

Exploring the contribution of play to social capital in institutional adult learning settings

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This paper explores how play as an educational tool can enhance social capital for adult learners in institutional settings. Framed by conceptualisations of social capital (Putnam 1993, 2000) and play (Melamed 1987, Meares 2005, Vygotsky 1978) and supported by research literature on play in adult learning, our action research in our adult education classes focuses on cooperative forms of play in which pretend, role-play, improvisation, playful activities and a playful mindset were key components. We investigate these play experiences in terms of their implications for nurturing adult learners' social capital. Our preliminary findings to date reveal that play contributes to social capital by enriching adult learners' engagement, cooperation and sense of connectedness with one

another as well as with people, resources and information beyond their group.

Social capital

This paper chronicles early stages in a journey to understand how play can foster adult learners' social capital in institutionalised settings. Following Putnam (1993, 2000), we view social capital in terms of social connections and networks that are embedded in interactions among people and fostered by trust and shared understandings, values and behaviours that enable cooperative action (Cohen & Prusak 2001). Cooperative action may be further understood in terms of people building communities, committing to one another and weaving 'the social fabric of their collective being' (Smith 2001, URL).

In terms of adult learners in institutional settings, we view cooperative action as:

- building adult learning communities that support and promote learners' access to information and resources relevant to learning goals and aspirations
- nurturing adult learners' commitment to their fellow learners and to their roles in an adult learning community
- sharing and weaving adult learners' collective experiences and understandings through their interactions with one another, engagement in shared experiences, knowledge and resources, and pooling their respective experiences and resources.

The relationship between social capital and lifelong learning has been brought under scrutiny, with conclusions drawn that such a relationship is mutually beneficial (Field 2005). However, it cannot be taken for granted that when individuals come together as a

group, a sense of community will evolve. In institutional settings, adult learners can feel hostile towards learning institutions, based on their previous experiences such as school. In such settings, too, adult learners can feel concern about working in groups – a concern that can grow out of the competitive nature of institutional learning and the linking of learning to assessment. There needs to be a clear sense of the relationship between the individual and the group. Relationships and networks can be strengthened by trust and knowledge, which facilitate reciprocity and cooperation for mutual benefit of the network group (World Bank 1998, Putnam 1993, 2000, McClenaghan 2000, Hibbitt, Jones & Meegan 2001).

Interconnectivity (Falk, Balatti & Golding 2000) in the group is important in enabling adult learners in a group setting to make connections among people, information and experiences. It is then that a sense of a learning community (as distinct from being merely in a group) can evolve. The learning that occurs in such a community is tied to qualities of the interactions such as enthusiasm, reflection, action, engagement and respect – ‘our conversations can be catalysts or impediments to learning’ (Baker 2006: 1).

The extent to which learning communities are flexible, diverse and inclusive also has an impact on learning (Flora 1998, in Kilpatrick, Field & Falk 2001). These qualities of a learning community, as well as willingness on the part of its members to entertain new ideas and accept change, can greatly enhance and enrich learning (Flora, Flora & Wade 1996, in Baker 2006).

Play and adult learning

Key aspects of social capital identified here are also associated with play – and so it stands to reason that we explore relationships between play and social capital. While most commonly associated with children, play is also significant to adult learners. Viewing play as a life-span activity, Göncü & Perone (2005) have found that pretend

play and improvisation amongst adult learners fosters community building that requires dialogue, trust, and reciprocity, sharing and negotiation – all characteristics that are associated with social capital. As Göncü and Perone (2005: 19) state, dialogue in play ‘contributes to the construction of an ensemble, an environment of support and acceptance in which the group works through and discovers creative ways of making sense of experiences’. Necessary to play, dialogue also is enriched by play and fosters a sense of community and fellow feeling among adult learners (Meares 2005).

Play is also about a state of mind – it is a creative and non-literal approach to action (Bruner 1972) and creates a zone in which individuals can exceed their usual day-to-day performance (Vygotsky 1978). Playful learning is active, enjoyable and ‘concerned with the creation of meaning through dialogue with others and through the process of self-reflection and personal transformation (Mezirow 1985)’ (Melamed 1987: 18).

