2018) in the educational paradigm of the “global learning economy” (Han, 2008). Amid this drifting responsibility for education, RTE was reduced to a choice offered by individual needs.

As stated above, the discourse on decentralization spread across UNESCO’s discourse on adult education, combining “partnership,” “governance,” and “accountability” based on intertextuality. Even while encouraging different actors emerging in economic globalization to participate, the above concepts have concealed the “key power imbalance” (Menashy, 2019) operating among themselves or have implicitly coaxed a shift in the role of the state. As a result, they have been understood as concepts that justify the privatization or neo-liberalization of education (Jarvis, 2008; Offe, 2009; Rizvi & Lingard, 2009; Carnoy, 2016; Olssen, 2020; Sobe, 2020). Nevertheless, few studies have discussed these concepts in terms of educational responsibility.

In Chapter II, I argued that interactional injustice could be corrected through the lens of open impartiality. In other words, the interactional injustice related to the transfer of responsibility should be redressed by ensuring the role of the state as “an essential expression of human autonomy” and, at the same time, taking responsibility as a member living with others in the international community, that is, sociability among all educational actors.

In this context, it is worth noting that the argument of Biesta (2010) underlined the concept of responsibility embedded in morality by critically contrasting the discourse of accountability that spread with learnification. As with “measurement culture,” he points out, “the culture of accountability” promotes overusing terms such as “quality assurance” and thus “maneuver” to focus on the

delivery of the process rather than the substance of education. Accountability in education meant the democratization of education based on mutual responsibility. However, as neoliberal discourse spread after the era of post-welfarism in the 1990s, it absorbed the economic meaning of measurement and management.

Biesta (2010, p. 53) criticized that accountability based on the discourse on decentralization caused "the reconfiguration of the relationship between the state and its citizens" and argued as follows: First, to satisfy needs, the relationships in the market that values "choice" came to be highlighted. Second, the relationship between the state and the individual changed to service "supplier" and taxpayer as "consumer." Third, by emphasizing the efficiency and effectiveness of the process, the democratic discussion of educational outcomes was reduced to a formal relationship. Consequently, he points out that the discourse of decentralization is an "odd combination" of "marketized individualism" and the still-maintained "central control" of the state. Regarding discourse theory, Biesta attacks decentralization and accountability as apolitical and anti-democratic concepts, articulating them in a relationship of equivalence. He effectively emphasizes his argument by proposing "responsibility" to the discursive boundary in a relationship of difference.

Biesta then explains the meaning of responsibility by embracing Bauman's view of postmodernism. Bauman calls today *liquid modernity* and diagnoses it as "change is the only performance, and uncertainty the only certainty" (Bauman, 2013). Individuals in these times distrust the public system, witnessing the market overwhelming the state, the duty-bearer to protect their rights. It is the so-called "crisis of trust" (Bordoni & Bauman, 2014). As the weakened state loses its authority to hold the responsibility to ensure individual rights, the drifting

responsibility is shifted "onto the shoulders of individuals" (Bauman, 2005, p. 305). Finally, for individuals who have to take responsibility for themselves, learning means constantly forgetting old-fashioned information and attitudes and acquiring new knowledge and skills. The discourse on decentralization that emerges from the order of discourse established by UNESCO in adult education causes distrust in public actors and transfers responsibility to individuals by recontextualizing knowledge as commodity.

Then, how can responsibility be restored? Since responsibility implies morality, loss of responsibility means loss of morality (Biesta, 2010). Therefore, restoring morality is the key to solving the loss of responsibility caused by the decentralization discourse. As reviewed in Chapter II, Rosen (2012) argued for the dignity of the manner of respecting others in light of deontology. Simply put, dignity presupposes deontological responsibility to the other. Thus, taking responsibility for others restores a moral relationship that is "one-sided, nonreciprocal and irreversible" (Biesta, 2010, p. 63). In this sense, the learning market, where all actors commercialize knowledge for self-interest, cannot be "the space of responsibility" (Biesta, 2015a).

Based on the above discussion, I present Dryzek and Tanasoca's (2021) *formative agents of justice* as educational actors who bear the deontological responsibility for others in the interactional dimension of dignitarian justice. The idea of formative agents of justice adapts O'Neill's (2001) concept of *agents of justice*. She addressed the need for implementing agents responsible for ensuring human rights. To conceptualize it, O'Neill classified the state as *primary agents* and individual or collective agents as *secondary agents*. However, this classification could not categorize newly emerging agents in global governance in

education, such as NGOs and corporations. Moreover, agents of justice failed to *precisify* abstract theories of justice into rights and obligations that reflect socioeconomic and cultural contexts and thus provide a rationale for implementing them. To overcome this limitation, Dryzek and Tanasoca empower the formative agents of justice with the capacity for "the special moral work" necessary to implement the abstract principles of justice on the ground.

