



Jost Reischmann (ed):

**“On Becoming an Adult Educator -
historical and contemporary aspects”**

**Papers presented at the
11th Standing International Conference
on the
History of Adult Education**

**Bamberg, Germany
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Introduction - and Results

This conference in Bamberg, Germany, September 27-30, 2006 was part of an ongoing series of conferences dealing with the history of adult education. These were the preceding conferences:

Standing International Conference on the History of Adult Education		
1986	Oxford/Great Britain	
1988	Aachen/Germany	The State and Adult Education
1990	Jerusalem/Israel	Adult Education in Crisis Situations
1992	Strobl/Austria	National Identity and Adult Education
1994	Brdo/Slovenia	Democracy and Adult Education
1996	Jena/Germany	Personality and Biography in the History of Adult Education
1998e	Dundee/Scotland	The Rise and Fall of Adult Education Institutions and Social Movements
2000	Pécs/Hungary	Ethics, Ideals, and Ideologies in the History of Adult Education
2002	Leiden/Netherlands	Adult Education and Globalisation: Past and Present
2005	Helsinki/Finland	Lifelong Learning and Migration: Historical and contemporary perspectives
2006	Bamberg/Germany	On becoming an Adult Educator

The focus "On Becoming an Adult Educator – historical, contemporary, institutionalized, individual aspects" opened a wide range of questions:

One root of this conference theme can be seen in the 1996-history-conference in Jena, Germany, exploring the theme "Personality and Biography in the History of Adult Education", dealing with personalities (internationally well-known or just of regional/local influence), their biography, influence, and legacy. In our conference historic personalities can be researched under the specific focus:

- How did important (historic) personalities / individuals "became adult educators"?

- What was their understanding of "adult education"?
- How did their surrounding "world" then (and perhaps now) perceive their activities?
- Volunteers, "Moonlighters", moral leaders, knowledge-experts, (semi-)professionals - historic examples and developments.
- In which different ways in different times/countries/cultures one became an "Adult Educator"?
- Are there / had there been different types / categories of adult educators?
- How did the role of adult educators develop in institutions?

A second aspect this conference deals with the *contemporary* situation of adult educators:

- What is the knowledge / the competencies / the attitudes expected from adult educators in different historic and contemporary movements / institutions / traditions?
- What are individual growth- and learning processes adult educators go through?
- Education of Adult Educators: What training schemes are available?
- Certification of adult educators?
Is an adult educator a teacher? Professional roles of adult educators.
- What can be trained, what is "personality"?

Of course not all these questions could be answered. But the papers and discussions showed a richness of aspects to "on becoming an Adult Educator".

A grounded summary of the conference certainly needs more time and space to prepare. But at least three observations and results shall be summarized here:

First: The participants came from 24 different countries, including Hong Kong, India, Israel, Nigeria, Russia and the USA. This may document how internationally widespread the interest in the history of Adult Education has grown.

Second: In the historical part a great number of paths and roles into and in the field of adult education were described. Beyond each individual case the material let identify "prototypes" of what was described as to be "an Adult Educator". Such **prototypes** tentatively could be constructed from the presented papers:

Scholar/Professor: Clearly scholars are new in the "division of labor". Often the description sounds like "growing into that role". The paper of Faber (pp. 250) is in an autobiographical reflection a

good example of a scholars "way to andragogy".

The Professional graduated from a University Adult Education Program and works mostly on a higher hierarchy-level in Institution (not necessary "adult educational"), but in staff or organizational development, politics, parliament, CEO, armed forces, church, hospital, research, ... The historic papers do not contain examples (no wonder - this is a quite new development), but the "contemporary" papers describe this group (Gross pp. 271, Egetenmeyer pp. 337, Hinzen/Przybylska pp. 347).

Vocational: Fully employed/paid, often planning, managing - which implies that institutions exist. Not necessary for adult education, but also in HRD, cultural institutions, media etc. Often not trained in Adult Education (Karm: "that they often have not had the opportunity to study how to do their job" p. 275, but "grown into the field" (Karm pp. 281, Henning Loeb pp. 295, Zmeyov pp. 376).

Developer: Grassrooter, facilitator, not teaching, but supporting individuals, groups, and institutions to solve their problems themselves by learning. Could be vocation or volunteer, (selfmade) grassrooters, .dialogers, interactionists, integrators. Not "knowing better", but "supporting learning". Example: Oleson and the Study Circle Movement (Tosse, esp. pp. 58).

Teacher: Could be andragogical trained, or subject matter specialist (often not feeling as "adult educator"). Range from fully paid to (mostly) part-timer to high-spirited volunteer, from trainers in companies to grandmas offering cookie courses. Often descriptions document development from "just doing to learning". (Karm pp. 281, Henning-Loeb pp. 295, qualifying activities Schiebel/Miethe pp. 221, Morris pp. 237).

Organizer: Building and leading an organization. Someone other had the idea - he is building and administrating the organization

Humanist, philanthropist: Enabling learning by political or private infrastructure, not teaching himself (Nemeth pp. 161: István Türr, Hungary: "Türr was the founder ... of so-called Folk Education Circles ... in order to start the education of more than 4 million Hungarian illiterate adults.")

"Dedicator": Moral/spiritual leader, romantic, ideology-oriented. Knowing, what learners "really" need: new nation, good culture. Adult Education has to fulfill the function the dedicator wants to come true. Isaac pp. 136 describes personalities (Nicolae Iorga, Dimitri Gusti, Romania) that "had in mind the building of pedagogy of culture specific to Romanian people as well as Romanian

ethics.” In a somewhat extreme form also political leaders can be seen as “dedicators”, for example “freedom-fighters”, as described by Theiss/Bron pp. 203, for Poland.

Orator: Spreads his knowledge/wisdom to everybody who wants (or not), with no training, no institution. Kloubert pp. 147 describes Hryhoriy Skovroda, Ukraine, - “a wandering teacher and searcher for happiness”. Classical personalities might be seen in the same category: Socrates, the Hyde Park Speakers; also authors that want to educate can be included here (ie. Rousseau).

“*The Wise*” is asked for advice (spiritual, health, practical). No teaching, no institution, but learner activity (Bin-Sallik¹ describes the Australian aborigines Chief David Unaipon).

Of course these types are overlapping and might be better sorted or differentiated. But it seems worth looking for typical elements, to understand better what the term “adult educator” may mean, such reducing confusion in understanding and discussion. What became clear: “Adult Educator” encompasses many contexts and connotations.

A third result from the contemporary part of the conference might be: Even in this small conference a number of activities to qualify adult educators were described: Morris (pp. 237), Eggenmeyer (pp. 337), Hinzen/Przybylska (pp. 347), Popovic (pp. 362), Zmeyov (pp. 376). It seems, that this important task has received attention and priority (Nussli pp. 323). It might be interesting to do an evaluation in ten years from now to find what was achieved.

These conferences brought together again international scholars, researchers, and professionals, and gave the chance to meet international colleagues, perhaps old and certainly new friends, offered the exchange between experts, and - last but not least - let experience the 1000-year old Bamberg, UNESCO's world heritage, with its romantic streets, beer-gardens with the unique smoked beer, cathedral and the city-hall in the middle of the river. We - faculty and students of the chair of Andragogy - are proud we could welcome so many international and national experts at our university. Thank you!

Jost Reischmann

Chair of Andragogy, Bamberg University, Germany

¹ in: Friedenthal-Haase, Martha (ed) (1998): Personality and Biography in the History of Adult Education. Vol. II. Frankfurt: Lang. P. 503 - 515

Part 1: General Perspectives on “Adult Educators”

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On Becoming an Adult Educator. What happened since CONFINTA V ?

Introduction

The whole history of adult education and adult learning can be seen as a balancing act between two tendencies. There are periods where the leading logic has been more centripetal, with efforts to organize the field of as a genuine area of expertise, meanwhile, in other periods, a centrifugal logic, characterised by efforts to recognize transversal learning demands, becomes prevalent. The historical evolution of this field is always in tension between a tendency toward professionalisation searching to institutionalize the field and a movement inspired by a vision of life-wide and life-long learning as an empowering process required in all areas of human activities.¹

The history of our field is, indeed, a dialectical process between a search for the recognition of the specific expertise of adult education and an attempt to reconstruct the entire of territory of adult learning in all its forms and domains of activities. The drive to acknowledge the learning demand (Belanger & Federighi, 2000, chapters 6 and 7) in social movements, in industry or in health domain and to enhance people capacity for action, paradoxically, is often at odds with the

Paul Bélanger: After directing research centers on education and work in Québec, Canada, Paul Bélanger became director (1989-2000) of the UNESCO Institute for Education in Hamburg, Germany and in 1997, the General Secretary of CONFINTA V. He is now professor at the UQAM Montreal Univ. and director of the Interdisciplinary Research Center on Lifelong Learning (CIRDEP). He is author and co-author, in particular, of Lifelong Learning (Kluwer, 1995), Shifting Patterns in Adult Education Participation (Pergamon, 1997), Transitions toward LLL: social indicators (Tokyo, 1998), Transnational Analysis of Adult Learning Policies (UNESCO, 1999) and Participation à l'éducation des adultes (CIRDEP, 2004). He is currently president of ICAE, the International Council for Adult Education.

¹ See, for example, (Fieldhouse, 1996), the historical development of British adult education seen in its wider policy and cultural context or, in USA, the historical study of Stubblefield and Keane (1994).

necessity to professionalize the field and train adult learning specialists, precisely to meet such a transversal demand. We can indeed read the recent history of the UNESCO international conferences² on adult education the CONFINTEA conferences, in that perspective (Meyer, 1997).

1. The International Conferences on Adult Education: the CONFINTEA

Three years before the fifth International Conference on Adult Education, in 1994, as the director of the UNESCO Institute for Education, I had to obtain from the Director General of UNESCO his support and patronage to give priority to the preparation and organization of this international event. At first, Mr. Frederico Mayor was somewhat sceptical about the necessity of such a conference at the end of the 20th century. His spontaneous perception of the field, prevalent in many decision-making centres, was one of remedial education: if adult education, in the past, was an important domain for 2nd chance education, this domain was now bound to disappear with the increasing universalisation of initial education. Then, I told our Director General: "Give me five minutes to explain the necessity of adult learning today and, then, I will abide by the decision you will take." I subsequently explained to Mr. Mayor how, for example, the growing issue of migration in Europe could not be tackled without adult education policies. I told him how crucial is adult education for the cultural, political and economic integration of migrants - crucial for 2nd language education, crucial for the education and training of migrant workers at workplace, crucial for them to better understand labour laws in recipient countries, crucial to benefit from the different services of welfare state, crucial for the parental role of immigrant population and hence the success of their children at school.

Realizing the growing social demand for adult learning, the Director General adopted at once such a prospective vision. He answered immediately: "We go. I will require all the Director Generals of all our different agencies within the UN families to join us in this key conference."

You know what happened next. You know how Mr. Frederico Mayor became a key player in the mobilization of the international community, from World Bank to FAO, from WHO to ILO, from the

2 All the CONFINTEA reports since 1949 are available at: <http://www.unesco.org/education/uie/confintea/publications.html>

European Community to the regional development banks as well as with the different countries in organizing this conference.

Indeed the decisive issue which drives the mobilization around CONFINTEA V Conference was the vision of adult learning as a transversal social demand for the future.

One has to remember the series of world summits held during the nineties, with the first conference on *Education For All* in Jomtien,³ followed by the Rio conference in 1992 on environment and then the conference on social development in Copenhagen, the summit on women in Beijing, then on habitat in Istanbul, three years before on population in Cairo and so forth. The astonishing fact is that, in each and all of those world summits, nearly half of recommendations had to do with the necessity to increase people capacity of action, to raise citizens' interest, to enhance adults know-how in order to deal with new societal risks: ecological risks, health risks, citizen passivism risks, poverty risks, etc.

The task of the UNESCO Institute for Education, between 1995 and 1997, at the moment of CONFINTEA V, was precisely to reconstruct, beyond semantic exclusion, the whole field of adult learning, adult learning as a right, adult learning as a shared responsibility, adult learning as a tool in all areas of activities and adult learning as a joy in order to fully recognize the dignity of each human being.

In the area of work, adult education was then reconstructed conceptually around the issue of continuing improvement of competencies, presenting the right to learn as an instrumental right for a full exercise of the right to work. In health, consultations were held with health promotion networks to explore jointly how, in the future, health prevention will become crucial to prevent epidemics and pandemics, precisely if we succeed in developing health sustainable prevention through learning interactive communication. Similar exercises were made around migration issues, as I explained earlier in my critical meeting with Mr. Frederico Mayor. On reproductive health and population issues, women movements came in to express the necessity for women to acquire knowledge and networking capacity in order to protect their right to responsible maternity. Similar initiatives took place on citizenship and democracy, on adult education and justice, in particular, around the right to learn

3 http://www.unesco.org/education/efa/ed_for_all/background/jomtien_declaration.shtml

of detainees as the most important rehabilitating strategy. The thematic development of CONFINTEA V encompassed other areas like autonomous ageing and economic and social autonomy of individuals with handicaps, as well as adult learning in media, in libraries and in museums.

In parallel with this conceptual reconstruction of the field, an effort was made, from an organization point of view, to re-link, around the idea of people's empowerment, the various potentially interested networks within the UN and the multilateral family, with WHO on health, with ILO on right to work and right to work related learning, with FAO on agricultural extension, with UNIFEM on gender, with UNDP on right to basic education in order to unlock barriers to implementation of new techniques of forestry, fishing and agriculture, with the UN Commission for Human Rights for the right to learn of detainees, with World Bank on issue of sustainable development through critical enabling right to learn throughout life, with UNICEF on the issue of women and children and on parental role for a successful schooling of girls and boys.

Of course this insistence on what I call the centrifugal trend of adult education history was not without problem. Groups of civil servants within UN and within UNESCO raised the issue that by bringing all other UN Agencies into the CONFINTEA process will make UNESCO lose its central role. The Director General and the UIE had to insist and explain that, on the contrary, by bringing back adult learning as a critical issue for the future of humanity in all fields of activities, the role of UNESCO, as a synergetic actor, will become even greater but, of course, with the necessity to adopt a different kind of practice.

CONFINTEA V. took place in Hamburg in July 1997 and, as a whole, was considered very positive. It brought back the adult learning demand as a priority on policy agendas of governments and international actors, thus enlarging the visions of adult education. CONFINTEA V promoted new forms of practice for the expression of the learning demand of adult population through the *Adult Learners' Week* movement.⁴ It enlarged the agenda for adult education research to the different thematics noted earlier on the relation between adult education and the different areas of development. It gave a new impetus to the demand for adult literacy thus correcting the post-Jomtien trend too predominantly oriented towards initial

4 <http://www.unesco.org/education/uiie/InternationalALW/>

education of children and, thus, disregarding the need for a two-pronged policy in this area.

The long term results of CONFINTEA V? They are both interesting and confusing. First, it is clear that the *Agenda for the Future* and the *Hamburg Declaration*, became important tools for many action groups and social movements as well as reference instruments for prospective policy makers in many countries. The two normative documents of the conference were largely disseminated around the world, translated in more than 30 languages. Through these, many countries were encouraged to develop specific adult learning policies. This was the case in the UK, in Brazil, in South Africa, in Thailand, in Malaysia, in Quebec within Canada and also regionally within the European Commission through its *European Memorandum on Lifelong Learning* and, in 2006, its *Communication on Adult Learning -it's never too late to learn*.⁵ The adult education movement is also using the CONFINTEA V *Agenda for the Future* and the *Hamburg Declaration* in their advocacy work at local and national levels.

However, CONFINTEA V had also some immediate misachievements. More importantly, the issue of training adult education specialists has been underrepresented as well as the need for developing specific expertise precisely to make adult learning a relevant input in different fields of intervention. In other words, referring to the two historical trends mentioned earlier, by insisting on the learning demand in a cross-sectorial perspective, we tended to forget the need for expertise and specialization precisely to be efficient in the organization of adult learning intervention in these various areas of activities.

At the *CONFINTEA V Post 6 Conference*, six years after Hamburg, other important setbacks were acknowledged.⁶ First, though many workshops within CONFINTEA V insisted on the necessity of adult basic education provision and explicit recommendations were expressed in this regard both in the *Declaration* and the *Agenda for the Future*, adult literacy remained, with few exceptions, either a low priority or a non transversal domain of learning, unconnected with health, poverty, agricultural and population issues, thus receiving less and less resources to meet nevertheless the immense demand for adult literacy. A second

5 http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/lll/adultcom_en.html

6 <http://www.unesco.org/education/uiie/confintea/fupstate.html>

setback had to do with the development in 2000 of the *Millennium Development Goals*.⁷ As you well know, only two of those MDGs have to do with education: one on initial education of children and the other one, within the goal on gender, on the importance of education of girls, rightly so. Adult education and adult literacy have been completely ignored in these eight *Millennium Development Goals*. Thirdly, because of the economic world context following 1997, the dynamic of adult education development tended to become more and more confined in one field: the area of work related learning.

Considering both achievements and setbacks, we were, nevertheless, able to enlarge the vision of adult learning, to bring back adult learning within many socio-economic policy demands as an enabling tool. We succeeded, at least partially, in demonstrating that adult learning has to be recognized as a fundamental enabling right for the exercise of all human rights. Strangely enough, by putting adult learning everywhere, we ran the risk of having it recognized specifically nowhere. Our victory, in a sense, was a phyrus victory; we did gain so much that, in the end, adult education was better acknowledged as a needed dimension of all areas of activities, but ran the risk of remaining a hidden one.

In other words, the Hamburg UNESCO CONFITEA V conference in 1997 did succeed in its effort to build and diffuse an enlarged vision of adult learning. However, by insisting too exclusively on expression of a demand for adult learning across sectors of activity, CONFITEA V tended to forget the expertise and specialisation needed for efficient provision of learning opportunities in these different areas.

2. The dialectics of the new adult learning general organisation

It is clear, today, that the critical issue for the development of adult education and adult learning is precisely to avoid choosing between the two centrifugal and centripetal development trends exposed earlier. The issue is to avoid opting for one logic against the other; it is to bring back the movement for specialization, professionalisation and specific expertise within the changing live world. The challenge for the future of adult education is to be able to provide the specific engineering and know-how of adult learning for the development of sustainable and significant learning in health, in environment, at workplace, in private life and so forth.

⁷ <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>

We should never forget the dialectics of adult education history. It is extremely vital to understand that these two trends are not exclusive, that the dialectic relations between these two logics have the fantastic capacity to develop a new dynamics for the development of adult education. However, three conditions will be required to “throw into gear” such dynamics.

A first condition is, of course, the recognition, by all the community of adult learning and adult education actors, of the complementarities of both logics. A second condition will be the increasing capacity of adult education specialists to work across institutional boundaries and to intervene upstream in the expression of social demands for new capacities of action of the adult population in all areas of activities. It will be the ability of adult education networks and institutions to develop specific expertise through research and training with a view to offer efficient diagnosis and learning approaches for ensuring significant learning opportunities in diverse settings. The third condition will be a more diffuse acknowledgment of the enabling nature of the right to learn of adults for the exercise of all other human rights.

The advocacy work thus required has to do not only with expression of learning demand but also with specificity of adult learning expertise to make sure that responses organised to meet learning demands are significant for the specific area of activities, its specialized discourse and its unique context. Paradoxically, only then could we see the perspective of life-long and life-wide learning emerging in real life.

Let me give few examples of such a perspective, first, around the issue of the *Millennium Development Goals*; The International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) and its networks were very present in the UN and at various meetings to ensure that adult learning be included in the MDGs. Nevertheless, we did not succeed. This disappointment was severe, because the MDGs process was the very first UN exercise based on a strict binding monitoring system to track the implementation of stated goals.

ICAE was then faced with two possibilities: either to criticize the fact that, here again, we didn't recognize adult education and to struggle for the integration of adult education within the MDGs. For this, the chance of success was limited. Instead, the ICAE movement decided on a very different strategy. In fact, if you look at the MDGs, they have to do with health, environment, poverty, initial education of children and gender justice. So, as an alternative strategy, they are

now trying to demonstrate that, indeed, for the implementation of all those goals, a critical factor will be adult learning, that is the capacity of action of the adult public, the know-how of people, the active participation of women and men. What ICAE's networks are now saying, as they began to do so in their World Assembly in Nairobi in 2007 is that if adult learning is nowhere explicitly in the MDGs, it is everywhere tacitly and needs to be articulated within each of these goals. Indeed, it will be impossible to reach the *Millennium Development Goal* on education, or the ones on gender justice, health, maternal mortality or environment, without critical investment in the development of adult capacity for initiatives related specifically to each one of these global issues. How, for example, can the world community implement the *Education For All* goal of children without the development of parental education, without increasing the basic skills of the parental generation?

Through this example, one can see how successful adult education advocacy is not advocacy for a profession, not a corporate advocacy, nor advocacy for reinforcement of existing institutions. It is advocacy for transversal necessity of competent, creative and informed adult participation in all domains of human activity. And yet, we are also now recognizing that such action will have no impact if it does not put forward and propose the specific expertise required for efficient development of such cross-sectorial approach to adult learning.

Another example of such perspective for the development of adult education is the growing concern for workplace learning. As you know, the main discourse on workplace learning is structured within an HRD (human resource development) perspective, referring to performance and skill improvement through professional continuing education, coaching and mentoring, training and apprenticeship, assisted informal learning and so forth. Such insistence on work related learning of active population as a critical input for development of productivity is indeed far from being bad news.

However, for this ambivalent development not to become bad news, expertise is required to ensure that learning opportunities at workplace are spread across the occupational ladder and that they lead to significant learning experience, thus facilitating the expression of social learning demands in other areas of activities.

Adult learning at work or in any other setting is always a subjective experience of a person constructing herself in relation to her past life course, her plural motivations and her projects for the

future. Such recognition of the intimacy of all learning experience transforms the expression of the learning demand. Any social learning demand, at workplace and elsewhere, is always the result of a mediation between the demand of the organization or the society, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the aspirations, fears, hopes, curiosity, interest and inner drive of each individual. Such a composite orientation of adult learning at work and the andragogical expertise to do so, will ensure more sustainable acquisition of skills and more efficient mobilization of these in daily work; besides it is bound to create a drive for the pursuit of interest in the entire territory of adult learning in all its forms, thus inciting people, as Alheit (1994) would say, to explore the potential of their life not yet lived.

The third example refers to health domain and, in particular, to health and AIDS. Public health systems are in financial crisis. Diverse scenarios are now explored for reduction of costs and increase of productivity. Within these, with a view to reduce the social demand, more and more decision-makers look at a possible transfer of investment from curative to preventive health and, within such new health promotion policies, from a prophylactic prevention to a more interactive learning based preventive policy. Such scenario could be observed in the domain of AIDS. If a society does not invest more and more on such prevention, the demand for curative policy will be so immense that such society will come to a tragic cul-de-sac. But, then, the question becomes: what kind of prevention is more efficient? In fact, the prevalent trend in health information-communication-communication (IEC) strategies is based on unilateral transmission of knowledge to targeted publics. The adult learning specialists could document the very limited impact of such a linear transmission of formal knowledge, even if recurrently repeated through publicity campaigns.

This is in such context that specific adult learning expertise could come in to develop health literacy (Institute of Medicine of the National Academies, 2004), enabling people to understand and act more autonomously, to improve health public education, to include adult learning component in continuing education of health specialists.

Through those three examples, one could see, how the two tendencies described at the beginning of this paper, could become either competing movements impeding the development of adult learning in present context, or complementary contributions to a new and much needed pattern of learning organization across adult life course and life spaces.

3. The Adult Learning Specialists

In this new and rich ambiguity, let us look at the changing role of adult learning specialists.

Of course, the adult learning specialist is, evidently, an expert to develop relevant learning responses to various demands of adult publics. An adult educator is one able to organize and animate significant learning activities, which relate to former experiences of the learner and on which he can build to develop further his capacity for action. Such adult educators are operating under very different kinds of names: adult educator in an adult education centre, an adult teacher, a continuing professional development specialist, a literacy worker, a health prevention counsellor, an environmental animator, a popular educator, an educational gerontologist, a tutor, a coach, a mentor, a programmer for e-learning in a blended learning approach, an agricultural extension worker, a consumer advisor or educator, a scientific vulgarisator, etc.

The adult learning specialist is also an upstream specialist for the full expression of learning demand. The expertise thus required has to do with information and counselling, prior learning recognition and organizing support for self-learning. This person is also an architect of stimulating learning environments, a coach of plain language communicator, a consultant on the complex and multiple financing patterns of adult learning activities (learning credits, paid education leave, vouchers registered tax continuing education plan, etc.), a practician of downstream activities for evaluation as well as for knowledge transfer and mobilization.

Such adult learning specialists are, then, important not only in recognized formal and non formal adult education institutions, organizations and networks but also, as adult learning specialists, in all areas of activities. An adult educator today is both a specialist for engineering significant learning activities and to refer to Boaventura de Sousa Santos (Dalea, R. & Robertson, S., 2004), a “*cultural translator*” having the capacity to work across cultural, academic and professional boundaries in order to understand and translate the need for new capacity of action in different areas of activities, These engineers of continuing education are prospective thinkers on life-long and life-wide learning, able to relate pre-school education, initial education and the complex reality of learning across adult life-course.

Becoming an adult educator or and adult learning specialist today is a challenge. It means precisely to be able to capture this balancing act in the history of our field and to avoid the two risks that we have

seen in our history: the risk of loss of relevance in the effort for institutional recognition, but also the risk of being present everywhere but nowhere recognized with our expertise.

Conclusion: CONFINTEA VI

In that perspective I think that CONFINTEA VI to be held in May 2009 in Brazil would probably focus on five issues.

The first issue will certainly be the absolute right of women and men as well as youth out of school to literacy and basic education, and more specifically, the strategies requires to have this right recognized as a legal entitlement.

A second issue will most probably be the need for action and rigorous monitoring to ensure real implementation of the *Hamburg Declaration* and the *Agenda for the Future*, as well as *EFA* goals. This conference needs to put in place efficient mechanisms to monitor the exercise by adults of their rights to learn throughout their life, and to report on the progression of adult learning as a diversified tool for sustainable and equitable development.

A third issue at this conference will certainly be, again as in 1997, the transversal specificity of adult learning, that is the genuine contribution of adult learning expertise and specialists in health promotion, at workplace, for autonomous ageing, for development of participatory welfare state, for successful migration, etc. CONFINTEA VI can become, in relation to the *Millennium Development Goals*, a unique opportunity to make decision-makers people understand precisely the critical enabling factor that adult learning constitutes for the implementations of the MDGs.

A likely fourth issue, we hope, will be adult education and peace. Peace is not the absence of war; it is not the management of risk by equilibrium of terror. Peace today is the needed life contexts for all of us, every night within our village and cities, to be able to meet together and discuss. The issue is for all women and men acquire the capacity and interest to deal with differences and to live with dissonance, to make dissonance not a factor of conflict but a heuristic context for learning.

Finally, CONFINTEA VI will be a success if, through its preparatory process and its holding in Brazil, the adult's right to learn becomes recognized by the world community as a fundamental enabling right for the full exercise of all the other universal human rights.

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On Becoming an Adult Educator The Meaning of and Possibilities for Historical Research in Adult Education

Abstract: An integral part of *becoming* an adult educator, or any professional for that matter, is having a healthy grasp of one's history. A conference addressing historical aspects of and topics in adult education, replete with an international audience, is a befitting arena to broach the question, then, of what we have done and are doing, its meaning, and what are future possibilities vis-à-vis historical research in adult education. This conference is the 11th in a series that has spanned several decades, produced numerous publications, and has brought together in discussion and dialogue individuals from disparate parts of the globe who value, understand, support, and see the meaning of embracing and pursuing historical research in the field. Accordingly, the session is formatted in a way so as to give voice to all those in attendance as we give sustenance and life to the past, present, and future of historical research in adult education. A review of past conferences and their themes, including this year's focus ("On Becoming an Adult Educator"), and other selected historical research in the field provides a framework to help ascertain the kinds of inquiries in which we are engaged and what seems to be missing, so that we all may together consider generating areas, both topical and methodological, in quest of a researcher.

Introduction

"On Becoming an Adult Educator," adopted as the theme of this conference, extends an invitation to consider the process of "becoming" from an historical perspective. Accordingly, an integral part of becoming a professional adult educator, or a professional in other fields for that matter, is to cultivate an understanding of and appreciation for one's history. This very conference represents a momentous advance in that regard as the 11th in a trajectory of conferences held over the past 20 years, specifically aimed at engaging colleagues from disparate parts of the globe to convene with the mutual concern of advancing an understanding of our history.

The theme of this year's conference, "On Becoming an Adult Educator," affords us an opportunity to highlight the fundamental

importance of these International Conferences in our *becoming* more centrally involved in recognizing and celebrating the importance of researching our history. Whose history is it, though, and what are we exploring, and what are we leaving out?

As the title suggests, this discussion addresses two queries:

1. What is the Meaning of Historical Research in Adult Education?
2. What are the Possibilities for Historical Research in Adult Education?

The Meaning Question

Meaning making, of course, is central to the growth of an individual or a field for that matter. The meaning question is multi-faceted. (a) What is the meaning of historical research; what constitutes historical research for adult education, (b) What definition(s) or rather conceptualization(s) of adult education is/are guiding our thinking, (c) What meaning does the process as well as the product of historical research have for us individually, and collectively for the field?

The Possibilities Question

What is possible, of course, is predicated in part on how we answer the meaning question, for which an array of answers may exist. Debates have abounded in the field as to whether only organized activities should be considered in conceptualizations, or whether acknowledgment should be given as well to the voices calling for the entire territory of learning from life as "legitimate" inquiry. Moving beyond the dichotomous nature of such thinking and embracing a spectrum of meanings, should we choose such a path, will result in a fuller response to the possibilities question. If we consider also that the focus of our efforts and understanding is not only the individual but also the contexts in which our "learners" find themselves (be it the relationship; the group; the institution, organization, or agency; the community, society-at-large during a particular time period or under specific economic, political, social, etc. conditions; the national and of course the greater global context) then our possibilities take on an even greater dimension. Such thinking then focuses our attention in addition on the kind of research in which other professionals may be engaged that is contiguous to, or has relevance to what we consider our field. Moreover, it may even coax our energies to partner with others in interdisciplinary efforts to better understand historical aspects.

Whose History is it, What are we Exploring, and What are we Leaving Out?

Whose History is it?

Certainly, there is a history of the field of study and practice that, understandably and finally, has received much focus and warrants continuous attention. Historical research is growing compared even to where we were 20 years ago. This approach has been a good start—that is, to better understand the roots out of which (what we call) our current field emerged, who and what influenced that process, and what led to the growth, development, demise or transformation of movements, institutions, ideas, etc. The history of ideas, however, seems to be the least studied of the other areas, a point to which I will return later. So, viewed from this lens, it is our history, the history of our field — at least those of us who identify as professional adult educators. Outside of the structure of "our field," many more professionals are exploring the phenomenon of adults learning, changing, and growing which is becoming more pervasive, with increasing speed. When we consider the history of the research on how adults learn, for example, whose history is that? It becomes apparent when asking that kind of question, that many other disciplines have converged in illuminating our understanding: psychological influences, social class influences, cultural aspects of learning, neurological advances, etc. Are we ready to partner with these other professionals in any way? To what extent may some have already embraced this challenge, and with what results and experiences?

Research is often driven by the needs of the field but more often by the interests of individuals. So it might be instructive to consider that, when we ask the question of whose history it is, we are also embracing a history of the interests of our scholars. If we can address and uncover the meaning the process and our interest areas have for us as motivating factors in pursuing historical research, we might be able to encourage others to follow their interests, combine them with the needs of the field, and expand our possibilities for historical research in adult education. Toward that end, concluding consideration is given to what we have done, are doing, and what still beckons, leaving room of course for domains of research which may be stimulated by obscure but relevant interests of which we may be unaware.

What are we Exploring and What are we Leaving Out?

Reischmann (2005) uses the History Conferences as a gauge for how the field has evolved. Reflecting upon the evolution of all, at that time 10, conferences, he observes, resonating with Friedenthal-Haase (1998) that the first five conferences focused primarily on institutions, while the 6th “broke new ground” in spotlighting individual personalities, whether as educator or participant. This aperture, knowingly or unknowingly, heeded the concern and call from Coolie Verner, during the 1950s, that biographical inquiry in the field needed much attention and development. At the same time, Reischmann laments that in our historical research less emphasis is placed on how one learns from life. This year’s conference, catalyzed by Reischmann, has afforded us an opportunity to pursue that process as is evident with the use of the word “becoming” in the theme.

These history conferences are indeed of seminal importance and Reischmann’s analysis quite valuable, but if an observer were to read beyond that, and gauge the scope of the field and its seemingly former narrowness from the conferences alone it becomes risky, especially were we to take that analysis as the whole. Of course, again we are beset with the issue of definitions and conceptualizations. Researchers who identify themselves with other professional affiliations have been busily exploring many facets that fall within the purview of adult education.

Reviewing the research and papers published as a result of these conference, coupled with a systematic and cumulative review of Dissertation Abstracts, Historical Abstracts, Worldcat (for books from around the globe), Library of Congress data bases, and other referencing systems suggests an emerging convergence of key content and topical areas being investigated. (Complementary attention is needed to methodological matters).

As a very cursory sampling, we seem to have accumulated much data on the history of:

Adult Education in specific continents, countries, regions, and communities - which has enabled comparative research as well (also emerging are unwritten histories to augment or revise the history of adult education in various countries). Two such examples at this conference are: Avoseh on the unwritten history of adult education in traditional Africa and Busto Gilligan who focuses on 20th century adult education in Ireland with the question: “The full story?”

Adult education as a social movement and within social movements as an educative element

History of institutions specifically devoted to adult education and those

in which adult education plays secondary of ancillary functions -- Development, growth, recreation, and demise.

Role of professional associations (including those relevant to other disciplines

Financing and legislative history

Role of foundations

History of Key Thinkers and others who may be unknown or lesser known

History of adult education both in and for specific groups (gender, racial, ethnic, special populations, etc.)

Contextual understanding such as specific historical eras and periods (which can be “stand alone” when the era is the focus, or part of any of the above areas).

How far have we progressed since the lament of Stubblefield (1982) and others about both the dearth of historical research in the field and the ahistorical nature of our literature in not taking into account the historical context of the claims? Have we been able to raise the antennae of others both within and outside the field as to the importance of understanding one’s history? Several decades ago Stubblefield (1982, pp. 6-11) generated seven categorical areas in which he saw historical research was needed at that time:

Institutions, configurations, and communities (acknowledging that the bulk of research rested here). This seem to still take center stage with wider variety and more small scale focused inquiries such as specific military institutions, the community of Native Americans of a specific area, the African American church, and others.

Individuals (recognizing that studies were not numerous, and heralding the “promising development” of educational biographies). This area is burgeoning as evidenced by the two volume set of proceedings from the 6th International Conference on the History of Adult Education in 1996 and the incidence of biographically oriented articles and dissertations focused on the contributions of a personage or their role as adult educator often long before that was a recognizable professional identity. Examples range from generally well known figures such as Alexander Meikelfohn, Julius Nyerere, Booker T. Washington and those well known to adult educators such as Malcolm Knowles, Paul Bergevin, to less well known individuals

such as educator and social visionary Honorine Hermelin Gronbech in Sweden, woman religious (sister) Catherine Pinkerton in Washington, D.C., Jane Farwell, adult educator and social recreation leader trainer, or individuals well known, but not previously studied through an adult education lens (such as Lucretia Mott Coffin, Margaret Fuller).

Interaction between individuals/groups and configurations of education. The interactional issue was the focus of the 7th International Conference on "The Rise and Fall of Adult Education Institutions and Social Movement," which was designed to explore "inter-relationships between the two.

Cultural Diffusion. With the advent of the internet both to reduce the distance between individuals, thus opening communication channels, and to facilitate access to research findings and other information offers a new world for continuing historical research in this arena is offered.

Adult education theory development and social practice. This category refers to historical studies that examine the genesis and development of how we have approached the development of theory and practice generally and in specific theoretical cases. I would add how the general body of knowledge as well as specific well quoted and accepted theories have taken root, who has given them credence and how and perhaps the issue of who cites whom and why. Actually, this area is related to "cultural diffusion" above: the academic, social, political, etc. aspect of knowledge diffusion.

Periodization. This category addressed the challenges of a periodization scheme of American adult education per se, but any historical research in studying a whole country can either work from existing periods as defined by cultural historians, political scientists, etc. or let periods emerge from the content of the study itself. More than a category of research, however, periodization becomes a methodological issue for all historical research and resonates with the path one chooses for any research endeavor: a priori categorizations or allowing the allowing them to emerge from the data. Ostensibly, the answer depends upon the purpose of the research and the question(s) asked.

Intellectual History. While this category was restricted to the ideas and ideologies about the education of adults, offering examples such as the idea of education extension or the idea of lifelong learning, intellectual history has a long lineage. The oasis for intellectual history has been the *Journal of the History of Ideas*.