In play, there is a doubleness of mind that simultaneously deals with both real and unreal (or pretend) experiences (Baldwin 1906) – requiring flexibility and openness to new ideas as they come and go in play. Complicity, engagement, enthusiasm and shared vision are needed for participants to sustain this doubleness of mind and can help them bond with one another.

From her work with adult learners, Melamed (1987) has identified five defining characteristics of play that are described in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Five distinctive qualities of play (summarised from Melamed 1987)

Qualities	Description
Relational qualities of play	Play nurtures relationships and engenders a sense of community among players as they engage and interact with high levels of synergy, enjoyment, enthusiasm and fellow feeling, and low levels of inhibition; and converse through pretend and real dialogue in which they explore and reflect on their experiences and understandings.
Experiential qualities of play	In play, participants engage in shared experiences that are enjoyable and engrossing; pool their own experiences and perspectives; and validate and learn from one another's perspectives.
Metaphoric qualities of play	In play, participants' intuition and creativity come to the fore as they follow their hunches and impulses. Through imagination and non-literal thinking, players transform their immediate realities and create new kinds of social spaces in which to engage and interact.
Integrative qualities of play	In play, participants engage in holistic experiences in which there is a strong sense of connectedness to and among people and things; and participants make connections to people, ideas, events, resources and experiences beyond their situation.
Empowering qualities of play	In play, participants are able to rise above their perceived constraints and limitations, as play releases them from internal restrictions and conformity in intellectual and social settings.

These qualities resonate with our own understanding of social capital, insofar as they take account of relational environments in which play occurs, shared experiences and sharing of experiences, flexible and creative ways of thinking, integration of people, experiences and resources, and empowerment to overcome limitations and obstacles. These qualities therefore provide us with tools for examining how play enhances social capital for adult learners in institutional settings, as explained below.

Approach to our inquiry

Our adult education contexts in this inquiry

This paper is based on two different adult education contexts. First, author Pauline's context is a university early childhood preservice teacher education program. The subject under focus is about play in early childhood settings. Weekly classes ran for three hours. In the scenarios used in this paper, the class size was 20: 16 were school-leavers, three were mature-age students and one was an overseas exchange student from the USA.

Second, author John's context is in vocational education and training in a Technical and Further Education environment, delivering communication modules to groups of trade (building) students and general (Communication Skills) students. Weekly classes ran for two hours. Classes are taught in the daytime with generally younger students, not long out of school or just commencing work at entry level in the building industry or related trades; and in the evening with generally older students who are more established in the industry. Students are mostly from non-English speaking backgrounds, seeking to hone their English.

Using action research and self-study

Action research has been described as a problem-solving approach undertaken by practitioners in their workplace settings in order to improve the quality of their practices (McTaggart & Kemmis 1991). Using this approach, we moved through cyclical stages of planning, implementing and reflecting on our play experiences before planning our next step.

Our inquiry is also framed by self-study. According to Loughran and Northfield (1998: 15):

Self-study is best regarded as a sequence of reflective instances about your teaching. Reflection is a personal process of thinking, refining, reframing and developing actions. Self-study

takes these processes and makes them public, thus leading to another series of processes that need to reside outside the individual.

Action research and self-study were particularly relevant for both of us. Pauline has been a teacher for 25 years. Starting out as a teacher in the early school years, she moved on to teacher education in the tertiary sector. She sought to develop, apply and refine principles of learner-centred pedagogy to her adult education context – specifically, developing an integrated play-based pedagogy with adult learners.

John has been an adult educator for two years, following recent study at university. This period of adult learning was preceded by a 22-year career in another industry involving communicating with clients at a range of levels (from school children to Members of Parliament) to meet their information needs. He daily meets new teaching-learning situations that require him to seek, implement and reflect on teaching approaches that optimise adult learners' engagement.

Data collection and analysis

In our initial deliberations, we discussed how we might use play to foster social capital in our classes. We chose cooperative forms of play in which pretend, role-play, improvisation, playful activities and a playful mind-set were key components. We planned activities and materials that accommodated and encouraged adult learners' perspectives, choice, initiative, direction, dialogue, collaboration and involvement.

We gathered data through in-class observations of our adult learners' behaviours and interactions over the course of a teaching term. Pauline observed one three-hour class once a week over 13 weeks; and John similarly. We documented our observations as running records and anecdotal records. We verified these observations by talking about them with our adult learners. Dialogue was a key aspect as we

discussed our experiences and reflections with each other and made ongoing recourse to broader frames of theoretical reference about play and social capital and as we continued to hone our practices and interpret our observations.