Formative agents of justice are capable of moral reasoning based on *formative agency*. They can include all individual or collective actors who have been diversified in the field of education, such as the state, international organizations, corporations, NGOs, media, and experts. These educational actors are considered moral subjects in the process of formation based on the idea of dignity that defines humans as those in the process of becoming. Based on "reflective and reasonable" agency, that is, *practical reason*, they can embody abstract principles of justice in the real world. This work of embodying abstract justice into a policy or political decision enhances the institutional feasibility of global justice by presupposing deliberative democracy through solidaristic empowerment at the global level. Consequently, formative agents of justice embrace the possibility of the political space that can realize global justice, which has been considered "incommensurable" (Fraser, 2009) due to increasing complexity and the demand for diversified identities.

5.2.3. Redressing Existential Injustice Through a Pedagogy of Interruption

In the existential dimension of dignitarian justice, the discourse on human resource that regards humans as a factor for economic development detached and

depersonalized knowledge from human beings. As a result, in UNESCO's discourse on adult education, the adult was represented as vulnerable, adaptive, resilient, rational, and neoliberal subjects (Chandler & Reid, 2016). I argued that the discourse of the neoliberal subject based on depersonalized knowledge evokes the existential injustice of human alienation by causing the instrumentalization and objectification of human beings.

As theorized in Chapter II, the existential dimension of human dignity is established on the moral pillar of intersubjectivity. Therefore, existential injustice can be redressed through the realization of the whole self based on intersubjectivity. In order to educationally redress existential injustice, I present Biesta's (2010) *subjectification* as the existential purpose of education and *a pedagogy of interruption* as a method.

Subjectification, one of the three functions of education, is defined as "a process of becoming a subject" and "ways of being that hint at independence from existing orders" (Biesta, 2010, p. 21). These "ways of being" mean rejecting the status as a passive subject incorporated by education into the existing order.

Biesta accepts Arendt's conceptual expression *coming into the world* to explain subjectification. In Arendt's *world*, human life is expressed in three active types: *labor, work, and action*. In other words, human beings maintain the biological activity of the body through labor and create a *common world* by changing the environment through work. In this created world, human beings start something new through action. In the common world, the action of starting something that has not been done before is a unique characteristic that exists only in human beings. Therefore, humans are beings who acquire *natality,* that is, "coming into the world" through action (Arendt, 2013).

In the common world, action always presupposes “the one who began an action” and “the one who suffers from and is subjected to its consequences.” Therefore, we always influence someone through our actions and are affected by the actions of others. Since we are bound to be influenced by others, we cannot predict when our actions will start. Therefore, we are beings who cannot “come into the world” in the absence of the Other. Human beings “come into the world” through intersubjective and accidental encounters in this world where they live together with others.

Meanwhile, to explain uniqueness, another concept constituting subjectification, Biesta raises Levinas’ philosophical question: “When [does it matter] that I am unique, that I am I and no one else?” By answering this, he transforms *uniqueness as difference* into *uniqueness as irreplaceability*. The irreplaceable relationship existing between mother and infant through care represents this uniqueness.

Based on Arendt and Levinas’s thinking, Biesta (2010) explains subjectification as the function of education for *coming into presence* as a unique being by coming into the world of pluralism and difference. In the sense that it presupposes continuous and unpredictable interaction with others, subjectification is an “ongoing, never-ending process of gain and loss” (p. 85).

Biesta (2010) suggested a pedagogy of interruption as a way to become a subject coming into presence in the world while opening up the possibility of uniqueness. He explains a pedagogy of interruption based on pluralism and uniqueness:

> This will happen when we prevent our students from any *encounter with otherness and difference*, any encounter that might *interrupt* their "normal" ways of being and might provoke a responsive and responsible response. This is when we let our students become immune to what might affect, interrupt and trouble them [emphasis added]. (p. 90)

Pedagogy of interruption becomes possible only by abandoning the premise that human subjectivity can be "educationally produced" by someone impartial (Biesta, 2010, p. 91). Instead, human subjectivity is an existential and intersubjective process that happens through an accidental encounter with the Other. In addition, I argue that Nussbaum's *compassion* and Freire's *dialogue* can serve as conceptual elements that deepen a pedagogy of interruption.

Most of all, Nussbaum emphasizes the cultivation of *narrative imagination* through liberal education to respond to the danger of destroying humanity that utilitarianism can cause (Nussbaum, 1998). Narrative imagination is a core element of education for critical self-examination and a sense of belonging to the human community. It is "the ability to be in the shoes of a person different from oneself, to be an intelligent reader of that person's story." Therefore, narrative imagination is not cultivated independently but through constant dialogues and discussions with others. It is for this reason that Nussbaum stresses Socrates' argumentative education. In the process of asking and answering each other's questions, individuals critically reflect on themselves and their traditions and further acquire the imagination to understand the position of others. In this sense, she underlines narrative imagination as "an essential preparation for moral interaction." Such imagination is not an ability that can be cultivated overnight.

Citing Rousseau's *Emile*, Nussbaum asserts to foster compassion through liberal arts education from childhood so that individuals "can imagine suffering vividly to themselves and feel pain at the imagining."

Nussbaum (2003) pays attention to compassion because a rationality-centered approach that excludes the cognitive role of emotions cannot fully explain human morality. According to Lee (2013) and Park (2016), Nussbaum's view of emotion is based on Aristotle's concept of *phronesis*, which means practical wisdom or practical reason. Phronesis is the ability to select one of the different values by considering the consequences of selection. Aristotle regards phronesis as the ability of both reason and emotion. Nussbaum criticizes the danger of utilitarianism which judges the superiority of a value by some quantitative criteria without considering the plurality of values and interprets phronesis as the ability to prevent this (Nussbaum, 1990).

