Mā te ora ka mōhio / 'Through life there is learning'

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In our final paper we reflectively stand back and ask, 'What do we know and what have we learnt about lifelong learning in later life from the international Getting of Wisdom Exchange program and process, including the research papers in this volume? In critically addressing this question we draw not only on new insights from the papers in this themed volume and the wider literature of lifelong and later life learning, but also on insights from Indigenous knowledge(s). We sense an ideal opportunity to reflect on our insights into Indigenous learning and eldership in Australia and New Zealand to go beyond what research is actually included in this volume. In part, what we do is ask what voices, pedagogies and research tends not to be included here, that is also missing in most mainstream Western research, that typically seeks universal 'truths' about learning through peer reviewed scientific perspectives and methods. We certainly do not regard learning shaped and re-shaped by governments through neoliberal and conservative discourses as the only or last word. We have chosen the ancient te reo Māori words, Mā te ora ka mōhio / 'Through life there is learning' as the title for our paper to emphasise that lifelong learning is an ancient and wise construct that regards life and learning as inseparable and mutually reinforcing.

Introduction

The intention of our final, joint paper is to ask, 'What have we learnt and can conclude internationally from the Getting of Wisdom (GOW) Exchange about lifelong learning in later life?' While we make reference to parts of the collaboratively developed, final 'Exchange Statement' in italicised text and cited as GOW (2017) throughout this paper, we also draw on methodologies, findings and insights from all of the papers in this volume as well as the wider and related international research literature. We point to several of many lacunae: we pay attention to what is missing in this volume and the wider body of research about learning across the life-course that has informed our thinking. Formosa (2014:14-15) points to three such lacunae in current European lifelong learning policies, retaining original italics.

> *First, a neo-liberal construction of later life where 'public issues' are projected as 'private troubles'. … Second, constraining productive ageing solely to the sphere of paid employment. … And finally, policies' exclusion of older persons located in the fourth age.*

To these we add a fourth and fifth lacunae that we are keen to make visible in this volume: that there is *a dearth of research that accounts for the important role eldership plays in intergenerational and family learning, especially for Indigenous peoples.* Finally, as Burke and Jackson (2007:215) put it, there is *too little research into the practices at play within formal learning institutions [that] create a barrier to the recognition and valuing of learning that takes place outside of formal contexts.*

The eleven papers in this volume are truly antipodean, originating from a total of fifteen researchers in six European countries in the geographic North, as well as from Australia and New Zealand in the geographic South. While several later life learning contexts chosen for study are social and informal, including through community Men's Sheds, knitting circles and through informal learning in other community settings, others focus on more organised or formal later life learning:

through University of the Third Age (U3A), work, adult and community education, vocational education and training as well as university. What is common to most papers is that they draw mainly on and analyse the experience of older learners as co-participants in a social activity or in a community setting. The data and insights have typically been collected from participants either through case study, program evaluation, interview or survey, ethnography or auto-ethnography.

One common theme that runs through many of the papers is that lifelong learning is not only empowering and transformational by meeting the diverse and sometimes different personal, social and well-being needs of older adults, but also enables people to give back to the community and to society across generations. While the Polish paper in this same volume features just one case study of an older Polish migrant in Sweden, the paper's conclusion that ageing is part of the process of forming and transforming identities that are re/constructed through lifelong and life-wide learning is a significant, common theme.

As researchers in later life learning we take several collective value positions about knowledge and power, first articulated in Western thought as 'knowledge is power' (*scientia potestas est*) by Francis Bacon in 1597, and most recently reworked by Michel Foucault as a comprehensive poststructuralist critique of the humanist subject. For Foucault, lifelong learning would bring a new technology of power and a mechanism to control operating in society to make it function smoothly - *omnes et singulatim*, resolving the individual and the society (Olssen, 2006). Freedom and participation are connected; learning is exercised through problem solving, and the '... individual participates and contributes to the collective good of society and in the process constitutes their own development' (Olssen, 2006:225). Olssen cites Foucault's opinion (Foucault, in Olssen, 2006) that the creation and development of knowledge embraces unbelievable power, equivalent to physical power. Knowledge is not a cognitive abstraction but a social practice, meant to reinforce action and participation. But power and knowledge are mostly in hands of a minority, whose understandings, through language and speech, are imposed on the majority. When children learn to speak, they accept the underpinning knowledge and culture of the society in which they live. Foucault's comprehensions are very important for adult education, because they increase awareness of marginalization and stereotyping in society and help with the insight,