Much research and action is often guided by, infused with, or starts with an idea. This aspect still seems missing from the kind of historical inquiries we have produced, or at minimum does not have a strong presence. Many ideas exist, however, which warrant further investigation from an historical perspective: For example, the history of the idea of empowerment. Questions such as when did it first enter the lexicon of adult educators, what conceptualizations are afforded the term, what are the various renditions and meanings with which it has been treated, how has it been used, and possibly misused and abused in theory as well as in practice? Lifelong learning is a term which has periodically been referred to as an idea. Particularly during the 1960s and 1970s one often heard the rally cry of lifelong learning being "an idea whose time had come." My own analysis of lifelong learning during the 1970s as an idea led me to ancient Greek and other philosophers who may not have conceived of themselves as "adult educators" but certainly form a central part of the history of the idea of lifelong learning. Socrates' Γνωθαι Σε αὐτόν (Know Thyself) is a very deep concept as is Βίος

Ἀνεξετάστος οὐ βιωτός ἐστίν (The Unexamined Life is not Worth Living), both of which are fundamental to the current research and practice of reflective thinking and reflective learning. Many other ideas beckon—ideas that are used not only in adult education, but are shared with other areas of study and practice. It would be of interest and behoove us to access other literature bases and dialogue with professionals in other areas to better understand the potential fullness of the idea. Empowerment was mentioned above; another idea ripe for inquiry is the idea of transformation.

Toward the Future

What we mean by historical research in adult education depends upon our conceptualization of adult education and how much we choose to stay exclusively within the boundaries of the recognized field or how much we are interested in exploring facets of the function of adult education as it manifests in other venues or by other professionals. Moreover, the meaning and meaningfulness that either of these approaches has for us as researchers will be of fundamental importance in motivating us. The possibilities, then, are wide-ranging. I have offered my preliminary analysis of what we already seem to have done well and some possible considerations for the future as a starter stimulus to catalyze discussion and dialogue. Onward

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Convergence or Divergence of Ideas on Andragogy in Different Countries

1. Introduction

The interest of science in the learning and education of adults is a relatively new phenomenon. This scientific interest was intensified during the second half of the 20th century. Several sciences are interested in the learning of adults. The main subject of andragogy is the study of the learning and education of adults. The traditional research paradigm was predominately oriented toward to studying of the phenomena of learning of children and youths. In this direction the economical, political and scientific resources was oriented. We call this scientific orientation a traditional, because of the lack of its interest in the human development after the period of adolescence. And above all, the ignorance of the studying of lifelong human **potentialities** in this scientific orientation has negative impact on economic, social, cultural and individual development. Human skills are not used for the further development. Emphasizing the needs for learning and education of adults does not mean **ignoring** the needs for studying of learning in childhood and youth. Rather, it is a conditional approach for studying the phenomena of the lifelong learning and education of adults. This approach represents philosophy of lifelong learning and lifelong education, which became a dominant thought of education in the second half of the 20th century. By ignoring of a whole field of adult learning and education, and by excluding adult population from the learning efforts, one could not gain vividly in the philosophy of lifelong learning and lifelong education. This especially applies to educational policy shaped by government and governmental agencies. It is important to free such a policy from an "infantile" perspective in material, financial and spatial sense. Democratic policy of education must be integral (holistic) and equally attentive to the learning and education of children, youth and adults. Such philosophy requires shift in traditional education policy, reorganization of the educational institutions, and especially requires shift in professional education of teachers, associates and tutors. However, there are some shortages in andragogical preparation of the future teacher candidates.

Traditional pedagogical thought simplifies solving of this problem. There is a confusion, in some sense (intentionally or unintentionally). This confusion is captured in the following: after the acceptance of the philosophy of lifelong education (i.e. learning during the whole life) there is no need to emphasize distinctively the learning of children, youth and adults. ***It is seen all the same!*** Historically, this perspective is not authentic! It ***ignores*** (intentionally or unintentionally) scientific outcome in the field of the learning and education of adults produced in the second half of the 20th century. And more than that! Such a perspective is intended to transfer experience from education of children and youth to the field of the learning and education of adults. "Infantile" perspective to the learning and education of adults, the approach intended to transfer norms and experience from education of children and youth to the field of the learning and education of adults is manifested in such a way. Because of a lack of fruitful results, it is necessary to "de-school" such an educational policy. Generally, contemporary pedagogical thoughts are directed toward elementary and partly toward secondary education. Even didactic is "contracted" and integrated in "school pedagogy". In our cultural and scientific circles, the explained perspectives lead to ***tensions*** between the two educational segments: the education of children and youth and the education of adults.

These tensions and creative discourses will continue in the future. But, these tensions will not be brought closer by doctrinary "proclamations" about pedagogy as an "integral science of upbringing"; the only way is in fundamental research and critical theoretical considerations. These tensions can be found on a few levels. The first one is in a domain of terminology. As well as all other scientific disciplines, andragogy tends to form its own terminology, too. The second level encompasses disagreement and ***misunderstandings*** of the meaning of used terms, resulted in some consequences on educational policy in the field. The third level is practice. The practice in the learning of children and youth differs from the practice in the learning of adults by needs, forms and activities of learning, by design of learning material, by planning and establishing the learning results, etc.

Public (governmental) educational policy completely ignore that a lot of learning is going on out of formally organized educational institutions. Here we come face to face with the question of legitimacy of education and learning. What educational experience

should be a legitimate one? Is it just the case with the learning carried in educational institutions? Who makes the decisions? What criteria should be applied? In the future we should find the answers to these questions through research.

In spite of that, one should take into account that in the future the learning of adults will strive (develop) in different directions because it is and it will be interconnected with multiple unsolved social and personal problems. The transformation of culture and social relations needs the learning. This is a very complex process, and setting the priorities is controversial. One could mention some of them: work, employment, income distribution, social position, environmental degradation and harmed ecological balance, urban disintegration, the influence of science and technology on every aspect of life and society, the need to choose between plenty of scientifically-technological interventions regarding environment and human beings in entirety (genetics, chemical, neuro-physiological, psychological). Here, we mentioned ***contradictions*** with social dimensions and impacts on adult education. New social groups, which could not be ignored from the standpoint of learning, appeared: women, ethnic and racial groups, elderly, migrants, displaced persons, the poor ones. From the standpoint of learning of adults mass-media are special problem; these mass-media have a special role in adult education, too. Mass-media showed power and dispositions for the manipulation with information. Clearly, all of these problems are ***reflecting*** on the adult learning and education. This problem overlaps the contents of learning. The selection of contents is interconnected with philosophical questions: what to learn? Who makes decisions about it? Neither pedagogy, nor traditional (inflexible) system of education offer satisfying answers. Supporting sustainability and expansion of ***open***, various, self-directed learning of adults should make a progress. It is impossible to build free and democratic society without accomplished issues for adult education. Creating different possibilities enables adults to manage their own learning according to their needs and interests. Learning aim formulation, making decisions on place for learning and on learning resources are of special importance for carrying out the integral educational policy. Until now, most of these decisions were regulated by educational institutions and this generates rejection of adults to participate in formally organized learning activities. The increased demands for adults created the need to develop a complex set of ***competencies*** for self-direction in learning such as, for example:

defining the learning goals with possibility for **evaluating** attained scope, planning of learning activities, predicting of consequences of (un)attained scopes and of fulfilling of educational obligations, defining of criteria for self-evaluation in learning and reconsidering and reflection of learning experience. The whole organization of learning should **encourage** and stimulate continuing learning of individuals after they finished an educational activity, not only in the field of personal and public interests, but wider than the educational institution promises. The **promotion** of the continuing education among others, for the sake of learning outside educational institutions is expected from the individuals who accepted this philosophy. Because of that the learning and education of adults should be **heterogeneous**, differentiated, and decentralized to the level of a local community. The local community should become an **andragogical center**. Public (governmental) educational policy should identify and support all of the opportunities for learning of the least included, the least competent in planning, organization and evaluation in their own learning. The new andragogical personnel and the continuing education of the existing ones will be necessary for this accomplishment, especially for designing the learning **competencies** between the adults. Because the concern for learning is not transferable to these categories of citizens, for this accomplishment there will be necessary fair allocation of financial resources of society. There are the doubts that average educational institutions could fulfill these criteria, and that one could apply the market concept to this category of citizens (the poor ones, underprivileged, uneducated). The result from it is that public (governmental) educational policy should not be neutral and non-intervened one. Raising the average level of the education and of the culture is one of the **conditions** for complete realization of the philosophy of lifelong education. The gap in education is larger than the gap in appropriate distribution of wealth.

Adult education has **vertical** dimensions. Learning activities are interconnecting local, regional and global levels. Andragogical and sociological literature develops the **global** learning paradigm. This paradigm means that we should learn on other cultures' and other civilizations' springs, too. The learning could help man and mankind in complete understanding other cultures and other civilizations, in meaningful managing of the increased number of problems, in respecting the elements of global views and in respecting the elements of global systems. The new learning is necessary for the

struggle with the new challenges, the new tensions and with the new dangers; the new learning is necessary for effective usage a new technology, for overcoming new production technologies, for a better understanding of the new concepts of the world, humanity as a planetary problem. Adults decide on it, so, in the first place, the learning activities should be intended to them. The learning could help us to accomplish our **duties** on different levels aimed to well-being of current and future generations (protecting environment, struggle with a modern diseases, drugs, terrorism etc.). We emphasized world interconnections. In these interconnections the **vulnerability** of a man is more intense than in any other historical period. The changes in the world are networked; one leads to another in chain reactions, even the others do not provoke them. We should learn how to struggle with changes, painful for both, societies and a man. We should learn how to **struggle** with overcoming lack of confidence, uncertainty, and unpredictability. Solutions are many, but learning to **unite them** from the local to the global level is a priority.

It is necessary to reconsider on a scientific basis and to study the elements of learning distinctive for adult learning and education. Most importantly, we have in mind social and psychological framework of adult learning. These two phenomena of adult learning (social and individual) are of great importance for its understanding. The concept of development of adult is **a key element** of andragogy. The research in psychology and in andragogy shows that more or less intensive, this development, as well as learning, **happens** during the whole life. The developmental tasks are different for each phase of the development, but a man encounters them and tries to solve them. A few theories of adult learning, all of them in the essence of andragogy, are originated in the last decades of the 20th century. It is necessary to be acquainted with them, in order to analyze and critically evaluate them. The abundant science production on **differences** between the education of children and the education of adults could be found in the last decades of the 20th century. The research shows the complexity of these two scientific phenomena; but differences exist not only between the education of children and the education of adults but also within the conception of adult learning. A lot of external factors affect the learning of adults; especially the **convergence** of work and education, motivation and learning, teaching concepts in andragogy, the distinctive role of andragogical practitioners, the phenomena of self-directed learning, as well as the future of adult learning. We will not explain in details

nor reconsider them due to the lack of space; rather, we have done it in our study *Distinctions of the learning of adults* (Osobenosti u~enja odraslih, Savi}evi}, 2006). Our research on the past, present and future tightened our convictions of the 21st century as a century of the adult learning. This will be a challenge for andragogy as a science and for the andragogic profession as well.

2. What do historical and comparative researches tell us?

Each science which cares about its own scientific identity searches for the leading ideas in shaping concepts and in constituting the science. It means that every science should consider its own history. There are no good reasons for a different behavior of andragogy. We are conscious of threats of mechanical transfer of contemporary thoughts to a more distant or to a closer history of learning and education of adults. On the other hand, it should be harmful to **overlook** that the learning and education of adults are as old as mankind. The learning and education of adults have always been the integral part of human activity and of the human aspirations to learn. Due to the lack of space we will not explain the roots and development of andragogical ideas. We will try to draw a historical line of andragogical ideas, which has been overlooked or disregarded, and eventually was marked as a history of pedagogical ideas in traditional history of pedagogy textbooks.

For studying of andragogical ideas, time is an important category. Perhaps it is so because of the importance regarding the appearance of andragogical ideas understood as the concepts of learning and education, and as the practice of the learning and education; regarding ongoing development on these ideas, their acceptance or rejection in the particular historical epochs and in the certain social milieus. The thesis that the learning and education of adults as particular social activity emanated from pedagogical activities, can not be accepted without critical considerations. Careful and strengthened reconstruction of andragogical ideas reveals that such practice has deep roots in development of the human society and culture. Less acceptable is the thesis that the andragogical practice in the slaveholding ancient Greece was a part of the common pedagogical practice. The history of andragogical ideas (understood as a conception, institutions and practice) shows that in Hellenistic and in the ancient Jewish cultural circles andragogical institutions were first to be founded. It was three centuries later when schools for children education were founded, because the family provided the

frame for the children's upbringing.

The Hellenistic civilization delivered a plenty of andragogical ideas understood as practice, institutions and concepts. A developed philosophical thought, fruitful and dynamic cultural activity, was mainly oriented toward adults. Hellenistic philosophical thoughts affirmed the idea of lifelong learning. The system of the lifewide learning and education, which encompass all of the periods of human life, was based on this idea. But, the ideas of the learning and education of adults in Hellenism are not homogeneous, but they have their own developmental phases (periods). Homer influenced significantly the learning and education of all generations of Greeks. Even if the forms differ, adults in ancient Athens learned and educated themselves through the spoken word. The sophists were the first important andragogical practitioners. They claimed that they could teach people any kind of knowledge. They made profession of their educational work; popularized science and culture, and they developed and improved rhetoric. The spoken word dominated; it was both, "the sword and the shield". Through his own ideas and through his practical activity, Socrates had a great influence on the Hellenistic adult education. Some authors (Grattan, 1955), who were engaged in the reconstruction of andragogical ideas named Socrates the most important teacher of all the times. Socrates' special contribution to the andragogical ideas was through his own methods which he used in a practical educational work. Through his own ideas and through practical activity, Socrates had great influence on Hellenistic adult education. Plato and Aristotle gave personal contribution to the ideas of adult education. Plato's Academy and Aristotle's Lyceum were adult education institutions. The roots of a many contemporary problems can be found in the main opus of these great philosophers: the lifelong education, the educational needs, the choosing the contents, the methods, etc.

The Hellenistic culture and civilization influenced the development of the Roman civilization. In the andragogical practice in the ancient Rome the schools for preparing the rhetoric had a dominant position. These schools were professional schools on a higher level. The education and learning in ancient Rome should be observed from a larger cultural context. If we neglect rhetoric schools, the Roman adult education was oriented toward informal forms: libraries, reading rooms, public bathhouses, dramas, comedies, forums etc. Cicero, Seneca, and Quintillian had great impact on the improvement of the Roman education and culture.

In the ancient Jewish civilization appeared a system of both formal and informal institutions and the forms of the adult learning and education. This system existed for a few centuries before the forming a formal system of education of youth, with appearance of the homes of gathering, the homes of meetings, the temples named synagogues. The synagogues were the centers for learning, private meetings, forums, even houses (homes). The learning of adults was a style of life and a kind of prayer. It was not only an intellectual activity, but also a religious experience. Over the time different adult education institutions appeared: communities of learning, schools, academies; also, there evolved the part time learning which enabled the combination of learning and work. Learning and scholars (teachers, rabbis, wise men) were appreciated in the Jewish culture. People respected learning. In the Jewish cultural heritage one could find valuable didactic and methodical solutions, actually even today. Well-known didactic rules - from simple to complex, from known to unknown, from closer to distant - were formulated in the ancient Jewish andragogical practice in the centuries before new era. The learning was not only a respected but even a mandatory activity. Jewish people used to underestimate and to **scorn** ignorant and uneducated.

The spiritual development was slow and decelerated in the Middle Ages as a long period of the European history. It was marked by the Christianity as ideology and religion. Taking roots and tightening of the Christianity lasted a few centuries. Education and learning were the strong factors in converting the adults to Christianity. The churches and the monasteries became the centers for education, culture and science. The first schools founded by Christians were aimed to adults. The schools for the children were founded later. As a new phase in the development of European civilization, the church influenced appearance of the universities. The universities were andragogical institutions as well. In the field of education and culture in general, emerge new influences and movements, among which dominate Humanism and Renaissance. In the late Middle Ages were spread the secular forms of adult education, both formal and informal ones. A mandatory elementary education was introduced. The final disappearance of the Middle Ages epoch was marked by a new way of production, development of the mercantilism, exploring of the new roads and the discovery of the new geographical places.

The New Era is a long-lasting period of human civilization. It wasn't beginning at the same time in the different countries. This

depends on the economical and scientific changes, on the stage of technical development, and on appearance of a new social force (middle class), which initiated, stimulated and accelerated changes. The changes were unavoidably interconnected with the learning and education. The elementary marks of the New Era are scientific discoveries, inventions and the dynamical development of science. A "fertile soil" for a development of andragogical practice in the New Era were traced by economical and social development, the development of science, philosophy and the art. Such practice had different intensity in different European countries. The two most developed countries in the epoch named the New Era, Great Britain and France, best represent the forms of this practice. Due to the lack of space we will not describe or analyze this practice (details in: Savičević, 2000). Here we mention that the andragogical ideas stated by Comenius are the constitutive **foundation** of the andragogy as a science. The nature and the importance of his thoughts about the possibilities, needs and on organization of education and learning of adults are a basis to consider him as a founder of modern andragogy. He explained these thoughts in Pampedia, the paper found by a Czech slavist in 1934. In Pampedia, Comenius developed the philosophy of lifelong education, and proclaims equal frames for living and for learning. According to Comenius, it is not enough to say that is never too late for learning; he emphasized that "every period is dedicated for a life and for learning" (Vybrane Spisy..., 1966). Comenius requires special institutions, forms, means, methods, and teachers for learning and education of adults.

The process of dissolving of the feudal society affected the learning and education of adults. The migration of populations occurs and the urban poverty multiplies. Absolute and functional illiterates could not be efficient workers. The industrial revolution led to the needs of the vocational adult education. The more educated workers participated to the **accumulation of the capital**. The new andragogical institutions appear: mechanical institutes, peoples' and workers' colleges, University extensions, folk highschoools, association for workers' education, educational settlements etc. The whole 18th and the 19th century were marked by foundation and by tightening of the institutions for learning and education of adults. Adult education evolves in a worldwide educational movement. In this period the ideas about scientific thought and discipline capable of studying these processes and practice appeared. One could not ignore this historical development.

3. Changes of Paradigm from the Education to the Learning

The concepts and terms which appeared in the andragogy are influenced by the **changes**, modifications and development. These changes are not only the result of scientific consolidation; they have significantly broader dimensions, economical and technological ones. The terminology in the field of the learning and education is predominately influenced by developed European and North American countries. Because of these influences it is necessary to reconsider and to critically assess the global usage of these concepts and terms. Comparatively, last decades of the 20th century were marked by paradigmatic changes in the field of the learning and education of adults. These changes had broader dimensions and were directed from the education toward the learning. These changes were led by the developed, industrialized countries; the leading initiator was OECD. UNESCO followed this development. These changes were most visible in the nineties, when developed countries based their strategies and the directions of changes on the learning instead on the education. Andragogical journals changed their names, by including the term "learning" instead of the term "education" in their titles. It was especially the case in United Kingdom and North America. OECD especially forced paradigm of the learning.

These paradigmatic changes were most expressed at the Fifth International Conference on Adult Education, organized by UNESCO in Hamburg, 1997. The main topic of the Conference was "Adult Learning - A Key for the 21st Century". At this Conference **the Hamburg Declaration** was adopted. By its nature, this is a socio-political and educational **manifesto** which tries to give a direction of the road of adult education in the 21st century. It was established that a mankind could attain a better future by learning (see: the Declaration of the Fifth International Conference on Adult Education).

The transfer of the emphasis from the education to the learning was preceded by the discourses in the andragogical literature published from the fifties. These discourses had the most extended base in the North America. These discourses significantly influenced intellectual andragogical movements in Europe, as well as in other parts of the world, and especially in Japan. The lifelong learning as philosophy is a main aim of the reconstruction of education and of the accepting new strategies of its reform. Some countries adopted strategies based on the philosophy of lifelong learning: Great Britain, Sweden, and the Netherlands. The similar trend is in Germany, too.

Year 1996 was declared the European Year of Lifelong Learning. How did these paradigmatic changes influence traditional pedagogical thoughts? This influence was minimal. In some countries there were even some confusions, expressed in a statement that when the philosophy of lifelong education was adopted, the differences between the education of children and the education of adults "disappeared".

4. Critical Consideration of Pedagogy vs. Andragogy Relationship

In the nature of every science there is an existence of **creative** tensions, different conceptions and scientific controversy. Universal agreement in science leads to dogmatism. It is true for sciences, especially for the social sciences. In the 20th century the unity of a science is withdrawing after its huge specialization; new scientific disciplines start to emerge. Some sciences were created on the border lines of other disciplines. A few sciences studied numerous problems of the social and individual life. Such is the case in the learning and education. This phenomenon is known in the science as an interdisciplinarity; it means that a few sciences unite their own forces in studying the phenomena of learning and education.

The theoretical discourses on pedagogy vs. andragogy relationship during the second half of the 20th century were common in my country (Former Yugoslavia). There were formed two schools of thought: pedagogical and andragogical. The first one considered the pedagogy as an "integral" science of upbringing; the second one considered andragogy as a relatively independent science dealing with distinctions of the learning and education of adults.

In their historical development until the 1960th, pedagogical ideas were connected to the upbringing and education in the period of childhood and youth. Historical and comparative researches show that such concepts were common in many countries. Since the 1960th the evolved unfounded spreading of the subject of pedagogy as "integral", "general", "complete", "united" science of upbringing started by rejecting andragogy or by labeling it as a "branch" of pedagogy, in the best case. The very essence of this concept is that because the upbringing and education are lifelong processes, considering the upbringing in whole as a subject of pedagogy -- there is no need for the existence of andragogy. "This is a long time since we rejected the definition of pedagogy as a science of upbringing of the children. It is science of upbringing in general, of upbringing of

man from his birth until the end of his life. Forming the adult pedagogy or the andragogy as a particular discipline or as a totally independent science - has only a scholastic character" ([imle{a, 1980, p. 132-133). Such a position represents an **unconditional claim** and was not based on the historical and comparative facts. It ignores the scientific andragogical production of the 20th century. The claim that some authors in pedagogy "rejected definition of pedagogy" is not a **valid reason** for negation of andragogy. Such thoughts may be marked as a reflection of the circumstances, as an episode in a scientific concept, but such thoughts are persisting to this day as if no changes in the late nineties occurred. Such a concept was abandoned in Russia, where it evolves. Although in the theoretical sense it is not so harmful, insisting on the unfounded spreading of the subject of pedagogy has a great **negative** impact on practice. These impacts are manifesting in the reduction of andragogical knowledge produced by the research of the phenomena of learning and education of adults aimed for the future teacher candidates. In order to get convinced, it is enough to give a cursory look at pedagogical textbooks for students of education: there one can find a half of a single page dedicated to an adult education. For God's sake, it is the "same", because some authors in pedagogy "abandoned an earlier definition of pedagogy"! However, the tendency of implementation of distinctive elementary school experiences on the learning and education of adults - is not rejected yet! Comparatively, this thesis has no scientific foundation. It overlooks the research based theoretical foundation of the learning and education of adults; it overlooks social factors, theories of adult learning, motivation, convergence of work and education, different social roles of adults on which depends present and future position of society and of individual, differences in the learning of children and adults, the role of andragogues practicing in this process, etc. The andragogues are asked for presenting the demarcation criteria between pedagogy and andragogy. These criteria lay in a huge historical and comparative material on the education and learning of adults. The researchers who search for the demarcation criteria should find them in these materials, if he/she does not ignore these contributions.

The belief that andragogy "evolved" from the pedagogy, andragogical practice from pedagogical practice lasted for decades in my country. The known historical facts show the opposite. Why does then ignorance or inexcusable "pilfer" persist? The historical materials demonstrate that andragogy does not evolve from

pedagogy, but from intellectual "conflicts" with pedagogy. As a term, pedagogy was used from the period of introduction of the mandatory elementary education. Comenius, in the 17th century, was the first who drew the demarcation line between the pedagogical and the andragogical ideas; but he drew this line in the Pampedia, written at this end of his life, not in the Great Didactic. In the Pampedia Comenius urged for distinctive "schools" for adults, for distinctive contents, textbooks and teachers as we mentioned above. Why was then this thought ignored in pedagogical textbooks? Andragogical ideas and practice (understood as a conception, institutions and new forms) were created in the period of the social, scientific and technological changes brought up by the industrial revolution; it was created under the wing of the workers' movement, constituted in England.

It was German's philosophy who founded the development of the pedagogical thoughts, especially Kant who introduced pedagogy as a subject of University studies. According to him, there is no possibility for upbringing the adults. "Until when should one continue upbringing? Until the nature as such arranges that human being guide itself alone - until the development of the sexual instinct - until young man could become a father and could upbringing others - approximately up to sixteen years of age. After that period one could use supportive means of culture and steadily discipline but, frankly speaking, there are no continued upbringing" (in: Buchner, 1904, p. 4). As we could see, Kant posed one **criterion**, that "human being guides himself alone..." He precisely defined the term "upbringing".

Such Kant's considerations influenced his followers, especially Herbart; these considerations had a key role in defining the subject of pedagogy as a science of upbringing of younger generations. These definitions did not significantly change to this day. Herbart strongly opposed the idea of forming the andragogy. When A. Kapp posed the idea of urgent foundation of andragogy (1833), Herbart pit against him, emphasizing that it would mean an extension of upbringing to adults, what "would lead to general state of juvenility" (Herbart, 1864). According to Herbart, pedagogy ends with the end of the upbringing an education of the young ones. In this sense, Herbart followed his predecessor Kant. Such an understanding of pedagogy clarifies why Kapp considered Herbart as an opponent. Compared to Kapp, Herbart had an indisputable authority in the philosophy and pedagogy of this time in Germany. Although Kapp's ideas were not accepted, the search for the name of the discipline of studying all of

the education evolved outside school institutions attended by children continued. Thus Disterweg (1835) posed the thesis about "social pedagogy" (socialpädagogik) as of discipline studying all of the educational activity taking place outside of school, including the education of adults who missed their first chance in education, and marginalized social groups, as well. As one can see, Kapp's attempts echoed. These efforts were stimulated by institutionalization of adult education, from elementary to the forms of University education. The practice experiences were collected and the distinctions of adult learning were pointed out. Educational and cultural functions of the worker's movement strengthen. The number of the authors dealing with and interested in the problems of adult education appeared, especially in the first decades of the 20th century. After the First World War a number of German authors tried to shape the theoretical thoughts on the learning and education of adults, emphasizing the role of experience of adults in the learning and education. Rosenstock (1924), for example, considered that for "the one who cannot derive a knowledge from the experience" there is no place in the adult education. He made a clear demarcation between the education of young and the learning and education of adults. According to Rosenstock, the differences could not be exclusively attributed only to the discrepancy between the contents and the roots of learning. "The difference is permanently connected with the life as such: between a child and an adult there is a field of action, adult came into history and became a link on a chain of sin, entangle, wishes and pains. This experience is strange for children, so the education should not anticipate the nature. The children education should be consistent with the nature and in striving to self-improvement. The adult comes from the public life and brings the world of incomparable and unchecked terms, concepts and elements of the education. The conflict is a basic principle of a superior intelligence. In adulthood, this conflict ends in confrontations, criticisms and discussions. An adult accepts only when eliminates by himself; the education of an adult is a vivid intellectual exchange of the essence of the thought" (Ibid, p. 4). Working at the Academy of Work at Frankfurt University, in rejection of the pedagogical methods, Rosenstock reached the concept of andragogy. According to him, a different philosophy, different methods and different teachers are needed for worker's education. He asked for a professional teacher, capable for direct contact with participants. He considered that such teachers could only be andragogues. This was the period when

universities opened their gates to the learning and education of adults.

All these activities made a solid foundation for the shaping of the theory of adult learning. A German experience influenced other continental European countries. Due to the lack of space, we could not analyze these experiences. Not to "hush up", not to ignore it, but to study the history which testifies the differences between the learning and education of children and adults, between the pedagogy and andragogy is what we could recommend to the school of "integral pedagogy" followers. The study of this process should provide the distinctive "criteria" between pedagogy and andragogy.

The Russian language literature from the end of 19th and the beginning of the 20th century gives us an important historical experience based on the perspective upon differentiation of pedagogy and andragogy, upon differentiation of the learning of children and adults. As far as we know, the first who used the term andragogy in the Russian literature was Olesnickij (1885), professor at Kiev University. Olesnickij developed the concept of education, important even today in the sciences of education. Olesnickij has an optimistic approach to the human development and believed it can continue not only until the young period, but *later*, even in the mature and third age. He assumed that changes happens throughout the whole life. In a mature period the ideals of young period are replaced by *sober*, practical expressions. The physical strength descends, while spiritual life could be compared with the energy of youth. Every period of life has its own psychological and physiological distinctions; the nature of children is different to that of adults. The applications of different upbringing means is a reason why it should be desirable to know a human nature. Emphasizing that not the children but adults, capable for reasonable and independent activities are the one who move the culture, Olesnickij argues for their preparation for these activities: "The science is developed by adults, the art is improved by adults" (Olesnickij, 1985, p. 27). In the experimental research on adult learning and education in the 20th century, some ideas of Olesnickij were confirmed. We should have in mind that the period of posing these ideas was the same one when pedagogical psychologists rejected a possibility of the learning and education in adulthood. If the followers of the school of "integral pedagogy" did not ignore the historical facts, then they would not deny the criteria of the age as a distinctive one for drawing demarcation line between pedagogy and andragogy. In the very essence of this demarcation

line there is a concept of adulthood, which encompasses the roles of adults, the nature of adult learning, the contents, forms, processes and results of the learning. Olesnickij comprehended this by the end of the 19th century.

In the Russian pedagogical literature there are no references to the concept of andragogy which evolved in the first decades of the 20th century. During and immediately after the October Revolution the institutions for education of adults are enlarged. The theoretical foundation of andragogy is attributed to Medinskij (1923) who connected it to **anthropogogy**. He wrote that: "Pedagogy is a science of upbringing the children, and not of a man in general; as such pedagogy is just a discipline of the anthropogogy, the science of upbringing the people" (Ibid, p. 10). According Medinskij, the second part of anthropogogy is the theory of informal education - andragogy. The contribution of Medinskij to the constituting of andragogy is of the great importance. With his ideas, Medinskij was ahead of the time he belonged to. Lunacarskij also used both terms "anthropogogy" and "andragogy".

The turn from this standpoint happened suddenly, in the thirties. According to the decisions of the ruling party, education of adults is understood as a sphere of ideological work, for which there is neither space nor need for a scientific research. Ideology and politics had priority over science. Such a condition in scientific research of adult education lasted until the sixties, when discourses about pedagogy as a general science of upbringing were restored due to the Kairov's statement at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of USSR, when he asked for the enlargement of the subject of pedagogy on the problems of upbringing and education as a whole. In the Pedagogical encyclopedia (1966) there is a new definition of pedagogy, as follows: "The pedagogy developed as a theory of children upbringing; contemporary pedagogy involves educational-upbringing, cultural-enlightening, agitation-propagandist problems of the work with the adults, too". Thus, "socialistic pedagogy serves to the whole of the society". However, only declarations remain from this service orientation of pedagogy. But, the declaration on enlargement of the subject of pedagogy influenced the definitions of the subject of pedagogy in other socialistic countries, where the enlargement of the subject of pedagogy also occurred.

During the last decades of 20th century the researches in the field of learning and education were intensified, but in the theoretical sense, andragogical thoughts did not leave the field of "pedagogy of

adults". However, such authorities in pedagogical science as Gon~arev, the president of the Soviet Union Academy of the Pedagogical Sciences, recognized andragogy as a synonym of the pedagogy of adults. He does it in his own way: "Nowadays, the pedagogy of adults are developed in a whole world under the name 'andragogika'. Andragogika studied the problems of upbringing and education of adults in a given context of their life activities. It is a theory, scientific base for adult education, without which it is impossible to found a practice of the education, without theory the practice would become sorcery" (Gon~arev, 1976, p. 3). Due the lack of space, we will not analyze other authors' contributions to foundation of the andragogy and of its disciplines. Social, political and economics changes in Russian federation made a new space for the development of andragogy as a science. New University departments for andragogy, new research centers for studying of the learning and education of adults appear, and andragogy is considered as one of the sciences in the system of educational sciences. The academy of the Pedagogical Sciences change name into Academy of education; new studies dedicated to andragogy emerge (Andragogika, 2001; Verlovskij, 1998; Zmeev, 1999; Kolesnikov, 2003; Gromova, 2005). In the Russian Federation, andragogy became a major subject in the professional preparation and in continuous teacher development; the utilization of the literature on learning and education of adults developed in the western cultural circle becomes widespread. Similar changes happen in the countries dominated by the former Soviet pedagogic idea: Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Czech Republic, Poland, and Bulgaria. So, should we "hush up", suppress or ignore these changes? Doing this would mean a violation of the scientific facts.

In the United Kingdom the spreading of the concept of andragogy was slow. The first researcher who pointed out the concept of andragogy was J.A. Simpson in the sixties; he emphasized that the concept of andragogy is a common in the continental Europe (Simpson, 1964, p. 186). Writing on andragogy, Simpson tends to point out the need for researching the distinctions of learning and education of adults by those competent. Simpson's tendencies to dissuade attention from the techniques and to concentrate on the synthesis and on the values applicable in the whole field of the learning and education of adults, were justified.

At the end of the seventies, at the University of Nottingham a group evolved which aimed to shape the concept of andragogy (The

Nottingham Andragogy Group, 1983). Due to the base founded in the ideas of Knowles, an American scholar, the Group continued it, by redefining the andragogy; by essentially leaning on and connecting andragogy with the philosophy of Freire, the Group comprehends it as a temptation to help adults to become initiators of their own thinking and their own feelings. The Nottingham Andragogy Group views adults as social beings, the products of the history and culture. By integrating the affective dimensions in the group and in the individual context, individual in adulthood acquires capabilities for creative and critical thinking. More than the accepting other people's ideas, in the andragogical process adults are urged for the critical thinking. This Group comprehended andragogical process in a much broader sense (Ibid, p. 45).

At the beginning of the eighties, in the United Kingdom, the number of papers about andragogy multiplies. Thoughts are divergent, from understanding andragogy as a theory of practice to understandings of andragogy (Jarvis, 1984) as an *incomplete* theory of adult education, drawing knowledge from the different disciplines.

At the beginning of the eighties, a renowned Oxford publisher, The Pergamon Press, initiated publishing of the international journal "Andragogy" (Andragogy: An international Journal of Research and Studies), with research orientation aimed to help experts in the field of learning and education of adults. The Pergamon Press asked me for opinion on validity of this project. I answered and pointed out that:

"...The idea is great. In the last 25 years my wish is a foundation of such a journal in English. It should be a new step in development of theory of adult education. The Pergamon Press is excellent choice for publishing such a journal because of international circulation of its publications.

The statement on the goals and on the scope of the proposed journal is very good. We need a good theory of the education and learning of adults in every place of the world. A new journal could contribute in advancement of andragogical ideas, terms and research findings" (a Letter to The Pergamon Press, 02. December, 1985, text in English, Personal archive). In the concept of the proposal of the journal, andragogical theory of learning, application of the andragogical models of learning are described, and ambitions for dissemination concept of andragogy on the whole world are explained (The Scope and Purpose of Andragogy: an International Journal of Research and Studies, 1985). This project testifies that some authors from the United Kingdom seriously considered concept

of andragogy and its international dimensions.

The next opportunity to participate in the discussion on andragogy with British and other scholars I had in 1990, on the Standing Conference on University Teaching and Research in the Education of Adults - SCUTREA. I was invited at the conference to present a contribution on the concept of andragogy. A new discussion on andragogy was taking place. The British scholar W.M. Robb especially supported a concept of andragogy. He emphasized the problems with explanations of meaning of andragogy which practitioners have, emerged because of the two main reasons: first, the term andragogy is not included in prominent dictionaries of English, and second, term andragogy is used in different meanings (see: A. Wellings, Ed., Towards 1992, Education of Adults in New Europe, SCUTREA, Sheffield, 1990).

In the USA, the concept of andragogy is tightly connected to the name of professor M.S. Knowles. But, the process of development of the concept andragogy is usually ignored. Knowles emphasized in some of his books that he "stole the" the term andragogy from a young Yugoslav adult educator. There was no "stealing", but Knowles formulated his approach after our longstanding discussion on andragogy, after our mutual correspondence and after our exchange of andragogical sources. I was aware of importance to attract Knowles to the concept of andragogy. He was the first University professor who stood for an idea of considering the need to form andragogy as scientific discipline, on the National convention of the American Association for Adult and Continuing Education, held in the fall of 1966, in Chicago. I have explained this process in detail in my latest study (see: Savičević, 2006, p. 54-67).