Meanwhile, Freire argues for the realization of justice through a dialogue based on intersubjectivity. He urges rectifying injustice through the individual's *conscientization* placed within the structure of the oppressed world. To this end, he advocates the concept of *praxis*. It is a process of conscientization in which reflection and action are inextricably interplayed (Jung, 2019). From a perspective similar to Biesta, Freire's subject is becoming-in-the-world who recognizes and overcomes the oppressive structure and mode of operation in society and attains liberation and emancipation. In this sense, Freire (2014, p. 88) explains dialogue as "the encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world." In other words, all human beings can see the world critically only through a "dialogical encounter" with others. Consequently, in his theory, the dialogue is presented in an intersubjective and existential dimension for realizing

humanization and social transformation while dialectically connecting the oppressors and the oppressed, economic production and cultural production, and the self and the world.

Such existential dialogue can be possible on the preconditions of “love,” “humility,” “a faith in humankind,” “communion with others,” and “critical thinking” (Freire, 2014). In Freire’s pursuit of existential value of human beings based on the idea of the common good, knowledge as depersonalized commodity and the discourse on human resource that reify human beings must be rectified immediately.

The concepts of dignitarian justice applied and presented above to redress injustice are organized in Table 5.2.

[Table 5.2]

Redressing Injustice in the Framework of Dignitarian Justice

		The framework of dignitarian justice		
Dimension		Structural	Interactional	Existential
Injustice identified		Weakening the democratic potential of society	Drifting public responsibility	The instrumentalization and objectification of human beings
Redressing injustice	Moral lens	Intersubjectivity Open impartiality	Open impartiality	Intersubjectivity
	Aim	- To be aware of and deconstruct oppressive structures - To realize *parity of participation*	- To strengthen the role of the state as an expression of human *autonomy* - To give *sociability* as actors' dignified responsibility for living with others	- *Subjectification* as an intersubjective being - *Coming into presence* - To cultivate *narrative imagination* through *compassion* - To be aware of *becoming-in-the-world*
	Conceptual solution	*The all-subjected principle*	*Formative agents of justice*	*A pedagogy of interruption*

CHAPTER VI. CONCLUSION

This dissertation aimed to problematize the epistemological and ontological limitations of RTE, a long-standing discourse and thesis in global education governance, and to reinterpret it as an expanded normative discourse encompassing the demands of justice through human dignity. To this end, after critically reexamining the validity of the RTE discourse, I theorized humanist justice based on human dignity, that is, dignitarian justice. In addition, it was verified whether the theory of dignitarian justice could be applied in the discursive practice built on the basis of RTE. As such, this research demonstrated the validity of the expansive interpretation of the RTE discourse by analyzing the discourse that UNESCO produced in adult education during the EFA period and recontextualizing it through the lens of dignitarian justice. As Chapter II introduced, UNESCO is an IGO that has established normative instruments for promoting RTE in educational multilateralism. In particular, adult education is a symbolic educational work that UNESCO has been carrying out since its establishment in pursuit of RTE.

Criticisms of the RTE discourse derived from human rights were mainly similar to those raised on human rights theory. Above all, criticism of the universalism of human rights was also applied to the RTE discourse. In other words, criticisms were raised that the RTE discourse, based on Western ontological individualism, implicitly assumed that non-Western society is inferior, objectified its members, and functioned as an instrument for the spread of neoliberalism. Moreover, as with human rights, the minimal approach of the RTE discourse that

makes equal provision of educational opportunity the sole ideal has also been criticized for depoliticization, obscuring the duty-bearers who should protect the rights of stateless persons and avoiding prioritization among competing rights. Lastly, the critique of the tension between social rights and private autonomy within the concept of RTE was also reviewed. Through the theoretical review, I argued that equality in education limited to access to opportunities should be reinterpreted expansively in terms of substance, agents, and subjects. Furthermore, I contended that the limitations of the RTE discourse stem from impartiality as the perception of equality on which human rights are grounded. Consequently, these criticisms could be accommodated by interpreting the ontological and epistemological aspects of the RTE discourse expansively rather than denying its fundamental conceptual validity.

To respond to the vulnerability and criticisms of the RTE discourse above, the philosophical concept presented in this research was human dignity. Rooted in cosmopolitanism, it is a moral and existential concept that pays attention to human sufferings and identity. The second half of Chapter II reveals that the idea of human dignity comprises two perceptions of equality: open impartiality and intersubjectivity. Consequently, in the idea of human dignity, the impartiality inherent in Western-centered human rights expands to open impartiality and intersubjectivity, reaching the realm of social justice. Solidaristic empowerment is a concept in which these two perceptions are represented in reality as a quest for global justice. In this way, the idea of human dignity is reorganized into the theoretical framework of dignitarian justice which consists of human rights as basic dignity and social justice as maximum dignity. In dignitarian justice, the two

perceptions are transformed into moral lenses that identify interactional, structural, and existential injustices.