We analysed our data in terms of seeking evidence of each play quality described in Figure 1:

- Relational qualities of play – we looked for evidence of learners' connectedness and synergy among one another, and conversations that were enthusiastic and responsive in both real and pretend interactions.
- Experiential qualities of play – we looked for evidence of learners engaging in shared activities, sharing their experiences with one another, being absorbed in their play activity, finding common ground, and pooling and comparing one another's perspectives.
- Metaphoric qualities of play – we looked for evidence of learners' creative thinking, imagination, readiness to suspend reality, flexibility, engaging with both real and pretend layers of meaning, and creating make-believe situations, roles and dialogue.
- Integrative qualities of play – we looked for evidence of learners making connections among people, events, people, ideas and resources, and connecting past, present and future times.
- Empowering qualities of play – we looked for evidence of learners talking about and rising above physical realities and perceived limitations, breaking away from conformity, and innovating, experimenting and exploring.

In our analysis, we also examined how each play quality contributed to social capital in our adult learning communities. Specifically we looked for evidence of community building that supports access, commitment to one another and their roles in their adult learning community, and bringing together collective experiences and understandings.

Findings

As we explore links between play and social capital, we focus on one play quality at a time to make some general observations on what we found. We relate these observations to the literature, as we did as our inquiry unfolded. We then illustrate these observations with specific scenarios from our classes.

Exploring relational qualities in play and their contribution to social capital

Synergy and a sense of fellow feeling are associated with relational qualities of play (Meares 2005, Melamed 1987). Conversations between our adult learners during play resonated with the kinds of conversations that catalyse adult learning (Baker, Jensen & Kolb 2002, in Baker 2006) – they showed enthusiasm, reflection, responsiveness, intent engagement and understanding. These conversations were both real and imaginary, especially in their pretend play and role-play. A sense of community building thus emerged (Göncü & Perone 2005).

To illustrate these findings, we draw on a scenario from John's communication class with building diploma students. The purpose was to illustrate the importance of builders listening to different messages from their advertisers, suppliers and general media messages.

Play occurs in an atmosphere created by another (Meares 2005) – in this case, the 'other' was the pretend persona of a maverick builder called Happy Joe Happy, adopted by John. As soon as John brought this persona into play, how John and the adult learners related to one another changed. At first, learners responded to ideas that John presented in role – such as some doubtful ideas about delivering value for money. Gradually more students joined in with comments directed to Happy Joe and one another – such as what constituted appropriate levels of customer service. Finding their place in the discussion, these learners cooperatively created a conversational

space in which they raised, shared and challenged workplace practices, experiences and perceptions.

In a follow-up class, John conducted a Geoffrey Robertson-style *Hypotheticals* discussion. He assigned pretend roles to members of the group as the discussion progressed – a WorkCover inspector, a young worker desperately seeking work to support a wife and young family, and a builder who 'does the right thing' and gets his insurance paperwork in, resulting in higher insurance premiums for honestly disclosing risk, and then being undercut by the dubious builder with lower overheads. Learners were asked to improvise by entering the discussion in these roles. Gradually the direction of the discussion changed – from one where initially the majority of the discussion participants supported the builder because of his apparent independent streak, to one where learners realised there were many other points of view and stakeholders in this discussion.

As these adult learners shifted perspectives in role and took ownership of the discussion, they became increasingly engrossed in relating to one another from different standpoints. As builders, these adult learners will find themselves dealing with people in different roles and relationships such as those they took on here – for example, foremen, clients, suppliers, contractors, regulation authorities, work-mates and so on. This observation highlights role-play as a way of promoting individuals' understanding of different roles, relationships and perspectives (Mead 1934), which assist effective interactions and networking experiences.

Exploring experiential qualities in play and their contribution to social capital

When our adult learners played in our classes, they were involved in collective experiences that they patently found enjoyable and engrossing – highlighting the experiential qualities of play as described by Melamed (1987). With everyone absorbed in the same activity, play seemed to help individuals overcome potential barriers

among them and appreciate diversity and flexibility – key attributes associated with effective learning communities and social capital (Flora 1998, in Kilpatrick, Field & Falk 2001, Flora, Flora & Wade 1996, in Baker 2006).