The correspondence between professor Knowles and me continued after my return to Yugoslavia in July, 1967. We had discussions about writing the term "Andragogy", and arranged to write together a book on andragogy. Agreement on writing that book was attained in 1987, at International Conference "Learning how to Learn". We agreed on the title: "Andragogy in historical and comparative perspective", and on the details about who should write which part of the book. Unfortunately this project was not brought to fruition. Over the course of two decades Knowles was changing his opinion on andragogy. He claims that andragogy is a "model" of learning applicable even to a preschool institution. In the eighties, Knowles defined andragogy as a "technology of learning", and as a "technology of helping adults to learn". In such a way he reduced

andragogy to a prescription, recipes for teachers' behavior in the process of education and learning. Not in a single case can andragogy "help adults to learn". It could do it indirectly, if practitioners use some findings. With such claims, Knowles estranged himself from the basic concept of andragogy he formulated in the sixties. Knowles did not consider enough the historical roots of evolving and of development of andragogy in American and in European literature. Such a relation to the historical roots led him to the conclusion that he was the "first" to use the term andragogy in the American literature. Historical data show that such a conclusion is not justified. It is well known that the concept of andragogy evolved in German cultural circles, and that some American scholars used term andragogy in the thirties (Lindeman, 1926, Hansome, 1931). They "borrowed" the term from the German andragogical practice. It is worth to mention that Lindeman and Hansome were Danish, and that they became interested for European andragogical experience on their study trips.

The concept of andragogy explained by Knowles, initiated new discussions in the professional literature. It should be useful to make a deeper analysis of andragogical ideas expressed in these discussions. Due to the lack of space, we can not do it here. However, in spite of different approaches to andragogy, no serious scientific study on the adult education since the eighties has ignored the andragogical problems. Since we initiated the discussion on andragogy with Knowles in 1966, contemporary resources show that more than 170 doctoral theses on this topic were defended in the USA (Cooper, Henschke, 2001, pp. 5-14).

Forty years in development of a science is not a long nor ignorable period. I met professor Knowles four decades ago and argued on term and on concept of andragogy. Since then, the term and the concept of andragogy enlarged and rooted in the American professional literature. There is no doubt that Knowles contributed to it, not only by his texts, but with his spoken word and lectures. He was a "masovik", i.e. a lecturer on a mass events. He told me that he lectured on 10.000 visitor stadiums. As if he was inspired by an ancient agonistic spirituality! His contribution to dissemination of andragogical ideas throughout the USA is huge. The history of andragogy will put him on a meritorious place in the development of this scientific discipline.

Latin America is the place where the radical philosophy of adult education nurtured first. The most distinguished exponent of such a

philosophy was Brazilian philosopher and andragogical practitioner Paulo Freire. He gave special contribution to the development of andragogical thoughts, in whole. His influence is also evident in other Latin American countries; especially in Chile, Cuba, Nicaragua, and Venezuela.

In the early seventies, the Organization of American States, which encompasses all of Latin American states, started a project "**Integrative education of adults**". The goal of this project was to prepare experts for the field of education of adults, and to start pilot researches of education and learning of adults. The main focus of these activities was in the Center for Polyvalent education of adults in Santiago, Chile.

At the end of November, 1971 in Santiago a seminar for experts from Latin America engaged in the field of adult education was held and it lasted for three weeks. I was invited to engage in the seminar as a lecturer. I accepted the invitation and gave a few lectures during the seminar. I had a conversation with responsible people on the problems of andragogy, on the need for professional preparation of personnel in the field, and on starting researches and appropriate journals for diffusion of research results. Shortly afterward, the Center started a new library: "Biblioteca Andragogica" which published my papers (lectures at the aforementioned seminar) in the first three issues. That is how the andragogical library in Chile started.

The most enthusiastic supporter of andragogy in Venezuela was Dr. Felix Adam. His book "Andragogy - The Science of Adult Education" had an evident impact on the field in Spanish - spoken countries. I was invited by the "Simon Rodriguez" University to be a visiting professor for andragogy on the postgraduate studies in 1977. Apart from the lectures, I was active in the consultation on the problems of development of the "Simon Rodriguez" University.

My activities in the Latin America consisted in the lecturing on the field of adult education, dissemination of andragogical ideas, influence on starting andragogical publications, supporting international cooperation in the field of adult education and introduction of new personnel in postgraduate studies such as, for example, course on comparative andragogy. The contribution in developing andragogy is connected to the name of Felix Adam, the first general secretary of the Pan-American association for adult education, and later, the rector of the "Simon Rodriguez" University and the director of the International Institute for Andragogy in Caracas.

Interesting discussions on the andragogy were in the other European countries: Hungary, Czech Republic, Poland, Austria, Switzerland, Finland, etc. Due to lack of space we can not make detailed description on the essence of these discussions. I was done it in my two books (text in Serbian, Summary in English): *Contemporary Conceptions of Andragogy* (Savremena shvatanja andragogije, 1991) and *Andragogical ideas in international framework* (Andrago{ke ideje u meunarodnim okvirima, 2006). The comparative research shows that in the East European countries since nineties the interest for andragogy as a science of learning and education of adults suddenly increased. If learning of adults becomes the key for life in the 21st century, one could presume that andragogy as a science with such a subject will become more important.

5. Convergence and Divergence in the Contemporary Concepts of Andragogy

In the second half of the 20th century the process of professionalization in the field of education and learning of adults accelerated; it is evident especially in Europe and in North America. The new infusion of knowledge to a new profession for its dynamical and responsible acting was necessary. It was the time when the discussions on andragogy as a scientific discipline emerged. In the period between the First and the Second World War, the main attention was oriented toward the proving of the possibility of adult learning. Since the sixties the main research efforts were aimed on the proving the differences and distinctions in education and learning of adults in comparison to education and learning of children. It was the common, visible tendency in the most countries.

The comparative research shows that in the period after the Second World War due to andragogy several schools of thought (concepts) in Europe and North America emerged: pedagogical conception, agological conception, prescriptive conception, andragogical conception and conception of ignoring andragogy as a scientific discipline.

The pedagogical concept evolves in a few countries in Central and Eastern Europe. Essentially, this school regards andragogy as one of the pedagogical disciplines. Such a concept does not ignore andragogy as a scientific discipline, but places it under the umbrella of the global science, pedagogy. The weakness of this concept is concentrated in the fact that it assumes that andragogy originates from pedagogy and that the field of andragogy for research and for

theorizing is limited. Establishing pedagogy as an integral science of upbringing belongs to a domain of abstractions, without a scientific basis.

The second concept is set apart by its integrity and is named agological one evolved in the Netherlands. This concept exceeded education of adults and relates to all guiding activities: social work, health protection, human relations, and life in groups. The trends in the Netherlands moved from agology toward andragogy.

The prescriptive concept in andragogy was deeply rooted by some scholars in North America. Prescribing teachers' and students' ways of behavior in the processes of education and learning are in its essence. Sometimes, its concept is described as the "helping adults in learning" one, and sometimes, considering the situation, as a wide applicable "model" of learning.

The largest number of supporters of the concept of andragogy as a scientific discipline (or under the other name) comes from the Central and Eastern Europe, and from the USA, especially among younger researchers and University professors. The claims of the existence of constituted discipline, with studying of the learning and education of adults in both formal and informal forms of work as a main subject, is in its essence. The supporters are encountered in Germany, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, former Yugoslavia, Russian Federation, with growing number of followers in the USA and in Canada, especially at the Montreal University. They tend to establish andragogy as an integral science on learning and education of adults. Andragogy possess its own scientific structure, its own system of sub disciplines whose subjects are studying of the particular, mutually differentiated sub fields of the learning and education of adults.

The concept of ignoring andragogy as a scientific discipline is a distinctive school of thought, whose supporters usually ask questions regarding the existence of andragogy as a scientific discipline. The supporters of this concept claim that learning and education of adults is a field for researches realized by the previously constituted disciplines: anthropology, psychology, sociology, etc. Historical development of andragogy, growing body of scientific knowledge produced in different social contexts, giving opportunity to andragogy as a subject of study, show that there is no future for these claims. We consider that the skepticism about constituting discipline studying learning and education of adults declared by some authors is unjustified. Deeper reconsideration of the terminology evolved in the

field is needed. A necessary condition for constituting a science is a founding of a precise terminology. This also applies to andragogy. But both the terms and the scientific structure are in the very essence of every discipline.

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The ideal of self-education in popular adult education A historical and comparative perspective

Abstract: The paper explores the reasoning, meanings and practice of self-education within popular adult education. A philosophical foundation is traced back to the writings of Kant, Rousseau and Herder. Following the implementation of the ideas from the 19th century two main traditions are identified; the self—improvement and autodidactic tradition and the mutual improvement tradition. The latter is closely related to the work of social or popular movements and is further outlined and exemplified with the Nordic study circle work and the workers' education. Finally the paper comments the contemporary meaning and practice of self-education related to the paradigmatic shift towards self-directed and self-reflexive learning. The conclusion is that self-education is still a residual, although transformed, education ideal in popular adult education.

Introduction

If we draw a simplified picture of the history of popular adult education two traditions or educational ideals can be identified. The first presumes a delimited amount of knowledge, a teacher and a pupil or student who is the recipient of the transmitted knowledge. The teacher is the master of the external knowledge base - or at least far ahead of the learner in terms of knowledge and refinement – and he or she transfers insights and skills to an ignorant and passive and recipient with help of some chosen methods and techniques. Enlightenment was something happening when an educated person explained and clarified the matter or the text to the student. This is a patriarchal educational ideal (Gustavsson, 2005) that dominated the philanthropic popular education in the 19th century and can be found as a residual element (Williams, 1977) up to our times. I will call it a teacher managed and regulated education. The second one is the self-education tradition founded on the belief that enlightenment can come from below. It presumes that knowledge can be created through social interaction between equals and can be transmitted to an active learner and acquired without help of external mediators.

The paper deals with this second tradition and explores the

different meanings, reasoning and practices of self-education. I start with the main pedagogical and philosophical foundation for self-education which can be found in the better part of writings on education and *Bildung*. A distinction will be made between the individualistic and autodidactic self-improvement tradition on the one hand and the collective mutual improvement tradition on the other hand. In the final part of the paper I discuss the existence and relevance of self-education ideal in the contemporary, and mainly Nordic, popular adult education. The problems addressed is whether self-education is part of a frozen ideology (Liedman, 1998), a residual element (Williams, 1977) or is transformed into new meanings and forms as self-directed or self-reflexive learning.

1. A pedagogical and philosophical foundation

The idea of self-education, from the point of view of the history of ideas, can be traced back to the writings of Rousseau and Herder and the Kantian theory of cognition (Gustavsson, 1991). It is not the place in this paper to elaborate their ideas at any length but I will mention some main ideas.

Kant placed the main responsibility and achievement for education on the human being itself. For Kant education seemed to be equal to self-education and the individual is the subject of knowledge. Following Kant the enlightenment is coming neither from above nor from below, rather does it come from within the human being itself or from reason (Kant, 1993; Korsgaard, 1997:).

Rousseau maintained that experience is the best teacher and that we learn by acting. In his writings we find a theory of the natural self-developing human subject who will grow and develop like a plant. Self-development is a consequence of self-activity (Korsgaard, 1997:126). This ideal has strongly inspired adult education initiatives and can especially be identified in the folk high school movement (Tøsse, 2005).

Herder agreed to a great extent with Rousseau but emphasised more the social interaction with the surrounding world. According to Herder the human being has an inherent potential which may develop through interaction with an encouraging environment. The realisation of this potential is the central element in *Bildung* (*bildning* in Swedish or *dannelse* in the Norwegian and Danish languages). Moreover *Bildung* is the harmonious fellowship between the individual and the popular culture of which the individual is an organic part, it is the harmony between man and nature and finally between

man and God (Korsgaard, 1997:127-128).

These ideas became reproduced in the neo-humanistic pedagogy in the 19th century. *Bildung* meant transformation through an intercourse with culture, especially the classical. This intercourse has been described as a kind of internalisation or incorporation of the strange and unknown and as an active process it is inherently self-*Bildung*. The drive towards such a refinement must come from within and a true, genuine and natural *Bildung* has to grow out of a deep felt need, the Norwegian professor in the classical humanities J. M. Monrad (1816-97) said. He was one of the founders of *The Society for the Promotion of People's Enlightenment* (1851) with the aim to spread enlightenment from the top and downwards, or more precisely, to enlighten the people from above via the middle classes. Although the Society was a true philanthropically adventure, the leaders were largely inspired by a neo-humanistic ideal of self-learning. "In the final end the people must enlighten themselves", Monrad declared (1855). The leader of the Society, the educationist Hartvig Nissen, agreed: "All *Bildung* (*dannelse*) is essential self-*Bildung*" (1856, see Tøsse, 2005:41).

2. The idea of self-improvement and the autodidactic tradition

The early 19th Century efforts of providing education of the people in Great Britain, United States as well as in other countries were all inspired by an ethos of self-improvement. The motives were various. In his *History of Adult Education in Great Britain* Kelly (1970:123) writes about the mechanics' institutes:

"Employers ... hoped the institutes would provide training in self-government; philanthropists ... hoped they would alleviate the poverty and misery of the working classes. ... Self-improvement was the slogan, and self-improvement covered both a genuine intellectual interest in learning for its own sake, and a desire to acquire knowledge as an instrument of personal advancement".

Moreover educators appealed to self-improvement as a way to establish respect for the laws and the subordination of rank on which, they declared, the well-being of every gradation in society depended. Workers were told to not complain of exploitation, but instead to attend to education and self-improvement. During a period of rapid development of adult education from the 1830s Stubblefield and Keane (1994:60, 91) report from America that "the public appetite for self-improvement seemed insatiable". George Craik's *The Pursuit of Knowledge Under Difficulties*, printed in England 1830, became a big hit in the North America colonies. The book presented hundreds of

successful persons who had provided for their own self-education. Craik defined self-education as an education without a teacher except for the initial teaching of reading and writing. His main message was that success or failure in learning depended more on the individual self than on the circumstances of which the person was subjected to (Kett, 1994:86; Brockett and Hiemstra, 1991, ch. 1). This message fitted well into the individualistic ideology which since have dominated the North America society. Craik's book was succeeded by similar guiding. William Channings lectured on how to develop a spiritual "self-culture", and Orson Fowlers constructed a "Self-Improvement Directory Table" with descriptions of 37 mental abilities which could be further developed in order to achieve greater material benefits. A market for professional lecturers as well as books concerning self-improvement emerged. One of the most popular and widespread books was *Self Help* (1859) written by the Scot Samuel Smile (1805-1912). Smile believed in education for the masses both from the individual as well as from the societal perspective. "Knowledge is no exclusive inheritance of the rich and the leisure classes but may be attained by all", he said (Smiles quoted in Cooke, 2000). However, he did not advocate a public responsibility for education. The philosophy was strongly individualistic. The happiness and well being in life he told the workers "must necessarily depend on themselves – upon their own diligent self-culture, self-discipline and self-control" (Cooke, 2000).

We may notice that Smiles wrote his book in the heydays of liberalism, not to say the pure *laissez faire* ideology. The classic economic liberalism extolled the virtues of the pursuit of self interest. The common interest or the well being of the society was founded on the individual's diligence, moral and happiness. As John Stuart Mill wrote in his work *On Liberty* (quoted by Smile in his book) "the worth of a state, in the long run, is the worth of the individuals comprising it" (Cooke, 2000). This philosophy greatly inspired others in many countries, for instance the Norwegian lawyer, economist and professor in the science of law T. H. Aschehoug (1822-1909). He added an important element to the liberalistic theory; if self interest should have a positive effect it had to be guided by knowledge, good sense and rational thought. According to Aschehoug the interplay between self-interest, reason, insight and moral was the real dynamic forces in the economic life. This theory was also authorized by Thomas Malthus who claimed that the Scottish education system had demonstrated "considerable effect in the prevention of crimes and the

promotion of industry, morality and regular conduct" (Cooke, 2000). The degree of enlightenment and insight was a decisive factor if the self-interest would lead to social progress and hence Aschehoug attached great importance to the education of the people. That is why he also joined the foundation of the above mentioned *Society for the Promotion of Peoples's Enlightenment*. Aschehoug was in fact one of earliest who emphasized adult education as the critical factor in economic growth and transformation of society. Education, he believed, would counteract poverty and create the basis for improved living standards for the working class. As a devoted liberal, however, neither Aschehoug nor the other leaders of the Society did suggest public help against poverty but would provide opportunities to self-help through "ennobled enlightenment" (Gooderham & Tøsse, 1997; Tøsse, 2005:40).

As reported by Fieldhouse (1997:13) self-help and individual learning were important aspects of nineteenth century adult education. Indeed we may talk about, as Fieldhouse does, an autodidactic tradition. What is interesting to note here is the belief in the individual's ability to educate him/herself. This belief was supported by the many stories of role models who had taught themselves foreign languages and acquired scientific knowledge. Fieldhouse (1997:13) gives some examples and books like *Self Help* was in fact potted biographies of men (Smile had one female example) who had achieved success in self learning. As some argued in the flourishing literature of self-help, every person could receive education from others as well as give education to him/herself. But "the best part of every man's education", Smiles argued (quoting Sir Walter Scott) "is that which he gives himself" (Cooke, 2000).

This theme was further elaborated by one of the most prominent leaders of the *Norwegian Society for the Promotion of Peoples's Enlightenment* and editor of its magazine *Folkevennen (the People's Friend)*, Eilert Sundt (1817-1875). Eilert Sundt was educated as a clergyman but early in his life he was granted a state scholarship in order to study popular culture and the conditions of living of ordinary people. Through his extensive and excellent work Sundt has acquired status as pioneer of sociological research in Norway. From his studies of the traditions, culture and life of ordinary people Sundt developed the conviction that there was much of value within the common well of the nonliterate people's experiences as denoted by their cultures, their work methods and their ideas. From originally

perceiving culture as equal to civilization from above Sundt gradually came to the conclusion that culture could be expressed in terms of popular reason and he argued that enlightenment had to come from the people itself.

Sundt propagated primarily for self-education both as an ideal and as a necessity. He opposed the belief that “the laymen must be instructed and once more instructed”. He even would regard it very unfortunate if books became the prime source of knowledge. In stead he advocated learning from experience, from life itself and the daily work, and he believed that every man and woman could be cultured and educated if he or she reflected on his or her practical task. “I believe there is no work being so ordinary and simple”, he wrote, “that performed with diligence it will refine and develop the worker not only regarding hart and will, but even regarding intellect and insights as well”. His studies of common practice convinced him that a person that carefully has been brought up according to the national customs has received an excellent education (*Folkevennen*, 1864, 1865, see Tøsse, 2005:40).

Self-learning according to Sundt had two elements. The one was the above referred learning from work and daily life. The other was the autodidactic and purposive self-education which he primarily recommended for the young. The years after the initial obligatory schooling – from 15 to 25 years – should be a period of self-education. In these years the young ones should spend his or her spare time to systematic training in reading, writing and the acquirement of knowledge. Idealistically he suggested “self-education as a permanent practice” in which autodidactic learning became supplemented with guidance at an evening or Sunday school. The self-education system he had in mind presupposed the development of public libraries, accordingly he also devoted much energy to establish local libraries.

3. Mutual improvement

From the ideal of self improvement there is a short step to the ideal of mutual improvement. In times of high illiteracy among the working class the idea emerged that friends could educate each other. In England a lot of mutual improvement societies were founded in the 1840s and 1850s. The societies concentrated on elementary subjects and they disappeared in the second half of the century, partly due to improvement in literacy rates and partly due to a more radical turn in the working class adult education (Fieldhouse, 1997:14).

A later example of mutual societies is the Chautauqua movement in USA. The founders, John Vincent, a Methodist pastor, and Lewis Miller, an Ohio inventor, started with Sunday schools and summer schools for Sunday school teachers and in 1878 they founded *The Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle (CLSC)*. This was one of the first and the most successful experiment in correspondence education in the United States. It was founded on the belief that books had a potential to transform a person and Vincent envisioned the home as the centre of learning. The CLSC provided a systematic plan for study through home reading, featuring a book club and study circles in local communities. In this way the Chautauqua movement was firmly rooted in the Anglo-American tradition of popular self-education and it lead to the organisation of hundreds of local associations (Stubblefield & Keane 1994:137-38; Kett, 1994: 157-161).

A third example of mutual improvement society is the Nordic folk high school. In the founding ideology, inherited from Grundtvig, self-education is related to his concept of *vekselvirkning* (interchange) translated by Steven Borish as “a balance between two things that remain different, but that should fertilize each other in their differentness” (Borish, 1991:169). One of Grundtvig’s Norwegian admirers, the school teacher and editor of *Folkevennen*, Ole Vig (1824-1857) suggested the founding of associations which could recruit people from different social stratum and educate each other through conversations, discussions and lectures. This idea anticipated in fact the later Norwegian youth movement and the founding of youth associations all over the country. Vig also greatly inspired the pioneers of the first folk high school in Norway. These new type of schools (established from 1864) put into practice the Grundtvigian belief in the possibility of learning from each other through an exchange of ideas and experiences. In the folk high schools *vekselvirkning* converted into the practice of dialogue and dialogue teaching.

Another element contributing to the self-education ideal of the folk high school is the belief in the education from within. The pioneers of the folk high school movement meant that *Bildung* (*dannelse*) could not create anything new which was totally non-existing in embryonic form from nature (as the neo-humanists believed). The task of education was to support the forces of nature and provide for as much as possible unrestrained self development. Accordingly the folk high school emphasized that awakening had to precede knowledge acquisition. A human being must first be aware

of his or her intellectual interests before he/she would start to learn. In this process of spiritual awakening the young one could be in need of a teacher as an inspirer, awakener or facilitator but real *Bildung* had to come from within the human being itself. At this point the folk high school pioneers were close to neo-humanists, like the before mentioned Monrad, who talked about incorporation with culture as a process “developing from within and from the people itself” and accompanied with “a deep felt popular need” (Tøsse, 2005:41). Both agreed in the ideal of self education, both used the concept of *vekselvirkning* (interchange) and claimed that the individual had to take the substance of *Bildung* from life itself. However, there were two big differences: Firstly, the neo-humanists prescribed incorporation with the classical culture and the civilized world while the folk high schools perceived *vekselvirkning* as circular movements of spiritual streams in which both the scholarly and the common people exchanged experiences and knowledge and accordingly had something valuable to give each others. Secondly; the neo-humanist accepted forced learning, while Grundtvig strongly impressed that learning by force was foolish talk.

4. Collective self-education through social and popular movements

For some, especially members or sympathizers of the labour movement, the rhetoric of self education from within was metaphysical, hazy or at best unclear. For the labour movement self education was something concrete and practical and usually understood as a collective effort of learning jointly. The collective self education could take two forms. I associate the first one to the reformist labour and other social-reformist popular movements which integrated the folk high schools ideals of interchange and dialogue with social democratic ideas of democracy. I will choose the Swede Oscar Olsson, also named as the father of the study circles, as a representative for the first form. The second one is associated to the more radical and Marxist oriented labour movement and some other counter cultural movements which appropriated self education as an instrument in a collective struggle against the cultural, ideological or political hegemony of the ruling classes. As an example here I will choose the Norwegian Workers' Educational Association in the 1930s.

4.1 Self education according to Oscar Olsson

In his thesis *Bildningens väg* (*The Road to Education*) Bernt

Gustavsson (1991) accentuate three prevalent educational ideals of the Swedish labour movement between 1880 and 1930; the ideal of the education of the citizen, the ideal of self-education and the neo-humanistic personality creating ideal. Oscar Olsson is the leading figure of the ideal of self-education and his ideas became widely spread and accepted throughout the Nordic countries.

Oscar Olsson (1877-1950) was a teacher at the teacher training school in Linköping 1907-43, member of the Swedish Parliament 1913-48, and a leader of the temperance movement (he headed the international IOGT from 1930 to 1947). Olsson has written extensively and published approximately 40 books or smaller writing besides being founder and co-editor (1917-36) of the periodical *Bokstugan* (*The book living room*).

Although an original thinker Olsson did not outline his ideas in isolation. Through the former high school teacher and professor of philosophy at Lund, Hans Larsson (1862-1944) he learned to know the ideas of education as a free process and activity in the thought of Rousseau, Fichte and Kant. From these philosophers he formed his basic idea of self-education as a kind of constructive self-activity. From the contemporary writer and educator Ellen Key (1849-1926) he learned how important aesthetic education could be for personal development. Moreover Key acted as an intermediary of the evolutionary ideas of Wallace, Darwin, Huxley and Spencer. From them Key developed the idea that the human could mould his or her personality through a conscious choice between different attitudes towards life. Larsson and Key formulated the ideas and Olsson put them into practical work. Oscar Olsson was primarily the executor of self-education (Gustavsson, 1991:147-153).

As a consequence of the belief in self-activity Olsson rejected philanthropy and the philosophical thinking of the people as the object of enlightenment. The people, or the working class he had in mind, must take the matter in their own hands. From Abraham Lincoln he borrowed the slogan he applied to the study work: *For the people and through the people*. That meant that the organisation, the form and the content of studies should be governed by the participants themselves. To use a later slogan; he had trusting to self-directedness in learning. This has been one of the characteristics of the Nordic popular adult education. Based on Olsson this tradition is founded on three main ideas.

1. Enlightenment, culture and personal refinement can emerge from below, from the common people.
2. Enlightenment and knowledge can be created and

disseminated through dialogue and studies in a group of mutual equal persons.

3. The search for knowledge, the dialogues and discussions concerning spiritual values, the sharing or interchange of human experiences and insights and not the least the acquisition of the inherent wisdom in literature, art or other cultural expressions may shape and refine the human being.

Education in accordance with these ideas is what the Swedes call *folkbildning* or the Norwegians and the Danes *folkeop(p)lysning* (translated here as popular adult education). Traditionally the main aim of popular adult education is personal development and acquisition of general knowledge which may be relevant and useful for all as distinct from the specific vocational and work related qualifications.

Put into practice these ideas resulted in the study circle. The temperance movement (IOGT) had tentatively arranged some study courses among its members, tried out lecturing concerning teetotalism and organized a few reading circles. These first efforts of organized studies had not been very successful, mainly due to shortage of teachers and money to buy books and other study material. On an IOGT meeting in 2002 Olsson suggested new ways of studying and founded the first study circle in line with his ideals in Lund 1902. He amalgamated the former initiatives of reading circles, lending libraries and study courses into a new kind of study circles which indicated both a method of organisation and a method of study (Olsson, 1902, in Arvidson, 1991, appendix 1, pp. 273). The recommended study circles could have between 5 and 30 participants (later usually fewer maximum participants). The idea was to organize a collective form of knowledge acquirement without the help of a teacher. The knowledge could be found in books, and the study circles of Olsson had the book in the centre. Books reflected life itself as the wisest and noblest men had experienced it (Arvidson, 1991:pp. 187; Törnqvist, 2002; Tøsse, 1998:84). "Books contain the aggregate of human experience and knowledge. We just have to draw off the sources", as one of the Norwegian leaders of the workers' movement later said (Tøsse, 2005:70). Thanks to the books even the uneducated could educate him/herself, and without books self-studies became impossible.

The first step in the study circle was the active search for knowledge in a library, or if not available there, the study circle had to buy the books. The need for a sufficient number of books that could

be circulating among the participants were in fact the main reason for building the first study association, *The Workers' Educational Association* in Sweden, 1912.¹ The second step was the actual reading. In the study circles reading became developed to a method. Readers were recommended to start with an extensive overview and then proceed to more intensive substantiated reading. For Olsson and his followers reading was a form of life. It could be an individual activity at home or take place as reading aloud in reading circles. In both case the ideal was a personal acquirement; so to speak incorporate the content with one's own personality and thereby develop oneself. The third step was reflection on the content and discussions with co-participants. Popular adult education has always from Olsson's days emphasized dialogue as an invariable element of the study circle work, both the Socrates' type of dialogue (starting from questions from an apparently ignorant) and the Grundtvigian inspired thinking of dialogue as *vekselvirkning* (exchange of experiences and knowledge). But dialogue according to Olsson must always have as the point of departure a factual content and this was to be found primarily in books. Moreover the reading should always be narrated to the collective experiences and the individual's life and work.

In this way the study circle could be a classic form of *Bildung*, i.e. the interplay between the individual and the collective and the process of taking part in the cultural heritage and the collective experiences. That means that learning from individual experiences is not enough. The learner must go beyond his or her personal world and aspire to develop him/herself through the acquirement of the cultural heritage of which the individual is a member. In other words, *Bildung* is the commuting between subjectivity and objectivity. It is important to note, however, that *Bildung* thus defined by Olsson, is a critical taking over of the cultural heritage. This was an inherent feature of self-education; the participants in study circles should go directly to the sources of knowledge and make their own interpretation without intermediations from other persons. The learners should encounter the writers and the man of letters and not their interpreters and apprentices, Olsson declared (Gustavsson, 1991:162-173). Studies, as part of the process of *Bildung*, required concentrations and immersion. For Olsson

1 The triggering factor was the Library Act of 1912 that introduced state grants to the purchase of books to nationwide organisations of more than 20.000 individual members (Johansson, 1985).

“all real education is fundamentally self-education. This is, however, not only working alone, individual reading and thinking, but an independent and sustainable collaborate participation in order to acquire and extend the cultural heritage” (Olsson, 1918, quoted from Gustavsson, 1991:170).

Olsson's advice was to start with reading of fictions. He believed, as the folk high school pioneers, that literature was important for the personality creation. But the personality creating ideal had to be supplemented by scientific and intellectual *Bildung*. The aim of the studies he advocated was also to educate informed, responsible, critical, and independent citizens. Besides being a prophet of self-education Olsson is also a representative figure of the ideal of the education of the citizens. As a devoted social-democrat he was very concerned of the needs of the working class to acquire the useful knowledge they required in order to participate in the social and political life. Accordingly he also urged the workers to acquire the practical, instrumental and useful knowledge they needed for being active citizens. Olsson linked such political education to the aim of personal development. Citizenship presupposed personal formation or *Bildung*, he claimed, since the future society needed personally refined individuals who were able to undertake social responsibility (Gustavsson, 1991:169). The utmost aim of the self-education in study circles was to generate a spiritual change of the cultural climate, and this was more important than the acquirement of factual knowledge. By spiritual change Olsson also meant refinement of the popular means of entertainments and aesthetic education. Even art could be popularized and transmitted through study circle work (Arvidson, 1991:171-186).

4.2 Self-education in the counter-cultural and counter-hegemonic work

Some of the social and popular movements added to the meaning of popular adult (self)-education an ingredient of counter-culture and counter-hegemony. An example is the Norwegian labour movement that in the 1920s and 1930s was more separatist and Marxist-radical than the contemporary Swedish and Danish labour movement. The Norwegian left-wing radicals had an ambiguous attitude towards *Bildung*, the cultural heritage and similar concepts which they associated to a decadent Bourgeoisie. Alternatively they idealized a construction of a separate working-class culture and advocated learning from life, especially from the everyday class struggle. To participate in union work with its wage disputes, conflicts, strikes and

demonstrations, was regarded as an excellent schooling. From the class struggle the workers learned, as also Marx underlined, that the emancipation of the workers must be carried out by themselves. Contrary to the neutral and liberal workers' education in Sweden the Norwegian counterpart was a partisan, indoctrinating and propagandistic education comprising the study of the socialistic theory, history and praxis, the acquirement of the practical knowledge necessary for participation in internal organisation work and the learning of general and citizenship knowledge in order to take part in the society as full-member citizens. In lack of adequate schools and economical possibilities to take further education the labour movement had to organize its own education; evening schools, study courses, study circles and some few day schools and workers' high schools with leaders and teachers from own ranks. Building of the Workers' Educational Associations in 1931 was in this respect instrumental in the provision of the workers' education. The WEA schooling was built on the principle of self-education in study circles and organized mainly in accordance with the instructions from Oscar Olsson. The study circle was a “group of comrades around the study of books. ... A school without a teacher”, one of the leaders declared. The study circle needed a leader who could be a little head of the rest, but learning was founded on “mutual help with everyone as both a teacher and a student” (WEA Report 1931, quoted in Tøsse, 2005:70). The study circle combined the individual and the collective. Intellectual self-studies lead to personal development and by working collaborate the participants learned solidarity and became deeply involved in the common matters and ideology of the working class. Socialism must be experienced jointly, one of the leaders of WEA said (Tøsse, 2005:70). In the end all learning was aiming towards not the individual but the collective improvement for the (organized) working class. Studies were also part of the pursuit of the movement's own culture, values and norms in order to advance the objectives set by the movement. The utmost aim was to lay the foundation for the labour movement's political and cultural hegemony (Tøsse, 1997; 2005: pp. 68).

5. Self-education in our times

The counter-cultural feature of popular adult education disappeared rapidly after the Second World War and the ideal of self-education in popular movements became undermined by a process of institutionalisation and professionalisation, i.e. paid staff members

and vocational trained and well-educated teachers in stead of volunteers and amateurs from the field of practice. At the same time the field of adult education changed according to two new emergent objectives and functions. Firstly, adult education as a second chance to education. Secondly, adult education as instrumental for upgrading skills, vocational qualification and the acquirement of new competences (the vocational turn in adult education). The popular adult education field became divided into two; 1) a residual tradition of self-directed study circle work aiming at personal development, competences for life, spare time activities and social participation, and 2) encroachment into an emerging branch of teacher-directed education and training for working life or further studies. The first one is characterised as cultural work and defended as *Bildung*, nonformal or informal education and a non-examination zone of freedom while the second part is education and training terminated by examination which gives the participants formal and interchangeable competences (Andersson and Tøsse, 2006; Tøsse, 2006)

In the rest of the paper I will discuss the theme self-education in three respects. Firstly, the question of studying with or without a teacher. I take the development of study circle work in Norway as an example. Secondly, I discuss the transformation, or rather the confusion, of self-education with the ideal of self-directedness. Thirdly, I will comment the attempts to recreate the self-helping and self-educative individual in the shape of the reflexive individual.

5.1 Study circles with or without a teacher

The traditional study circles were, as we have seen, an organised form of learning activity without help of a present teacher. Up to the 1960s a majority of the study circles in Norway were organized and completed without a paid teacher. The state subsidies, however, favoured study circles with a teacher and during the 1970s a majority of the study circles hired a teacher. In 1977 – the first year of implementing the Act of Adult Education – only ten per cent of the study circles were teacher less. This development towards more professionalisation and school similar education did not happen without causing great worries. It changed the distinctive character of popular adult education being an alternative to the school system, the critics said. They stressed the importance of the study associations to counterbalance the school emphasis on theoretical and teacher-directed education and conformity and they feared that professionalisation threatened diversity, self-regulation, spontaneity,

adjustment to local condition and need and it put the amateurs and volunteers away. The study circle without a teacher is our “original way of working ... our distinctive character and our most important tool in adult education as well as our cultural work”, one of the leaders of WEA said (Tøsse, 2005:189).

In the late 1970 the state intervened in favour of these critics but not directly. The government do not decide whether study circles should have a teacher or not, nor do the Norwegian statutory requirements say anything about qualifications of teachers or study leaders. As in Sweden the circle leaders and teachers are approved by the local office of the study association (Andersson and Tøsse, 2006).² The state can however regulate the activity by financial means. From the end of the 1970s the Government reduced subsidies to teacher wages and urged the study associations to arrange a larger share of studies without use of teacher. In the beginning of the 1980s a third of the study circles had no teacher (Tøsse, 2005:190). The policy turned, however, once again and from 1993 the state subsidy per study hour with a teacher is 1,5 greater than the subsidy per study hour without a teacher. Since the late 1990s approximately 20 per cent of the study hours are completed without a teacher involved. An additional explanation of this return to teaching in the study circle is an increase of the average duration (from 28 lessons in 1980 to 33 lessons after 2002) as well as in the number of participants (from 10 to 13 in the same interval). The use of teacher, however, varies very much among the study associations (from 0 to 40 % without a teacher) and varies in proportion to content of study.

5.2 Self-education and self-directed learning

Within the field of an increasingly more professional and discipline-oriented adult education self-education came to be replaced by a new orthodoxy called self-directed learning which from the 1960s, especially in the USA, have become a major trend of research and practice oriented studies. The new trend was introduced by Cyril

² In Sweden almost half of the circle leaders get paid, the rest is working voluntary for free (Andersson, 2001). There is no available statistics in Sweden of the proportion of circles without a teacher, but the state regulations are very favourable of teacher less studies since a study circle approved for state grants may have only three participants who meet regularly at least nine hours all together. In Norway the state regulations require that a study circle must have at least five participants and last more than 12 hours (Andersson and Tøsse, 2006).

Houle and his book *The Inquiring Mind* (1961). In this book he discussed how 22 persons were motivated to take further education and he found three different personal orientations; towards specific goals, activities or learning. The last category became later the self-directed learners, a group that Houle signalled as important to study. In 1964 C. Verner repeated the need for "research into self-direction". The year after Johnstone and Rivera published their grand inquiry of adult education activity in the USA and they estimated that nine million persons were involved in self-studies. "Self-instruction", they concluded, was probably the most neglected "avenue of activity in the whole field of adult education". It became, however, first of all Houles' student, Allen Tough, who inspired to further research through his doctoral thesis *The Teaching Tasks Performed by Adult Self-Teachers* (1966) and his later book *The Adult's Learning Projects* (1971).³

Tough and later P. R. Penland's investigations of adult education activities in the USA demonstrated that the majority of adults' learning projects were self-planned and self-directed and occurred outside the professional, formal and teacher-dominated education field. They had discovered an ice-berg; the greater part of adults' learning took place outside institutions and was self-directed.⁴ These findings also influenced the public opinion of adult learning. In 1977 the US Department of Health, Education and Welfare estimated that 2/3 of the learning efforts of adults were self-initiated and self-regulated.⁵

A second factor to the progressive discourse of self-directedness was the humanistic pedagogy and psychology inspired by Maslow and Rogers and marketed by Knowles' claim of andragogy as a new co-ordinate discipline to pedagogy. Maslow postulated self-actualization as the prime aim of education. The drive towards self-actualization came from within. Education, according to Maslow, was therefore a process of "helping the person to become the best that he is able to become" (Elias & Merriam, 1984:123). Roger expressed himself in the same manner. The utmost aim was to be "the fully functioning person", and he lay the psychological foundation for a

3 For an overview see Candy, 1991, p. 25, and my paper *Selvstyrt læring* (self directed learning) (2002).

4 Penland's results came 1977 and was published in *Adult Education* (USA), no. 3, 1979. See also Cross, 1981 and Candy, 1991, pp. 194.