that organized education is a part of institutionalisation and decision-making. Hemphill (2001) quoting Foucault, considers that education can be either empowering or disempowering, sometimes even both. All forms of organization of knowledge are the result of power relations (Hemphill, 2001:26-27). Yet the practice of adult education shows that power relations (for example, setting goals, planning programs, ways of teaching) are among the most influential factors for retaining social inequalities and injustice. However few theoreticians and practitioners in the field of adult education critically assess the influences of education on re-establishing power relations in society, or the influences of power relations on educational practice. Critical theories of education, oriented to social structures, emphasise the differences between individually oriented theories in the field of adult education and more critically based social theories.

As authors we believe in lifelong learning, not because of an objective, universal 'truth' that applies in the same way in all settings and contexts, but because collectively *believing* in the power of learning through life enables us to do new things: to transform identities, to cooperate and communicate effectively regardless of age, culture and place, and to forge better societies. As such, learning is integrally related to community; participation and learning are by their very nature social. The learner is a part of a process of action '... for change as part of a dialogic encounter rather than as a consequence of individual choice' (Olssen 2006:225). Such learning is connected to democracy through deliberation and contestation, participation and engagement, through which learning becomes a constitutive democratic project.

It is important that we also collectively acknowledge and reflect on the increasingly important contribution of the deep, wise and ancient learning cultures of both Aboriginal and Māori societies to contemporary lifelong learning in Australia and New Zealand respectively, and we would argue also to Western discourses about education and learning. Many world nations have similarly important Indigenous peoples but their voices and wisdom are often missing and seldom heard or reflected in mainstream debates in research and literature about lifelong learning. As an example, whilst Aspin, Chapman, Evans and Bagnall's (2012) *Second international handbook of lifelong learning* seeks in its 45 chapters to undertake a critical re-appraisal of the theme of 'lifelong learning', its contributors and

contributions are almost totally silent about the nature and importance of Indigenous lifelong learning.

Jared Diamond, in his transdisciplinary *Guns germs and steel* (1997:17), described Australia as being '... the last continent to be occupied by Europeans. Until then, it had supported the most distinctive human societies, and the least numerous human population, of any continent.' With more than 250 separate Indigenous Australian nations and languages across a continent that the colonising British conveniently regarded as 'empty' through the legal figment of *terra nullius* ('no-one's land') in 1770 - less than 250 years ago, there is much Indigenous knowledge and wisdom that has been lost but also much to learn from and regain. While New Zealand was somewhat more fortunate in at least securing a treaty in 1840 as British sovereignty was declared over Aotearoa, elders in both modern nations are fighting contemporary resistance struggles to reclaim Indigenous learning, language, land and knowledge.

It is in these two still contested, neo-colonial contexts that we gathered for the Getting of Wisdom Exchange at '*... a relatively pessimistic and arguably unenlightened time in terms of global equity and justice*' (GOW, 2017). Many contemporary issues such as widening social inequality, however, are not new, but are persistent and becoming even more obvious. Mayo (2003:42) affirmed fifteen years ago that then current societies were characterised by a:

> *... scenario of mass impoverishment in various parts of the world caused by the ruthless dismantling of social programs, the ever widening gap between North and South ... the constant rape of the earth ... for profit, besides the persistence of structures of oppression in terms of class, gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality and ability.*

In the context of the GOW Exchange, we regard age as one of many factors causing societies to be divided and split. Older people are not always regarded as an equally important part of their communities, being able to or even being invited to influence decision-making. Many groups of adults are socially, culturally or economically deprived (and/or experience such deprivation), most often because of shared characteristics that deviate from dominant and desired social characteristics in space and time. Deviating characteristics are mostly

the result of different life manners, cultural praxis, ethnicity, gender, age and social class, but they could also be a result of different gender orientations or beliefs. These characteristics are mostly accompanied by poverty, unemployment, lower levels of formal education, language difficulties, lack of information and lack of access to informational technology. Older people, and particularly Indigenous people, could be and often are in this group. Importantly, each of these characteristics including age is more a symptom of active marginalisation and disempowerment rather than deficit.