How can the RTE discourse obtain empirical validity as an expanded norm through the derived theory of dignitarian justice? This research employed multiperspectival discourse analysis that combines Fairclough's CDA and Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory introduced in Chapter III as the research method. The multiperspectival discourse analysis based on social constructivism was considered appropriate to describe and interpret orders of discourse established by UNESCO in adult education during the EFA period in three aspects of RTE and to recontextualize them in the theoretical framework of dignitarian justice.

In order to conduct the discourse analysis, the discursive phenomenon that this study paid attention to was learnification. In other words, this study identified learning that expanded and changed in UNESCO's discourse on adult education during the EFA period as a thematic signifier through comparison and indexing. Through discourse analysis, it was found that the four phases of learnification progressed through UNESCO's discursive strategy: pre-learnification, diversification of learning, technocratization, and suprematization.

The orders of discourse in adult education revealed in the three aspects of RTE at each phase of learnification are as follows. First, in the aspect of the substance of RTE, UNESCO's discourse, which emphasized access to "endogenous knowledge" during the pre-learnification, absorbed texts such as "human development" and "ICTs" and placed importance on access to functional knowledge. In particular, after the phase of technocratization of learning in the 2000s, the order of discourse established by UNESCO in adult education was combined with nodal discourses such as "knowledge-based economies,"

“knowledge societies,” and “lifelong learning.” As a result, discourses stressing "knowledge management" began to emerge. In this regard, discourse highlighting “quality education” and the provision of “competencies” are typical examples.

Second, in the aspect of RTE’s agents, UNESCO’s discourse on adult education in the early 1990s emphasized state-led education for endogenous development. As learnification has progressed since the mid-1990s, texts such as “decentralization,” “partnership,” and “governance” have increased in UNESCO’s discourse, encouraging the participation of more diverse stakeholders, especially the private sector.

Third, the subjects of RTE were described as “citizens” with indigenous knowledge and wisdom “in a sense of fellowship and compassion” in the phase of pre-learnication. Across the order of discourse established by UNESCO, references to “citizens” who respect “cultural diversity” consistently appeared. However, as with “integration between the world of work and the world of learning,” competitive and productive workers as an “educated workforce” in the “knowledge-driven economy” were increasingly underscored as subjects of RTE.

In Chapter V, the orders of discourse established by UNESCO in adult education according to three aspects of RTE were recontextualized in each of the three dimensions of dignitarian justice. First, the discourses identified as injustice in the structural dimension were the discourse on knowledge as qualifications and the discourse on measurability. This educational discourse causes injustice that weakens the pluralism and democratic potential of society by justifying a social hierarchy based solely on individual merit. To rectify this, I proposed the all-subjected principle based on parity of participation. Second, in the interactional dimension of dignitarian justice, the discourse on knowledge as commodity and

the discourse on decentralization were identified. It was the injustice that shifted public responsibility for education to individuals in need. It can be redressed as all educational actors in the state of becoming formative agents of justice become responsible for others based on open impartiality. Third, in the existential dimension, the discourse on depersonalized knowledge and the discourse on human resource were identified. This educational discourse posited human beings as neoliberal subjects who are vulnerable, adaptive, resilient, and rational. In the face of existential injustice that instrumentalizes and objectifies human beings, I proposed a pedagogy of interruption for subjectification in education.

These discursive limitations exposed by education as a human right require a new role for education to recognize and redress injustice not only interactionally but also structurally and existentially. In other words, education today should contribute to enabling all agents to flourish on the basis of human dignity. As seen in the discursive injustice identified in Chapter V, I am convinced that the democratization of knowledge lies at the core of such education. Democratizing knowledge transforms the discursive landscape from *knowledge for what* to *knowledge of what.* It is also a work that discusses educational "aims and ends" (Biesta, 2010). Through this, knowledge will be rebirthed as a concept that contains the educational potential to engender a being in the process of becoming a dignified agent. Consequently, the discourse on knowledge generated through *overlapping consensus* among educational agents democratically embraces knowing and wisdom created in heterogeneous and intersecting identities.[39] It finally serves as an educational concept that contributes to moving

[39] Rawls (1989, p. 233) defines overlapping consensus as follows: "An overlapping consensus exists in a society when the political conception of justice that regulates its basic

towards the common good while the world and human beings resonate with each other.

institutions is endorsed by each of the main religious, philosophical, and moral doctrines likely to endure in that society from one generation to the next."

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APPENDIX

A. Text Indexing Form

Title	
Genre	
Texts indexed to "learning"	
Discursive feature	

B. Discursive Order Analysis

Period	
Phase of learnification	*(pre-learnification / diversification / technocratization / suprematization)*
Genre	
Discourses emerged	
Signifiers	

국문초록

유네스코 교육권 담론의 비판적 분석과 존엄주의적 재맥락화:

EFA시기(1990 – 2015) 성인·평생교육을 중심으로

서울대학교

대학원 글로벌교육협력전공

정용시

본 학위논문은 글로벌 교육 거버넌스의 오랜 테제로 통용되어 온 교육권(right to education) 담론을 문제화(problematize)하고, 인간존엄성을 통해 정의의 요구를 포괄하는 확장된 규범적 담론으로서 이를 재해석하는데 목적이 있다. 교육 기회의 평등(equality of educational opportunity)을 이상으로 삼는 교육권 담론은 냉전 체제가 종식된 90 년대 이후 초국적이며 국가적인 수준에서 교육을 둘러싸고 나타난 부정의에 대응하는데 일정한 한계를 노정하였다. 이러한 문제 의식을 바탕으로 본고는 인권 담론에서 파생된 교육권을 비판적으로 재검토하고, 이를 재맥락화(recontextualization)하기 위한 이론틀로서 인본주의적 관점에 기초한 존엄주의적 정의(dignitarian justice)를 제시한다.