5 OECD (1977) *Learning Opportunities for Adults*. Here referred from Strong, 1992.

self-directed learning approach by saying: When a pupil or student "chooses his own directions, helps to discover his own learning resources, formulate his own problems, decide his own course of action, and lives with the consequences of each of these choices, then significant learning is maximised" (Rogers, 1969:199). Knowles proposed self-direction as a distinguishing characteristic of adult learning. As a prescriptively defining characteristic it implied a conception of the individual as a free agent being able to act independently of the social situation (Jarvis, 1997:97). In many ways the new "ideology of self-directed learning" (Welton, 1996:128) coincided with individualization and "permeated the field of adult education" (Elias & Merriam, 1980:135). Knowles was the right man to the right time and spurred a lot of discussions as well as research. In the middle of the 1990s Roger Hiemstra (1996a; 1996b) found 247 synonyms to self-directed learners; for instance, self-taught, individual, independent, self-operating, self-sufficient, self-initiated, autodidactic, and autonomous learners/adults and designation like self-education, self-instruction, self-acquired (knowledge), and learning without a teacher. As Welton (1996:129) claims: "Autodidaxy, learner-controlled instruction, self-management, and personal autonomy were all lumped together".

A fundamental problem with all these concepts, pointed to by Brookfield (1986:46-47), is the semantic confusion between learning as a noun and as a verb and between learning and education. On one hand learning may be reserved for the phenomenon of internal mental change and is in this meaning an internal activity of the self. On the other hand it may be used to describe a range of activities and processes of managing external conditions that stimulate the internal change called learning and can be facilitated by an external educator. By this definition some writers have suggested that self-directed learning should really be called self-education or self-teaching as Tough favoured at the outset of his research. If one goes deeper in the meaning of the concepts Brookfield (1987:47-48) doubts, however, that all of these words related to self-directedness can be synonymous with (all of) the meanings of self-education. Moreover, it is important to note that not all of the appraised values of self-directedness, autonomy and authenticity we usually associate to self-learners lead to successful learning. Brookfield (1986:41-44) presents an example. In one of his studies the *field independent learners* - defined as "analytical, socially independent, inner-directed, individualistic, and possessed of a strong sense of self-identity" -

were not as successful as the *field dependent learners* who are “less self-directing in their learning, wanting more structure and guidance from an instructor, and not preferring the independence that may be required in collaborative modes of education”.

5.3 Self-reflexivity as a new disguise of self-help and self-education

Above I have linked the ideal self-education and self-help to an individualistic liberalistic ideology. The new-liberals have returned to this philosophy, even Smiles have been revitalized. His book, *Self-Help*, has been reprinted hundred years after the first edition and once again in 1997 by the *Institute of Economic Affairs* (a right-wing think tank). In the Paper on Lifelong Learning, 1998, the Labour Secretary of State Education claimed: “We are fortunate in this country to have a great tradition of learning. We have inherited the legacy of the great self-help movements of the Victorian industrialist communities” (quoted from Cooke, 2000). With the advancement of new-liberal ideology also various types of self-help books have prospered. In a paper at the ESREA conference in 2004 Edyta Zierkiewicz writes about the educational offer of self-help books in Poland. These books deal about almost every kind of subjects and will usually help the readers in three ways, offer *reactive* help to cope with difficult situations that has already occurred, *prospective* help to manage self-development in a more or less distant future or *advice* the reader how to be a more effective learner. Zierkiewicz considers the books as a significant phenomenon of popular culture and as a constituting part of the traditional theme of self-help and self-education. The authors of the self-help books seem to share the same view as the 19th Century self-help books, namely that the solution to problems or the development of skills depend solely on the individual, actually on the personal self-confidence (Zierkiewicz, 2005). The self-help books fit well into the commercial and consumer society with its promises to make the individual more free and independent by consuming the right remedy or commodity. This society is heavily criticized by Bauman and others who depict a development in which we are increasingly becoming more helpless and dependent on experts. From a critical point of view self-help books will probably make readers more adaptable to the consumer society but will not be very helpful in self-education as an emancipatory project.

On the other hand Giddens (1991) see possibilities for the process of reflexive shaping of identity. He believes that such self-

help books may help us to discover what our problem really is and contribute to the self-education and self-teaching orientation he regards as constitutive feature of the reflexive learner in the post-modern society. J. Rainwater's book *Self-Therapy* (1989) is one of his examples. In the same way as the teacher's role in self-directed learning is reduced to be merely a facilitator the therapist can only act as a “catalyst who can accelerate what has to be a process of self-therapy. ... Keeping a journal, and developing a notional or actual autobiography, are recommended as means of thinking ahead” (p. 71-72). Another recommended therapeutic study is *Learning to Love Yourself* (1987). To learn to estimate oneself as a worthy person is a precondition for trusting others and for risk-taking for self growth in order to change our lives for the better. The self has to be seen as a “reflexive project, for which the individual is responsible”. This is “an active process of self-construction ... of becoming free from dependencies and achieving fulfilment” (p. 77-79). He advocates a life policy which is a policy of choice in which the individual are free to engage itself in a process of reflexive self-creation and construction of an identity narrative. To my opinion, however, Giddens seems to be very close to the old self-improvement ideal advocated by the devoted old liberals.

6. Conclusion

In this paper I have explored the ideas and practical implementation of a self-educational ideal which I claim to be a defining characteristic of popular adult education. Self-education is a consequence of the romantic view of the inherent potential of the human being that may be developed through interaction with an encouraging past and present environment. It is also a derivative of the organic view of human beings stating that humans can grow and develop by their own self-activity. Learning is accordingly a process of constructive self-activity in which the individual educate him/herself. From the early philanthropic efforts of educating the masses through the heydays of 18th Century liberalism the adult education initiatives were accompanied by a demand on self-improvement. In the literary advanced world a market for self-help books emerged which provided guidelines and suggestions for how to master one's own learning and succeed in the daily work and life. The usual message was that happiness and well being depended on oneself and one's own diligent self-education. The autodidactic learner was the hero of the day.

The slogan of mutual improvement referred to the organized efforts of helping each others in the process of learning and development. This collective form of self-education is a constituting element of the folk high school's ideal of dialogue and interchange and was practised in the social movements and voluntary associations that became prominent providers of popular adult education in the 19th century.

In the Nordic countries, first of all in Sweden, the ideal of self-education was put into practical work through the organisation of study circles as a form of knowledge acquirement without help of a teacher. Modelled and developed by the educator and politician Oscar Olsson the study circle as a method as well as a form of organisation rapidly became implemented in the voluntary study work. During the first half of the 20th Century self-education in the collective form of study circles became a defining characteristic of the Nordic popular adult education.

The collective form of self-education is especially associated to counter-cultural movements. My example in the paper is the Norwegian labour movement in the 1920s and 1930s which demonstrates a self-organized internal class based education with leaders and teachers from own ranks. The Labour Party organized its own cultural and social associations, including an educational association, which constituted a separate "camp" in the society. The camp had both the function of safeguarding the workers from bourgeois influence as well as building a cultural and political counter-hegemony. This was a real practice of collective self-education as it was for the members, through the members and founded on own forces.

At present the ideal of self-education can be found in the individualisation of learning provision and the paradigmatic shift from the 1970s towards self-directedness. Moreover I also claim that the post-modern reasoning of the reflexive society and self-reflexive individuals constitutes elements of the traditional self-help and self-education ideal. A pronounced new-liberal turn in educational policy and announcement of individual responsibility for own learning as well as examples of a new self-help books add to my conclusion that self-education is still a residual, although transformed, educational ideal in popular adult education.

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Without Genealogy: A Search for the Unwritten History of Adult Education in Traditional Africa

In spite of the complex nature of education, life and everything else in traditional Africa, it is still possible to disentangle aspects of 'adult education' from the lifelong process of traditional education. Tracing the history of adult education within the complex mix, is a much more daunting task. Most documents on the history of education in Africa begin with the incursion of colonialism into the continent and construct the history of education and adult education in Africa as history of Western education in Africa. The difficulty, and almost impossible task of tracing the history of traditional education is understandable given the heavy ascent on Orature in African traditional societies.

With a special reference to institutions of 'higher education' in traditional African education – including secret cults, divinities, and some other aspects of traditional education – this paper attempts a trace of the history of adult education in traditional Africa despite the lack of genealogy.

Introduction

For some people the mere mention of indigenous or traditional education in Africa more often than not; conjures ideas of something of a mythical proportion. For others, indigenous education in Africa simply refers to a body of primitive and rusty tribal ideas in pre-colonial Africa that were quarantined by Western and in some cases; by Islamic education. What is true of education in general is especially true of adult and higher education. The nature of education in traditional Africa especially makes it difficult for one to discern adult education from all other forms of education because education was a continuum that goes along with life.

According to some experts, the history of adult education in Western societies has generally been tied to social movements in quest of justice and equity. The same trend of using socio-political and economic issues to construct the history of adult education may not be applicable in traditional Africa. For one, there are unique and natural differences between Western and traditional African value

systems. However, the most appropriate and unique difference for the purposes of this paper is their worldview. While the West generally interprets the world from a linear perspective; the African has a holistic understanding of the world. Within the holistic way of life there is a link between the unborn, the living and the dead. Within this setting everything flows into everything else just as everyone exists because of everyone else in the family and community. In this setting, education, religion, morals, dancing, rituals, celebrations etcetera all dovetail in the community. Consequently everything is an opportunity for learning because education is everything. Even in education, the African traditional society emphasizes "the integration of all aspects of education, formal, non-formal and informal" (Omolewa 1981, p.20). This complex chemistry makes it almost impossible to separate education into primary, secondary, tertiary and so forth in traditional Africa. However, the institutions that service specific areas of indigenous education including age groups, trade, and apprenticeship can be used to figure out the different 'levels' of education. The institutions that provide 'adult education' in addition to the focus of 'the education of adults' in traditional Africa provide the best pedestal for tracing the genealogy of the people and the communities that give meaning to adult education; and through them the history of adult education.

The history of adult education is thus presented in this paper outside the purview of say, a national or continental adult education history. History is applied here as an avenue to provide an opportunity for comparative study of institutions of adult education in traditional Africa. Lalage Bown (1981) argued that this form of 'historical' study is one of the ways to compare "adult education at different stages of a country's..." or a people's growth. Quoting from *The Exeter Papers*, Bown (ibid) gives the many uses of the history of adult education in this way. She contends:

It can be used to illuminate the development of *ideas about adult learning* in different parts of the world; it can be used to examine *similarities and differences in cultural and national backgrounds* and in highlighting the '*significant models or forms* which were important in the original development of the adult education system'; and it can be used to compare different methods of teaching adults (p.164).

I trace the history of adult education in this paper as a way of reviewing some of the key institutions and functions of adult education in traditional Africa. Fajana (1960) uses the agencies and functions argument in his study of educational policy in Nigerian

traditional society. He concluded that "a study of traditional educational policy is therefore a study of the various agencies and their united efforts to achieve the communal goal" (p.37). This line of argument is especially applicable to a study of the history of adult education in traditional Africa. Consequently, the search for the history of adult education within the traditional African educational system is tantamount to trying to understand the place of cults, divinities, religion and morality, festivals and cultural dances in traditional African society. I often feel obligated to clarify the fact that traditional Africa can never be used in one particular instance to represent the tsunamic diversity of the peoples, land, culture and history of the continent. However, one can use certain commonalities that connect most of the life-defining values of the people. This paper uses examples mainly from the Gu and Yoruba people of Southwestern Nigeria.

Adult Education and its Institutions in Traditional Africa

Education, including adult education, in traditional Africa was a lifelong process of learning that included socialization and acquisition of knowledge of one's culture and history and skills for professional practice. The complex and life-defining process of education is designed in such a way that irrespective of one's age and disposition, there is always an opportunity to learn and to teach. Most indigenous education is 'structured' to some extent. Okello (1993, p. 28) put this structure into three main compartments of "Home-centered methods", "Community-centered methods" and "Institutional-centered methods". Each level of these methods sometimes helps to determine the 'grade' level of the participant(s). At all the levels, the adult is either a teacher or a student but with most of the onus of educating the young falling on the adults. Irrespective of age, institution and methods, the overall aim of traditional education is the cultivation of *Iwa* 'good character' which contains the attributes of an active and ideal citizen who combines intellectual, moral, religious and professional values and skills to sustain family, community and self. Ocitti (1994, pp.19-20) identified both formal and informal aspects of this character-based lifelong learning at the level of adult education. The formal aspects were more consistent with adult education in that they focus on skills, vocational and related training, age-groups and initiations. The most formal levels are in the "apprenticeship training programs that blended the intellectual and practical elements into education so well by putting learning into action and action into learning" (Avoseh

2002, p.8). At this level secret cults serve as 'Institutions of Higher Education' and members of secret cults serve as the 'philosopher kings'.

Although adults provide the leadership for learning at these levels, they too become learners because "the adults continue to learn by teaching the young and introducing necessary changes into the life of the society" (Anyanwu 1981, p.98). With reference to the Yoruba, Anyanwu (ibid) further explains how adult education both prepares an individual for the most esteemed status in the community as well as defines the 'real' adult. The educator of adults in traditional adult education must "guide other people on aspects of traditional education" (p.104) but because such an individual does not possess all knowledge yet, he/she must immerse self in continuing education and professional development. It is worth quoting Anyanwu (ibid) extensively here:

...he/she (adult educator cum learner) must strive to belong to some of the cults, take part in civic assignments and through cultivated diligence, take part in discussions with groups of people on any aspect of traditional education and culture (p.104-105).

It is through such efforts in lifelong education that the adult educator can hope to advance his/her status to that of a 'revered elder' (and in most cases a revered ancestor) which is a synonym for "ripe experience, accumulation of knowledge and a high level of intelligence" (ibid. p.105) and good character.

Based on the foregoing, it can be affirmed that the lifelong nature of adult education and indigenous education in general allows a thin line between the educator and the learner. The indicators of adult education and one's level of advancement include the complexity of the content, advance use of language, application of proverbs and stories, decoding myths, adjudicating, exhibiting patience, self-control, knowing how to keep secrets, knowing the depths of one's chosen career, the size of one's farm, knowing how to lead prayers and pour libation, and knowing how to put oneself in other 'people's skin' etcetera. These indicators can be put under broad headings. The first is intellectual training and growth which include coordinating experience through abstract reasoning, knowing the seasons and their relation to agriculture, knowing plants, animals and the geography of the community and its neighbors. Also included in the intellectual training are knowledge of proverbs, stories, poems and the good command of language. The second is vocational education that includes a cluster of trades and professions including native

medicine, music and arts, hunting, farming, forms of priesthood among others. The vocational education component is usually predicated on the apprenticeship scheme. All these forms of education converge in participation in the community and are therefore inseparable irrespective of the fact that many avenues and institutions service the educational system. I shall briefly examine some institutions and functions that help our historical search and understanding of adult education in traditional African indigenous education.

Cults and the History of Adult Education

As was pointed out earlier, the history of traditional education at the adult and higher level is the history of the institutions that house and dispense adult education. In most traditional communities, cults and secret societies were the highest institutions of learning just as membership of such societies was one of the highest 'degrees or qualifications' as long as one's character does not suffer blemish. In most traditional societies, including those of the Gu and the Yoruba, there are usually two categories of cults, mainly those of the living and those of the departed. The cults of the living are usually referred to as secret cults because they are the philosopher kings. The Yoruba call them *Egbe Awo* or *Egbe Imule* while the Gu refer to them as *Awono*. The second category of cults is that of the ancestors. The ancestors are the bridges between the living family and those of the spirit world. Hence, they are part of the family and part of all the community's efforts. This is why they are known as "the living – dead (who) are partly 'human' and partly 'spirit'" (Mbiti 1969, p.85).

Secret Cults: The history of cults is as old as the communities in which they exist. Secret cults belong to those of the living and members usually form the intellectual cream of society. Members of these cults are believed to exercise "powers ranging from the intellectual, judicial, moral to metaphysical powers" (Avoseh 2001, p.484). They put these powers to use in the educational process at the adult and higher levels through initiations and rituals.

Daramola ati Jeje (1975, p.130) trace the history of *Egbe Awo* (secret cults) in traditional Yoruba society to *apapo awon agba ilu* (the council of elders). These authors further establish the historical fact that in those days the members of secret cults were same as the chiefs or title holders in their different communities. They formed the king's advisory council and served simultaneously as 'checks and balances' should a king decide to be too absolute in his powers

(*nwọn si maa ndá ọba l'ẹkun nigbakugba ti o ba nfẹ gbe sáraá rẹ koja mpsalasi*). Members of secret cults wielded such powers because of their intellectual, moral and experiential advantage.

These are the powers that make them “institutions of higher or further education” and put them in charge of the education of the “select or the elect” of their communities (Fafunwa 1974, p.16). Fafunwa (ibid) added that at this level of the education of adults;

...the secret of power (real or imaginary), profound native philosophy, science and religion were mastered...(and) the curriculum was relevant to the needs of the society (p.16).

The content at this level was usually woven into initiation rites, rituals and other religious and advanced ceremonies of the community that belong more to what Ocitti (ibid) classified as ‘formalized’ aspects of indigenous education. At such formal levels, “learners may be kept incommunicado for weeks or months” because ‘only the deep can call the deep’ (Avoseh, 2001, p.484). As a matter of fact, the training of a priest by a master-priest takes more than a decade because in “ancient times Ifa priests were the guardians, counselors, philosophers and physicians of their various communities” (Onabamiro 1983, p.66). Onabamiro (ibid) further illuminates the fact that “if the training goes well without a hitch and if the trainee has a retentive memory the training lasts...ten to twelve years”. The master-priest will usually be a member of secret cults. In that case, members of secret cults have power over education in both the intellectual and the vocational realms and so are very powerful. It is important to clarify the fact that irrespective of individual attributes of members of secret cults; their individual and collective powers are held in trust and on behalf of those who have held such powers before them, that is; the ancestors. So, the cults of the living, in most cases, derive the authority of their powers from the ancestors.

Cult of Ancestors: Again, the holistic approach to life puts the ancestors at the center of everything because they are the spiritual arm of the extended family. Understanding the role of the ancestors in everything may provide the ‘outsider’ of traditional African value-system “an intelligent appreciation of traditional educational policy” (Fajana, ibid. p.34). The ancestors’ involvement in education is at all levels and the history of their involvement dates back to the first ancestors of any given community. Fajana (ibid) puts it more succinctly in his explanation of the part that the ancestors play in the world of the traditional Nigerian. According to him (p.34):

The spirits of the ancestral dead were incorporated into the social system as an intimate and integral part of the social group. Also *law and custom were believed to have been handed down from the spirit world from time immemorial, from ancestor to ancestor*. From birth onwards, there was a gradual education ...into the various strata of the society, each stratum scrupulously distinguished from the others in rights and duties, until ...the individual ...became one of the elders and a repository of all the wisdom and lore of the tribe (emphasis mine).

The importance and life-shaping role of education makes it a terrain where the ancestors are involved at all levels as a matter of obligation to the extended family and the society at large. However, the degree of their involvement at each level is marked by content and methodology. In the history of adult education in traditional Africa, ancestors had been involved from time immemorial and have continued to sustain and overhaul the content of education especially at the higher level. Whereas secret cults derive their authority from the ancestors; “the cult of ancestors is the source of its own authority and power” (Avoseh, 2001, p.484).

Although various communities express the involvement of ancestors in the educational system in different ways; most of the ways converge in rites and initiations. Among the Gu of southwestern Nigeria for instance, initiations into the *zangbeto* and *oro* cults are advanced level education processes that involve incarceration and or nightly sessions in jungles for long periods. Those who were selected at given points for this advance education class were screened by the ancestors through the *bokoro* (diviner). The ancestors advise if there is any danger ahead and what sacrifices to make to appease a particular god or great ancestor before the session begins. One recalls being involved in one of such educational process as a young adult. The format was usually formal. Each session began with prayers and libation to the ancestors. There were codes of secrecy, of ‘manliness’ and the need for valor. The idea of nightly meetings in the jungle and of sneaking out of the village in the dead of the night, all added an air of awe to the process. The nightly sessions were rather inconvenient but the status and recognition that go with graduating from that ‘class’ pay for all the inconveniences in the world. The ancestors serve as the institutions and represent the history of such sessions as described above. Their presence is a ‘given’ and this is one of their ways of fulfilling their obligation to sustain the community, its tradition and solidarity and “to guarantee

moral consistency" (Teffo & Roux 1998, p.142). Consequently, the cult of ancestors has a pervasive presence even in festivals, religious and cultural dances and celebrations.

Festivals, Cultural Dances and the History of Adult Education

At the risk of tautology, one needs to point again to the epistemological universe of traditional Africa as being along the lines of a holistic approach in which there is a constant intercourse between the knower and the known, between the process and the product, between the dancer, the music and the drum and so on. Consequently, aesthetic is ingrained in epistemology just as both flow into religion and culture. It is for such reasons that Anyanwu (1983, p.105) concluded that the traditional African does not separate "the inner world of spirits and the outer world of reality" but instead constructs a "unitary world of aesthetic continuum". This aesthetic continuum is especially italicized in the use of festivals, cultural dances and religious celebrations to foster adult education.

The interface defines most festivals, initiations, and worships as religious, moral and educational programs of the community.

Religious Festivals: Most festivals in traditional Africa had their origins in religion. Most of such festivals were ways of adoring and expressing gratitude to the Supreme Being through His ministers-deities like *Sàngo*, *Oro*, *Ọsun*, and even through the ancestors (Idowu 1962, Mbiti 1969, Omolewa 1981 and Yerby 1971). Such festivals, according to Omolewa (1981, p.20) "provide the local population with 'courses' in the history of the locality, accounts of origins, stories and legends of families and great men (women) produced in the society". Also through such festivals, praise songs (*oriki*) are used to enliven the history of the community with references to the feats and failures of ancestors and the lessons there from. *Ewi* (poems) are used at such occasions to teach moral lessons. Even the dances on such festivals have educational impact. Again, Omolewa (ibid) puts it well: "...the exquisite dancing steps and body contortions, and carefully worked out arrangements for order of appearances, embodies education".

Idowu (1962, p.192-194) gives the history, moral and educational lessons of *egungun* and *oro* festivals in Yoruba culture. He outlines how both festivals are used to educate celebrants of the ancestors and the need to be of good conduct in readiness for life after death. *Orisà-nlá* festival is for instance used to teach and re-emphasize the need for good conduct and especially self-discipline in terms of

alcohol consumption. Any celebration of *Orisà-nlá* is a lesson in character education for the adult because in "the theology of the Yoruba... *Orisà-nlá* represents the norm of ethical and ritual purity" (Idowu, p.151). *Orisà-nlá* for instance, forbids palm-wine because "wine is an intoxicant which is capable of spoiling man's (woman's) personality" (ibid). The *Ọsun* festival is another important Yoruba festival with a lot of educational, religious and moral significance. History has it that *Ọsun* was one of the wives of the god of thunder *Sàngo* who was a powerful king of Oyo. He became a deity because he was a super active citizen in his life. *Ọsun* is worshiped in most parts of Yoruba land as the goddess of fertility who is associated with the *Ọsun* River. *Ọsun* festival in Oshogbo is a process of teaching morals, hope for the barren and the importance of procreation. The rites and rituals of *Ọsun* Oshogbo festival are therefore more educational and again re-emphasize the complex mix and the hands of the ancestors in everything.

Initiations and Cultural Dances: Initiations are one of the most pronounced forms of formal education in traditional Africa. They usually have religious cum educational contents and significance in addition to the socio-cultural merriments that accompany the complexions of different stages of initiation. Again there are variations in the format and specifics of who does what at what point. What is constant across-board is the fact that the history of initiations carries with it advanced levels of indigenous education woven around religious rites and age groups. Most stages of initiation were sacrosanct so much so that to violate them would lead to sanctions from the deities and or the ancestors.

The *Dan* *Votùn* of the Gu of Southwestern Nigeria is one of such initiations where new recruits for *Dan* are put in confinement for periods ranging from nine to twenty four months. During their seclusion the *Votùnsi* in-the-making, undergo different forms of training that include language peculiar to the deity, forms of greeting, dancing steps, new spirits of commitment to other devotees and the need to pursue the finest things after graduation. In fact, some learn new trades while in the 'seminary'. By their graduation/initiation, they are entirely 'born again'. They take new names; have different types of incision on their faces and bodies. They are now *Votùnsi* and by virtue of which much is expected from them morally, intellectually and spiritually because of their advanced level of education. In return, they are accorded very high respect and recognition. At their 'graduation' there are celebrations, eating and dancing. Those who

aspire to be so initiated go for special prayers and make offering so that when their time comes, the gods will not say no. The neo-*Votùnsi* also looks forward to the next and higher level of their initiation cum education.

Mbiti (1969, pp.121-122) gave a list of initiation rites across Africa and summarized their significances to include ritually introducing the young adult into 'the art of communal living', 'incorporation into adult life', and also "introduces them to the life of the living-dead as well as the life of those yet to be born" (p.121). Mbiti gives a round up of initiation thus:

Initiation rites have a great educational purpose. ...often marks the beginning of acquiring knowledge which is otherwise not accessible to those who have not been initiated...a period of awakening to many things, a period of dawn for the young. They learn to endure hardships, they learn to live with one another, they learn to obey, they learn the secrets and mysteries of the man-woman relationship; and in some areas, ... they join secret societies each of which has its own secrets, activities and language (p.122).

Initiation rites from their commencement to the final stages of graduation and celebration, including the cultural dances that accompany such celebrations all combine to add to the complexity of education. This complexity also extends to religion, the spiritual, the corporeal, the environment, the un-born, the living, and the living-dead which are all embed in an individual's life. Thus, life and living in traditional African societies was a manifestation of this holistic continuum. This continuum is what makes education a lifelong and historical process that connects present, past and future generations.

Conclusion

An attempt has been made in this paper to tease out the history of adult education in traditional Africa in spite of the heavy accent on orality. The paper has not attempted to delve into criticisms and limitations often raised against most issues that are linked to traditional Africa because that would correlate to searching for the history of adult education in traditional Africa vis-à-vis a Western history of adult education.

One is however not unaware of such criticisms which include too much emphasis on orality and age, tendency towards authoritarianism, and over-glorification of the past that makes it all appear more utopian. Most of these criticisms and observations are well-placed especially coming from those who are 'outsiders' to the

culture or from those who are products of the culture but have become what a prominent African scholar called 'deluded-hybrids'. Most of us who are outsiders to the Western society, irrespective of our degree of education in the West, still remain, to a large extent, *Ogberi* (the uninitiated) in most Western cultures.

The more important issue I have tried to address is to determine the extent, if any, that one can trace the history of adult education in traditional Africa. At this point the question still remains: what is the history of adult education in traditional Africa? Given the unique nature of African traditional societies, this question is logically a loaded one. For one, the history of anything in traditional Africa almost implies the history of everything else because of the complex continuum I mentioned repeatedly above. Notwithstanding this holistic symmetry, I have been able to link the history of adult education with the genealogy of each given community. The genealogical line extends to the first ancestors and thus the history of education, of religion, of culture, of trade, of war and of adult education is the history of the people. The institutions and formats that we have identified in this paper are more of signposts that lead to more fundamentals that connect everyone to everyone else and establish education including adult education as a life's journey. The history of this journey starts in the womb and continues in the tomb down to the first ancestors. This genealogical line is bridged across the living, the dead and the unborn through Orature.

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Part 2: “Historic Persons” becoming Adult Educators

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Malcolm S. Knowles: Four Major Historical Social Movements that Influenced Him and He Influenced as He Became An Adult Educator

This paper is based on the dissertation research conducted by Dr. Marti Sopher, for her Ph.D. degree at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Abundant thanks are due her. She may be contacted as follows: cacl@chorus.net <<mailto:cacl@chorus.net>> John Henschke served as a volunteer sixth member of her Dissertation Committee, a visiting professor at UW-Madison.

Abstract: Using a qualitative approach, this research provided thematic analysis and description of the context of Knowles' times. This study set out to rewrite history to complement Knowles' autobiography, *The Making of an Adult Educator*. The research questions included: What took place when Knowles and Savicevic met in 1966? How did Knowles decide to make use of the term andragogy to name his theory of adult learning in 1967 and 1968? What discourse followed Knowles' introduction of his theory? What social movements in the U.S. occurred during Knowles' times?

Denzin's (1989) model of a fully triangulated biographical investigation, consisting of a case history, a case study, a life story, a personal experience story, an oral history, and a personal history was used, allowing the subject to also participate in interpretation. Sartre's progressive-regressive method, according to Denzin (1989) provided the framework for interpretation. The event chosen for this framework was the period of 1966-1969 when Knowles learned of the term andragogy from Savicevic and introduced his theory of adult learning after developing it for two decades. Knowles introduced andragogy in a 1967 speech and a related 1968 publication. The spelling was corrected to andragogy in 1968. Knowles, a pioneer and leader in the field of adult education in the U.S., created social change itself by making use of the term andragogy as he saw fit.

The social movements which provide context of Knowles' times included: the humanistic adult education movement, the human services movement, the group dynamics movement, and the human resource development

movement. Though Knowles had an eclectic philosophy of adult learning, humanism, a common theme through the movements, is central to the assumptions included in his theory. From the humanistic movement, Knowles gained consistency in philosophy. From human services, he recognized the need to be practical in his approach with adult learners. From the group dynamics movement, he became more authentic in his style. From the human resource development movement, he used action research to share the application of andragogy with others.

Background

It must be remembered that some discussion regarding andragogy in the United States is now almost 40 years old. Therefore, to best understand Knowles' andragogy and the discourse about andragogy, it is useful to construct the context of Knowles' time because it is from within this context that Malcolm S. Knowles composed, expressed, modified and defended his ideas.

Like many leaders and many adult educators, Knowles had a long and active career. He is considered "one of the most influential adult educators in the United States" (Elias & Merriam, 1984, p. 131). Knowles was possibly the "most quoted author in world literature of adult education" (Dusan M. Savicevic, personal communication with Marti Sopher, March 25, 1995), yet not the most published. Historians in the field (Stubblefield & Keane, 1994) cited Knowles more than any other adult educator. Savicevic (Personal communication with Marti Sopher, March 25, 1995) shared that he considered Knowles to be "one of the prominent figures in world thought about adult education." Some people have referred to Knowles as "the father of adult education" and several other similar variations.

Knowles referred to his conceptualization of adult learning as andragogy. He had learned of the term from Savicevic, who attended a summer session course on adult learning at Boston University in August, 1966 (Dusan M. Savicevic, personal communication with Marti Sopher, March 25, 1995), which was taught by Knowles (1989b; Personal communication with Marti Sopher, April 20-21, 1996). Andragogy was introduced as Knowles' theory of adult learning at a time in U.S. history when there was no one theory of adult education (M. S. Knowles, personal communication with Marti Sopher, April 20, 1996). Through andragogy, Knowles defined his philosophy of adult education.

Sopher's Study of Knowles

Sartre's (1963) progressive-regressive model was used to interpret history. The starting point chosen to be central to the application of this model is an event, or a series of related events. The series of related events which are included to interpret the history related to Knowles included: Knowles' meeting Savicevic in Boston in August of 1966, Savicevic introducing the term andragogy to Knowles, Knowles sharing his 'theory' in the U.S. in a speech in 1967, then again introducing his theory in the U.S. through a published article in April, 1968 which included andragogy misspelled as androgogy, Knowles' communication with Merriam-Webster to clarify the spelling of andragogy and his correction of its spelling, the circulation of his theory (largely through the April, 1968 published article) in 1968-69, and other publication of andragogy in the U.S. at this time (Savicevic, 1968).

This series of related events are referred to as "the event" because the series of related events are progressive and related steps within a more general process of naming and introducing Knowles' theory of adult learning. Had he not met Savicevic and learned of the term andragogy from Savicevic, it is highly unlikely Knowles would have named his theory andragogy and it is most likely he would have published his theory of adult learning anyway using some other title to name it (Sopher, 2003). However, Knowles did meet Savicevic and learned of the term, chose to make use of it, and deliberately did so to introduce his theory of adult learning--"and the rest is history", as they say. This event was a deliberate choice because Knowles was one of the creators of language of adult education, a language in which budding ideas were--and are--expressed within a new vocabulary.

Sopher's (2003) study made use of a fully triangulated biographical investigative approach (Denzin, 1989) to provide thematic analysis and description of the context of this phenomenon in the history of adult education. This model of inquiry required the combination of case history, case study, life story, personal experience story, oral history and personal history (Denzin, 1989). She chose to apply Sartre's (1963) progressive-regressive model of interpretation, according to Denzin's (1989) explanation of how it "begins with the pivotal event in a subject's life and then works forward and backward from the event" (Denzin, 1989, p. 197) to create context and provide insights.

Despite the fact that much has been written by and about

Knowles, this slice of biography has not been recorded making use of an historical framework. Sopher's study was the only time that both Knowles and Savicevic were interviewed for the same publication in regards to Savicevic introducing Knowles to the term "andragogy." Savicevic, in fact, had never been interviewed regarding this event until this research (Dusan Savicevic, Personal communication with Marti Sopher, March 25-26, 1995). To put this portion of Knowles' life as an adult educator into historical context by identifying and framing the event, the discourse which followed for decades, and the social movements of his time provides a framework to better understand this phenomenon.

The purpose of Sopher's study was not to argue if Knowles' theory is a theory or not, nor was it to engage in the debate which has surrounded andragogy for almost forty years. The purpose of her study was not to define andragogy. It acknowledged that the theory of andragogy was developed by Knowles, a man with brief experience in educational research, and it certainly doesn't discredit Knowles to state that. Both Knowles and Sopher acknowledged many individuals as well as a variety of publications were occasions for Knowles' thinking about adult learning. However, the purpose of her study was not to identify individuals who had influenced Knowles' thinking about adult learning. Instead, the purpose of Sopher's study was to record what happened during a period of Knowles' life as an adult educator and to identify historical social movements which influenced Knowles to provide context of the times.

Through interviews, this research allowed Knowles to share his reaction to the discourse which followed and to identify what movements were important and relevant to him preceding and during the period of the phenomenon of andragogy in the U.S. The process of collecting Knowles' version of history, adding Sopher's interpretation, and then adding Knowles' response to her interpretation, is an interactive process of recording one version of meaning within context (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1988a). Sopher made use of data from Knowles and relevant others to gather information about Knowles' life to grasp the meaning of his life as it was lived by him (Denzin, 1989). This is the step when interpretation takes place.

Use of interviewing kept the subject aware that many life experiences are of importance even though they may seem unimportant to the subject. What was discovered in the personal communication process between Knowles and Sopher could have

been overlooked by Knowles while writing his autobiography (Denzin, 1989).

The reader may find that Sopher's study provides new meaning, or extends the reader's experience, or simply confirms what is already known. The reader may find insight into how this event occurred or might identify previously unknown relationships and variables. This study might lead to a rethinking about Knowles' use of the term andragogy, or at least the discourse about andragogy (Merriam, 1988a).

For the Record

Much has been written about Knowles' work, some of it speculation and some of it factual. In a July 21, 1967 speech (J. Agan, Personal communication with Marti Sopher, April 2, 2003; West Georgia College, 1967) and then a published article in April of 1968, one of the most controversial "theories" of adult learning in the U.S., "androgogy," was offered by Knowles. Knowles (1989b) used the term andragogy in the U.S. to describe his theoretical framework for thinking about adult learning. He changed the spelling of the term to "andragogy" after corresponding with Merriam-Webster February 26, 1968 and receiving their response February 29, 1968 (Knowles, 1980).

Sopher (2003) states 1966 for the date when Knowles met Savicevic. Sopher asked both Knowles and Savicevic about their first meeting and when it occurred. Knowles (1989b) claimed in his autobiography that they met in 1967 (p. 79), Savicevic claimed that they met in 1966 (personal communication with Marti Sopher, March 25-26, 1995). Their stories matched in every detail except for the date, specifically the year. During the course of Sopher's study, however, it was proven that they met in August, 1966.

Savicevic traveled to Boston in August, 1966, to sit in on the M.A. summer session program of adult education at Boston University, which Knowles led. That is where he had his much anticipated first meeting with Knowles. He prepared a summary of what he shared during these visits in a monograph which was published at Syracuse University in 1968. The monograph does not include his itinerary but it does make use of the term andragogy multiple times. Its existence suggests that Savicevic could have shared the term andragogy many times in many sites during his 1966-67 travels, possibly even before Knowles did. However, Savicevic is not identified with the term in the U.S. nor has anyone who might have been introduced to his

explanation of andragogy in 1966-67 ever published their recollection of an exchange with Savicevic about andragogy.