Our intention in this GOW series of conferences and accompanying dialogue was:

> *... to share research, to discuss and develop ideas, share evidence and inspirational stories of older adults learning and identify spaces and places for encouraging and celebrating the wider value of learning. (GOW, 2017)*

The Getting of Wisdom statement (GOW, 2017) cited throughout this paper was developed and agreed on through a process of collective writing and editing involving email and document exchange between all participants post the Exchange events. A series of drafts led to the final statement and recommendations being formally approved in April 2017 by both Adult Learning Australia and ACE Aotearoa as both the main Exchange sponsors, and the national adult education peak bodies in Australia and New Zealand respectively.

Lifelong learning versus lifelong education – a way to deal with conference issues

Since antiquity onward adult education has been aimed at intellectual, spiritual, ethical and aesthetic development of the individual and an understanding of the social essence. Education has often been linked to social movements, founding and retaining social justice and the development of communities. Adult education often followed socially critical and radical ideas for increasing equality amongst people, especially marginalised social groups who could use the newly acquired knowledge to obtain greater power and influence (Jelenc Krašovec, 2012:84). Today, adult education is too often understood narrowly as a key economic good for ensuring prosperity of a country or nation. However within the context of the GOW conferences in 2017, we saw

this as a problem. We contend that in Western countries a critical discourse is necessary to speak back to the prevailing neoliberal project. Due to these neoliberal influences, educational policies are more in favour of strengthening the economic power of the state, and less in favour of preserving education as a public good, or as a factor essential to the maintenance of a democratic welfare state (Olssen, Codd & O'Neill, 2004; Olssen, 2006; Hega & Hokenmaier, 2002). With a widespread disintegration of community values and an increasing emphasis on individualism, we are currently diminishing the enlightening influence of not only general adult education, but also the quality and dignity of human existence, equality and justice.

Our GOW discussions dealt with the idea of lifelong learning (LLL), which appeared over a century ago in Western intellectual traditions. We identify three broad generations of the LLL concept (Jelenc Krašovec, 2012:86; Rubenson, 2006:329). The first generation fits broadly into the 1970s, and was denoted by the humanist tradition and an optimistic orientation; educating for a civil society was important as were the endeavours for an improved quality of life and smaller educational, social and economic differences between people. The second generation of LLL appeared because of economic, mainly human capital, imperatives during the 1980s, when an increase in unemployment, lower production and other factors placed the OECD states in a more insecure position in relation to the rest of the world. The discussions about LLL thus took on political and economic dimensions, for through learning there was a view that individuals could and would adjust to the society and to the changes that were taking place. An important milestone in the development and fulfilment of the LLL idea was represented by the 1996 OECD report: *Lifelong learning for all* (OECD, 1996), which in retrospect represented a shift away from humanism and idealism in adult education and the beginning of the neoliberal period (Illeris, 2004:29). At this point at a political level, the LLL concept was less about humanistic and idealistic concepts, for example informal adult education, lifewide learning, enlightenment of the people and active citizenship, and more about international competitiveness for those in paid work.

In the *'third LLL generation'* (Rubenson 2006:329), learning processes became subject to a reduction in the use of government sources and a simultaneous introduction of vast structural reforms aimed at improving

the conditions for lifelong learning as defined by the free market, which consequentially lead to a neglect of social and individual problems. Ever greater socio-economic differences, exclusion and marginalisation became evident; this is a period in which (in part because of intense criticisms) the economic aspects started to soften slightly and various political documents started to include the social aspects and not merely 'human capital'. As stated in numerous documents adopted under the European Community and OECD (such as the Lisbon strategy and the Memorandum on lifelong learning), LLL is defined as the key strategy for achieving a knowledge-based society (or market economy). In the third generation the individual was seen as largely responsible for his/her own education. Rubenson (2006:328) calls these changes 'the colonialization of the adult education field', in which the LLL concept caused the decline of the welfare state by reconstructing citizenship as the individual's responsibility for economic development (Rubenson, 2004: 29-31).

However, education is perceived as a private and public good, thus also a social obligation. As a private good it is a market good (the interest is money, position and personal growth), while as a public good it has a number of dimensions – it develops a moral, ethical, social, cultural and political awareness of all citizens, and at the same time adds to the efficient performance of democratic processes (Olssen, Codd & O'Neill, 2004:148). The needs of individuals and social needs often differ one from another, however they come the closest at the level of community. Community education, which has had a long tradition in developed countries, is especially exposed in to cuts in funding during tight economic situations, despite their positive influences and buffering effects during periods of social and economic change, including on quality of life, personal growth, improved interpersonal relations and solidarity. Establishing and preserving a fertile public sphere remains the central task of civil community adult education. Part of this task, we argue, will involve reviving the importance of communities that encourages diversity in values, norms and institutions, promotes informal learning and strengthens the civil society. We regard older adults as being in an ideal situation to lead rather than follow in this revival.