교육권에 대한 비판은 상당 부분 인권 담론에 대한 비판과 유사하다. 즉, 교육권 담론은 암묵적으로 서구 중심의 존재론적 개인주의(ontological individualism)를 전제하고, 신자유주의의 확산을 위한 도구로서의 역할을 수행하며, 최소한의 인도주의적 접근에 집중함으로써 보다 본질적인 정치의 문제를 회피한다는 비판으로부터 자유롭지 못하다. 또한 사회적인 동시에 사적인 권리인 교육권의 교차성이 개념 자체의 내재적 긴장을 야기한다는 비판도 제기되어왔다. 본고에서는 이들 비판을 재검토함으로써, 사회계약에 터한 국민국가를 의무부담자로 상정하며 주로 기회에의 접근에 주목하는 기존의 교육권 담론이 평등의 내용(substance), 행위자(agents), 주체(subjects)의 세 가지 측면에서 확장적으로 해석되어야 한다고 주장하였다. 더욱 근본적으로, 이러한 교육권 담론의 인식론적이고 존재론적인 한계가 평등에 대한 서구 중심적 관념인 불편부당성(impartiality)에서 기인한다고 주장한다. 이는 인권 담론에 내재된 불편부당성을 보다 확장적으로 재해석할 수 있는 규범적 이론의 필요성을 제기하는 것이다.

한편 고대 세계시민주의(cosmopolitanism)의 토대 위에서 배태되어 근대의 평등주의(egalitarianism)를 수용하며 발전해 온 인간존엄성은 단지 인간이라는 이유만으로 다른 존재와 구별되는 모종의 특질을 내재하고 있다는 생각에서 기인한다. 이는 비단 서구 사회에서뿐만 아니라, 아시아 및 아프리카와 같은 비서구 사회의 전통에서도 발견된다는 점에서 인권의 보편성을 확장할 수 있는 개념적 가능성을 담지한다. 이에 더하여 인간존엄성이 추구하는 도덕적이고 실존적인 이상에는 개방적 불편부당성(open impartiality)과 상호주관성(intersubjectivity)이라는 평등의 관념이 각각 내재되어 있다. 즉, 인권 담론을 정초한 불편부당성은 인간존엄성의 사상적 렌즈를 통해 이들 두 가지 관념으로 확장되는 것이다.

또한 존엄성은 이들 평등의 관념을 통해 사회정의의 원칙을 포섭함으로써 인권의 규범적 강점을 강화한다.

본고에서는 이렇게 인본주의적 관점에서 인권과 사회정의의 요구를 정합성있게 포괄하면서 지구적 정의를 추구하는 이론틀로서 존엄주의적 정의를 제시한다. 존엄주의적 정의의 틀에서 인권은 개인의 "품위있는 삶"(decent life)을 구현하는 기초 존엄성(basic dignity)으로, 사회정의는 모두의 "번영하는 삶"(flourishing life)을 지향하는 최대 존엄성(maximal dignity)으로 각각 위치한다. 또한 개방적 불편부당성과 상호주관성의 관념은 상호행위적(interactional), 구조적(structural), 실존적(existential) 부정의를 식별하고 시정하는 도덕적 렌즈로서의 역할을 수행한다. 이들 두 가지 평등의 관념은 연대적 권한부여(solidaristic empowerment)를 통해 상호연결되며 잠재역량(capabilities)의 발전을 저해하는 세 가지 차원의 부정의들을 시정하는 것이다. 이런 의미에서 교육에서 기회의 평등은 인간존엄성에 기초한 잠재역량의 평등으로 확장되어야 한다.

한편 90 년대 이후 교육권 담론이 직면한 한계를 경험적으로 논증하기 위해, 본 연구에서는 유엔의 교육 전문 기구 유네스코가 모두를 위한 교육(Education for All, EFA) 운동을 주도하였던 1990 년에서 2015 년까지의 성인교육에 관한 담론을 분석의 대상으로 삼았다. 이는 유네스코가 창설 이래 인본주의의 기치를 내세우며 수행해 온 교육권 증진 활동의 상징으로서 성인교육이 역사적인 의미를 가지기 때문이다. 그러나 사회의 근본적인 변화와 인간의 해방을 지향하였던 성인교육에 대한 유네스코의 역할은 90 년대 들어 가속화한 교육 다자주의의 변화와 신자유주의적 세계화의 영향에서 자유롭지 않았다. 본고에서는 기로에 선 유네스코가 EFA 시기 동안 성인교육에서 구축하였던 담론의 질서(orders of discourse)를 교육권의 세 가지 측면에서 분석하고, 이를 존엄주의적 정의의 렌즈를 통하여 재해석하는 두 가지 층위의 연구 작업이 수행되었다.