When Knowles met Savicevic, it was not at a meeting planned by Knowles and the purpose of their meeting wasn't, at that time, of any significance to Knowles or directly related to the theoretical framework he had been developing for years, actually decades. At the time he wrote his autobiography in 1989, it is highly doubtful he had any personal records of when he met Savicevic because he would not have had any purpose for such a record. During interviews, Knowles, then 83, referred Sopher to his book for a date of when he met Savicevic, and spoke only in general about the 1960s when recalling their meeting, to recall dates of meetings with Savicevic thirty years earlier. The average person would most likely not be able to accurately recall a meeting date thirty years later. Knowles had a long, full life and many, many significant experiences to recall.

Sopher verified it through *The Exeter Papers* (Liveright & Haygood, 1968), a report of the first International Conference on the Comparative Study of Adult Education which took place in Exeter, New Hampshire in 1966. When Knowles wrote his autobiography in 1989, he could have referenced this source, also, but he may not have remembered or possibly wasn't aware that Savicevic had attended it. Knowles would have been able to communicate with Savicevic in 1989 to inquire as to what year their initial meeting had occurred but it appears he did not.

Sopher then verified it through records at the State University of West Georgia (the former West Georgia College), specifically a copy of the four page program of the fourteenth annual Delbert Clark Award, Knowles' biographical summary from 1967, a letter from the Chair of the Adult Education Committee to the President of the College, recommending Knowles for the award, and a copy of the press release for the event. The program includes the award dinner announcement, list of award recipients, program and citation. Knowles was presented with the award on that campus.

It was in Carrolton, Georgia, at this event when Knowles gave a speech that included the term and his original explanation of "androgogy" and was later published as his first article about andragogy. Therefore, it would have been impossible for Knowles to first hear the term from Savicevic in August of 1967, a month after Knowles used the term in Georgia. Instead, it is much more likely that they met August, 1966 and Knowles applied the term to his theory of adult learning from August, 1966 until his speech that introduced the

term, eleven months later, in July, 1967.

Sopher (2003) also states both 1967 and 1968 as the introduction of Knowles' theory of adult learning in the U.S. This acknowledges that he first introduced "androgogy", his theory of adult learning, in the form of a speech in 1967. It also acknowledges that his speech then appeared as a 1968 written publication (article), which introduced his theory to a larger audience and where it was visible in print for the first time that he had misspelled the term andragogy by spelling it androgogy.

The Four Movements

The regression part of the progressive-regressive model was defined as the identification of the social movements which led up to the event and occurred during Knowles' lifetime, 1913-1997. The four historical movements in the U.S. which Sopher (2003) identified as major influences on Knowles as an adult educator include the following: the humanistic adult education movement, the human services movement, the group dynamics movement and the human resource development movement. The four social movements are interrelated and overlap. They are presented in the chronological order in which Knowles experienced them.

The four social movements are not self-contained movements; they are interrelated and overlap. As mentioned above, they are presented in the chronological order in which Knowles experienced them. As Denzin (1989) points out, "lived time is not linear; it is circular and interactional" (p. 199). In telling of a story, the division between past, present and future blurs.

Each of these movements provided Knowles with a piece of his style as an adult educator modeling andragogy. Experiencing the mix of these social movements as well as contributing to them and, 'making his mark' in the new emerging field of adult education provided growth for Knowles to develop his own style. It is likely that it was the combination of four historical social movements, uniquely occurring in the U.S., which provided the greatest influence upon Knowles preceding the introduction of andragogy and during the discourse which followed. His experiences throughout his career reinforced what he had learned from observations of adult learning and provided an action research lab for his ongoing learning and clarification of his thinking (Carlson, 1989; Knowles, 1989b). It is almost seamless to observe where Knowles' personality and theory begin and his practice and experiences end. His method of

andragogy became a part of who he was and he believed in it very strongly (Boudreaux, Chermack, Lowe, Wilson, & Holton, 2002).

Knowles and the Humanistic Adult Education Movement

The humanistic movement in the U.S. and the application of its beliefs into practice in mainstream America had a direct impact on Knowles throughout his career. His observations about how adult learners succeeded made note of their independence and individuality, and were core beliefs of andragogy in the United States. Knowles was considered a leader of humanistic adult education.

There is much agreement that Knowles was a humanist (Elias & Merriam, 1984; Pratt, 1988) and Knowles (Personal communication with Marti Sopher, April 20, 1996) also identified himself as a humanist. His style was eclectic with the strongest influence from the humanistic movement. Knowles (Personal communication with Marti Sopher, April 20-21, 1996) chose to include in his style the elements which made sense to him personally. The sources of the elements included books, people he knew or read about as well as his own observations. Henschke (Personal communication with Marti Sopher, November 1, 2002) explained it well, "Malcolm was 'utilitarian' in his philosophy, which means you attach to a concept what you consider to be useful, you don't look into the historic origins, background, and a standard (or other people's) definition of the concept."

Lindeman (1961), familiar with Dewey's early writings, originally published *The Meaning of Adult Education* in 1926. Knowles, who worked under Lindeman, and received a copy of Lindeman's book directly from his boss, was influenced by this early pioneer of adult education (Henschke, 1973; Knowles, 1989; M.S. Knowles, Personal communication with Marti Sopher, April 20-21, 1996). Lindeman's book focused on what happened to people, the effects on individuals in terms of their behavior and their thought processes when they learned. Knowles (Personal communication with Marti Sopher, April 20, 1996), recalling why it became one of his favorite books, shared, "It was putting education in a humanizing framework that made sense to me."

The one aspect of Lindeman's work which most influenced Knowles was Lindeman's focus on the individual. Knowles (Personal communication with Marti Sopher, April 20, 1996) explained, "He was one of the first people to publish in educational journals insisting on the essence of the learning process being what goes on between individuals and that made a lot of sense to me so I adopted a bunch

of his theoretical formulations. He was very heavy on participation, on involving the learners actively in the process of diagnosing their own needs to formulating their own learning plans, identifying resources for helping them carry out their learning plans and then evaluating their own outcomes and that made a lot of sense to me."

Knowles was also influenced by Maslow, one of the Third Force psychologists like Rogers, May, Allport and Fromm, who had roles in the development of humanistic education (Elias & Merriam, 1984, p. 10). They were referred to as "third force psychologists" because there were only two major theories before they further developed the field. These two dominant theories were Freudianism, or psychoanalysis, and the scientific behaviorist's theory (Crain, 1985, p. 262; Snelbecker, 1985, p. 481). "Maslow's (1943) first step in the direction of a humanistic psychology was the formulation of a new theory of motivation. In his major works, Maslow was most interested in the highest need, the need for self-actualization. Self-actualization, a concept borrowed from Goldstein (1939), refers to the actualization of one's potentials, capacities, and talents" (Crain, 1985, p. 263).

Knowles (Personal communication with Marti Sopher, April 21, 1996) acknowledged that Rogers was an influence on Knowles (Knowles, 1989b, pp. 111; Knowles, 1984, p. 85-105). Knowles and Rogers shared a strong belief in freedom of the learner; Maslow was more conservative in this belief. Knowles and Rogers were pioneers, mavericks, leaders, agents of change, rebels. They dared to "hear their own drummer" as well as act on it.

Henschke (Personal communication with Marti Sopher, December 30, 2002) recalled, I studied with Malcolm and had him for courses at Boston University between September, 1967 and May, 1969. I saw some little smatterings of philosophy that came through his teachings during that time. He obviously did not embrace the philosophy of B. F. Skinner. He talked some about Carl Rogers. But other than that, I don't remember much being articulated. However, his behavior and attitude toward students conveyed his developing philosophy. He treated us as "human beings," "as adults." He was kind, caring and spontaneous. He exemplified his "religious" perspective, in that he believed in the "ultimate goodness of human beings," which is one of what I would call the theological tenants of the Unitarian Religion. This showed itself in his being classified as one who espouses the 'humanistic philosophy' of education, albeit adult education.

Rogers was a professor of psychology at The University of

Chicago from 1945-1957 (Merriam, 1984, p. 67). Knowles was "accepted into the graduate program of adult education at the University of Chicago" in June of 1946 (Knowles, 1989b, p. 12; M. S. Knowles, Personal communication, April 20, 1996). During his master's work, Knowles enrolled in a seminar in group counseling which was taught by an associate of Rogers, Arthur Shedlin (Knowles, 1981). Shedlin was the first teacher who referred to himself as a facilitator of learning. When Sopher was in Arkansas to interview Knowles, he gave her a copy of his 1981 article, a recollection of this introduction to the ideas of group dynamics and how he experimented with them. That series of events led to his deliberate decision to be a facilitator of the learning process rather than a teacher. Written in Knowles' informal and descriptive style, it shares much context of an experience that introduced him to the group dynamics movement. According to Knowles (1981), Shedlin shared with the class the first night they met as a group, "I am hoping that you will help me become a better facilitator of learning." It was an exhilarating experience for Knowles to learn in a new way, based on Rogers' humanistic beliefs (Knowles, 1981; Knowles, 1989). It was actually life-changing for Knowles who had taught in the same style he had been taught in for years. When the first meeting of the class ended, Knowles rushed to the library and checked out all the books and periodicals he could locate which were by or about Rogers. Knowles (1989b) wrote, I was so curious to find out what this man was all about. I never read so many books and worked so hard in any course I had ever taken. I had never before experienced taking so much responsibility for my own learning as I did in that seminar. It was exhilarating. I began to sense what it means to get 'turned on' to learning. I began to think about what it means to be a facilitator of learning rather than a teacher. (pp. 13-14)

According to Knowles' perspective, Rogers behaved authentically. His authenticity influenced his relationships with others (Knowles, 1989b, pp. 32-35). In the 1970s, Knowles recalled Rogers' work related to learning theory, which made Rogers stand out from the other learning theorists (Knowles, 1989b, pp. 46-47). Rogers' work influenced how Knowles (1989b) thought about leadership (pp. 53-55). The common theme in these incidents was humanistic thinking, which Rogers (1969) articulated well. Although Knowles "was not the primary force behind a shift in educational thought away from behaviorism, he was the most potent adult educator to move in this direction since Lindeman" (Pratt, 1993, p. 16). His legacy and

that of fellow students at the University of Chicago, like Charters, would be to establish the field of adult education in the U.S.

Knowles' theory of adult education, andragogy, was his translation of humanistic goals into a theoretical framework for adult educators (Ali, 1982; Elias & Merriam, 1984; Merriam & Caffarella, 1991). He emphasized the learner and human development. "An examination of what Knowles considers to be the four underlying assumptions of andragogy reveals the humanistic foundations" (Elias & Merriam, 1984, p. 131). These humanistic assumptions were: As a learner matures, self concept moves from a dependent personality to being self-directed; adults have acquired unique individual life experiences that may be a resource to their own and others' learning; adults' readiness to learn implies that they learn what is relevant, based on an intrinsic motivation to meet their unique needs and interests; and, adults prefer immediate application of what they learn. In addition to the assumptions, the basic principles of humanistic education, such as self-concept, self-diagnosed learning, respect, trust, self-evaluation and a cooperative learning climate are very apparent in Knowles' work. His theory of andragogy emphasized the learner and the learner's development, which is humanist in nature.

Sopher shared with Knowles (Personal communication with Marti Sopher, April 20, 1996), "If I would use Elias and Merriam's framework of philosophies, you seem humanistic to me." Knowles responded, "Yes, yes." Sopher observed that when he wanted to emphasize his response, he repeated it.

Malcolm Knowles is indeed a humanistic adult educator. For him, the learning process involves the whole person, emotional, psychological and intellectual. It is the mission of adult educators to assist adults in developing their full potential in becoming self-actualized and mature adults. Andragogy is a methodology for bringing about these humanistic ideals (Elias & Merriam, 1984, p. 133).

Knowles and the Human Services Movement

The development and growth of human services in the U.S. was a response to meeting people's needs at a community level in a holistic manner. As the population in the U.S. increased and became more diverse, more needs of people were identified and response increased. The focus was placed on social action, building community, treating people equally, meeting social as well as physical needs, and making practical use of limited resources. People who

serve in this field often refer to it as "a calling" as they serve others with their hearts, minds and bodies. The philosophy and practice of this field has been founded on humanistic thought and actions.

For the purposes of Sopher's study, the term human services was used to describe a broad movement of social action in the U.S. that provided services, including educational services, to people of all backgrounds, economic levels and ages. Human service agencies have been organized as non-profit and for profit, private as well as government operated, to serve the wealthy or the nation's poor. Human services agencies have charged a fee for service or received funding to provide free or inexpensive services. These agencies were both large and small and operated with both paid and volunteer staffing. They were often referred to as voluntary associations.

A common thread in the existence of human services is providing services in response to a customer need or, on occasion, a customer want. They are market-driven, as are the humanistic adult education institutions. They provide a wide variety of services as diverse as the communities they serve. A small sampling of program offerings in human services, in addition to a variety of adult education, includes providing shelter to the homeless, offering counseling, responding to natural disasters, providing organized youth activities, offering meals or clothing for the poor, sheltering victims of violence, and responding to transportation needs for handicapped.

In Knowles' times, human services agencies played a special role in the history and growth of adult education. Human services were "concerned with the education of adults as volunteers, members, or clients" (Knowles, 1955, p.70). With this variety of stakeholders served by human services, the listing of their adult education programs was limited by only funding and creativity. Adult education in these settings included financial training, teaching English as a second language, offering workers' education, coordinating continuing education, providing citizenship education and leadership training. The sampling also included teaching safety and first aid, training volunteers, offering and responding to public health concerns or homeland security by informing the public at the community level, coordinating lifelong learning opportunities in a traditional or nontraditional setting, and providing educational literature or workshops to change public attitudes or improve health behaviors. Teaching parenting skills, or bringing together a group of adults who share the same hobby or interest such as sewing or gardening, providing driver safety instruction for senior citizens, teaching Bible

studies or leading book discussion groups, and coordinating support groups have also been offered.

Knowles (1950) noted the existence of formal and informal adult education through this publication of his master's thesis. Formal programs were usually part of the established educational institutions, including universities, technical colleges, and high schools. Though they offered courses for credit, adults often participated without earning credit. Informal adult education was offered in such organizations as the Young Men's Christian Associations (Y.M.C.A.), Young Women's Christian Associations (Y.W.C.A.), community centers, labor unions, industries, and churches. "Many formal educational institutions also offer informal classes in addition to their regular curriculum. These courses are not for credit or a degree, but have as their objective the meeting of an immediate interest or need" (p. 23). He also noted that the Y.M.C.A.s invest much time in the training of adult volunteer leaders, "a critical element in their accomplishing their character-building goals with youth" (Knowles, 1980, p. 34).

At the time Knowles became affiliated with the Y.M.C.A., in 1940, it was approaching a century in age in the U.S. after being introduced into this country from England. It is holistic in its approach, dedicated to building a healthy mind, body and spirit. Y.M.C.A. programs promote good health, strong families, youth leadership, community development, and international understanding.

There were numerous experiences he had in human services while he was growing up, and these continued throughout his life. Knowles credited his father for teaching many things to him--values, honesty, generosity, integrity, fairness, authenticity (Knowles, 1989b)--and a humanistic approach to serving others was certainly one of them. He shared through publication how he earned 50 Boy Scout merit badges, thus earning him a trip to England. He could have kept his process to himself and been a competitive "star" but the budding humanist forming in Knowles wanted to equally promote self-development in others as well as his own development. He also served the Boy Scouts as patrol leader and troop leader. During his Harvard years as a student, he served as a club advisor at Lincoln House, a settlement house in Boston. The club served adolescent boys who lived in poverty, giving them guidance and support. He served as the Massachusetts Deputy Administrator and Director of related training of the National Youth Administration [NYA] Recreational Leadership Institute. The purpose of this was to make

youth more employable. Knowles served the Y.M.C.A., first in Boston, then Detroit, then in Chicago as a paid employee. He also worked with the Y.M.C.A. sometimes as a volunteer and sometimes paid, for many years throughout his life, and was instrumental in helping the National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations develop Training volunteer leaders: A handbook [of 110 hours of training materials] to train volunteers and other leaders of program groups. Knowles served as first Executive Director of the Adult Education Association of the USA for almost a decade. He worked with the American Society for Training and Development, and helped with all five of their professional competency studies. He continued to be involved in numerous volunteer and professional association human services for the remainder of his life (Sopher, 2003).

At the Boston Y.M.C.A., Knowles organized an "Association School" for adults. Knowles conducted a practical needs assessment and interest survey of members and the surrounding community, then developed a program that grew rapidly. He wrote an article on the practical value of evening classes, "Having Any Fun?", which was published in September, 1946 (Knowles, 1989b, Pp. 26, 153). Knowles shared it because of his commitment to help others make better use of their leisure time. Later, about a dozen letters to the editor described how his article had helped them. Many of the ideas he shared were learned from instructors at the Huntington Avenue Y.M.C.A. in Boston (Knowles, 1989b). This was typical of Knowles' work throughout his career. He was observant, learned much from others, combined that with his own thoughts and experiences, synthesized it in print and practice, and passed the information along to reach as many others as possible. Knowles never showed interest in being territorial about his knowledge or resources. That would not have been consistent with his style. He influenced others to practice what he knew, to make use of it (J. A. Henschke, Personal communication with Marti Sopher, January 29, 2003; L. Johnson, Personal communication with Marti Sopher, January 28, 2003).

It was at the Y.M.C.A. setting that Knowles made use of his observation skills and deepened his preference for the practical. Three learners requested a course in astronomy. Knowles recruited an instructor through that department at Harvard. The director of the observatory recommended his teaching assistant, who needed the money. Twelve learners registered for it, but only six returned for the second session of the course. Then only three returned for the third session, causing the course to end and the fees to be refunded. The

academician was replaced with a retired gentleman who had no training or experience with teaching but had much passion for astronomy. Knowles asked the original twelve learners to come back and give it a second chance. Those twelve were so engaged by the practical approach of the new instructor that they recruited six more of their friends.

While organizing job training courses which were held at the Y.M.C.A., Knowles "would wander around the halls and look through the little peep holes in the doors to see what was happening." He added, I gradually became aware of the fact that those teachers that were hired from other educational institutions were standing up in front of the classes reading their notes from their day classes and the students were sitting there nodding off. Plus when I looked through the doorway holes, of those teachers I hired from industries or from social services had their students in little groups and the students were yakking and reporting and it was very lively. And, also, they seemed to be learning so much more when I talked to them and so I gradually became, I started, formulating generalizations in my mind that adults learn better when they are actively involved in the process ... And so I began developing theoretical framework. (M. S. Knowles, personal communication with Marti Sopher, April 20, 1996).

Knowles observed that the non-academically trained teachers he recruited from industry and social agencies outperformed the teachers who were prepared in academic settings, and it made a significant impression upon how he thought about adult learning. "The quality of relationships between service providers and the service recipients" was the biggest influence of working in this environment. "It was a much more kind of collaborative kind of relationship than in academia." (M. S. Knowles, personal communication with Marti Sopher, April 21, 1996). He started building a theory about adult learning based on those observations. This theory was influenced most by his observations of humanistic and practical adult education in the Y.M.C.A. Thus, his learning theory ultimately became labeled "andragogy."

Knowles and the Group Dynamics Movement

Knowles applied principles of group dynamics in many settings--human services (for NYA and the Y.M.C.A., for example), the National Training Labs (NTL), the Adult Education Association (AEA), facilitating learning for adults in higher education and developing human resources in business and industry. He observed, reflected,

published and presented related to group dynamics. Applying group dynamics research became a way of life for Knowles. The group dynamics movement reinforced and refined his humanistic thinking. It also stressed the development of practical skills, which reinforced Knowles' appreciation of the practical aspects of adult learning in human services.

In the mid-1930s, Knowles started his personal evolution which spanned a few decades. He felt the tension between what he wanted to be and what he thought he should be. He began rejecting the social system which he found to be judgmental, prejudiced, and cold. Knowles, a humanist, felt like being warm and accepting of people. Rogers was instrumental in "giving him permission to be himself." Knowles recognized his need to be self-accepting, self-respecting, accepted, and respected, and chose to follow it (Henschke, 1973 from interview with Knowles, November 16, 1969).

Knowles was introduced to the group dynamics movement by Shedlin, an associate of Rogers, through facilitating a group at the University of Chicago about a year after Knowles began his masters studies. Knowles was fascinated by the role of the facilitator and the group experience. He became very intrinsically motivated to learn as much as he could about group dynamics. After the first meeting of Shedlin's course, a seminar in psychological counseling, Knowles developed a plan for inquiry teams and he presented his plan at the second meeting (Knowles, 1981).

NTL was founded through "its first lab session on human relations and group processes at Gould Academy, Bethel, Maine, in 1947" (Kidd, 1978; NTL, 1961). Its original name was National Training Laboratory in Group Development. T-Groups [Training Groups] was a large part of its focus on education and learning. It offered training, training aids, consulting, and research for human resource training and an improved society. Sensitivity group training, credited to Robert Tannenbaum in California, was associated with therapy, creative expression and new forms of communication (Kidd, 1978, p. 211). Its mission was to bridge the gap between the social scientist and the practitioner, applying scientific knowledge to solve day-to-day problems. The original focus was on practice of skills and group development. It evolved into an emphasis on self and awareness through T-Groups and sensitivity training. The tension between training and therapy was also addressed.

Intensive group self-study procedures were designed to bring about increased sensitivity and skill in relationship to social and

psychological aspects which occurred in interpersonal, group or organizational settings. The actual interaction of participants of a group were studied and analyzed by the participants themselves, guided by trained staff. The focus was on individual behavior in the small group setting. Staff interpreted, shared comments and observations, analyzed, and guided procedures. The need was identified in response to an increase in formal organizations, voluntary associations, and even more complex family life which required more collaboration, social sensitivity, and creative work with others. It dealt with normal persons in search of improved social skills, going well beyond the cognitive realm.

Benne (October, 1989), one of the founders of NTL, Washington, D.C., recalled details of the times, including a story about the maverick in Knowles. My early memories of Malcolm go back to 1948. The newly elected president of the NEA Division of Adult Education had attended the first NTL summer laboratory session in 1947 in Bethel. He was so rapturous about his T-group experience there that he decided to make the national meeting of the division into a three-day T-group laboratory. It was a mad idea because of the time constraints, and because it departed radically from the usual pattern of national meetings, without preparing those attending. Most of the T-groups--there were seven or eight--bombed. Mine turned out a success. The members were intrigued with the examination of group processes and wanted more. One of the reasons for that outcome was that Malcolm was a member of my group. He was able to talk about his own behavior in the group and to report his feelings about others' behavior without antagonizing them. He was then the director of adult education at the Metropolitan YMCA in Chicago. I predicted then that Malcolm would become a major national leader in the field.

In 1952, NTL became part of the NEA. A small staff at NEA in Washington, D.C. administered the program of training, consulting, and research. More than a hundred social scientists from over forty leading universities and NTL staff provided the services. NTL offered an intern program to help social scientists become effective trainers. In this way, NTL was addressing the growing demand for trained staff in group dynamics.

When Knowles (1989b) reflected and remarked about NTL being an influence, he had an idea about the great impact this historical movement had upon him, as he shared in his autobiography. Another major influence in shaping me as an adult educator at about the

same time was the National Training Laboratories and its founding trio, Kenneth Benne, Leland Bradford, and Ronald Lippitt. I had a course in group dynamics with Herbert Thelen at the University of Chicago in 1949 and became intrigued With the concept of an unstructured group laboratory approach to learning interpersonal attitudes and skills and, particularly, to learning to receive feedback about my behavior nondefensively. So I attended the 1952 summer session of NTL in Bethel, Maine, as the co-trainer of a T-group. I returned as the administrator of the summer session in 1954. My wife and children participated in labs both times, and our family relations were greatly enriched. The insights I gained from these experiences, but particularly from the models of behavior provided by Ken, Lee and Ron, have been among the most potent components of my professional equipment ever since (p.15).

Nadler and Nadler shared, "Malcolm is an authentic person; what you read is what he is. If you have had the opportunity to work with him, you know that he not only espouses concepts of adults as learners but that he also practices them" (Knowles, 1989b, p. xiii). Knowles indeed "practiced what he preached"--and in this case, his entire family learned how to apply humanistic philosophy to daily life through improved group dynamics as a family system. Knowles could not separate experiencing the group dynamics movement from his thinking about how he would practice adult education--he published about his group experience as a family, he made use of groups in the adult learning he facilitated, and he assisted in published training guides to be used in voluntary associations to train leaders.

As Executive Director at the Adult Education Association of the USA, he initiated the publishing of a leadership series of sixteen pamphlets in 1955. The titles included but are not limited to: *How to Lead Discussions*; *Planning Better Programs*; *Taking Action in the Community*; *Understanding How Groups Work*; *How to Teach Adults*; and *How to Use Role Playing and Other Tools for Learning* (AEA of U.S.A., 1955). Each pamphlet provided leaders in adult learning with introductory material, practical help in using a method, or gaining insight and skill in a particular area of adult learning.

Knowles continued his interest in group dynamics. In 1962, he collaborated with others and developed a 10-week series of half-hour programs on "The Dynamics of Leadership." It aired on WGBH-TV in Boston. It was also available to many individuals and groups. This series included "The Anatomy of a Group" and "Individual Motivation and Behavior in Groups", for example (Knowles, 1989b, p. 122).

Knowles understood the impact the media could have to further the understanding of adult education--publishing to the public as well as being visible through the media.

Knowles was a natural as a group facilitator because of his well-developed human relations skills, consistency of his humanist philosophy, his developing authenticity by trusting his own instincts, and because being a change agent and observer came natural to him. Henschke experienced Knowles as a top notch group facilitator in all his adult education courses during his doctoral work at Boston University.

Sopher (2003) had participated as an adult learner in group instruction which Knowles facilitated in North Carolina for The Fielding Institute on July 19, 1991. Experiencing Knowles "the person" and Knowles the "facilitator of adult learning" was seamless. He modeled every aspect of what he taught and wrote. The process was consistent and practical. Knowles' style of delivery of his andragogical practices was authentic. Sopher had read some of his publications before she attended his workshop, and quite frankly was skeptical and somewhat nervous that she would be disappointed experiencing Knowles in person, thinking that perhaps he couldn't live up to her high expectations after connecting with his ideas. Easily, he exceeded her expectations from start to finish. After the introduction, one member of the group protested Knowles' decision to put them into smaller study groups to independently conduct their assignment, saying she had come to hear him, not to interact with her peers. She wanted to learn his ideas, see how he taught, hear what he had to say. To be honest, Sopher reflected that it could have easily been her verbalizing the same thoughts. Knowles appropriately responded, modeling conflict management and concern for self-esteem, and assured all of the participants that the best way to learn his method was to directly experience his method. He facilitated their learning throughout the day with the grace of a skilled conductor directing an orchestra. It left Sopher believing that if one has never experienced Knowles directly, it would be impossible to truly understand his impact.

Knowles and the Human Resource Development (HRD) Movement

In 1962, Knowles "formulated guidelines for developing a competency-based graduate program for training adult educators/human resource developers" (Henschke, 1991, p. 10), in the format of *A Theory of the Doctorate in Education*. The guide is

reflective of adult education of the times. Its original purpose was to serve as a guide in the newly started graduate program in adult education at Boston University. It was a practical guide which he would share with adult learners he served until his death in 1997. Henschke (1991) found that competency studies related to HRD began as early as 1938.

Before Knowles, contributors to these competency studies related to HRD included Lindeman (1938) with a discussion of the purpose of adult education in the U.S. as well as five competencies, and Houle (1956; Eaves, 1985) who listed ten abilities. Both Lindeman and Houle served as influences on Knowles. Before Knowles further contributed to this aspect of development in the HRD field, Lippitt and Nadler (1967, August), another influence on Knowles regarding HRD, identified three major roles (learning specialist, administrator and consultant) as well as eleven related functions. Henschke (1991) suggested their work was "considered by some as groundbreaking in the HRD field" (p. 9).

"The work that had been done in the area of needs assessment, task analysis, and evaluation laid the groundwork for the introduction of competency-based learning, which came into popular use in the last half of" the 1970s (Craig, 1996, p. 16). "Competency-based learning is concerned with having the trainees develop certain specified competencies that match the requirements of their job, while recognizing the fact that the trainee has certain competencies which fit the job requirements and do not require additional training" (Craig, 1996, p. 16).

Knowles (Craig, 1996; Knowles, 1970, 1980, 1984, 1986, 1987) then identified eight to ten roles in HRD for the developer as well as 70 to 80 abilities that included designing adult learning experiences and making use of a variety of learning and training techniques, for example. Henschke (1991) suggested that Knowles' contribution was "viewed by many as a major contribution/contributions throughout the history of the HRD and adult education fields" (p. 12). Knowles was rich in experience from his own action research as well as authentic, which was reflected in his contribution. "Started in 1969 and completed in 1974, ASTD's second major project focusing on competencies was entitled *Professional Development Manual*. Knowles' work was a major influence on this project" (Henschke, 1991, p. 19).

Then, in *Developing Competency Models*, Knowles (1970) "identified a systematic process for developing competency models,

including self-diagnosis of needs" (Henschke, 1991, p. 12), consistent with his humanistic philosophy of his model. The impact of the group dynamics movement appeared in the findings of competencies for the HR developer: group participation, eliciting the judgment of experts, task and job analysis, and research.

Henschke (1987, 1989), a former student of Knowles, contributed *Instructional Perspectives Inventory* which identified competencies and common factors, building on the understanding he had gained from Knowles related to theory and practice, as well as his acquired knowledge of theory combined with his observations from practice in continuing education. "In 1989, he engaged more than 600 adult educators in identifying common factors of adult instructors" (Henschke, 1991, p. 25). Two of the five factors he identified included trust of learners and seeing the learner as an individual, or accommodating learner uniqueness. Henschke's studies "made the case for research and practice being closely linked in identifying competencies for HRD/adult educators" (Henschke, 1991, p. 15).

Nadler and Nadler (Personal communication with Marti Sopher, January 28, 2003) discussed with Knowles how his work would apply to the HRD field. Polaroid, near Boston, called Knowles in "and he became known in the HRD field" (L. Nadler & Z. Nadler, Personal communication, January 28, 2003). When Polaroid contacted Knowles, he contacted his friends in the HRD field, Nadler and Nadler. Knowles "said he had been approached by them to some work with them in adult learning. He wanted to know how I had been using concepts of adult learning in the workplace" (L. Nadler & Z. Nadler, Personal communication with Marti Sopher, February 2, 2003). Johnson (Personal communication with Marti Sopher, January 28, 2003) met Knowles at about this time, at "the beginning of the HRD movement" for Knowles, about 1964-1965. Referring to Knowles first work in the HRD field with Polaroid as his client, Johnson recalled, "He did a lot of work with them--sensitivity groups, T groups."

Johnson learned much from Knowles and from interacting with Knowles as a co-facilitator and a peer in the HRD movement. "I became more grounded, and had more respect for adult learners," Johnson (Personal communication with Marti Sopher, January 28, 2003) recalled.

It provided me with a solid background. It enhanced what I was doing. It made sense. I remember we conducted a workshop on conflict for Fielding. Many of the students there were HR managers.

One was from an oil company in Canada. The training went really well. Malcolm believed in this stuff. The HR manager said to come up and do the same workshop in Canada. It grew into a five year program at that company. When I was in northern Alberta working with miners who had less than an 8th grade education or with Fielding doctoral students, I applied Malcolm's model and it worked. He treated everyone the same way, whether they attended a three hour workshop or were his students all semester long. He presented it in a way to fit the learner's experiences. Sometimes that was a challenge. The model was not to be above them but with them. From spending time with people, you learned what their life was in reality. I learned all of this from him.

Many trainers saw themselves as adult educators and made use of adult learning concepts and methods in designing trainings. The Commission of Professors of Adult Education voted at its 1984 business meeting to found a task force on human resource development. The fact that professors of adult education take seriously the theory and practice of human resource development is not surprising given the extent and vigor of many business and industry training programs and inservice development activities. (Brookfield, 1986, p. 188)

The ASTD viewed the quality improvement movement as further promotion of participative management. Participative management was viewed as a way to increase organizational effectiveness. In American quality circles (QC's), workers came together as a team to analyze and offer solutions to problems related to their work. The quality improvement movement assumed skill development in workers, lifelong learning, continuous change, and a need for training.

Several thousand QC's existed throughout the U.S. in the 1980s. A large part of their process was to learn about a problem and then teach the organization about it as they offered possible solutions. The process modeled lifelong learning, collaborative methods, making use of adults' experiences, problem solving, collective decision making, leadership development, group dynamics, and facilitation skills (Brookfield, 1986, pp. 194-195). By 1985, millions of learners were enrolled in training through their employers in business and industry. Business and industry was investing billions of dollars in adult learners. "IBM alone is said to spend \$700 million a year on employee education" (Brookfield, 1986, p. 187; Eurich, 1985).

Knowles, a member of the HRD Hall of Fame, made a video,

"Malcolm Knowles on HR Development." On tape, he was interviewed and discussed such topics as self-directed learning in the workplace, diversity management, andragogy on the job, and learning organizations. His concepts of andragogy were successfully applied to the HRD setting. Knowles (Personal communication with Marti Sopher, April 21, 1996) made a deliberate decision to write to the general public, not academia. That was the audience he wanted to appeal to--and he did. "People started asking me to come to the universities, to government agencies, to social agencies as a consultant, to meet with them, to meet with their leadership groups, to do workshops for them, mostly on adult learning, how adults learn, what the differences are between adult learning format and thought processes as with youth education. Of course, my books paved the way for me, caused people to see me as a leader." Knowles knew he would have a greater influence on the field of adult education if he were part of the broader field of nonacademic settings for adult education. Knowles also knew, however, that he needed to be involved with the academic world to influence the field as well as learn from it. In addition, Knowles explained that business and industry were a strong influence in pushing him to include competencies in his model of adult learning. He remarked that he measured how information was used. In contrast, he added, academicians measured facts or information required versus how information or facts were used. The world of academics measured scores, grade point averages instead of behavioral observations and observed outcomes. Grades weren't of importance to Knowles. He saw himself as being more practical. Knowles retired from The Department of Adult and Community College Education of North Carolina State University in 1979. He remained active well into the 1990s in Human Resource Development consulting and facilitating workshops for business and industry, government agencies, educational institutions, religious institutions, human services and ASTD chapters and conferences in North America, Europe, South America, Australia, Japan, Singapore, Thailand and Korea (Craig, 1996, p. 253).

The Discourse

The period of 1970 until the present, 2006, which is when the discourse followed the event, represents the progression part of the progressive-regressive model. The discourse which followed Knowles' introduction of his theory of adult education, andragogy,

helps to understand what followed after Knowles shared his thinking about adult education. This literature review is what represented one of the first steps in the process of Sopher's qualitative inquiry. It helped to focus and narrow what was missing to understand Knowles' theory, within context. Her criticism of the literature stimulated the pursuit of an answer to her questions. The literature search provided part of the answers and assisted in pursuing the search to identify the themes, or historical social movements which most likely influenced Knowles and he influenced prior to his introduction of andragogy and during the discourse which followed the introduction of andragogy.

Knowles began publishing his ideas about adult learning in 1950 and continued with several publications each decade until his death in 1997. The literature recognized, questioned and developed andragogy. The social movements of Knowles' times were occasionally referenced in the literature. After Knowles published his theory of andragogy, Savicevic became aware of Knowles' use, or "misuse", of the term andragogy. His impression was that Knowles "didn't get it." Articles, such as the one written by Boyer (1984), appeared to be out of context at times and were inaccurate as a result. Some, like Cross (1981), rejected andragogy. Others, like Grace (2001) and Welton (1995) thought andragogy should be excised from the adult education lexicon. Others, like Hartree (1984), found the theory of andragogy to be confusing. Others, like Jarvis (1984), would not accept it as a "theory." The controversy and the discourse continue in the adult education field today, as evidenced recently in Rachal's (2002) article.

It is significant to point out that the sharing of Knowles' theory of andragogy came at a time when the newly and rapidly developing field of adult education was becoming established as a discipline in the academic world. Therefore, it is no surprise that much of the criticism came from academia. Knowles straddled a career in academia and as a practitioner of adult learning outside of academia.

Knowles' work is best understood by practitioners and researchers if it is historically accurate, within his humanistic philosophy, and explained in the context of his times, recognizing the role that each historical movement in the U.S. plays in Knowles' theory of andragogy.

Conclusion

The purpose of this qualitative study was to augment the

historical and social context, in addition to giving order and insight regarding Malcolm S. Knowles' contribution to the Field of Adult Education. Knowles' ideas were rooted in the movements of his times in a society that had not yet experienced adult education as we know it today. The atypical of his age has become the typical. This additional history is beneficial.

Humanism is at the core of Knowles' thinking about andragogy. Its emergence into mainstream thought and practice in the 1960s and 1970s served as a base for his work in adult learning as well as the context of his times. When the discourse which followed his introduction of andragogy was not from a humanistic philosophical perspective, it was out of context from Knowles' perspective and at times not historically accurate (Boyer, 1984). Some approach andragogy from a perspective of liberal or behaviorist philosophies of education. This may be compared to trying to make use of an overhead transparency to make a complex point but putting the wrong overlay on top of it. It doesn't fit because it's not a good match – you can't clearly understand humanistic thinking if your philosophical framework is limited to liberal or behaviorist thinking (M. S. Knowles, Personal communication with Marti Sopher, April 25-26, 1996).