Looking at later life learning through the perspective of the Getting of Wisdom Exchange, it is evident that despite learning in later life constituting a relatively new field of research from a Western perspective, the origins, traditions and practices of lifelong learning

go back much earlier, being evident and still present in life and many communities throughout the world, particularly in many Indigenous cultures where lifelong learning was intergenerational and essential for survival. Again and again we saw and heard during the GOW Exchange that learning and life are inseparable in a wide range of Indigenous and national contexts for people of any age; that learning is not all about work, but that it is lifelong (across all ages) and lifewide (across all domains of life). We argue on this basis that a starting approach to learning generally, and to later life learning in particular, should as much or more be about empowering and enabling seniors in diverse social and community contexts and much less (or sometimes nothing to do) with standardized curriculum and formal teaching.

Our main Conference focus was associated with lifelong learning derived from a progressive and humanistic tradition of adult education (Knowles, 1984), which can be traced to the early 1970s (particularly the work of Illich, Lengrad, Freire and the UNESCO report *Learning to be* (Schugurensky & Myers, 2003). This tradition, which re-emerged during 1990s, emphasised expressive forms of learning/education without losing sight of instrumental and vocational aspects of life. While for some, this tradition individualises collective political movements, promotes competition and excludes marginalized groups, for others it has a liberating and transformative potential (*ibid*.). To have a transformative potential, it should be an inclusive, holistic and critical learning project. Elliot (2000, in Schugurensky & Myers, 2003) argues that such a project has a great potential to encourage critical awareness, political skills and civic participation in formal institutions and in informal settings, encouraging social movements and political activism). Similarly, Aspin and Chapman (2000, in *ibid*.) define lifelong learning as a public good for the benefit and welfare of everyone in society.

As being a part of the Getting of Wisdom Exchange, we agree with a revival of this age-old tradition, and see lifelong learning in a wider and deeper way, as a socially active public good for all.

Learning through later life

Given all of the above, it would be unwise and naïve of us to conclude about the nature and availability of later life learning and research internationally just on the basis of the papers in this volume or on our collective experience as researchers. Findsen and Formosa

(2016:509) noted that even the diversity of later life learning across the 50 independent states in Europe defies any simple categorisation. Extrapolating from the 42 national older adult education case studies documented in Findsen and Formosa's recent international book to all 195 world nations is impossible. While we acknowledge that older adults globally experience diverse material and political conditions, and that their heterogeneity makes it problematic to make too many generalizations (Findsen, 2005), we do know that the proportion of older adults in the world population is increasing rapidly and the proportions of seniors who experience poverty, limited autonomy and very few prospects for positive engagement in worthwhile learning are expanding too.

We return to Jarvis (2001) in his relatively early and perceptive book, *Learning in later life.* Jarvis noted that:

> *We all learn from our experiences and these occur in social situations; other people are part of the process of creating these experiences in interaction with the learner ... Those who work with older adults should understand the intentional, and more significantly the unintentional learning that occurs as a result of their interactions with them.* (p.14)

Almost two decades ago when Jarvis penned these words, many of the 'more traditional forms of non-vocational adult education' (Jarvis, 2001:5) as well as general adult education, and particularly the 'more radical formulations of adult education' (*ibid.*), had already become marginalized in late adulthood. Population aging since in almost all nations of the world has created an increasingly ageing demographic of adults beyond paid work. And yet, as Jarvis succinctly put it, 'We all have to learn to be free in a world that lies beyond work' (*ibid.*:74), learning to develop 'new identities after retirement - both personal and social' (*ibid.*:75). And yet the language we continue use to describe these processes, including retirement, is antiquated and unhelpful. As a very recently formally 'retired' professor put it in one of her keynote presentations during the Exchange, 'I have spent much of my working life tired and I am not seeking to be re-tired afterwards'.

While developments in older adulthood, as in any other part of the life course, are inevitably influenced by globalization and neo-liberal contexts in many countries, this trend is counter-acted by attention

within societies to make strong claims for local distinctiveness and autonomy, typically exhibited in informal learning spaces.