담론분석은 거시적 차원에서의 담론적 변화를 수집된 자료로부터 포착하는 작업으로부터 시작하였다. 이를 위해 본 연구에서는 유네스코가 성인교육 영역에서 채택하였던 역사적인 두 가지 권고문을 비교하여 식별된 “학습”(learning)을 주제기표(thematic signifier)로 삼았다. 이후 사회적 구성주의를 토대로 하는 다중관점주의적 담론분석(multiperspectival discourse analysis)을 통해, 성인교육에 관한 담론에서 유네스코가 수행한 담론적 전략과 학습 담론이 변이되고 확산되며 나타난 학습화(learnification)의 네 가지 국면, 즉 전학습화(pre-learnification), 학습의 분화 (diversification), 기술관료화 (technocratization), 절대화(suprematization)를 규명하였다.

학습화의 국면별로 교육권의 세 가지 측면에서 드러난 성인교육에서의 담론의 질서는 다음과 같다. 먼저 교육권의 내용(substance)에서, 전학습화 시기 “내생적 지식”(endogenous knowledge)에의 접근을 강조하였던 유네스코의 담론은 “인간발전”(human development), “ICTs”와 같은 텍스트들을 흡수하면서 기능화 된 지식에의 접근을 중시하게 되었다. 특히 2000 년대 들어 진전된 학습의 기술관료화 국면 이후, 성인교육에서 유네스코가 구축한 담론의 질서는 “지식기반경제”(knowledge-based economies), “지식사회”(knowledge societies), “평생학습”(lifelong learning) 등의 결절담론들(nodal discourses)과 결합됨으로써, 지식의 관리를 강조하는 담론들이 부각되기 시작하였다. “양질의 교육”(quality education)과 “역량”(competencies)의 제공을 강조하는 담론은 전형적인 사례들이다.

둘째, 교육권의 행위자(agents)와 관련하여, 내생적 발전을 위한 국가 주도의 교육을 강조하던 유네스코의 담론에서 “분권화”(decentralization), “파트너십”(partnership), “거버넌스”(governance)와 같은 텍스트가

증가하면서 보다 다양한 이해관계자, 특히 민간의 참여를 유도하는 담론이 크게 확대되었다.

셋째, 교육권의 주체(subjects)는 전학습화 국면에 “동료애와 연민의 감각”(a sense of fellowship and compassion)과 “토착적 지식 및 지혜”(indigenous knowledge and wisdom)를 지닌 “시민”(citizen)으로 기술되었다. 유네스코가 구축한 담론의 질서에서 “문화다양성”(cultural diversity)을 존중하는 “시민”은 이후에도 지속적으로 유지되었으나, “일의 세계와 학습의 세계 사이의 통합”(integration between the world of work and the world of learning)에 따라 “지식주도경제”(knowledge-driven economies)에서 경쟁력과 생산성을 갖춘 “교육받은 노동력”(educated workforce)으로서의 근로자가 교육의 주체로서 부상하였다.

이렇게 드러난 담론의 질서는 존엄주의적 정의의 틀에서 부정의를 야기하는 담론들로 식별되고 시정될 수 있도록 다음과 같이 재맥락화되었다. 첫째, 구조적 차원에서 식별된 담론은 자격으로서의 지식(knowledge as qualification)과 측정가능성(measurability)의 담론이었다. 이러한 교육적 담론은 오직 개인의 실력(merit)에 기반을 둔 사회적 위계를 정당화함으로써, 사회의 다원성과 민주적 잠재력을 약화시키는 부정의를 야기한다. 이를 시정하기 위해, 본 연구에서는 참여의 동등성(parity of participation)에 기초한 종속된 모든 사람들의 원칙(the all-subjected principle)을 제시하였다. 둘째, 존엄주의적 정의의 상호행위적 차원에서, 상품으로서의 지식(knowledge as commodity)과 분권화(decentralization)의 담론이 식별되었다. 이는 교육에 대한 공적 책임을 개인의 필요(individuals in need)로 환원하는 부정의를 야기한다. 이것은 개방적 불편부당성을 지닌 모든 교육적 행위자들이 타자에 대한 책임을 지는 정의의 형성적 주체(formative agents of justice)가 되어감(becoming)으로써 시정될 수 있다. 마지막으로, 실존적 차원에서는 비인격화된 지식

(depersonalized knowledge)과 인적자원(human resources) 담론이 식별되었다. 이러한 교육적 담론은 인간을 취약하고, 적응적이고, 회복적이며, 합리적인, 신자유주의적 주체로 상정한다. 이렇게 인간을 도구화하고 객체화하는 실존적 부정의에 맞서, 본고는 교육에서의 주체화(subjectification)를 위한 상호균열의 교육학(pedagogy of interruption)을 제시하였다.

주제어: 유네스코, 교육권, 존엄성, 지구적 정의, 성인교육, 평생학습, 담론분석

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감사의 글

학문적인 글을 긴 호흡으로 쓰는 작업은 무척이나 진이 빠지는 일입니다. 밀려드는 상념의 수렁에 빠지길 수백 번, 막다른 생각의 길에 몰려 되돌아가길 수백 번, 그러길 반복하다 더 이상 작아질 내가 없음을 알고 낙담할 무렵 어슴푸레 산정상을 발견하는 느낌이랄까요.