In their play, individuals contributed to common tasks, from which they collectively built understanding. We illustrate these findings in a scenario from John's Communication Skills Certificate III class. This class consisted entirely of non-English speaking background (NESB) learners, seeking to retrain as part of their re-settlement experience or hone their communication skills as part of having their overseas qualifications recognised in Australia.

John divided the class into three small groups. Each group was given an activity designed to encourage learners to use discussion and problem-solving skills studied in class to achieve the goals specific to each task. These activities involved children's picture books:

- *The Waterhole* (Base 2001) – this activity involved identifying camouflaged animals on a particular page and matching them to their miniature silhouettes in the borders of the same page. The purpose was to pool and corroborate sightings and resolve any differences in interpretations.
- *Mausis farben* (*Maisy's colours*) (Cousins 1997) – this picture book was presented in a German translation which no-one in the class could understand. The purpose was to reach agreement on the storyline in the book, making, testing and reviewing hypotheses against the backdrop of the group's experiences and insights.
- *Rosie's walk* (Hutchins 1968) – the words of this picture book tell of a hen's uneventful walk while the illustrations show a fox stalking her. The purpose was to share and contrast different points of view and resolve differences in order to reach consensus as to whether or not Rosie was aware of the fox.

All groups were observably and deeply engrossed in these activities and one another. Students' diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds provided for rich and enthusiastic sharing of ideas and experiences to solve the task at hand – bolstered by the playful nature and visual orientation of each activity. For example, groups solved the problem of decoding the words in *Mausis farben* by drawing on their collective knowledge about how picture books work, interpreting pictures and relating them to the words, and seeking analogies between English and German words such as 'braun' and 'brown'.

The experiential nature of this activity also alleviated pressures that these adult learners usually felt in relation to using English as their non-native language. They put their dictionaries to one side and were relatively uninhibited in using English in explaining their points of view to one another. This absence of an English language screen was supported by the playful nature of the activities and contrasted with John's observations of NESB speakers across other class situations.

Exploring metaphoric qualities in play and their contribution to social capital

In play, we found that adult learners' creativity came to the fore. They freely followed hunches and impulses and engaged with real and imagined situations, roles and ideas. They showed flexibility and willingness in taking on other people's points of view and accepting change, qualities which help foster social capital and effective learning communities (Flora, Flora & Wade 1996, in Baker 2006).

To illustrate these findings, we draw on an example from Pauline's class where preservice teachers began to change their lecture theatre into a movie and live drama theatre. Owing to a last-minute room change, Pauline found that the class had been re-scheduled in a tiered lecture room with fixed seating, minimal floor space, a video booth at the back, and a large screen and whiteboard at the front. This room limited her plans for a play-based pedagogy. Working with the teaching space and not against it, Pauline decided to use the

idea of a theatre to transform the lecture theatre into a movie and entertainment theatre.

To launch the movie theatre with the students, Pauline used a mind-map game and three theatre props – a torch, popcorn and a children's movie storybook – to stimulate whole class brainstorming of associations. Students willingly entertained and built on new ideas from one another and accepted uncertainty and change as their lines of thinking unfolded. Once the movie storybook was presented as the final prop, associations narrowed to movies and theatres and so the room's makeover was begun.

In small group follow-up, students continued to collude on ways to use the movie theatre to frame their team presentations. Initially, Pauline asked students to design movie posters – a popular culture genre with which they were all familiar and which was modelled and brainstormed before going into small groups. Pauline asked students to think of movie titles and taglines for their presentations, and come up with a visual design that would best capture the essence of their subject material about play in the curriculum.

Students exceeded expectations as they stretched themselves. Their ideas flowed freely as they created titles, tag lines and visual designs. They explored other aspects of their presentations – such as play-based techniques and props they could use and role-plays they could set up. Their heightened engagement was evident in their enthusiastic planning of their presentations, overheard in comments like 'I'm so inspired', and the fact that some students actually went home that day and had sleepovers so they could continue planning their presentations.

As the weeks ensued and students developed and gave their presentations, Pauline and students alike maintained ongoing complicity in the imaginary re-creation of their shared adult learning space. Such complicity was critical in nurturing a sense of community and support amongst them all.