The human service movement, based on humanistic thinking and practice, was concerned with individual growth as well as interpersonal relationships and human relations. Human services offered practical adult education and access for the masses, both of which Knowles found appealing. The group dynamics movement, also based on humanistic thinking and practices, had a strong relationship with human services. Training and experience working in this field emphasized development of the individual and relationships with others. Facilitating these groups with the grace of a master brought out the authenticity of Knowles' style. The field of HRD offers many leaders and philosophies but Knowles rose in popularity in this field because of the humanistic style he practiced in delivering HRD. It focused on development of the individual as well as groups and teams.

Putting the influence of these four movements together rounded out his initial theory of adult learning – andragogy. Knowles (April 25-26, 1996) deliberately chose to use the term andragogy to name his theory of adult learning, and he chose to write it in such a fashion that a wider audience than academia would have access to his thinking. Based on Savicevic's (1968) statement that andragogy was the

theory of adult education in Yugoslavia, perhaps Knowles understood it as a theory. The discourse which followed this event recorded the context of the times. The four social movements of the times were identified, and it was recognized that Knowles' use of the term andragogy also created social change (Foner, 1976). Knowles was a pioneer in the rapidly growing field of adult education in the U.S. He was a leader in the development of the field and his thinking about andragogy added another paradigm for consideration to challenge accepted practices of the times. Each of these four movements as well as the combination of these movements influenced his thinking about his theory and practice of andragogy. Though they are listed as four separate movements, the four social movements are not mutually exclusive (L. Nadler & Z. Nadler, Personal communication with Marti Sopher, February 2, 2003).

Knowles named his learning theory andragogy in 1967 because it made sense to him to make use of it in the manner he did. Had he not learned the term from Savicevic, he would have introduced his theory at about the same time anyway and called it something else. "Malcolm had been developing all of his expertise in teaching adults, adult learning, and adult education for numerous years which was in his book *Informal Adult Education*, and other materials after that" (J. Henschke, Personal communication with Marti Sopher, November 1, 2002). When Savicevic told Knowles he was practicing andragogy, "Malcolm attached the 'andragogy' label to all of his previous expertise, even though Savicevic, who had been 'observing' and reading Malcolm's ideas for some years, didn't know or understand all of Malcolm's accumulated expertise. Consequently, Malcolm got out of 'andragogy' what Malcolm wanted to get out of it, despite the fact that Savicevic thought 'Malcolm didn't get it', whatever the 'it' was that Savicevic thought Malcolm (or anyone else) ought to get" (J. Henschke, Personal communication with Marti Sopher, November 1, 2002).

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Sind es dann doch die Verhältnisse? Wie Fritz Laack Erwachsenenpädagogik lernte und sie möglicherweise auch wieder verlernte

Die Tagebücher von 1925-27 als neue Zugänge zur
 Berufsgeschichte der Erwachsenenbildung

Leitende Fragestellungen, Ziel und Methode

Das Tagungsthema fragt danach: Wie wurde man zum Erwachsenenpädagogen, was waren die Voraussetzungen, was war das Selbstverständnis, wie wurde man geprägt und wie spiegelte sich das in der Gesamtpersönlichkeit wieder?

Im Titel meines Beitrags habe ich ironisch darauf reagiert, in dem ich Fritz Laacks Berufsgeschichte unter das Motto vom Lernen und Verlernen gestellt habe. Und das bei einer Person, der in unterschiedlichsten Würdigungen „ein Leben in der Erwachsenenbildung und für die Erwachsenenbildung“ (A.Henningsen, K.Meisner) bescheinigt wird. Meine Intention ist es auf das Zufällige beruflicher Biographien hinzuweisen und besonders auf die Macht der Verhältnisse, in denen sich berufliche Identität entwickeln oder auch nicht entwickeln kann.

Die leitenden Fragestellungen des Vortrags sind deshalb weit gefasst:

- was waren Laacks ideologische Motivationen und politisch gesellschaftliche Ambitionen zu Beginn seiner Berufstätigkeit in der Heimvolkshochschule Rendsburg (Schleswig-Holstein) und wie veränderte sich das bis 1933, gab es Kontinuitätslinien in seinem Denken und Handeln
- wie ist das Netzwerk zu fassen, innerhalb dessen er agierte und das ihn lebenslanglich begleitete
- welche Beziehung hatte er zum Nationalsozialismus?

Ziel meines Vortrags ist es, die aus dem bürgerlich völkischen Milieu der Jugendbewegung entstandene Motivation und Möglichkeit der Arbeit in der Erwachsenenbildung herauszuarbeiten und Krisen, Lösungsansätze und Grenzen zu benennen, die daraus in der Praxis der Arbeit als Lehrer an der Heimvolkshochschule für Fritz Laack entstanden.

Deshalb steht Laacks Zeit als Lehrer in der Heimvolkshochschule Rendsburg von 1925 bis 1927 im Zentrum. Als neue Quelle wird sein Tagebuch, das diese Zeit abdeckt, verwendet. Die Tagebücher sind Teil seines Nachlasses, der im Archiv des Deutschen Instituts für Erwachsenenbildung aufbewahrt wird und 2005 dank des Engagements zweier befreundeter alter Menschen aus der alten Deutschen Schrift übersetzt wurden.

Die Gattung „Tagebuch“ stellt eine besonders spannende aber auch schwierige zeitgeschichtliche Quelle dar. Durch die zeitliche Nähe zum Geschehenen ist das Tagebuch ein sehr authentisches Protokoll eigener Empfindungen und vorläufig tastender Selbstdeutungen. Das Tagebuch enthält intime Äußerungen, die es erfordern, den Tagebuchschreiber vor einer allzu kritischen Öffentlichkeit in Schutz zu nehmen und den exemplarischen sozialgeschichtlichen Charakter zu betonen. Tagebucheintragungen zeichnen sich durch ihren kryptischen Charakter aus, dem Stichwortartigen, der ausschließlichen Innenperspektive, die sich nicht um Form und Logik kümmert.

Während der Lektüre der Tagebucheintragungen habe ich mich oft gefragt, ob Fritz Laack es gewollt hätte, dass die Tagebücher in eine wissenschaftliche Arbeit einfließen oder nicht. Fast immer, auch im Sinne einer gewissen Ironie und List in der Geschichte, habe ich mich dafür entschieden, dass er es gewollt hätte und es auch in gewisser Weise, in dem er diese Quelle nicht vernichtete, vorbereitet hat. (Ich weiß aufgrund meiner Kenntnisse des Nachlasses, dass er in Vorbereitung für sein Buch „Das Zwischenspiel der freien Erwachsenenbildung. Der Hohenrodter Bund und die Deutsche Schule für Volksforschung und Erwachsenenbildung“ von 1984 alle seine Arbeitsunterlagen – auch die Tagebücher – gesichtet und geordnet hat. Er wusste, was er der Nachwelt hinterließ.)

Um die Eintragungen im Tagebuch angemessen begreifen zu können, ist es notwendig gewesen, eine angemessene zeitgeschichtliche aber auch gegenstandsnahe Kontextualisierung herzustellen. Das ist die Herausforderung für diesen Vortrag gewesen.

Zur Biographie von Fritz Laack

Die Tagebücher von Fritz Laack waren für mich der Einstieg in seine Lebensgeschichte. Beim ersten Lesen empfand ich, dass Laack ein tiefes Gefühl von Einsamkeit und Bindungslosigkeit, ein großes Eingeschlossensein und gleichzeitig große Erwartungen und

Aufgaben an sich zur Sprache bringt. Er will etwas aus sich machen, sich bewähren, nach oben kommen. Die Heimvolkshochschule als vermeintlicher Hort der Heimat, was gerade auch aufgrund der völkischen Ausrichtung zu erwarten wäre, erscheint im Tagebuch jedoch als Ort der Intrigen, der Machtkämpfe, der Kränkungen und Niederlagen. Wenn Laack aus etwas Kraft schöpfte, dann waren es die Begegnungen mit Menschen aus der Altwandervogelbewegung außerhalb der Heimvolkshochschule, mit denen gleichsam ein non-verbales Wiedererkennen - über Augenkontakt - stattfinden konnte

Die Quellen über seine frühe Lebensgeschichte sind spärlich. Seine Familien-, Schul- und Universitysgeschichte ist lediglich aus tabellarischen Überlieferungen, einer privaten Familienchronologie, einer Notiz aus der biographischen Kartei Archiv Burg Ludwigstein und dem Register eines Dokumentationsbands zur Jugendbewegung in dem Fritz Laack einen Beitrag geschrieben hat, bekannt.

1900-1925

Geboren wurde Fritz Laack 1900 in ein protestantisches Elternhaus mit vier älteren Schwestern. Die Familie lebte in Berlin. Der Vater stammte aus einer Fischerfamilie auf Rügen und hatte sich zum selbstständigen Großhandelskaufmann hochgearbeitet. Fritz Laack besuchte das renommierte protestantische Gymnasium zum Grauen Kloster. (Foto Laack) Ab 1915 war er nach eigenen Angaben im Altwandervogel, Berlin o.V., ab 1918 im Jungdeutschen Bund (Foto auf Fahrt). Die frühe Bindung an den Altwandervogel mit 15 Jahren legt nahe, dass die bündische Jugendbewegung in seiner Sozialisation eine wichtige Rolle spielte. Außerdem erwähnt er für die Zeit ab 1919 die Mitgliedschaft in der Fichte-Hochschulgruppe in Berlin und in Freiburg. Für Kenner/innen der Materie ein zweiter Hinweis auf das völkische Umfeld, in dem sich Fritz Laack bewegte. Dass er beides in der Nachkriegszeit noch erwähnt, deutet darauf hin, dass diese Mitgliedschaften als Referenzpunkt eine hohe Bedeutung hatten und in seinem Selbstverständnis auch nicht als infiziert von der nationalsozialistischen Vergangenheit galten. Nach vierjährigem Studium promovierte er 1924 in Freiburg in Staats- und Rechtswissenschaft, sein Thema: Die Theaterunternehmung. Eine wirtschaftliche Untersuchung. Ein knappes Jahr war er als Assistent eines Steuerexperten in Berlin tätig.

1925-1927

1925 erfolgte seine Einstellung als Lehrer an der Heimvolks-

hochschule in Rendsburg. Dort blieb er 1 ½ Jahre. Er hatte, wie er anekdotisch in einem Interview in den 1980er Jahren berichtete, auf einer Veranstaltung des Deutschen Herrenclubs in Berlin Theodor Steltzer getroffen, der damals Landrat in Rendsburg und im Vorstand des Trägervereins der Heimvolkshochschule war. Im Gespräch hatte Laack auf seine schwierige berufliche Situation hingewiesen und Steltzer hatte ihm die Stelle angeboten. Als besondere Qualifikationen wurden von Steltzer, die Fähigkeiten herausgestellt, die Laack im Wandervogel erworben hatte: Tanzen, Theaterspielen, Gitarre spielen. Außerdem traute Steltzer ihm zu, dass er den Themenbereich: Wirtschaft und Staatsrecht abdecken könnte. Laack wird in der Heimvolkshochschule Rendsburg zunächst für ein Jahr als fest angestellter Lehrer angenommen. In den deutschlandweit ungefähr 50 Heimvolkshochschulen gab es meinen Schätzungen nach nicht mehr als 100 fest angestellte Lehrer bzw. Leiter. Rendsburg zählte mit seinen 3 fest angestellten Lehrern zu den großen Einrichtungen in Deutschland. Auch der Heimleiter Axel Henningsen kam aus der Jugendbewegung.

In seiner Rendsburger Zeit hielt Laack Vorträge auf Tagungen des Bundes Deutscher Jugend und ging mit ihnen auf Fahrt. Er kannte Wilhelm Stählin, der später den Berneuchener Kreis begründete. Außerdem hielt er Tagungen mit dem Alt-Wandervogel ab, eingeladen waren u.a. Ernst Buske, Georg Götsch. Ein Referent war Wilhelm Hauer, der im Rahmen der Jugendbewegung Leiter des Bundes der Königer, war und später die „Deutsche Glaubensbewegung“ begründete.

1927-1933

1927 erhielt Fritz Laack das Angebot als Geschäftsführer der in der Gründungsphase befindlichen „Deutschen Schule für Volksforschung und Erwachsenenbildung“ zu arbeiten. Die Motive der Träger der Deutschen Schule dafür waren vielschichtig. Ein wichtiges Motiv war, die ländliche Erwachsenenbildung stärker in die Hohenrodter Arbeit einzubinden, die Heimvolkshochschule sozusagen als Königsklasse der Erwachsenenbildung sichtbar zu machen, ein zweites Motiv war es damit eine Alternative zur radikal völkisch ausgerichteten „Vereinigung der Bauernhochschulen“ zu eröffnen. Hinzukommt, dass zentrale Persönlichkeiten des Hohenrodter Bundes aus der Jugendbewegung kamen (Rosenstock-Huussy, Flitner) und Laack mit seinen 27 Jahren und seiner Geschichte glaubwürdig für das Jugendbewegte stehen konnte

Die Zeit als Geschäftsführer war die Phase, in der sich Fritz Laack für die Pluralität der Weimarer Republik öffnete. Nach seinen Lektüreheften (im Nachlass vorhanden) auch eine Zeit intensiven Studiums der Literatur zur Erwachsenenbildung. Sein Blick öffnete sich. Der vergleichsweise exotische Charakter von Heimvolkshochschulen – obwohl sie für ihn die Königsklasse der Erwachsenenbildung bleiben – im Vergleich zu den Abendvolkshochschulen wurde ihm deutlich. Nach der Gründung des Reichsverbands der Deutschen Volkshochschulen wurde der sozialdemokratische Einfluss auf die Erwachsenenbildung spürbarer. Laack entfachte trotz geringer Geldmittel eine erstaunliche Aktivität und etablierte sich auf der reichsdeutschen Ebene.

Das bedeutete nicht, dass er seine schleswig-holsteinischen Verbindungen vollständig abstreifte. Des öfteren organisierte er reichsweite Tagungen in Rendsburg. Sein früherer Kollege und damalige Leiter der Heimvolkshochschule Pastor Tonnessen und auch Theodor Steltzer waren weiterhin als Referenten auf diesen Tagungen vertreten. Die Vorträge der beiden Männer auf diesen Tagungen sind sachbezogen. Die überhöhenden und ideologischen Töne ihrer Aufsätze in den „Rendsburger Blättern“ fehlen.

1930 wendete sich Fritz Laack in der Freien Volksbildung gegen die Schließung der Heimvolkshochschule Dreißigacker in Thüringen durch den nationalsozialistischen Kultusminister Fricke (Laack, 1930, 219). Und bezog damit Position gegen den aufkommenden Nationalsozialismus.

1933-1945

Im Mai 1933 kam es zur Schließung der Deutschen Schule für Volksforschung und Erwachsenenbildung. Fritz Laack durfte die Geschäftsstelle nicht betreten und seine Bezüge wurden nicht ausgezahlt. Vom Vorstand des Vereins wurde eine Kündigung für den 31.12.1933 ausgesprochen. 1935 erhielt Fritz Laack aus der „Konkursmasse“ des Vereins die noch ausstehenden Bezüge ausbezahlt. (Nachlass Theodor Bäuerle)

Im Jahr 1933 ging Fritz Laack für ein paar Monate ins Ausland zu seiner in Frankreich lebenden Schwester. In Laacks Selbstbeschreibung in einer Dokumentation der Jugendbewegung von 1974 schreibt er: „Nach deren Auflösung (gemeint ist die Dt.Schule... – K.H.) und Berufsverbot zunächst in Frankreich.“ (Laack, 1974, 1777)

Zum 01.Januar 1934 trat Laack eine neue Stelle in der Sozial-

abteilung der Bayerischen Stickstoffwerke in Piesteritz an. Wie er in diese Position kam, Laack beschreibt seine Stellung als die eines „Syndikus“ kam, ist ungeklärt. Haben ihm seine Beziehungen zum Berneuchener Kreis oder ältere persönliche Beziehungen zum Deutschen Herrenclub, an dem viele Industrielle beteiligt waren, geholfen?

Belegt ist Laacks Mitgliedschaft in der SA von 1934-41, in der Deutschen Arbeitsfront von 1934-45 und in der NSDAP von 1937-45.

1935 heiratet er eine Hörerin aus seiner Dozententätigkeit vor 1933 an der Berliner Volkshochschule.

Für die Zeit in den Stickstoffwerken sind eine Menge propagandistischer Beiträge in der Werkszeitschrift „Die Werksfackel“ dokumentiert. Pronationalsozialistische Beiträge finden sich besonders in einem Bericht zum 01.Mai 1934 - also doch schon sehr früh – und auch für 1940 ist ein kriegsbegeisterter Bericht zu nachzulesen.

Seine Sprache und seine inhaltlichen Aussagen musste Laack für die neuen Verhältnisse kaum verändern: Volks- und Werkgemeinschaft waren Begriffe, die ihm nicht fremd waren.

1941 wechselte er beruflich zur NORDAG AG in Norwegen. Dazu konnten bisher keine Unterlagen gefunden werden.

In Norwegen traf er auch 1943 Theodor Steltzer. Theodor Steltzer gehörte damals zum nationalkonservativen Widerstand, der später für den Attentatsversuch vom 20.Juli 1944 auf Adolf Hitler verantwortlich war. Steltzer wurde deshalb zum Tode verurteilt. Dank der Unterstützung einflussreicher ausländischer Freunde wurde das Todesurteil nicht vollstreckt.

1943 nahm Laack nach fast 10 jähriger Unterbrechung den brieflichen Kontakt mit Theodor Bäuerle – dem ehemaligen Vorsitzenden des Vereins der Deutschen Schule für Volksforschung und Erwachsenenbildung - wieder auf. Besuche wurden verabredet. Auch Bäuerle wird dem nationalkonservativen Widerstand zugerechnet.

1945-1990

Nach Kriegsende kehrte Fritz Laack nach Piesteritz zurück. Dort musste er in den Bayerischen Stickstoffwerken eine Tätigkeit als Demontagearbeiter übernehmen, weil ein von den Nazis verfolgter kommunistischer Arbeiter bei den entsprechenden Stellen auf dessen propagandistische Tätigkeit hingewiesen hatte.

Theodor Steltzer, inzwischen Oberpräsident von Schleswig

Holstein und von den Alliierten anerkannter Widerstandskämpfer des 20.Juli stellte Laack für das Entnazifizierungsverfahren einen sog. „Persilschein“ aus. Wahrscheinlich gegen den Widerstand des schwedischen Erwachsenenbildungsverbands – hier war der emigrierte Franz Mockrauer maßgeblich beteiligt – wurde Fritz Laack als Leiter der Heimvolkshochschule Rendsburg eingesetzt. Auf abenteuerlichen – diplomatischen - Wegen kam die restliche Familie Laacks in den „Westen“ und nach Rendsburg.

Von 1947-51 war Laack Leiter der Heimvolksschule. 1951 wechselte er ins schleswig-holsteinische Kultusministerium und machte dort Karriere – überholte seinen Vorgänger Axel Henningsen und stand am Schluss auf der gleichen Stufe in der Ministerialbürokratie wie Robert v.Erdberg in der Weimarer Republik.

Nach seiner Pensionierung 1967 wurde Laack der Geschichtsschreiber des Hohenrodter Bundes und der Deutschen Schule für Volksforschung und Erwachsenenbildung. Diese Aufgabe nahm er bis zu seinem Tode 1990 wahr.

Die Rendsburger Zeit von Fritz Laack

Kurze Skizze der Heimvolkshochschule Rendsburg

1921 wurde die Heimvolkshochschule als Teil der „Grenzlandsarbeit“ in Schleswig-Holstein gegründet - eine Adaption des Grundtvig-Konzepts auf die Bedingungen in Schleswig Holstein zugeschnitten mit protestantischer Ausrichtung und mit besonderer Betonung des Volkstums. Außer den Kursen wurden auch Dorfabende in der Region Schleswig abgehalten. Die Kurs-Teilnehmenden kamen überwiegend aus der ansässigen „Jungbauernschaft“ und aus anderen so genannten „deutschen Grenzgebieten“, wie Kärnten und dem Banat“. Die ersten zehn Grundlehrgänge wurden zu 60 % von Bauern, zu 20% von Handwerkern und 20% von Arbeitern besucht. (Monsheimer, 1962, 423) Es gab einen Winterkurs für junge Männer von 5 Monaten und einen Sommerkurs für junge Frauen in gleicher Länge. Das Durchschnittsalter der jungen Männer war 21 Jahre, das der jungen Frauen 20 Jahre. Schul-, Wohn-, und Kostgeld beliefen sich auf 60 Mark pro Monat. Im Haus wurden auch Tagungen, z.B. 1926/27 „6 Tage für Wandervogelführer, 2 Tage für studentische Jugendführer, 2 Tage für Führergruppe des Hohenrodter Bundes“ (Henningsen, 1962, 80) durchgeführt.

In einem Arbeitsplan wird die Zielgruppe und das Ziel der Volkshochschularbeit wie folgt dargestellt: „Wir wenden uns mit

unserer Volkshochschularbeit an die Jugend unseres Landes und an alle Menschen, die bereit sind, durch Mitarbeit an den Grundkräften unseres Volkstums die Fundamente zu stärken, auf denen unsere Zukunft ruht.“ (Arbeitsplan der Rendsburger HvhS, Volkshochschulkurse des Winters 1925/26)

Bis 1925 waren keine Fachgebiete in den Kursen vertreten, sondern die Kurse versuchten dem Anspruch der „Erweckungsschule“ durch überspitzt ausgedrückt deutsche Sprache, deutsches Volkstum und deutscher Glaube gerecht zu werden. (Reproduktion Programm Lehrgang A). Mit dem Ausbau der Schule 1925 kam der fachliche Bezug durch Staats- und Wirtschaftsrecht hinzu. Das war das Fachgebiet von Fritz Laack. Seine Aufgabe bestand darin, aus dem Nichts ein neues Fachgebiet zu kreieren, und gleichzeitig die andersgeartete, affirmative Konzeption der Heimvolkshochschule der „Erweckung“ und „Gemeinschaftsbildung“ mit abzudecken bzw. zu integrieren. Das machte eine andauernde Belastung aus, die sich auch im Tagebuch niederschlägt. Bis Anfang 1927 war Wilhelm Stapel – ein „Theoretiker“ der völkischen Volksbildung – fester freier Lehrer an der Heimvolkshochschule. Ab 1925 wurde außer dem Grundlehrgang auch ein achtwöchiger Aufbaukurs angeboten. Dieser sollte besonders zur Schulung von „Führern“ – Jungbauern – geeignet sein.

1927 sollte es zu einer Integration der Kolonialschule in die Heimvolkshochschule kommen und damit der „siedlungspolitische“ Aspekt, wie er von Theodor Steltzer vertreten wurde, gestärkt werden. Da in Steltzers Konzept Wirtschafts- und Staatsrecht eine wichtige Rolle für die „deutschen Siedler“ spielten, diese beiden Fächer sollten die notwendige Flexibilität der Siedler mitbegründen, hätte diese Veränderung die Position von F. Laack in der Heimvolkshochschule gestärkt. Der angestrebte konzeptionelle Wandel war meiner Auffassung nach der inhaltliche Auslöser der Kündigung von Axel Henningsen, die dann öffentlich – auch im Rahmen der Rendsburger Blätter ausgetragen wurde.

In der öffentlichen Auseinandersetzung wurde dieser inhaltliche Konflikt kaum thematisiert, sondern es wurde persönliches Versagen in den Vordergrund gestellt. So wurde Axel Henningsen u.a. von Theodor Steltzer aus dem Vorstand des Trägervereins fehlende Fähigkeit zur Gemeinschaftsbildung unterstellt. Dagegen kritisierten die ehemaligen Teilnehmenden Tonnessens und besonders Laacks Verhalten. Gegenüber Laack wurde hervorgehoben: „dass das empfindsame und leicht zur Gekränktheit neigende Wesen ... oft als

quälend und hemmend empfunden wurde.“ (Rundbrief Nr.17, 1927, 4)

Nach Henningsens und Laacks Weggang übernahm Pastor Tonnessen die Leitung der Schule. Bis 1933 entwickelten sich die Kursteilnehmenden zunehmend in eine nationalsozialistische Richtung und das dominierte zunehmend die pädagogische Arbeit. (Tonnessen, 1931, 371)

Das Tagebuch von Fritz Laack

Das Tagebuch Laacks wird von verschiedenen Themen bestimmt: Anforderungen durch das Heimleben, seine Position im Heim – besonders gegenüber der Heimleiterfamilie, seine Beziehungen zu den Teilnehmenden der Kurse, seine Einschätzungen der Teilnehmenden, seine Selbsteinschätzung zur Stoffvermittlung, die persönlichen und fachlichen Konflikte, denen er sich ausgesetzt fühlt.

Laacks Tagebuch lässt Einblick in Widersprüche zu. Die Aufzeichnungen dokumentieren zunächst die völkische Orientierung seiner Arbeit im Alltag des Heims und sie dokumentieren die Veränderung dieser Orientierung im Verlauf seiner Unterrichtserfahrungen, die sich auch in einer veränderten Einschätzung der Teilnehmenden niederschlug.

Zwei Beispiele:

„Jungbauern waren die Zuhörer. Eine Jugendbewegung. Stolze Kerle, aber einfach und bescheiden. Sie gefallen mir gut, sie haben einen realen Boden unter den Füßen, auf dem sie stehen, alle so ein Zeichen des sicheren, nicht intellektuellen Fortschritts. „Mit uns zieht die neue Zeit.“ Sie sind so anders als die städtische Jugendbewegung, die sich einig ist im Negieren, aber kaum Positives weiß zum Aufbau. Diese Leute haben ihre Scholle und ihre Heimat, die beide für sie unwandelbar sind. Sie stehen in der Welt als „religiöse“ Menschen, die nicht ohne Voraussetzungen philosophieren, sondern die nur noch ihr Inneres von Schlacken freigemacht haben wollen, um zu erkennen. Dann wollen sie ihren Weg zu Ende gehen. (29.11.1925)

Das ist einer der ersten Einträge in sein Tagebuch. Laack idealisierte die Jungbauern und gab ihnen die höchste Auszeichnung, die er vergeben konnte: eine Jugendbewegung. Er gibt ihnen einen Kredit und bekennt sich zu einer Wesensverwandtschaft mit ihnen. Auf den ersten Blick erkennt er eine Qualität in den Jungbauern, die der der städtischen Jugendbewegung überlegen sein soll. Drei Charakteristika machen

diese Jugendbewegung aus: die Unwandelbarkeit, die Religiosität und die Bereitschaft zur Erweckung. Dazu muss man wissen, dass die Unwandelbarkeit einen hohen Stellenwert im Völkischen Denken hatte.

Aus dem familiären Erleben gibt es in einer kurzen Beschreibung einer Weihnacht, eine Konkretisierung dessen, was Unwandelbarkeit für Laack bedeuten könnte:

„Hier eine ruhige Weihnachtsstimmung nach Deutscher Art, Germanisch, ohne viel Kerzen, viel Freude in den Augen.“ (27.12.1925)

Auch hier wird in gewisser, diesmal privaten Weise, der völkische Ursprung geschaut, soll sich der ganze volkstümliche Überbau im Blickkontakt vergegenständlichen.

Die Idealisierung der Jungbauern, war auch Ausdruck der politischen Aufgabe, des politischen Betätigungsfelds in dem sich Laack bewegen wird. Die Idealisierung der Jungbauern, bevor der Alltag im Heim überhaupt angefangen hatte, war auch Ausdruck der politischen Aufgabe, des politischen Betätigungsfelds in dem sich Laack bewegen wollte. Er versuchte mit der neuen Umwelt fertig zu werden, indem er sie in etwas Altvertrautes umdefinierte.

13 Monate später hatte sich diese Idealisierung aufgelöst und er hatte sich aufgrund seiner Alltagserfahrungen im Heimleben ein neues Urteil gebildet. Er notierte:

„Das viel gepriesene Bauerntum ist in seiner Seele mehr erkrankt als der städtische Arbeiter. Er ist Materialist aus Not, der Bauer aus Habsucht, Gewinntrieb, Egoismus. Mir kommt es vor, wenn ich Bauern Idealismus predige, sie hören nur: verdiene ich dadurch mehr, andernfalls geht es an ihnen vorbei. S. ist so ein Typ. Zum Schlimmwerden ist es dann, wenn sie nationale oder ideologische Phrasen dreschen – was sie oft tun. Im Hintergrund wartet der Teufel Verdienst! Deshalb ist die Jungbauernbewegung keine reine, anständige Jugendbewegung. Manche empfinden es, die meisten aber nicht. Los der Erzieher: Du sollst vor tauben Ohren predigen. Man wird mit der Zeit selbst ganz irre. Hoffentlich aber nicht verlogen.“ (29.12.1926)

Für Laack hatte sich das Bauerntum nicht als würdig für das Etikett Jugendbewegung erwiesen. Er entzog es ihnen, ohne aber die Jugendbewegung selbst zu relativieren. Dieses Ideal blieb unverbrüchlich. Laack bildete sich ein selbstständiges Urteil – trotz und gegen das Umfeld in der Heimvolkshochschule. Er arbeitete sich an die Realität heran, ohne seine Grundanschauung kritisch zu

reflektieren und aufzugeben. Im Ergebnis wurde alles schwieriger für ihn und er sah sich gezwungen, nach Möglichkeiten zu suchen, seine Ideale vor den von ihm so benannten Pathologien zu schützen. Nach seiner Darstellung eine fast übermenschliche Leistung. In gewisser Weise ließ sich Laack von der Realität erziehen – als Herausforderung für seine unabhängige Urteilskraft, aber er ließ sich nicht von ihr berühren und verändern.

Ein zweiter Themenkomplex, an dem sich Laack im Tagebuch abarbeitet ist die Stellung seines Stoffgebietes im Gesamtkonzept der Heimvolkshochschule:

„Ich stehe mit meiner wirtschaftlich-materiellen Arbeit alleine hier, Vorkämpfer (obwohl Bekämpfer) für wirtschaftliche Gedanken, weiß, dass man im Leben materielle Schliche kennen muss, soll man es verstehen; lehre aber die Abkehr vom wirtschaftlichen Denken und kann mich innerlich nicht davon abkehren. Wenn ich mich genau prüfe, kann ich wohl selbstlos denken und handeln, aber in mir kommt gedankenmäßig immer wieder die menschliche Natur zum Durchbruch.“ (19.02.1926)

Laack benennt in diesem Tagebucheintrag den dauernden Konflikt, in dem er zu seinem Unterrichtsstoff stand. Er konnte die von ihm geforderte Differenz zwischen den Anforderungen, die der Stoff stellt, und der weltanschaulichen Ausrichtung – Ideal der Abkehr vom Materiellen - nicht leisten. Er spürte, dass sich beides gegenseitig ausschloss. Er beklagt, dass er mit seinem Konflikt allein dasteht, keine Ansprechpartner, kein Forum findet. Die Thematisierung des Konflikts, so scheint es, hätte das Selbstverständnis der Heimvolkshochschularbeit in Frage gestellt. Da sich dieser Konflikt aber ohne die Aufgabe von weltanschaulich Idealen nicht hätte lösen, zog er keine systematischeren Konsequenzen.

In einem anderen Tagebucheintrag beschreibt Laack, dass die Teilnehmenden des Aufbaukurses ihm aufgrund der Wirtschaftstheorien, die er im Unterricht vorstellte, eine kapitalistische Weltanschauung unterstellten.

Ein dritter Themenkomplex der Tagebücher zeigt den inneren Widerspruch Laacks zwischen eigener praktischen Volkstumsarbeit und persönlichen Bedürfnissen.

„Am anderen Abend war der Tanz sehr gut, das Dorf war geschlossen und einheitlich in seiner Stellung hinter seinem Führer, Cantor Stagge. Als sie einmal Schieber tanzten, kam er dazu und brach einfach mitten im Lied ab! Kein Murren!“ (22.02.1926)

Im Rahmen der Grenzlandarbeit, den deutschen Abenden, war ein moderner aus den USA stammender Tanz – wie der Schieber – verboten. Der Schieber widersprach der Pflege des deutschen Volkstums. Die autoritäre und militärische Haltung des dörflichen „Führers“ und die Bevormundung der Gruppe werden von Laack bewundert. Die unterwürfige Reaktion der Gruppe wird von ihm gutgeheißen.

Ein paar Tage später folgt ein ganz anderer Eintrag zu diesem Thema:

„Gestern hatte ich viel Freude. Ich ging am Abend noch zum Abschiedsabend des Aufbaukurses, der erst im Kanal-Café, nachher in der Schweizerhalle war. Hier war es sehr lustig, wir tranken Ananasbowle und sangen immerzu. Vor allem aber, wir tanzten ganz herrlich, Anne Feld + Annemarie Felfs waren mit, zwei feine lustige Mädchen, die auch viel Freude in sich hatten. Wir tanzten fast nur Schieber, ganz ausgelassen, wie nie, wir hatten ja auch schon Ananasbowle in uns. Und es war schöner, als wenn wir nur kleine Volkstänze tanzten. Wie feinsinnig einem die Mädchen am Körper lagen!“ (27.02.1927)

Beide Notizen lassen eine Ahnung zu, welche kulturelle Einschränkung und welches Unterdrückungspotential die Inszenierung der volkstümlichen Kultur in sich barg.

In diesen Notizen scheint etwas auf von der Herrenmoral, innerhalb derer sich Laack bewegte. Ihm war es demnach erlaubt, solch einem Vergnügen nachzugehen und die Volkstänze aufgrund ihrer unerotischen Ausstrahlung zu kritisieren. Er befand sich in einer Position, die es ihm erlaubte, sich (ohne Schamgefühle) über Grenzen hinwegzusetzen, die er in einem anderen Kontext rigide einforderte. Laack benannte im Tagebuch den Konflikt zwischen individuellen Bedürfnissen und Volkstümelei. Doch brachte er nicht den Mut auf, diesen Konflikt öffentlich zu thematisieren.

Am Ende seiner Zeit in Rendsburg hatte Fritz Laack zentrale Widersprüche völkisch inspirierter Heimvolkshochschularbeit herausgearbeitet, ohne sich aber grundsätzlich daraus zu lösen. Er hatte sich zwar auch über die Hohenrodter Tagung in Rendsburg im November 1926 von der „romantischen Auffassung von Volkstum“ (26.11.1926) als engem Heimatgedanken, gebunden an „Stammestum“ wie das Henningsen und Tonnessen bezogen auf Schleswig-Holstein vertreten hatten, gelöst. Volkstum bleibt aber für ihn ein zentraler religiöser Wert.

Sein Selbstverständnis – und damit die Idealisierung der

Jugendbewegung – hatte sich nicht verändert. Er nahm diese Ideale mit, als er 1927 Geschäftsführer der Deutschen Schule für Volksforschung und Erwachsenenbildung wurde.

Exkurs: Laacks Verhältnis zum Nationalsozialismus

In der letzten Ausgabe der Freien Volksbildung von Mai/Juni 1933 verfasste Laack den Aufsatz „Illusion und Wirklichkeit der Volksbildung“, indem er seine Anpassungsbereitschaft an den NS-Staat signalisierte, und mehr noch ein eigenes mit dem Nationalsozialismus kompatibles Gedankengebäude der Volksbildung entwickelte. (Friedenthal-Haase, 1991, 116) An manchen Stellen wirkt der Aufsatz wie eine lang aufgehobene Abrechnung mit der pluralistischen Erwachsenenbildung der Weimarer Republik, die eben nie wirklich die Volksgemeinschaft wollte. (Laack, 1933, 267)

Erstaunlich ist, dass dieser Aufsatz in der Geschichtsschreibung der Erwachsenenbildung überwiegend als taktische Anbiederung an den Nationalsozialismus – im Sinne eines Rettungsversuchs der Existenz der Deutschen Schule für Volksforschung und Erwachsenenbildung – interpretiert wurde (z.B. Olbrich, 2001, 216). Ergänzt wurde diese Interpretation durch das verbreitete Bild von F. Laack als Verfolgtem des NS-Regimes, der mit Berufsverbot belegt worden war.

Bei genauerer Analyse des Aufsatzes wird deutlich, dass hier ein völkischer Diskurs aus der Weimarer Republik weitergeführt wird, und als Neuheit selbstkritisch die Antwort in der Organisationsfrage anders ausfällt und eine Anbindung an das nationalsozialistische Programm und an die NSDAP als notwendig angesehen wird. Hinzukommt die Radikalisierung des völkischen Denkens, die hier bei Laack zum ersten mal auch „blutsmäßige Verwandtschaft“ (Laack, 1933, 271) als Bestandteil des Volkes umfasst. Dass F. Laack ein totalitäres rechtsradikales Volksbildungs-Programm formulierte, dass aufgrund andersgearteter machtpolitischer Interessen der Nationalsozialisten nicht honoriert wurde, wurde bislang in der Forschung nicht herausgelesen. Meiner Auffassung nach wurde der Text von den Nationalsozialisten nicht weiter diskutiert, weil er eine mögliche immanente Konkurrenz ausdrückte und dem machtpolitischen Kalkül der Nazis zuwiderlief.