지난한 과정이었지만, 돌아보면 그런 상실과 방황의 시간이야말로 켜켜이 쌓여있던 삶의 편린들 속에서 나 자신을 길어왔던 시간이었습니다. 그런 의미에서 논문에 몸을 던졌던 지난 5년은 저에게 가장 행복한 시간이기도 했습니다.

논문을 구상하고 써내려 갔던 5년 동안, 안타깝게도 세상은 제가 6만여 개의 낱말에 꾹꾹 눌러 담았던 바람과는 지독하게 정반대 방향으로 나아갔습니다. 세계 도처에서 불평등은 확대되고 사람들 사이의 적대와 혐오는 증가했습니다. 누군가는 “자유”와 “권리”라는 이름으로 부정의를 방관하고 조장했습니다. 그러는 사이 힘없는 다른 누군가의 자유와 권리는 훼손되거나 박탈되기도 했습니다. 빠르게 심화된 기후위기는 인류의 존재 자체를 위협하는 지경에 이르렀습니다. 전세계적으로 창궐한 감염병 사태를 겪어내며 실감한 것처럼, 그 어느 때보다 지구적인 연대와 협력이 절실한 시대지만 국제사회의 다자주의는 보호주의에 자리를 내어주고 말았습니다. 이 논문의 연구 대상이기도 한 인본주의적 국제기구 유네스코의 영향력 역시 약화되었습니다.

한국 사회의 상황도 이와 크게 다르지 않았습니다. 낡은 체제의 변혁을 요구하던 수많은 시민들의 염원 속에 탄생했던 이른바 “촛불정부”가 재집권에 실패했습니다. 특히 “공정”과 “능력주의” 담론을 둘러싸고 극심한 정치적 분열 양상을 보였던 청년 세대의 모습은 우리 사회의 암울한 미래를 보는 것만 같아 마음이 무거웠습니다. 정권에 대한 지지 여부와 관계없이, 당시 정

부가 내세웠던 슬로건이자 정치적 기획인 “기회는 평등하게, 과정은 공정하게, 결과는 정의롭게”의 실패는 여러모로 곱씹어보아야 할 과제를 우리에게 던져주었다고 생각합니다.

앞은 보이지 않고 혼탁해져만 가는 시대에 “인간은 존엄하다”는 명제의 의미를 조금 더 정치(精緻)하게, 그리고 교육적으로 조명해보고 싶었습니다. “인간”이라는 이름으로 태어난 이상, 우리는 누구나 세상과 모종의 관계를 맺어가며 성원으로서의 권리와 의무를 부여받습니다. 그러한 권리와 의무는 평등한 자유, 즉 나와 타자의 자유를 동등하게 보장하기 위한 것입니다. 그러므로 자유로운 사회는, 개인 각자의 고유한 개별성이 동등하게 인정되고 이를 마음껏 발현할 수 있는 사회일 것입니다. 혹자는 이를 “품위있는 사회”라고도 합니다. 흔히 우리가 “권리”라고 부르는 인권은 누구나 품위있는 삶(decent life)을 살 수 있도록 국제사회가 합의한 최소한의 규범입니다.

하지만 저는 동시대의 인권 담론만으로는 모든 사람을 존엄한 존재로 여기는 세상으로 나아가는데 한계가 있다고 생각합니다. 인권에 관한 담론은 여전히 서구 중심의 시각에 머물러 있고, 사회구조적 문제를 개인적 차원으로 환원함으로써 신자유주의와 같은 이데올로기에 적절히 대응하지 못하며, 최소한의 인도주의적 접근에만 집중하는 나머지 보다 근본적인 정치의 문제를 회피하는 장면들이 현실 세계에서 빈번히 연출되기 때문입니다. 난민이나 이주민 같은 무국적자들의 권리를 보장하는 의무 주체 또한 인권 담론에서는 불명확해 보입니다. 저는 이렇게 권리를 이해하고 말하는 방식, 즉 인권 담론의 기저에 근대 국민국가의 합리적 개인만을 암묵적인 성원으로 상정하는 평등의 관념, 불편부당성(impartiality)이 자리잡고 있다고 생각합니다. 도구적 이성에 경도된 불편부당성은 “공정”이나 “전문성”, 때로는 “과학기술”과 같이 객관과 중립을 가장한 용어 뒤에 숨어 누군가의 자유를 합법적으로 통제하거나 차별을 정당화합니다. 이미 한 세기 전, 헉슬리(A. Huxley)는 극단의 합리성으로 규율되는 불편부당한 사회가 어떻게 인간성을 말살하는지 소

설「멋진 신세계」에서 예견한 바 있습니다.