We also acknowledged that:

> *The two nations hosting the European exchange (Australia and New Zealand/Aotearoa) have only relatively recently begun to acknowledge, celebrate and learn from their rich, diverse and vibrant Indigenous and European ways of being and knowing after centuries of very recent and often painful colonization. These elements of Indigenous Eldership formed important strands in the Exchange program. All events deliberately included, embedded and actively involved local, community and Indigenous people, knowledge and places. (GOW, 2017)*

Yet the marginalisation of Indigenous peoples, particularly their elders in a neo-liberal world, is persistent. The United Nations estimates that there are over 370 million Indigenous people living in over 70 countries worldwide (WHO, 2007). Whilst this equates to just six per cent of the total world population it includes at least 5,000 distinct peoples, many of whose people and elders have effectively become refugees in and beyond their own lands. It is possible to assert that within all world nations, oppressed and marginalised groups (Freire, 1984), including Indigenous peoples across much of Africa, Asia, Oceania and the America are more likely than 'mainstream' peoples to be disenfranchised from formal education.

It is easy to forget that many of the same issues of colonisation and cultural and linguistic hegemony continue to impact not only within most countries across Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America but also within many 'modern' nation states included in this volume, including Ireland, the UK, Sweden, Aotearoa / New Zealand and Australia. By looking at older adult education beyond the 'usual' Western nations, Findsen and Formosa (2016) found widespread evidence internationally of the ascendancy of Western views leading to widespread subjugation of local and Indigenous knowledge(s). In most world nations revival and intergenerational appreciation of both Indigenous knowledge and national culture depends heavily on the wisdom and knowledge of elders. In essence, as many papers in this volume suggest, we have much to learn as researchers from listening and attending to the knowledge(s) and wisdom of Elders, particularly

how, where and what knowhow older people already have.

Conference agreement

As a result of our deliberations on the evidence and insights, Exchange participants produced and agreed on the following Conference Agreement:

- We walk in the steps of our ancestors and Elders whilst plotting new learning landscapes.

- We call on governments to invest more in lifelong and lifewide learning opportunities for older people. These learning opportunities would help people stay connected to others: keep minds, bodies and spirits active; and provide younger generations with an opportunity to learn from older generations.

- It is time to use research evidence to highlight the benefits of learning in later life.

- There is a pressing need to counter the relative invisibility of older people in lifelong learning initiatives and to influence the state, particularly around issues pertaining to later life learning and education. (GOW, 2017)

These assertions are not to be interpreted as unique to our deliberations but were certainly accentuated in dialogue. Many of the proclamations about "active ageing" and "successful adjustment" to achieve a fulfilling life, already abundant in emergent literature, were reinforced as significant drivers for later life satisfaction.

Getting of Wisdom participants concurred that now is a critically important time to:

- acknowledge the increasingly important role of governments in facilitating, funding, supporting and resourcing later life learning/ education, including beyond paid work, and

- build recognition of evidence for the huge value of learning in later life to individuals, families, communities, society and democracy. (GOW, 2017)

Participants were in unanimous agreement that:

1. *Older adults generally have the capacity and interest to learn new things and to develop their skills and competencies. Central to this yearning is their need to engage in useful, productive, and social activities that contribute to their communities and to their social environment. Consequentially, learning opportunities should be combined with productive and socially embedded activities that offer older adults multiple opportunities to develop and share their existing interests, abilities, skills and wisdom.*

2. *Older adults have an immense amount of life experience at their command and must be recognized and valued as conveyors of knowledge and as a resource of wisdom and eldership. Elders are not only the bearers of traditional values, cultural knowledge and contemporary witnesses of historical events. They are also experienced problem-solvers, in many cases endowed with rich social skills, and usually very willing to contribute to the societies and communities in which they live. Therefore, we recommend cherishing and valuing their knowledge and capabilities by opening up new possibilities for them to share their abilities, both with their peers and inter-generationally in their communities and societies. (GOW, 2017)*

We identified:

> *… a need to challenge and change[1] attitudes to later life learning, which have been based on an outdated model that has sidelined older people's need for learning once they leave the workforce. We conclude that with widespread population ageing worldwide, this model requires radical and urgent overhaul.*
>
> *For many older people there is evidence of both a desire and necessity to continue paid employment for longer and to freely share their wisdom and skills inter-generationally and often informally. This, we argue, calls for a profound reassessment of attitudes to later life and the phase of 'decline' and 'older adult education'. Moreover, we acknowledge that an increasing vitality of people in later life is often coupled with a desire for mental engagement in further learning, education and voluntary contributions to society. (GOW, 2017)*

Exchange participants identified three principal challenges for older people on their final statement (noting that several of these challenges have previously been teased out in Cooper, Field, Goswami, Jenkins & Sahakian, 2010:33). In particular:

- *learning to remain as independent and as well as possible in diverse contexts at any age.*

- *tapping into and acknowledging the wisdom of Elders and their ancestors.*

- *sharing and acquiring knowledge, skills and wisdom inter-generationally. (GOW, 2017)*

Participants finally agreed upon an assertion of rights and benefits, consistent with the notion articulated in Findsen (2005:140) *'... that learning by older adults is an essential element of living and that educational provision should be justified as a basic human right. Age should have nothing to do with one's access to education'* (GOW, 2017). There was also agreement about the need for a wider recognition of inter-generational learning *'... as part of a fuller range of opportunities for (older) adults'* (GOW, 2017) consistent with international research findings on older adult education from 42 world nations/regions documented in Findsen and Formosa (2016) and researched in Europe by Schmidt-Hertha, Jelenc Krašovec and Formosa (2014).

The following Getting of Wisdom statements point to further serious considerations of most societies across the globe:

1. *We assert that older people have the right to self-determination, which includes the right to opportunities for adult learning and community education. The right to self-determination underpins the right to health and wellbeing that celebrates the value, dignity and significant contributions of older people to the life of the community. In solidarity with all generations, older people have a rightful place in the heart of community life. Learning at all ages and stages improves relationships between generations and makes societies more cohesive.*

2. *As ageing connects past, present and the future and is a lifelong process, we assert that ageing encounters and reflects the life-course of the individual and the social context. Today's youth will be tomorrow's adults and elders, which reminds us to appreciate*

that many different aspects of learning are important for the development of the individual and communities. Enlightenment, learning and education of all generations are crucial for our common future.

3. *Research evidence confirms that older people who continue to learn, formally or informally are more independent, socially connected and confident. We assert that later life learning helps people remain productive in the community and the workforce, improves health and wellbeing, and reduces social isolation and loneliness. (GOW, 2017)*

Conclusion

We conclude that the three conferences and associated field trips and sustained debate across the two host countries as part of the GOW Exchange form part of the broader need to continue challenging taken-for-granted assumptions about the capabilities of older members of our societies. The visitors from Europe provided rich additional insights not attainable from "down-under" perspectives alone. In our final Conference statement we argued that

Learning about our physical, intellectual and social interconnectedness is becoming increasingly relevant internationally in view of global demographic trends, such as global warming and nuclear proliferation.

We are growing short of patience for the reluctance of governments to take heed of population restructuring and the concomitant need to invest in and learn from older generations for the betterment of whole nations. There is too much unfinished business for anyone to be complacent about the urgency required for resolution of issues in later life that can be addressed by informed adult educators and supporters.

To conclude our article, aside from making statements, we made what we regard as four important normative recommendations (GOW, 2017):

1. *It would be timely and beneficial for national governments to formally investigate and make recommendations about acknowledging and encouraging later life learning through*

research, policy and practice. We acknowledge diversity within older age groups and a wide variety of different learning and gender groups. Accordingly, we recommend more research into the use of different methods, sources, contexts and approaches to older adult learning.

2. While we continue to advocate for lifelong learning (where informal learning is acknowledged as important), we recommend that this does not absolve the state from providing opportunities for learning/education for later life in more diverse and accessible ways. In particular, marginalised sub-populations of older people including people with disabilities in the Fourth Age (of dependency) and from diverse linguistic cultural backgrounds should be given higher priority.

3. Wherever there are First Nations people, we recommend that nations have a responsibility to ensure maintenance and intergenerational transmission of eldership and knowledge, particularly by traditional and First Nation owners and Elders as ongoing custodians of their nations, lands, languages and cultures.

4. We recommend further financial and logistical support for research that focuses on older adults and intergenerational learning at a national and international level. Cooperation in such research at a global level will allow efficient sharing and synthesis of insights and perspectives from researchers in diverse contexts. (GOW, 2017)

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