Fritz Laack machte während des NS-Regimes an anderer Stelle fernab von der Volksbildung Karriere. Das hatte er sich auch schon in Rendsburg als Alternative zum Lehrerberuf vorgestellt. Treu blieb er

sich in seinem in Rendsburg geäußerten Wunsch „vorwärts zu kommen“ (17.03.1927). Beim Lesen des Tagebuchs von 1938-41 wird deutlich, dass sich Laack auch hier, wie in seinem Rendsburger Tagebuch, akribisch mit den Kränkungen und Zurücksetzungen im Management in einem Industriebetrieb auseinandersetzte. Anders wie im Rendsburger Tagebuch nutzte er das Tagebuch offensiv und ungeschminkt, um an seiner Karriere zu basteln. Ob er darüber in Konflikte mit seinem Gewissen und mit seiner Weltanschauung geriet, darüber gibt sein Tagebuch keine Auskunft.

Zusammenfassung

Am Anfang meiner Recherchen hatte ich den Eindruck, dass Fritz Laack in ein Netzwerk völkisch ausgerichteter Persönlichkeiten geraten sei und selbst keine aktive Rolle gespielt hätte. Je stärker ich mich aber mit den Quellentexten beschäftigte und Personen und Gruppierungen einzuordnen lernte, wurde mir deutlich, dass Laacks Praxis quasi lückenlos eingebettet war in seine Mitgliedschaften in völkischen Gruppierungen. Er war auch nicht nur Mitglied, sondern er trat auch als Organisator und Propagandist auf.

In der Zeit zwischen 1927 und 1933 löste sich Laack aus der Nische der völkischen Gruppierungen und besonders dem regionspezifischen Blickwinkel Schleswig Holsteins – Grenzlandsarbeit und Bauerntum als Charakteristikum des völkischen Denkens.

Die Deutsche Schule für Volksforschung und Erwachsenenbildung war ganz anders in das pluralistische Spektrum der Erwachsenenbildung eingebunden und mit dem Anschluss an den Reichsverband der Volkshochschulen und dem Tod von Robert von Erdberg 1929 fand eine Öffnung statt. Laack wuchs erfolgreich in die Rolle des Moderators hinein. Es bildete sich eine Organisation heraus und der Bewegungscharakter wurde in den Hintergrund gedrängt.

Laack entwickelte sich in Richtung auf die bürgerliche Demokratie. Nach dem die bürgerliche Demokratie keinen Erfolg hatte, distanzierte Laack sich von ihr und suchte in den älteren Traditionen des völkischen Denkens Anknüpfungspunkte für die neuen Gestaltungsaufgaben im Nationalsozialismus.

Den Quellen nach war Fritz Laack kein überzeugter Nationalsozialist. Dem Nationalsozialismus fehlte die christlich religiöse Wurzel und Weihe und seine Führung entsprach nicht den bürgerlich konservativen Elitenvorstellungen, die Laack vertrat. Rassistische oder antisemitische Positionen sind in seinen

Veröffentlichungen nicht zu finden. Er hatte, so interpretiere ich seine Karriere in dem Wirtschaftsunternehmen und Wirtschaftsverband, ein taktisches Verhältnis zum Nationalsozialismus. Das beinhaltete auch propagandistische Tätigkeiten und Mitgliedschaften in der DAF, SA und NSDAP, doch ausschließlich mit Blick auf die eigene Karriere und nicht verbunden mit größeren politischen Vorstellungen.

Die Wegbereiterfunktion der Völkischen Gruppierungen für den Nationalsozialismus und seine eigene aktive Verstrickung darin, hat Laack nicht kritisch reflektiert. Er hat sie im Gegenteil nach 1945 verharmlost und als bewahrenswerte und vorbildhafte Traditionsbestände der bürgerlichen Erwachsenenbildung gedeutet.

Meinem Eindruck nach gab es für Fritz Laack einen unverrückbaren Kern, ein unverrückbares Idealselbst, das es ihm nicht erlaubte, mit dem Wandervogel und späterer Gruppierungen mit dem gleichen Ideal – dem elitären und melancholischen Gesellschaftsmodell – zu brechen. Auch immer auf dem Hintergrund, dass das ideologische und personale Netzwerk des Wandervogel es ihm in seiner Lebensgeschichte immer wieder erlaubte, Anschlüsse und Kontinuitätslinien aufzubauen, ohne sich – auf jeden Fall öffentlich – substantiell mit den Brüchen und Abstürzen beschäftigen zu müssen. Sei es 1925 oder 1927, 1933 oder 1945. Diese Haltung prägte auch seine Geschichtsschreibung der Erwachsenenbildung der Weimarer Republik.

Schlussbemerkung

Gerne hätte ich eine größere Nähe zu Fritz Laacks Lebensgeschichte zur Geltung gebracht, auch weil die Unterschiede zwischen den idealisierenden Attributen, die der Jugend nach 1918 und nach 1945 zugeschrieben wurden, gar nicht so groß waren, und eine vergleichende Betrachtungsweise – wie man Erwachsenenbildner wurde – sinnvoll ist. Gerne hätte ich die Darstellung in eine erzählerische Form gebracht, die Fritz Laack auch in einer empathischen Weise zur Geltung bringt. Das war mir in diesem Vortrag nicht nur wegen der Stofffülle noch nicht möglich. (Klaus Heuer, Bonn 24.08.2006)

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How to become an 'adult educator' in the interwar Romania: the examples of Nicolae Iorga and Dimitrie Gusti

Very near from another moment of the European Union enlargement, it has come the time to reconsider the place of some valuable local adult education traditions in Central and Eastern Europe. Having in sight the topic of the 11th ESVA Conference, I have chosen the examples of two outstanding personalities in the interwar Romania.

The activity of Nicolae Iorga and Dimitrie Gusti in the field of adult education in interwar Romania still requires analysis for a fully understanding of its historical meaning and importance. Therefore, when trying to explain the way they have taken to become adult educators, the present paper takes into account more than previous interpretations some aspects concerning their professional background, the theoretical and practical knowledge of adult education they had both at the time and their ways to transform ideas into institutions in the above-mentioned field.

As a result of the analysis of what Iorga and Gusti have explicitly or implicitly asserted concerning adult education, one could find at least 5 distinct features. I intend to present them as steps for a future more detailed view of how Gusti and Iorga have understood adult education at their time: adult education is intimately linked to the politics of culture – in fact it is an important part of this one; adult education is different from school pedagogy; there are important differences between them; there is a peculiar difference between andragogy as *theory* (i.e. the principles of adult education) and the *practice* of adult education; adult education does not identify itself – as both process and outcome – with the bare assimilation of some disciplines, theories or formal principles; adult education does not mean the mere mechanical adoption of what has been done in other countries, but the making of the outland experience compatible with that of inland, by stimulating the innovation, initiative and self-responsibility.

In the end, as I did in other occasion¹, I propose a brief discussion about the meaning of this impressive cultural and educational heritage for

1 Isac, Ionut (2004): From Free Market Economy to Human Development. An Ethical Approach for Lifelong Learning in Romania. In: Lifelong Learning in Europe. Vol. 9, Nr. 4. P. 260-263

nowadays Romanian adult education in European context.

0. Motivation of the subject

The history of adult education in Romania has certainly got its landmarks with the achievements of the world-famous historian, professor and researcher, member of the Romanian Academy Nicolae Iorga (1871-1940) and the with the research work of the outstanding sociologist and social philosopher Dimitrie Gusti (1880-1955). They are indeed the most distinguished forerunners of nowadays adult education in Romania. They have found their way to adult education in a time of strong demands for modernization and enhancement of activity in all the regions of the country. The new Romanian reality after the 1st World War required more well trained and educated adult people, according to a paradigm different from classic school standards.

Obviously, the capital question for the present-day historian, researcher and/or practitioner in adult education is: how did they become adult educators? On this subject-matters there has been already published a specific article of Prof. Dr. Nicolae Sacalis from the University of Bucharest², which briefly describes the biographical coordinates of Iorga and Gusti, mentioning their major achievements in the work of adult education. I absolutely agree with this article as a whole, in all its considerations. However, I will try, on one hand, to insist on the historical interpretation of these key issues and, on the other hand, to make them a more specific analysis according to the title of my paper. Otherwise saying, I am going to be more comprehensive, with the accent on historical interpretations.

1. Politics of culture and adult education

Having in sight the point of how Iorga and Gusti did become adult educators, I emphasize the idea that the most plausible answer to this question is connected to the well-known concern, both common to Iorga and Gusti, when dealing with adult education: i.e. *the politics of culture* ('politica culturii'). It could be argued that, in their view, *education* and *culture* were almost synonym concepts.

As politicians (ministers of education and culture), Iorga and

2 Sacalis, Nicolae (1998): Nicolae Iorga and Dimitrie Gusti: Two Pioneers of Adult Education in Romania. In: Friedenthal-Haase, Marta (ed.): Personality and Biography: Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference on the History of Adult Education, Vol. II: Biographies of Adult Educators from Five Continents. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. P. 705-710

Gusti conceived a particular way of adult education by the building of *people's culture* ('cultura poporului'), inside of which each and every individual develops his/her own *personality as a whole* on the purpose of *social efficient activity*. Moreover, they had in mind the building of *pedagogy of culture* specific to Romanian people as well as a *Romanian ethics*.

While understanding the politics of culture as a way of enhancing people's capabilities and shaping the individual behavior in order to fit the needs of the community and those of the country, Gusti was insisting on defining its goal: i.e. the achievement of *people's culture*. In his view, the culture is both process and product. As a *process*, culture means the making of the 'inside man', capable of insertion as an active member within the social *milieu*. As an *outcome*, culture represents a relationship of intensity between the human being and the cultural assets. The adult education has to give the right direction and substantially contribute to the achievement of this purpose.

Similarly, Iorga insisted on cultivating people's inner force (i.e. 'the spiritual soul'), thus making them ready to give the full strength of the nation even during the most difficult moments of the history. Not the material means (civilization) but especially this spiritual soul (culture) is that of making the difference when one needs to have responsible educated adults able to build a house of their own or to defend their country. 'If one wants to do politics of culture, that person must feed the soul of a whole nation with what it belongs the most, with what can be transformed in every moment into that active force capable to surmount all difficulties'³.

This way, the education of adult people appears to be a very substantial and important part of politics of culture, i.e. the moral-spiritual elevation of everybody according to social requirements and the cultivation of personal qualities in the direction of social cohesion.

2. Professional background. School pedagogy and adult education

Neither Iorga nor Gusti identified adult education through politics of culture with a certain scholar specialization. They both grasped the peculiar character of adult education as not being a mere prolongation of school instruction. As the article of Mr. Prof. Sacalis

3 Iorga, Nicolae (1927): Conference at the Romanian Social Institute in Bucharest, November 20. In: Sacalis, Nicolae (1997): Politics of Culture and Politics of Education – in Romania and abroad. Bucharest: National Romanian Adult Education Association, Folk Univ. 'Ioan I. Dalles'. P. 113

has let all these aspects at the implicit level⁴, it has to be pointed out the importance of their professional background, which made them to pay a lot of attention toward the educational needs of grown-up Romanians.

Iorga and Gusti were aware of the fact that, in different fields, a pre-requisite of successful activity as well as of peaceful living together within community was a special kind of education – addressed to challenges of real life, not to the mere scholar demands –, which people very often did not have the opportunity to acquire.

Iorga criticized the school education, which he finds made under a scholastic 'blueprint' and split from real life because of its abstract principles often inapplicable in practice. Thus, too much theory makes school becoming rather a sequestration of students from life, while the greatest reform of school would be that of giving instruction without forbidding them what real life depicts to anybody. Adult education comes somehow to fill that 'gap' of scholastic school education, in a manner proper for grown-up people. Even if school has to guide the evolution of life, eventually, real life must be shown itself as a guidebook for school. This is a major difference between the education of pupils and that of grown-up people.

Sometimes, a fable is recommended in education, therefore Iorga fabricates one by himself. Let us imagine, he says, a society of people supervised at every single action by a would-be 'Big pedagogue' endowed with a notebook for giving marks to each and every one, always. Such kind of society would fail very quickly in reality and could not be reasonable conceived, because grown-up people are by definition independent and responsible for their acts. Adult education means to stress these features of grown-up personality and shape them according to efficient social activity and to the benefit of all.

In his turn, during a conference at the Romanian Social Institute in Bucharest, referring to the needs of education of young people in the villages, Gusti said that 'We need schools managed according to the most recent principles of pedagogy of culture, to the principles of pedagogy of grown-up youth, Andragogik'⁵. Thus, he emphasized the importance of making a new kind of 'school' (as an institution of

4 See Ibidem, passim

5 Gusti, Dimitrie (1928): Conference at the Romanian Social Institute in Bucharest, June 10. In: Sacalis, Nicolae (1997): Politics of Culture and Politics of Education – in Romania and abroad. Bucharest: National Romanian Adult Education Association, Folk Univ. 'Ioan I. Dalles'. P. 127

education), which was meant to be not merely a follow-up of the 'ordinary' or 'standard' school (i.e. formal education), but especially complementary to it. This school, specially designed for 'grown-up youth' had to have definite goals for achieving *people's culture*.

3. Andragogy and adult education: theory and practice

From the beginning, it must be emphasized that Iorga and Gusti did not make such distinction sharply. However, a remarkable asset they had in common was composed of the knowledge they had of their contemporary theoretical and practical gains in the field of adult education. Again, it is an aspect only slightly mentioned in the quoted article.

The specialists have currently noticed that too much theory leads to mistaken lanes, often far beyond practice, particularly when a mighty bureaucracy intervenes between. Nevertheless, Iorga and Gusti have lived such experience on their own when dealing with previous misaddressed politics of culture. It seems to be an unwritten law of education in general: the more theory is proclaimed – maybe with the best intentions – the less expected effects could occur. Centralization of this kind of politics has unhappy entailments, because it does not aim the fulfilment of spiritual needs of individuals and society (at the 'bottom') but, on the contrary, tries to impose them inefficient external imperatives (from the 'top'). Bureaucrats, circular letters, meetings etc. are elements that cannot guarantee a successful politics of culture.

But when do we have the proof that the principles of adult education (i.e. of the politics of culture) have succeeded? Iorga believes that this is best shown at the time of great collective movements (revolutions, wars, great battles), coming from the depth of the people's soul, activating its most intrinsic convictions and feelings. In this respect, there is a kind of education and culture 'low profile' – often undetected and neglected by governmental bureaucrats – which gives the best results since it goes directly to the soul of the people. Only when somebody (a grown-up person) does understand intimately an idea or a principle on a basis of personal living experience one could speak about a successful act of education. For instance, instead of everyday academic speeches about national idea, which often create constrained feelings, it would be better to deepen young people into the national reality as they become in time able to develop those feelings as elaborations from the inside of their own beings.

4. Adult education vs. formal education

When doing in practice adult education and politics of culture, there is a temptation of substituting the activity really required and efficient with lectures on or applications of certain formal discipline(s). Obviously, it is much easier to do so and, of course, totally mistaken. Moreover, if bureaucracy and centralism mixes there, a fatal split between intentions and results is to be expected.

But what could bring specialization for adult education? Why does it not fit its purposes? A good specialist of a certain discipline could be helpful for adult education, anyway, not by preaching theoretically its propositions as dogmas. For instance, Iorga has emphasized that: '... you won't do it [politics of culture – n.ns.] with people dedicated to the specialized culture, but with those having the whole culture of their people inside them. Not with historians, philosophers or philologists would you do this thing, but with people keeping in their minds whatever it needs from philosophy, history, philology in order to become complete Romanians'⁶. It comes out that specialization is only the first step to do adult education successfully. And it may be that, sometimes, a specialist in a certain field would not be at all recommended for adult education.

The problem of specialized literature concerned Gusti in all his sociological empirical research. He noticed that in the villages, libraries were supplied by a lot of specialized books in different domains, regardless to the real life of peasants. There was nothing than an illusion of central authorities at the time that this way the village inhabitants could draw a real benefit, even if they had to be in some sort cultivated. 'With such kind of libraries, he said, the culture in the villages cannot be spread out. But in as much as less could get the true culture citizenship in the village through a few conferences, given from time to time by somebody who, no matter how interesting could speak, appears in and disappears out of the village, like a shooting star'⁷. All seems to get along with the idea that simple *information* does not automatically involve *formation*. The lecture of a book or the listening of a conference makes a desirable change in social interactions only if it corresponds to somebody's intimate motivation.

⁶ Iorga, Nicolae (1927). In: op. cit. P. 117, 118

⁷ Gusti, Dimitrie (1928). In: op. cit. P. 126

5. Institutions of adult education: foreign experience vs. local demands

Being very aware of and knowing very well the specific adult education movements throughout Europe at that time (for instance, *Volkshochschulbewegung* in Germany; '*Masaryk Academy*' in Czechoslovakia; the Austrian *Volksheim* with the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* project), Iorga and Gusti pleaded for the needs of a new kind of education in Romania, applicable in innovative learning-practice institutions and ruled by the principles of '*Andragogik*' ('*Andragogy*') – it is the word that Gusti uses exactly in original German in his writings, probably because he believed it to be the most adequate. But this new education had to substantiate itself into adequate institutions and activities for the educational needs of local inhabitants. As specialization does not guarantee the success of adult education or politics of culture, a mechanical taking over of what has been done in foreign countries could easily compromise this aim as well. That is why Iorga and Gusti have founded specific Romanian cultural and educational institutions.

The institutional achievements of Iorga and Gusti in the field of adult education are consistently mentioned in the article of Mr. Prof. Sacalis. They knew they were the beginners of a previously inexistent tradition. However, one must point out that their ways of transforming ideas into institutions were different but, nevertheless, complementary.

For instance, Iorga has set up the Folk University in Valenii de Munte (district of Prahova), where he gave series of lectures every summer. He invited there a lot of scholars and public personalities for giving lecture series and conferences; this way, he created the conditions for extending the rural community school to a broader audience.

On the contrary, Gusti dedicated himself together with his students and fellows to the sociological empirical research all-over the country. He was very impressed by the folk-school model associated with Romanian villages, particularly by the organization of the non-formal, systemic and multi-purpose learning activities around village libraries. Also, he organized educational training groups that ensured the book supply from a wide range of disciplines for the teachers of villages.

Thus, they have both had in mind the education addressed to rural communities, aimed for the training of local leaders – the most able to prove a positive influence on their neighbours while doing

common works in agriculture or inside their households.

In the view of Iorga and Gusti, an efficient politics of culture (as well as, we could say, adult education) must observe the following principles: elevated culture cannot be split from people's culture; culture must be let to live in freedom, spontaneously and according to the national specific; the governmental institutions responsible for the organization of national culture must have a large autonomy; such institutions are designed to ensure proper conditions for the culture, by discovering, stimulating and organizing the cooperation of all cultural actors of the country⁸.

6. Conclusion: lessons for today

In the interwar Romania, the activity of Iorga and Gusti in adult education and politics of culture (as they have conceived it) has got a great acknowledgement and was quite a success. Even in the recent years, they are often seen as venerable models of a time with the most important cultural achievements in the whole Romanian history before 1945.

Unfortunately, their endeavor to innovate adult education has been completely neglected after the instauration of the communist political power in 1945. But, beside the interference of politics, which turned then everything completely upside down, however, the adult education in interwar Romania did not have enough time to succeed in reaching a theoretical paradigm ('andragogy'), so all these efforts remained somehow for a half-century without the desirable outcome.

It is now up to those specialists who set up again the system of adult education after the 1989 Revolution – most part of it with the help of National Romanian Adult Education Association and the Institute for International Cooperation of the German Adult Education Association, local Bureau of Bucharest – to reconsider these valuable traditions and to renew them according to contemporary imperatives of the European Union.

I believe that maybe the most important lesson that Iorga and Gusti have transmitted to us, those who are living in the present, is the way of becoming an 'adult educator' – most important, a successful one. Briefly, those who want to dedicate themselves to adult education in Romania (perhaps in other countries, too), especially those officials who are appointed to take decisions for education, must keep in their minds that education and culture are

intimately linked. These have to be a permanent preoccupation for a country's government. As Gusti said, the problem of culture refers even to economy turnover: if moral-spiritual values were absent, there it would not be any economic efficiency at all. Then, somebody who wants and has to deal with adult education has to learn her/himself how to overcome the self-content when being a specialist in a certain field. Besides, these persons have to take always into account the specific local needs of adult population, not identifying or confusing them with those of foreign countries.

Last, but not least, I think that there is a special morality, a particular ethos that Iorga and Gusti have let us as a valuable legacy in the culture and adult education. It is both important to know and to apply a tank of knowledge in a certain field; but much more important is to live and to assume them in a creative and responsible manner, in as much as to make them a model for those presents and those who will come.

8 Ibidem. P. 130-131

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Hryhoriy Skovoroda as a wandering teacher and searcher for happiness

Abstract: This study has been undertaken to present the Ukrainian pedagogue and philosopher Hryhoriy Skovoroda (1722-1794) and his particular way of life as an adult educator. After spending round 20 years of study and research in Kiev at the famous Kiev-Mohyla-Academy and in other cities of Western Europe, he started teaching at different institutions in the Eastern Ukraine. Shortly after that he was forced to quit teaching within an institutional context because his reformatory ideas on the ideal of a man, educational theories and nonconformist theological views were not accepted in traditional circles. Thus he started his wandering life of an adult educator going from one village to another and meeting different people. The present report considers also the didactical particularities of Skovoroda's doctrine. Eager to reach various strata of society, especially the ones excluded from education, Skovoroda formulated his ideas and theories in the form of allegories and parables as well as laconic incisive fables full of exemplified symbols and typical images accessible to common people. The report depicts his life within the scope of his doctrine and his theoretical concepts. Believing in the force of the nature which assigns to each individual a right place in the world and in the society, Skovoroda stood up for „knowing oneself“, for perfection of oneself in the process of permanent self-examinations during the whole life. He often characterizes the life as a theatre where each person is not only an observer but also a performer of his role(s). Skovoroda himself perceives his roles: as a teacher, a musician, a poet, a philosopher and an adult educator. His doctrine was therefore not a theoretical experiment (like in the case of Rousseau, for example), but the quintessence of his own life and experience. The report aims at clearing the question on what score Skovoroda may be considered as an adult educator, what competencies did he possess to be called so.

*“Who thinks about the science, loves it;
 and who loves it, never stops to learn”*

Hryhoriy Skovoroda is considered to be one of the earliest prominent Ukrainian pedagogues and philosophers. He lived in 1722-1794. He was often called “The Russian Socrates” or the “peasant philosopher”, many legends and myths have been created about his

special manner of life, many investigations have been undertaken to examine his philosophy from different points of view. But his role as an adult educator and his doctrine concerning the lifelong learning haven't been deeply researched.

Skovoroda's philosophy and pedagogy can be interpreted in three different ways, with the emphasis being placed on his epistemology, his doctrine of man, or his life with reference to his philosophy. All these aspects will help us to understand his thoughts concerning the process of learning and teaching. I will begin with some particularities of his life which make him called an adult educator and a wandering teacher.

Skovoroda was born in the Cossack family and that fact allowed him to do his study and to be free to move (unlike the serfs). After having completed the primary school in his own village he entered the Academia Mohyleana in Kiev, where he studied with some interruptions for almost twelve years. In 1745 Skovoroda went to Hungary and Europe with General Vishnevsky. While abroad, Skovoroda had an opportunity to travel widely and to visit other European countries. His biographer Kovalynsky wrote about this time:

"Travelling with this General, Skovoroda had opportunity, with his permission and help, to undertake trips outside of Hungary to Vienna, Offen, Pressburg, and other surrounding places where, exploring on his own, he most of all endeavoured to acquaint himself with people particularly famous at that time for their learning and knowledge"¹.

Skovoroda benefited considerably from his travel: his horizon broadened, he got acquainted with theological and philosophical teachings of Western Europe. After his return to Ukraine Skovoroda got a position of a teacher of poetry in the Seminary at Pereyaslav near Kiev, but he was very soon dismissed from his post because of the dispute with the bishop who didn't agree with the theory of poetics expounded by Skovoroda and who ordered to teach the traditional presentation of the subject. Skovoroda refused this and went back to Kiev to restart his studies in theology. After two years he got a position of a private teacher in an estate Kovrai near Kiev. There Skovoroda was a tutor in the family of a landowner in Kovrai. From 1759 to 1769, with interruptions, he taught such subjects as poetry, syntax, Greek, and ethics at the Kharkov College. After an

1 Skovoroda (1973), vol. II, S. 441 (English translation: Dan Chopyk: "Fables and Aphorisms", Peter Lang, 1990, S. 33).

attack on his course on ethics, in 1769 he decided to leave teaching within the scope of an institution. He never took it up again and spent the last twenty five years wayfaring. This last period was the time of his great philosophic works. In this period, but particularly earlier, he wrote poetry and letters in Russo-Slavonic and in Latin and did a few translations from Latin.

He never stopped writing and reading, and he kept giving his philosophical essays and dialogues to friends as gifts. His works were copied and sent all around the country but not a single page of his writings was published during his lifetime. The essence of Skovoroda's spiritual life can be described in a few words: he spent his life on the road in search of truth and wisdom. "*Everyone born in this world is a wayfarer — some are blind, and others are enlightened,*" he wrote. "*I gave so much time to learning before I began teaching others.*"² Kovalynsky who wrote a biography of Skovoroda, using Skovoroda's own descriptions of his attitudes, succeeded to reproduce what kind of a person Skovoroda was:

"His destiny began preparing him for what awaited him in his later life steeling his heart against injustice that he was subjected to all his life long. While he was without a home to live in, without money to buy food, without clothes to keep him warm he was never without hope. His spirit kept him safely away from temptations and earthly desires, and making him a stranger, a wanderer and wayfarer, it gave him the heart of a Citizen of the World who, possessing no family, no estate, no roof above his head, yet possessed the ability to enjoy Nature, the natural things, to share the joys of the simple and carefree — the joys that come from the simple mind and carefree spirit engaged in the search of eternal treasures."³

The central issue of Skovoroda's philosophy was Man, his existence in this world, his happiness and exploration of the ways that may lead him to happiness. Skovoroda found himself in trying to teach all those whom he met during his wanderings "the true things." He did not establish a philosophical school, there were no pupils who would carry on making popular his ideas and teaching. Skovoroda became a holy figure in the folklore — a wanderer, a sage, an itinerant musician with a flute and a walking stick, moving from place to place teaching the postulates of wisdom. Skovoroda appears in many folk legends, anecdotes, jokes and fables.

2 Skovoroda 1973, vol. I, S. 276.

3 Skovoroda 1973, vol. II, S. 440.

They say that Skovoroda was a philosopher who practised what he preached. So, to understand his life one should take a look at his principal philosophical ideas. That's why I will dwell in few words on some points of his philosophy.

Structure of the world

The basic principle of Skovoroda's philosophy is the understanding of the structure of the world. Skovoroda recognizes the existence of three worlds:

"There are three worlds. The first is the universal and inhabited world where every creature dwells. It consists of countless little worlds.... The other two are partial and little worlds. The first microcosm or little world is man. The second is the symbolic world, that is, the Bible."⁴

All three worlds have a parallel structure, a dualism of appearance and reality, external facade and internal nucleus, inessential and essential. Thus, by studying one of the worlds, we at same time understand the other worlds.

So, all these three worlds consist of two natures: one visible, the other invisible. The invisible is called God. This invisible nature or God inheres and sustains all creation. This nature is eternal omnipresent. Skovoroda's discussion of the ontological structure of things is based on the theory of Plato:

"All three worlds consist of two natures in one, named matter and form. In Plato these forms are named idea, that is, presentations, appearances, images. These forms are the original worlds, the underived secret threads penetrating and sustaining matter or shadows. In the great and small worlds the material appearance indicates a form or an eternal image hidden under it."⁵

Epistemology

The recognition of the world and the only true access to knowledge begins by Skovoroda in self-knowledge. In view of the fact that man is a microcosm that reflects all the structures of the macrocosm and that of God one can reason that the world can only be known through

4 Григорій Сковорода: Твори в двох томах. Київ 1961. (Gregory Skovoroda: Works in Two Volumes, ed. O. I. Biletskyi, D. Kh. Ostrianyn, and P. M. Popov. Kiev: Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, 1961), vol. I, S. 536. (English translation: Taras Zakydalsky: The Theory of Man in the Philosophy of Skovoroda. Bryn Mawr College, 1965, p. 38).

5 Skovoroda (1961), vol. I, p. 539 (English translation: Zakydalsky (1965), p. 43).

self-knowledge. "*He who is blind at home is blind also on visits*"⁶. We cannot understand the nature of the world without first discovering the nature of ourselves.

But it is impossible to recognize anything without seeing God in it. Even if you know all scientific materialistic laws of the world, "*even if you had measured all the Copernican worlds, but had not discovered the plan that sustains their whole external appearance [i.e., God's ideas] nothing would come of it.*"⁷ All truths that do not contain a clear reference to God are only partial and of a lower order. To believe in the sciences as possessing the absolute truth is to be in error.

The sciences in themselves, however, are not false if they do not make the claim to absolute knowledge – in fact Skovoroda doesn't criticize the sciences in general, but he wants the knowledge of God to take the upper place of all the other knowledge.

"We have measured the sea, land, air and heavens and have disturbed the belly of the earth to reach its metals, traced the planets, searched the mountains, rivers, cities on the moon, discovered countless worlds, built incomprehensible machines, filled abysses, blocked and redirected the flow of rivers. Daily we raise new questions and create wild inventions.... Good heavens, what is there we don't know how or can't do! And yet, to our misfortune, something great seems to be lacking in all this: we only know that something is lacking, but what it is we have no idea."⁸

In this feeling of dissatisfaction lies the first hint that we must search elsewhere for the truth.

What is the basic reason for this insufficiency of the sciences? Why cannot the sciences, or rather our faith in the material world as opposed to our faith in God, possibly make man happy? We can understand that by examining the inner structure of the man. The inner heart, or how Skovoroda calls it – "the true man" is eternal by its nature and the very image of God. Only the divine knowledge refers to the deep structure of the man and nourishes his inner core.

One last point must be made about Skovoroda's notion of knowledge and that is that true knowledge always has practical consequences. It affects the quality of man's existence, his attitude to life and to his work, his relation to himself and to others. Knowledge is inseparable from practical action. Knowledge in this sense is truly the whole life of man.

6 Ibid., vol. I, p. 364.

7 Ibid., vol. I, p. 41.

8 Ibid., vol. I, p. 222. (English translation: Zakydalsky (1965), p. 88).

Self-fulfilment

God gives each man an individual nature, which determines his vocation in life. This vocation can be discovered by self-knowledge. Skovoroda expresses the fundamental points of this theory in this way:

"Nature and inclination are the innate divine will and God's secret law that governs all creatures ... God's kingdom and truth are within his creatures. He does not wrong anyone in distributing inclinations. One man is meant for one job, another for another ... and though it may be a base calling, it is not dishonorable and will prove absorbing and useful, if the man directs himself according to God's will."⁹

Each man is gifted with different talents and inclinations or interests. They lead him to a particular personal vocation. As vocations are unequal, men must also be unequal in natural ability.

But all men, whatever their vocation, can be equally happy in case they follow this vocation – so to say their own nature. This is Skovoroda's doctrine of "unequal equality." First we must be grateful to God for making us what we are. Then we must pursue our vocation actively. Work according to Skovoroda is the primary source of self-fulfilment and happiness.

Unnatural work (work that doesn't correspond to natural abilities) is objectionable to Skovoroda. It destroys one's own nature and perishes God's intentions. Such work is a sin. People who take up unnatural work don't follow their vocation but are eager to receive some other rewards. Though they may achieve these rewards, their work must be a "deathly torture" to them, and furthermore must poison their whole lives:

"Then [the soul] is not satisfied with anything, loathes both its position and society. Its neighbours seem vile, its amusements unsavoury, its discussions vain, ... its whole family hateful, its nights boring, its days vexing ... it degrades its country and customs, defames nature, grumbles against God and is angry with itself ... it cannot live and does not wish to die. The personal vocation has not only immense significance for the individual, but for society as a whole. It is God's way of founding and structuring society"¹⁰.

9 Ibid., vol. I, p. 343 (English translation: Zakydalsky (1965), p. 111).

10 Ibid., vol. I, p. 323 (English translation: Zakydalsky (1965), p. 113).

Happiness

In contrast to most Christian philosophers Skovoroda does not consider man's life as a preparation for the eternal life. All men are created by God to be happy. "*Absolutely everything was born for a good end and the good end is happiness.*" From the fact that happiness is the necessary end of life, one can draw the following conclusions: happiness is universal and available to every man and happiness is somehow easy to attain. Happiness cannot be located in goods that aren't accessible to everyone, such as noble birth, nationality, abilities and talents, health and comeliness, or wealth. If God wants all creatures to be happy, he has made the road to true happiness easy to follow. "*O depth of blessed Wisdom that makes the necessary easy and the difficult unnecessary*"¹¹.

Gratitude, which is the basis of happiness, is not merely a resignation: it is a joyful acceptance of his own nature.

Doctrine of Man

For Skovoroda man is essentially a creature with the capacity to think and to know the truth. This capacity distinguishes him from other creatures and makes him a self-directing, autonomous image of God. The image of man that Skovoroda proclaimed is that of a self-dependent inimitable person who has found himself, who is able to rule himself and who is connected with God. Behind it one can recognize the classical philosophical image of the mature person – autonomous, enlightened and reflecting. Skovoroda acknowledges the right of self governance and the possibility of development of the unique abilities for every person.

The pedagogical theory of Skovoroda is based on the assumption that the source for the right life style and for truth is hidden in the inner of the person. The key which one needs to answer the important questions of life can be found in the contiguity between the divine core of a person and his own individual nature.

"[O]f all ceremonies in whatever lands and times, of all knots, of all secret images in seals and signs, man is the center or end. Here everything ends.... Whatever it may be: a deed, action or word – everything is an empty nothingness if it has not become an event in man himself."¹²

The world, like a ceremony or a sign, exists not for itself but to

11 Ibid., vol. I, p. 177.

12 Ibid., vol. I, p. 115 (English translation: Zakydalsky (1965), p. 32).

signify, to point out something else to man.

"Everything that is designated there in the world must by necessity come to fulfillment in man himself.... This is why Paul, mentioning the sun, moon and stars ties all of them to the resurrection, that is, to man.¹³"

Teaching and Wandering

His whole life was devoted to learning how to live well and to teaching this art to others. Skovoroda didn't accept the institutional methods of teaching of his time, that is why he left his work as a teacher in both colleges. He carried the reformist ideas concerning education and the only free space to put these ideas into action was the life of a wandering philosopher and teacher. He educated children on the estates where he lived and entertained with his conversations beloved people therein. But it was not the knowledge of the worldly things that he was teaching. It was an education for the heart. He often ridicules the intellectuals who are so dedicated to their sciences that they forget that these are merely tools for happy living and not ends in themselves:

"Mathematics, medicine, physics, mechanics, music with their ungovernable sisters; the more we taste of their richness, the more does our heart burn with hunger and thirst, while our dull dumbness does not even suspect that they are all handmaids serving a mistress and the tail in relation to the head without which the whole body is ineffective.¹⁴"

Skovoroda poses the question how one should learn. The answer is that the only way to acquire deep knowledge is to learn slowly and thorough going. "Learning means constant practise, formed into habit, for practice is a daughter of nature". One must be very careful to choose the science to concentrate oneself to, because this choice determines the whole life. One can never complete training in that or other area, it is a task for the whole life. If a person has recognized his vocation, his mission, he is on the right path to the wisdom: "The ideal wisdom doesn't consist of knowing everything. Who could it ever? [...] But if you know everything that you need, this is the complete wisdom"¹⁵.

Since Skovoroda believed that every man was born endowed

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid., vol. I, p. 222 (English translation: Zakydalsky (1965), p. 27).

¹⁵ Skovoroda (1973), vol. I, p. 132.

with the talent to a certain occupation, he built his educational theory on that fact: "The teacher is just a servant of nature who is the only and true teacher". "You teacher can teach a falcon to fly quickly, but you cannot teach a turtle to fly [...] You do not need to teach an apple tree to bear apples; the nature has taught it already. You need only to protect it from the pigs by putting a fence around it; prune it (in the springtime), spray it in the proper time, ameliorate it, etc. Don't interfere with nature, but if you can, smooth the path for unhampered development and keep it clear...¹⁶"

After the education by a teacher one should move on the road of self education. The person can never stop recognizing himself and his internal divine plan. Skovoroda argued for lifelong learning and wrote in one of his letters to his student Kovalynsky never to stop learning, because "*the best fellow in old age is the wisdom or the science because everything will leave the person in the old age besides the science*"¹⁷.