Exploring integrative qualities of play and their contribution to social capital

In the kinds of play provided in our classes, there was an emphasis on holistic experiences. Our adult learners made connections among experiences, people and resources, past, present and future, in their real and imagined worlds. Making these connections was akin to what Meares (2005, p. 165) described in play as individuals weaving the 'skeins' of their ideas and imaginings. We found a deep resonance between this integrative aspect of play and social capital in adult education. Social capital also is embedded in connections among people, resources and events that assist learners in moving forward. In this we saw the principle of interconnectivity at work (Falk *et al.* 2000) in helping to engender a sense of learning community.

To illustrate these aspects of play and social capital, we have chosen a scenario from Pauline's preservice teacher education class, which followed on from developing the theatre metaphor previously described. A group of students gave their presentation on the use of play in the creative arts curriculum. They chose to explore this topic from three theoretical perspectives and devised a role-play script that they enacted. The role-play took the form of a panel discussion among three theoretical experts, and an early childhood teacher seeking professional advice on how experts engage her pupils more effectively in creative arts lessons.

These adult learners enthusiastically embraced role-play and adopted a play mindset in which they integrated different points of view across time and place. They made connections to and among people, ideas, experiences and resources beyond their group. In so doing, these students reached out to technologies, resources and people in the field to inform and assist their presentation:

- They incorporated DVD and Powerpoint technologies to support their presentation, calling on information technology expertise and material resources outside their group to support their own collaborative creation of a DVD and a Powerpoint display.

- They researched the perspectives of three theoreticians and compared and contrasted what each had to say about play. They transformed this research into a scripted role-play that they acted out and which brought to life complex and often subtle similarities and differences among the three perspectives.
- They connected theory to practice by connecting ‘experts’ with a ‘teacher’ with whom they engaged in dialogue, reflection and demonstration of practically and theoretically informed ideas for the classroom.
- They connected with their audience, as they co-opted their peers to join in the demonstrations of activities and related to them as fellow teachers.
- They connected the past, present and future. The ‘Star Wars’ device made a clear popular culture reference to their past experiences of this film. They also reached into the historical past of theoreticians who still have a presence in the field of early childhood education; and they connected these past experiences and ideas to the present context of their role-plays and their future careers as teachers.

Exploring empowering qualities of play and their contribution to social capital

It has been written that play releases individuals from internal restrictions and conformity and allows them to reach beyond perceived constraints and limitations (Melamed 1987). We found evidence of such empowerment in our classes, where play provided a zone in which individuals were heads taller than themselves (Vygotsky 1978). The relevance here to social capital in adult learning is having the confidence and know-how to reach within oneself to realise latent capabilities, as well as to reach beyond one’s immediate situation and access other people and resources, to the benefit of the individual and the group.

Reflecting on this connection, we explore below a scenario in which play was used to mediate an assessment task in John’s class with

Communication Skills students. The activity’s focus was to use and reflect on group processes for resolving workplace conflict and meeting deadlines. John cast the assessment task as a role-play that required cooperation and individual accountability. In so doing, he reduced the adult learners’ sense of risk that they often feel when performing an assessment task. These adult learners were encouraged to stretch themselves by the playfulness of their activity and support of their fellow learners.

The role-play was given on the students’ arrival. They took on roles of team members who were to complete a report on their undertaking for a third party, with a set deadline. The report would determine the future fate of the team’s own company, seeing the company close if the deadline was not met. The team appreciated its importance but one team member, enacted by John, thwarted their efforts. This recalcitrant team member habitually came late to team meetings, had not done what he said or was asked to do, continued to make excuses for his failure to honour his team responsibilities and workplace commitments, and showed difficulty in meeting deadlines and contributing to the overall goal of the team.

Two very different ways of resolving this issue emerged in the role-play, with significant consequences for the team and the errant team member. In light of these consequences and the lively discussion that followed, these adult learners were provoked into carefully reviewing their respective positions – safe in the knowledge that play provides flexibility and empowered by the freedom that play affords. The eventual consensus was to both assist the individual and honour the corporate deadline.