인간존엄성(human dignity)의 제시는 편협한 불편부당성에 붙박인 권리에 관한 독법(讀法)을 넘어보려는, 아직은 여물지 못한 연구자의 욕심이 담긴 이론적 시도였습니다. 무엇보다 인간존엄의 사상은 인권의 지평을 정의의 영역으로 확장합니다. 다시 말해, 인간의 존엄은 개인의 품위있는 삶을 넘어 모두가 번영하는 삶(flourishing life)을 함께 누리는 정의로운 사회에서 실현됩니다. 인권과 정의는 이렇게 인간존엄의 실현이라는 규범적 목적 아래 불가분의 관계를 맺고 있는 것입니다. 인권 담론에서 작동했던 좁은 의미의 불편부당성은 인간존엄의 사상에서 서로 다른 정체성과 사회들의 다원성을 수용하는 개방적 불편부당성(open impartiality), 그리고 타자와의 대체 불가능한 관계 안에서 자아를 인식하는 상호주관성(intersubjectivity)이라는 두 가지 평등의 관념으로 확장됩니다. 이들 평등의 관념을 통해 인간의 존엄을 훼손하는 부정의의 상호행위적, 구조적, 실존적 측면을 인식하고 이에 경종을 울리는 정의관을 저는 존엄주의적 정의(dignitarian justice)로 제시하였습니다. 그리고 창설 이래 “인권으로서의 교육”을 주창해 온 유네스코의 성인·평생교육 담론에서 “학습”의 영역이 지속적으로 팽창해 왔다는데 주목하고, 그 이면에서 전개된 부정의의 양상을 존엄주의적 정의의 눈으로 밝혀보고자 했습니다. 이러한 일련의 작업들을 통해 저는 존엄한 존재를 품어내는 되어감(becoming)의 교육을 함께 고민해보자고 여러분께 제안하고 싶었습니다.

이상의 고민들이 한 편의 글로 태어나기까지 많은 분들께 빚을 졌습니다. 무엇보다 이 논문은 유성상 교수님의 따뜻한 격려와 지도가 없었다면 세상에 나올 수 없었다는 말씀을 드립니다. 또한 이론의 추상성으로 인해 논리적 정합성이 높지 않았던 초고를 심사 과정에서 꼼꼼히 살펴주고 지적해주신 김형렬 교수님, 홍문숙 교수님, 강대중 교수님, 조우진 박사님께도 심심한 감사의 말씀을 드립니다. 박사과정을 이수하는 동안 수강했던 교육학과 곽덕주 교수님, 한숭희 교수님, 정치외교학부 송지우 교수님의 강의는 교육의 울타리 안

에서 존엄, 정의, 권리를 고민할 수 있는 영감과 아이디어를 제공해 주셨습니다.

교수님들께 빚진 아이디어는 대학원에서 함께 학문의 길을 걸었던 도반(道伴)들과의 마주침과 대화를 통해 논문의 큰 줄기로 이어질 수 있었습니다. 특히 정다정 박사님, 이인영 박사님과 방법론에 관한 고민을 나눌 수 있었던 시간은 여전히 값진 기억으로 마음 한 켠에 남아있습니다. 아울러 논문의 전반적인 작성 과정과 영문 교열에 관여해 주신 이화진 박사님, 박채원 박사님께도 감사드립니다.

유네스코는 논문의 연구 대상이기 이전에, 귀한 인생의 벗들을 만날 수 있는 일과 삶의 터전을 마련해 주었습니다. 고마운 많은 분들 가운데서도, 논문이 완성되기 10년 전 어느 막걸리 집에서 글 쓰는 이로서의 저를 발견하게 해 주신 신종범 선생님께 특별한 감사의 말씀을 드립니다. 또한 15년이 넘는 시간 동안 저의 빈 손을 든든하게 맞잡아 준 선후배 동료들께도 감사드립니다. 여러분의 호의와 배려 덕분에 일터에 대한 자부심을 잃지 않고 긴 여정을 완주할 수 있었습니다.

한편 이 논문은 글로만 조우할 수 있었던 수많은 학자들의 사유에 기대어 완성될 수 있었습니다. 특히 메일 서신을 통해 존엄주의에 대한 이론적 조언을 제공해 주신 Pablo Gilabert 교수님께 심심한 사의를 표합니다. 아울러 Amartya Sen, Axel Honneth, Gert Biesta, Hannah Arendt 교수님은 학문을 넘어 저의 세계관과 인간관에 영향을 준 지적 스승이 되어 주셨습니다.

마지막으로 늦은 나이에 공부하는 저를 안쓰러워하시면서도 늘 멀리서 응원해 주셨던 부모님과, 세상 것들에는 도통 무딘 사람을 따스하게 지켜봐 준 인내심 있는 동반자 박애경 박사에게 무한한 사랑과 존경을 보냅니다.

오늘도 거리에서, 광장에서, 삶의 현장 곳곳에서 묵묵히 일상을 내딛고 있을 세상의 모든 존엄한 “얼굴들”에 부족한 글을 바칩니다.

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PUBLICATIONS

Books

Jung, Y., Min, S., Song, IO, & Eom, J. (Eds.). (2016). *Women, Literacy and Empowerment: India and Pakistan Project Case Studies 2015, Bridge Programme*. Korean National Commission for UNESCO.

Journal Articles

Jung, Y. (2019). Examining Development through the Lens of Education: Focusing on Sen, Goulet, and Freire. *International Development and Cooperation Review*, *11*(2), 113-126.

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