In play, one thing leads to another – and this scenario was no exception. With this consensus reached, John introduced the students to the role of Employee Assistance Programs (EAP) in the workplace. The relevance of EAP in this context was clear to all in both the immediate pretend situation and ultimately, these adult learners’

workplace futures. They asked John for an adjournment to investigate the roles of EAPs. In so doing, they reached beyond their group to access new knowledge and helpful resources that would assist them in their learning and chosen careers. They did so with an inquiring mind and a critical eye. Empowerment afforded by play provoked these adult learners to step up to the mark, interrogate the situation at hand, and consider and review key perspectives and stakeholders, even while completing an assessment task.

Conclusions

Acknowledging the early stages of our inquiry, any conclusions we make must be tentative. However, we do see indications that play in adult learning can contribute to nurturing social capital by fostering adult learning communities that support and promote access to information and resources relevant to learning goals and aspirations. In Figure 2, we state our conclusions about each play quality in terms of principles associated with social capital (italicised in this figure).

Figure 2: Conclusions about how qualities of play contribute to social capital

Play qualities	Conclusions
Relational qualities	<p>Relational qualities of play contributed to social capital by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • creating <i>conversational spaces</i> that saw enthusiasm, understanding, reflection, action and genuine engagement among adult learners • inviting and nurturing <i>dialogue</i> among adult learners • involving <i>cooperation</i> of adult learners with one another • engaging adult learners in <i>sharing, corroborating</i> and <i>reviewing</i> ideas and experiences with one another • enhancing <i>reciprocity and trust</i> among adult learners

Experiential qualities	<p>Experiential qualities of play contributed to social capital by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • engaging adult learners in <i>shared</i> hands-on engagement, enjoyment, absorption and active participation • inviting adult learners to bring their own experiences to bear and <i>share</i> with one another • providing experiences where <i>flexibility, diversity and inclusivity</i> of ideas and people were valued • breaking down potential barriers among adult learners and enticing them into finding <i>common ground and shared understandings</i>
Metaphoric qualities	<p>Metaphoric qualities of play contributed to social capital by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • providing adult learners with an <i>approach to cooperative action</i> • helping adult learners bond with one another through <i>collusion</i> on ideas they <i>cooperatively constructed</i> • opening up avenues of <i>collective thought and intellectual corroboration</i> by valuing intuitive thinking, and following hunches and streams of consciousness • encouraging <i>flexibility and creativity</i> with a willingness to entertain and build on new ideas from one another and accept change
Integrative qualities	<p>Integrative qualities of play contributed to social capital by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • providing holistic experiences where adult learners made <i>connections</i> to and among people, ideas, experiences and resources beyond their group • engendering a sense of <i>interconnectivity</i> amongst adult learners and their past, present and future experiences and aspirations • providing opportunity for adult learners to <i>weave together</i> the skeins of their ideas, experiences and imaginings
Empowering qualities	<p>Empowering qualities of play contributed to social capital by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • providing a means for the group to <i>collectively transform and transcend</i> immediate shared realities and look beyond their immediate communal situation • creating a zone where adult learners <i>reached beyond</i> their actual capacities and worked towards their potential • encouraging adult learners to reach beyond their group to <i>access other people and resources</i>

These qualities of play were seen to foster learning by enriching adult learners' engagement, cooperation and sense of connectedness with one another as well as with people, resources and information beyond their group. These conclusions are supported by the literature on which we have drawn and warrant further investigation. Further inquiry needs to continue to document the specific details of play's contribution to social capital, along with adult learners' perspectives of this relationship, and any carry-over effects and benefits to other adult learning situations. Also of interest in this line of inquiry are the bridges adult educators may build from play to other kinds of adult learning approaches, and the role that reflective dialogue between adult educators and learners may have in building such bridges.

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Adult education, social inclusion and cultural diversity in regional communities

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This article presents the outcomes of recent research into adult education programs and experiences in the Shire of Campaspe, a region in northern Victoria. Research data of people from diverse cultural backgrounds reveal how individuals can utilise adult education as a space to explore their own social and cultural isolation in a regional context. The research reveals patterns of migration, internal population mobility, social isolation and cultural identity within the context of this one regional shire. The article discerns the roles that adult education providers play in creating specific kinds of space for people to discover new social networks while interacting with informal and formal structures and processes of adult learning. Adult education programs and practices can play an important role in providing space for the exploration of social, cultural and economic experiences. However, individual adult education organisations manage their spaces and programs in such