In fact the teaching that true knowledge must precede good living is central to Skovoroda's philosophy. Skovoroda lived in the estates of his friends and benefactors moving from one to another, but he always kept his proper manner of life. He lived in moderation and shared his views among their friends in disputes in some groups or circles. Some of this conversations Skovoroda wrote down so his philosophical works were produced. He dedicated all of them to his friends. Some people convicted his way of life, but Skovoroda gave explanation in one of his letter describing his choice and his occupation:

"Recently somebody asked about me, 'Tell me, what is he doing there in seclusion?' If I were there on account of my bodily ailment, or if I attended the apiary, or was tailoring, or occupied with hunting, then Skovoroda would seem to them as having a job. But without this they think me idle and, nor without cause, are wondering. [...] But is this the only task for a man: to sell, to buy, to get married, to achieve, to make war, to push and to shove, to tailor, to construct, to hunt?... But aren't there limits to our heart? Well, there is the reason of our troubles: we, having sunk our heart into the acquisition of worldly things and into the sea of bodily conveniences, have no time to look inside ourselves, to purify and to cure the mistress of our body, our soul. We forgot our own selves... 'Not by bread alone lives man'.

¹⁶ Ibid., vol. II, S. 104. (English translation: Chopyk (1990), S. 161).

¹⁷ Ibid., vol. II, S. 220.

Concerning this last one, the bread of angels, cares Skovoroda day and night..."¹⁸

Skovoroda believed that education, mental development can change the society. He was often accused to be passive in matters of social questions of his time: he has never given his opinion concerning the question of the serfdom, concerning the strong oppression of the Ukraine by Russia, etc. But he supported the evolution that came from the spirits of the people, who succeed to recognize themselves and to arrange their lives corresponding to their divine nature: *"In an ideal society everyone realizes his or her natural abilities in an appropriate (in-born) work and obtains enjoyment from a truly civilized way of life. Society can achieve this type of life through general education"*.

Skovoroda insisted that the education is necessary for all the strata of the society. He himself abandoned his work in the colleges limited only for the lads of the well-going families and started to move through the country to reach every man and to show him the most important and the most simple thing – the way to be happy. Skovoroda also disapproved of the wish of one of his students to become a tutor of German language in a rich family. *"Such a profession may be dangerous for your young age"*, wrote Skovoroda in one of the letters to him, *"you can be quickly influenced by amoral things of the rich people"*¹⁹.

Methods

Skovoroda's teachings have a purely practical significance. He does not dwell on the principal philosophical questions. He examines them only as a basis to solve the practical question of action.

To a considerable degree his philosophy is a philosophy of images. His concepts almost always were connected with a metaphor. For him the imagination is one of the stimulating elements that activate the process of thinking.

Skovoroda expresses his thought in form of abstract concepts. He usually formulates a thought in philosophical concepts as briefly as possible and then repeats it and develops it by means of various symbols. This style has as a consequence the ambiguity of a thought. That may be considered as pedagogical challenges for the reader or listener to participate in the creative process, to bring, to

¹⁸ Ibid., vol. II, p. 398 (English translation: Chopyk (1990), S. 54).

¹⁹ Ibid., vol. II, p. 349.

bear on his interpretation, his own experience and his imaginative powers. But this style has also disadvantages, one can never be categorically sure what Skovoroda means.

Skovoroda offers a special type of philosophy, a philosophy that is not based only intellectually, but also spiritually. He speaks in a very personal way to the reader. He considers every man as an individual human being concerned with his ultimate fate, frightened by the inevitability of death, hoping for happiness and fulfilment in life, and worried about trifling everyday problems. Skovoroda speaks as a wise friend who has solved for himself the great and the small riddles of life and has tested his solutions in practice. His wisdom is based on his own experience and may be described best as a personal faith. The problems he deals with in his works stimulate the reader's own thought rather than they dispense easy solutions. His aim is Socratic – to kindle in us a desire and thirst for the truth by turning our attention upon ourselves.

Skovoroda's philosophical dialogues also have a great aesthetic value. Skovoroda's style is colorful, picturesque and vivid. The rhythms of speech are natural, relaxed, leisurely, yet lively. Witty comparisons, puns and aphorisms produce humour and playfulness of the conversations. Sometimes an entire anecdote or story is inserted to illustrate a point.

"Philosophy, or love of wisdom directs all its efforts to the end of giving life to our spirit, nobility to our heart, light to our thoughts, which are the head of everything. When the spirit in man is gay, the thoughts quiet, the heart peaceful, then everything is bright, happy, and blessed. This is philosophy"²⁰.

His life and his doctrine

Skovoroda's philosophy corresponds to his own search for meaning and purpose to his existence and for guidance in actions. His philosophical enterprise was not purely speculative, and was not carried out in a quiet study isolated from life. It was closely connected with the practical questions of everyday life.

He repeated several times that he would change his profession if he wasn't sure that it is correct. But he remained all his life of the conviction that his calling is to propagate the truth and to teach the other about self-awareness. Due to his manner of life he obtained the inner peace and considered himself as a happy man. He had all he

²⁰ Ibid., vol. II, p. 443.

needed, as he said: "*the life, the wealth, the sun, avocation, occasions to speak and to be silent*"²¹.

His whole life was a way to reach freedom. He underlined the importance of the free choice of the profession and the manner of life for others, and he himself lived accordingly. He chose the freedom by refusing the conventional career in the convent and in the colleges, also by his own new interpretations of the Bible as well as by proclaiming his new educational methods. His life may be also considered as a self-made learning biography. He conceived the education in distance from all sorts of external dependence and he voiced it in his letter: "*O Freedom! O science!*"

Among the educated and ruling class he reached only those few who were his personal friends. They read his philosophical manuscripts and made copies of them by hand. Thus, Skovoroda's philosophical works reached a very limited though selected audience. In the masses Skovoroda found a greater audience. Though common people admired him greatly, they certainly could not appreciate his philosophical thought. They loved him for the exemplary life he led, for his protests against abuses by the higher classes, and also for the songs and fables that he composed. Some of these literary works were incorporated into the folklore and were preserved by oral tradition through the 19th century. In the 1860s G. P. Danilevskii wrote that "*It is a rare corner of the country that does not remember Skovoroda with emotion to the present day.*"²² Skovoroda's thoughts about education play an important role in the society of modern democratic Ukraine. After the collapse of the Soviet Union with his antidemocratic propagandistic ideas concerning education the question of new models and traditions has arisen. Skovoroda's doctrine was one of the most orientation to build a new educational system.

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²¹ *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 345.

²² *Ukrainskaya starina: materialy dlya istorii ukrainskoi literatury* (Ukraine's Past: Materials for the History of Ukrainian Literature) (Kharkiv: Zelenskii and Lyubarskii Press, 1866), p. 2.

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Why did István Türr become an adult educator? Personal aims and actions in the establishment, national development of Folk Education Circles (Népoktatási Körök).

Abstract: This paper will elaborate upon the personality and personal impact of István Türr on the development of hungarian adult education. Türr was the founder and one of the leading figures in the establishment of so-called Folk Education Circles and its related movement in order to start the education of more than 4 million hungarian illiterate adults. The great Hungarian politician voluntarily became an adult educator as he, having met some peculiar examples of adult education in France and Italy during his exile, recognised that one key element of being an enlightened statesman was to join the hungarian Aufklärung after the 1867 compromise with Austria. Therefore, apart from supporting and organising economic modernisation of modern Hungary, Türr believed in the necessity of education of adults not only through informal, but also through formal or semi-formal education. This paper, based upon relevant bibliography, will examine major impacts to have formed his and some of his fellow intellectuals' minds in becoming moral leaders in hungarian adult education.

Chapter 1

Sub-chapter 1.1 A short walk of life of István Türr

István Türr was born into a well-off bourgeois family in the small merchant-city of Baja on the bank of the river Danube on the 10th of August, 1825. He had a personal experience of unexpectedly having to stop attending school after the first four years for a while because of the sudden death of his father. He tried to get closer to some crafts, like merchant, locksmith-servant, miller, and brick-layer until he joined the Austrian Army in 1842 and was moved into the regiment of his royal highness, Prince France Charles. He started his service as a private, however, six years later he already served in the army of field-marshal Radetzky in North-Italy as a lieutenant. Not too later, he left his position as he favoured the Italian freedom-fight that was sympathetic for him, so he escaped to Italy where he was entitled to form a hungarian legion. After the defeat of the Italian army

Türr moved to Baden and joined the upraisal there as a colonel. The fights having been put down, he went to Switzerland where he was informed of the collapse of the hungarian revolution and freedom-fight against Austria. Türr chose exile and served even in the British expedition army in the Crimean-war. In 1859, he joined Garibaldi's army and had a strong role in conquering Palermo as a general. Later Garibaldi entitled Türr as the civic and military governor of Naples and later was positioned as aide-de-camp to King Victor Emanuel with special diplomatic missions. Türr married the cousin of the french emperor, Napoleon III. in 1861.

István Türr became a leading figure of hungarian groups in exile, however, he could return to Hungary after the 1867 Compromise and general amnesty to follow the hungarian revolution eighteen years after it was ended. He, then, started a new way of life with lots of new, yet, rather modern ambitions and plans. Türr turned towards economic and cultural affairs and it seems that it was not an impact of fashion or mood, but it was a well-based decision formed by personal experience and established moral attitude of a grown-up intellect by recognising and sharing the message and meaning of modernity and civic society.

Also, Türr was influenced by intellectual and social efforts of the Free Masonry he saw in Italy and in France reflecting thoughts, actions to modernise and develop the society and the economy through the dissemination of knowledge and practice. Türr studied water-canal engineering and became an entrepreneur to work out water-system plans and programmes in order to modernise water usage, to irrigation and even to the introduction of cultivation of rice in Hungary. He managed the building of some smaller water-canals in Hungary and participated the engineering-preparations of the Panama-canal. Türr won the right to start the planning of the building and running of the Corinthos-canal in Greece, but was another firm to finish that project.

Türr joined several political missions, he made several unofficial efforts to make a french-italian and austro-hungarian alliance. Later he joined and led many kinds of cultural, educational and economic movements and societies, he also made plans, gave public lectures in order to promote hungarian economic development. Itsván Türr died on 3rd of May, in Budapest in 1908.

Sub-chapter 1.2 On becoming an adult educator

Having received the amnesty of the court in Vienna Türr tried to

implement and realise a new way of thinking and made all efforts to get into rather close relations with open-minded liberal intellectuals, politicians and scientists so as to learn more and more about reality referring to hungarian economy, society and public thinking. This approach, surprisingly, implied the clear desire to know and understand the level and quality of education as an important and inevitably necessary tool in major steps of trying to modernise the country and its population. Türr, amongst other intellectuals, had to personally conclude that the only way to make success in those efforts was to educate through being educated and to disseminate each and all personal experience and knowledge through new public places and halls for education, culture and science, from the acedemy to simply associations of craftsmen, workers, bourgeois circles, coffee houses, casinos to the academy of sciences.

That is why István Türr's liberal attitude was a great help in getting acquainted with leading intellects of his birthplace, in the town of Baja, where he founded the first Folk Education Circle for the education of adults and in Budapest where most of his educational plans were realised with growing intellectual and public support.

Therefore, it must be recognised that a hungarian army-man, having been in exile for many decades, learned most of his talence not in schools but in life, and yet, the continuous longing for quality-education and knowledge with all his education and science oriented 'adventures' turned Türr's thinking to having to change from a 'classical' self-help intellect, having been a model of an adult educator from the end of 18th and early 19th century Britain and Scotland, to an active community educator and one of the moral leaders and founders of hungarian adult education in the second half of the 19th century (Fieldhouse, 1996).

Türr relaised that the first decades of modern primary education for school-age children should be a model and an example for adults. That was why he became the motor of the movement of establishing Folk Education Circles to start from Baja and was spread into other small and medium sized towns and the capital in Pest-Buda, becoming Budapest after 1873.

The circles tried to copy the role of primary schools with their strict rules, however they were rather open and flexible with some of their programmes according to the upper level of dissemination of scientific knowledge in a coeducated way.

Türr founded the first Folk Education Circle in his home town of Baja for adults in 1868, right after the first modern Law was put into

action by the Hungarian parliament to start elementary education of school-aged boys and girls. This attempt was soon followed by many other circles to be established, then Türr also gathered intellectuals to formulate such circles for workers and bourgeois adults' groups in several cities. Having lead an urban adult education movement, Türr opened a public debate on the necessity of involving the public in educational and cultural programmes for adults, namely, by giving them more access to institutions and organisations of that kind.

The opening and the spread of the Folk Education Circles movement changed Türr's personality, whilst he slowly became a well-known promoter of education and especially of the education of adults, many leading politicians involved his movement into lobbying activities to stabilize the financial background of the hungarian primary and secondary education and the fight against illiteracy. Right after 1867, Count József Eötvös, the first minister of education in the hungarian government, considered him as a influential figure with european mind and thinking to promote education and radical social thoughts and moral leadership (Bényei, 1996; Kelemen, 2002)

In his letter and call for the establishment of Folk Education Circles, Türr explained and outlined that the education of the community was a clear social and moral responsibility of the educated and enlightened members of the society representing unrest and ongoing activities to disseminate knowledge, science, culture and arts. He also realised that the state itself would hardly be able to sole and respond effectively to relevant social claims, therefore, the education of the public, namely of adults can only be solved by adults themselves (Gyulay, reprint, 2002)

Türr took examples from Switzerland, the Netherlands, Belgium, and France with its 'Ligue de l'Enseignement' referring to the necessity to educate adult communities in rural Hungary as well. He tried to underline the importance of developing a real social movement in the community and public education of adults to gain useful knowledge in a world where law, political, social and economic rules would influence of everyday life of each citizens.

Therefore, Türr promoted the formation of local and national associations, alliances for public education and invited all teachers engaged in primary education to help his initiative with extra teaching for adults in their schools after regular education for school-age children during evening hours. Türr envisaged an alliance of folk education circles from almost all villages where primary schools started, where school-teachers were active and available.

Türr published his call on the 30th of September, 1868, and, according to historians of education, that was the first planned public call in Hungary for the education of adults (Felkai 1995, 2002). In the same year, Türr started the process of education in Baja with his fellow intellectuals of the town. Count Eötvös, having heard of the initiative of Türr, suggested that Türr should receive national publicity to spread the idea of establishing a national movement and alliance for the development of adult education in Hungary. There was a special meeting in Pest-Buda at the end of 1868 with leading thinkers in modern hungarian politics, culture and literature, like Kálmán Tisza, Ferenc Deák, Dániel Irányi, Miksa Falk, Pál Gönczy, Mór Jókai, Zsigmond Kemény and Ferenc Pulszky, etc.

Apart from István Türr, the other key figure in the development of hungarian adult education was Dániel Irányi, who, for a was elected as an MP, fought for political recognition, namely, for the legitimation of adult education in Hungary after 1868 and also for the establishment of government-led financing of adult education. Irányi continuously helped Türr in his efforts, whilst Türr accepted the friendship and support from his friend whereby excluded rivalry from their tremendously hard work, especially when Irányi, temporarily, led the Central Folk Education Circle during Türr was away or abroad according to engineering works.

The task of Türr in adult education implied writing articles for the support and participation of intellectuals in adult education as civic responsibility and a moral duty. Moreover, many public lectures and visits having been held in local circles in small towns reflected the urban and bourgeois background of that social process (Németh, 2004; Koltai, 2001).

Sub-chapter 1.3 The Central Folk Education Circle and the national recognition of Türr in hungarian adult education

The Central Folk Education Circle for adults was founded on the 27th of February, 1870, where István Türr was elected as the president of the circle (*Néptanítók Lapja*, 1870). This central circle, as any other tow-circle, had its own charter, promoted the national development of adult education through the hard work of Irányi to gain political and financial support for adult education, and established prize for teachers being involved in the education of urban and rural adult groups through formal and informal activities. The central circle sent out hundreds of letters and calls for the establishment of local folk education circles (*népoktatási körök*-Hungarian translation). Aslo, it

started the very important and complex activity of publishing useful and cheap booklets (Gyulay, 2002) Therefore, the circle invited well-known scientists, teachers, professors, doctors, lawyers, engineers, priests, artists, etc. to disseminate science, art, culture and the mechanism of modern political institutions through understandable writings and lectures. It was not a surprise that the hungarian government recognised its role in the development of education of adult apart from primary and secondary education and separated fifty thousand hungarian forints in the national budget for all relevant activities be supported. Unfortunately, a law on adult education, on the contrary, was not regarded as a necessary tool for promoting the modernisation of hungarian society and education by .

The period in between 1868 and 1875 was the first liberal era of hungarian adult education: many intellectuals, politicians and outstanding scientists, thinkers gathered to participate community activities in order to establish and start modern educational, scientific, cultural institutions from primary to tertiary education, from formal to non-formal and informal settings. It is outstanding how many kinds of formations indicated after 1868 that the claim for education and for being educated was immensely influenced by participation of emblematic figures of modern european thinking, experience and Weltanschauung.

After 1875, the development and spreading of folk education circles slowed down because of the impact of a long, 15 years period of conservative government not considering the education of adults and other struggles to promote informal education and learning of hungarian as a severe task. It was only after 1890, when the movement reached another peak until the turn of the century and during the first couple of years of the following decade.

István Türr convinced teachers' associations to get support on quality development of teaching in the folk education circles. When he returned back to some educational activities, it was strenghtened by his presidency reelected in the Budapest Folk Education Circle, then he took honorary presidency until his death in 1908 and mainly dealt with the collection of donations.

I think Türr's role was very important in the first decades of hungarian adult education as he symbolises a new, modern thinking and active participation in modernising structures, content, and tools of education and making those structures capable of repending to community and personal claims according to learning and education so as to tackle illiteracy, undereducation and to expand knowledge

with quality. The folk education circles have so far been the example of the mixture of formal and informal education, in between static and flexible teaching methods. Türr himself became an adult educator by not having constantly prepared for that mission, and yet, he considered his role and position as turning back to a never finishing school without havng to ever leave (Felkai, 2002).

After 1890, folk education circles and their colourful activities gave new impetus to workers' education, trade union education and church-oriented adult education (e.g. catholic and protestant adult education). Also, new formations, like the Elisabeth Folk Academy, the Popular College Courses, the establishment of the hungarian Urania movement reflected a variety of community places where taching and learning of adult came into the focus of social activities.

Chapter 2

Sub-chapter 2.1 Education of Adults in the Folk Education Circle

The elementary education of adults was one of the basic tasks of folk education circles. Elementary education was formed into two basic sets. The first set was a '3R-course' (reading, writing, arithmetics) for complete illiterate at evening hours of three occasions on mid-week days and a second set, for those who were literate, a development course with new knowledge given through lectures and public readings at afternoon hours of week-end days, namely, on Saturdays and on Sundays. It is interesting that teaching in the folk education circles was not coeducated, and women were mainly taught by female teachers and lecturers. Board members of the Budapest Folk Education Circle visited lectures and examinations and gave presents to some adult students to make courses more popular to attend.

Many teachers offered free lectures for the circles and almost all members of the boards of circles joined in for lecturing as well. The Ministry of Religious and Public Education Affairs let the national alliance of folk education circles to issue certificates for those who successfully passed final examinations. There were two special curricula, one for mixed groups of beginners and advanced students, and another for pure beginners. (Gyulay, 2002).

Lectures for beginners covered natural science according to basic geography and biology, and social science referring to history.

Some folk education courses and lectures were hosted by elementary schools of cities and smaller towns, like Budapest,

Cegléd, Székesfehérvár.

Folk education circles of some cities organised special courses in Hungarian grammar and literature. Also, the circle in Budapest started courses on basic trading and marketing and were mainly favored by female adult students. Subjects of the course involved book-keeping, business-letters, office-work, etc. When Sunday became a free day without having to work after 1891, most irregular and special courses for advanced adult students and well-attended popular lectures were mostly held on Sundays.

The folk education circles, after long enquiries to the Ministry of Defence, received the right in 1872 to hold courses for illiterate soldiers which, surprisingly, did not become very successful. On the contrary, the teaching of illiterate prisoners was a real success, and, moreover, courses on moral philosophy were organised especially for prisoners upon request.

Sub-chapter 2.2 The Importance of the Folk Education Circle in the Modernisation and Development of Hungarian Adult Education

Researchers on the history of the development of formal and informal adult education in Hungary must realise that the folk education circles movement influenced informal teaching and learning which became popular by the end of the 19th century and that fact is generally considered as the impact of a liberalised society with more civic rights gained and practised.

Folk education circles invited University and college professors and lecturers who offered mostly free and open lectures and had effective ways to disseminate scientific knowledge and to promote reading and intellectual discussion on nature, life, society, economy, the world, environment, culture, arts, sport, etc.

Folk education circles also took up courses and lectures on industry and entrepreneurial studies after 1873 which can be easily explained as clear reflections of a systematic development of Hungarian industry and trade through modern industrial and trade law implying the education and training of craftsmen with open and public examination to follow.

The folk education circles welcomed the idea and plans to open 'folk-libraries' in almost all urbanised communities and organised its own library service for poor and semi-poor citizens and, moreover, it proposed, in 1873, the establishment of a cultural-hall similar to the Toynbee-hall in London to be set up in Budapest for huge public lecturing and open readings. István Türr shared all those initiatives

and negotiated upon several of them to be supported by national and local politicians and businessmen. It seems, finally, that the educational ideas and plans of a military personnel from the town of Baja could be realised and spread country-wide reflecting the mentality of a peculiar Hungarian adult educator.

Number of adults participating courses of folk education circle in Budapest

school year	male	female	Total
1870/71	922	958	1880
1871/72	1131	1163	2294
1872/73	1160	762	1922
1873/74	1113	924	2037
1874/75	1184	990	2174
1875/76	830	759	1589
1876/77	667	372	1039
1877/78	666	335	1001
1878/79	670	360	1030
1879/80	592	254	846
1880/81	547	240	787
1881/82	452	208	660
1882/83	514	217	731
1883/84	476	232	708
1884/85	446	229	675
1885/86	530	271	801
1886/87	225	231	456
1887/88	315	337	652
1888/89	298	402	600
1889/90	300	351	651
1890/91	293	366	659
1891/92	300	371	671
1892/93	391	267	658
1893/94	448	295	743
1894/95	449	341	790
Total of 25 years	14819	11235	26054

Source: B. Gyulay, reprint, 2002.

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Jurij Jug's Role In Development Of Slovene Adult Education

Podnapis: the andragogical "ambassador" of Slovenia on the European scene (Prof. Dr. h. c. Franz Poeggeler, 1996)

Abstract: Who ever was dealing with adult education in Slovenia, could not pass by the name of Prof. Dr. hab. Jurij Jug, who in his lifelong career was a historian, adult educator, academic teacher trainer, scientist, publicist, editor and researcher in the field of adult education; not only in Slovenia, but also in Europe. The paper considers all named fields of his activities and especially points out his essential contribution to the comparative adult education research, which should be seen on several occasions of some international conferences (such as Brdo, St. Wolfgang, Jena, Rogaška Slatina, Zreče, Debrecin, London etc., which show that his research and practical work and their results confirm that he is universally informed about the results of andragogic research and practice in Europe and also about the recent items of educational policy. His bibliography counts over than 400 units, more than half published abroad. A remarkable number of his essays and scientific monographies are devoted to the history of Slovenian adult education, in which he considers as well the aspect of institutional as that of personal history of adult education. His master 's thesis and his dissertation are a convincing proof of his great experience in the practice and didactical work of adult education. Historical Interpretations are often added to the analysis of the present situation, as a reasonable way to deepen the understanding of the practical phenomena. His eminent role is recognized in several issues, as books, professional and scientific monographies etc., which can certainly explain the several activities and qualities of the author. Being the member of the steering comities for the biannual Conferences on the History of Adult Education we learned him know as an excellent organizer of research conferences on the international level. Moreover, it was his intention about the investigation of the relation between democracy and adult education referring to ideological changes and educational consequences after the Berlin wall fall. It is, not at last, his merit that the research results on this focus gave an analysis of the influences of the political change since 1989 on a reform of adult education, especially in the countries of South-Eastern- and Easter-Middle Europe, as he succeeded in motivating experts of many western and eastern countries in Europe for a continuous research cooperation in years to come.

Key words: Jurij Jug, adult education, comparative andragogy,

lifelong education, history, Slovene society.

Introduction

As the Call for Papers for this conference I understand as the statement that "it was, seeking to place the individual, the single person, his life and pathway through life and the heart of adult education and the history, it posed to me the question "what importance attaches to the individual ... in the development of adult education?" This leads, firstly, to a problem which faces the individual confronting the nature of someone who arguably is worthy of biographical note. But Prof.Dr.Jurij Jug is a person whose career is almost exclusively concerned with adult education, whose impact on adult education has been colossal, if not always recognized as such and could be in references to our international biography demonstrated also in comparison with other great names in the field of adult education.

Even if, secondly, there is the next predictable problem, namely that of language, it since the matter of adult education, like other arts is based subjects focused upon language, then it will come as no surprise that his language barrier exerts itself most fully. Who, in God sake, in and around Europe speaks and understands Slovene, that mother tongue of almost 2 (two) Millions inhabitants of one of the smallest members of the European Community? The significant is that the biographers, unless they have good fortune to be polyglots have rely on the judgment of others as to national and international worth. This led to a chronic difficulty, and one which I am aware led to an imbalance in the national representation in the international biography. But, last but not least, Prof.Dr. Jurij Jug has the ability to speak and wrote in German and English, as well as in Croatian and is qualified as the alternating speaker.

A final experience that I would like to mention, concerns the biographer, who generally have a complicated relationship with their subject, what in "my case" was not the case at all. Interviewing Prof.Dr.Jurij Jug, observing his educational, research and scientific work, analyzing his work done, I did not become variously obsessed with "my subject", because I know him for more than twenty years now and I can ensure that I understand the terms of reference which the volume of his work in the field of adult education sets out.

So having apprised of the difficulties which I encountered, and which I believe are generic, none of them is insuperable. What is my final summary as why Prof.Dr.Jurij Jug should be considered worthy

of a biographical entry, article or book? With the assurance, because:

- he as the individual is not dead (and therefore a great help and source for information needed),
- he as the figure is (should be) internationally known amongst the people who could reasonably be expected to know major achievements in intellectual life, and
- his contribution in the field on Adult education calls for the correct and meritorious place within the adult educational sphere.

According to Lec (1966) "life forces people into all manner of voluntary actions", we are aware that a nutshell the covert program of our form of grounded biographical research it conveys the spirit of salutary provocation to which the established Sociology of Education and Andragogy must occasionally be exposed if they are not to mark time. And as Prof.Dr.Jug says:

"My life is a somewhat complex affair, and anyone who tries to analyze it scientifically without papering over its internal contradictions, anyone who still claims to express the living and the lively and also, at the same time, risks a generalization or two on the latter, is deemed to be implicitly contravening and challenging the accepted canon of scientific endeavor."

This is just as true for sociology of education as it is for andragogy or medical science. It applies to all modern sciences, dealing with man.

Some Biographical Dates And Professional Boundary Stones

Jurij Jug was born on 14'th July 1933 in Celje, Slovenia, in the upper middle class family, as the only son of father Miroslav, who was the railway employee and the mother Jožica, the housewife. He visited the ground school and the gymnasium in Celje and continued his education on the faculty of Arts in Zagreb, where he graduated in 1960 on the Department of History. Afterwards he continued his master studies on Faculty of Arts, University of Belgrade, Department of Adult education. There he successful graduated with his master theses "The Function of technical and special museums in adult education" in the year 1972. With his doctor's theses about "The Function of text book in the adult education" in the year 1987, he marked the folloowing of his scientific research and professional work field:

- one field represents the wider didactics and training qualification questions; as the
- second philosophical, cultural and historical questions of pedagogics, andragogics and worker's training.

With both fields he enormous contributed to the development of theory and practice of lifelong education, not only, but mainly in Slovenia, as also wider in former Yugoslavia and (also) Europe.

After his Diploma, even if he was from the year 1961 full employed on the Primary school in Žalec, near Celje. he was also an active member and manager (director) of the "People's University in Celje", which leader he was from 1962 till 1965. In this time period he participated great, not only ideas, but reasonable and realizable plans how to educate adults in becoming higher qualifications and real educational level. During this time he was active as the adult trainer in close co-cooperation on several evening schools and evening courses where he prepared adult pupils for higher life- and educational standards. Nevertheless, the courses required from him a great effort as he has introduced contemporary techniques and methods, which he upbuilt on the ground of his educational experiences in tending to ignore participant's circumstances of life and their actual learning demands. He was aware of that.

"The one-sided focus on learning for specific job qualifications may even increase pressure on participants, because they are deprived of any institutionalised means of learning self autonomy and social competence. There is an urgent need for greater sensitivity towards biographical factors. The separation between job qualification without jobs and identity learning should be abolished."

His proposal was, that participants' need for personal development and self determination, for cooperativeness and self-initiative, should find, with help of the adult educator, a place within the "life courses", where many a contents are to be chosen for the real needs in his life.

From the year 1965 till 1976, after he got married and created with his wife Zora his family, he moved to Velenje, where he was the manager of Museum in Velenje. He become a real picture of the international and complex component of the new, by political authorities forced young city, which rapidly grow as the consequence of migration politic by the federal Yugoslavian government. This was also the time he tried to find his way in the field of education. The multinational composed and undereducated growing population of Velenje was a great challenge for him, as he realised that their defective education was a great obstacle in their professional carreea.

During this time he was as the educator and adult trainer participating in several courses and Evening school as he was

lecturer on different staffs. In the year 1976 he followed the invitation of the Faculty of organisational sciences, University of Maribor, in Kranj and become the regular member of his teaching staff. He was elected in admission to the office of lecturer in University of Maribor, on different habilitations' levels: in the year 1978 as lecturer of the high school till 1997 in Full Professor for the field of Andragogics, Pedagogics and Skill workers training. During his active pedagogical educational work period on Faculty of Organizational Sciences he recognized the increasing demand for flexible and market-oriented adult education and demand for qualified, well-educated personnel, which are well-informed, independent, and individualistic. That, at the same time, meant that there is no successful adult education without a good trained education leader. Regarding the time, political reality and social structure he was living in, this were absolutely revolutionary demands. So there was no surprise as he, in early eighties developed new, to social and educational needs corresponding curriculums for the subjects he held the lectures. He developed and held lectures for nine subjects, in the frame of regular and irregular students' programme. In the student year 1995/96 he become a regular staff member on The Faculty of Arts, University in Ljubljana, where he built up and developed the subject "History of Adult Education". Three years later he was invited to be a regular staff member on Faculty of Education ,University of Maribor, Department of Pedagogy, where he developed the subject "Andragogy ", whose lecturer and carrier he still is.

With such a research-analytic and pedagogical professional and scientific work he successively contributed to the further steps in establishment of theory of adult education and Andragogy as important and "not throw away" scientific discipline. His approach of modelled, introduced and developing formed new subjects make new, post-modern additions and development on the theory level and andragogic practice in educating students and adults always possible.

Jurij Jug As Scientific Researcher, Professional Educator And Author

To acknowledge the above is to acquire a charter, as urgent as it is profound, to conduct the salient be theoretical be empirical research , especially that into applications orientations. It is hard to find an educationalist in Slovene extension who strove so hard to apply scientific and professional, literary and journalistic, activities when

working with students and other in adult educational processes involved participants. All his active working period he was aware that

“even the most progressive educationalist idea will not yield expected results if it is not in conformity with the available conditions for its realization.”

In his published works, he laid stress on the importance of self-study and self-activity among the students and participants, holding that the education process should be organized in such a way that common goals worked out with the students should be subjected to the student's powers of observation and conscious ratiocination, which alone prepare the students for self-activity and (also for needed) self-education.

Therefore there is no surprise that his bibliography is one of the richest in the field of adult education in Slovene circumstances. It contains over than 260 bibliographic units, which had been published in different scientific and professional domestic and foreign reviews, proceedings, scientific and professional monographies and other mass media sources.:

- 36 original scientific articles,
- independent scientific articles in monographies,
- 20 independent professional articles in monographies,
- 61 contributions represent professional articles and published scientific articles on scientific and professional conferences, study materials and learning text books, research reports, expert opinions and arbiter's decisions and resolutions,
- 26 mentor's work and yet unpublished contributions, which will be published in the near future.

The majority of published contributions testify the author's universal and deepened scientific-research work, which results he all the time interweaved in his reach pedagogical work with students and in this way carried for quick transfer of the new, contemporary scientific results into the immediate praxis. On his pedagogical achievements, last but not least, remind also his successful mentor's work with more over than 150 diplomas degree, 16 master's theses and 5 dissertations.

Among his most important published pursuits in any case belong the articles and other contributions with which he wished to present the historical dimension of the adult education, in which he the special care dedicated of analysis of circumference, organisational forms and contents of the educational work in North-Eastern Slovenia, among which tread out the contributions as:

“A glance on education in Prekmurje until the year 1941” (Pogled na izobraževanje v Prekmurju do leta 1941), A description of andragogic activities in Maribor” (Oris andragoških aktivnosti v Mariboru), “The andragogic work and contribution of Karel Doberšek in the development of adult education in Mežiška valley”, (Andragoško delo Karla Doberška in razvoj izobraževanja odraslih v mežiški dolini) and “Franjo Žgeč and his signification for the Slovene Adult Education” (Franjo Žgeč in njegov pomen za slovensko izobraževanje odraslih).

Just to Karel Doberšek and Franjo Žgeč, the continual actual pedagogues and andragogues, Jurij Jug dedicated a great part of his scientific-research work, as he analysed their pedagogic work and represented them in a quite new glance as he called attention to their great and till then totally undiscovered contributions and values as first authors of the books and articles which dealt with the problems of theory of adult education in Slovene society. He also researched their work as teachers of adults and collaborators of the People's universities and empirical-research founders in socio-pedagogical field. This was the beginning of Prof. Dr. Jug's pioneer work in the field of seeking and researching for the meritorious workers in the Slovene society, which had been till then totally forgotten and as such unknown. The contribution of such importance surely means the discovery and argued establishment, that this two till his discovery nowadays important authors did not only contributed to the higher educational level of the inhabitants but also, what was at their time of great importance, their struggle for national structure of the social environment they were living in, where they co-operated in the adult education and motivated others to follow their way.

In his contribution “The Research on history of Adult education in Socialistic Federative Republic of Yugoslavia” (Raziskovanje zgodovine izobraževanja odraslih v socialistični federativni republiki Jugoslaviji), which represents an original and peculiar analysis of up to that time research processes of the previous adult education in former Yugoslav state and is therefore and still is one of the first critical scientific analysis of the overtaken State in the history of andragogy in common (at that time political) State and society place, he called attention to unequal qualities of isolated and particular analysis of the past andragogic work.

A great deal of his scientific-research work he dedicated to the period of enlightenment, what is exhibited in numerous scientific articles like:

- “Adult Education in Slovene ethnical sphere 1750-1800”

(Obrazovanje odraslih na slovenačkom etničkom području 1750-1800),

- "The directions of theoretical and practical development of adult education! (Pravci razvoja teorije i prakse obrazovanja odraslih);
- „The Enlightenment thought in Adult education in Slovenia“ (Der Aufklärungsgedanke in der Erwachsenenbildung Sloweniens),
- Democracy and Adult Education,
- Ideological Changes and Educational Consequences,
- The Continuity of Adult Educational work in Slovene speaking Provinces from 1848 to 1918 (Kontinuierliche Erwachsenenbildungsarbeit in den slowenischsprachigen Ländern von 1848 bis 1918),

in which the author made the analysis of the historical, social, political and economical characteristics of the society during the Habsburg's Monarchy and their consequences on the arrangements of the Central Government and the external influences on them, especially on the field of education. The analysis of the role of the individuals and different social, political and economic groups and their influence on directions of the educational ways and moods in qualifying the adults, the relationships between the forms and directions of the educational work of the enlightenment educators and several different professional associations and, especially the discovery of the work so called "bukovnikov" (landmark "book" figures), represented the pure and till that time unique in of such an analytical approach to the field of Adult education, not only in Slovene sphere, as they resounded wider in European sphere.

Among the most resound achievements, which comparative treat with the treated research problem in any case belong the contributions like:

- "The Organisation of Social Enlightenment: A Comparative Study of Social Movements and the Development of Adult Education in Europe 1750-1800,
- "Adult Education in Slovenia - a historic overlook (Erwachsenenbildung in Slowenien – ein geschichtlicher Ueberblick),
- „Institutions and Activities of Adults in Slovenia to the 1920's; and
- "Permanent Work in Adult Education in Slovene speaking Provinces from 1948 till 1918,
- "Ethics, Ideals and Ideologies in the History of Adult education" (2002),
- "Adult Education for Understanding Some Aspects of Experiencing the Death" (with, J. Bezenšek, 2003)

- "The Future of Lifelong-Learning (2004),
- "Vocational and general education in Slovenia" (with S. Černoša 2004).

in which he over entire analysis of international professional line for the researched period of adult education simultaneously represented the results of national research projects "The Rise and development of Adult Education in Slovenia (1750-1918); 1918-1941 and 1945-1990)". This, with great respect, all the scientific researchers with all needed scientific rigour, strictness indubitably placed among those indispensable contributions, which had of its analytic-historical approach researched and with several data proved the past of Slovene andragogic science and in the same time contributed to graduation of the formation of the new, independent Slovene State.

The author introduced in his research pioneer's work projects till then an entirely new methodological-scientific approach, which are of national importance and extension: "Education on Distance- A new approach in adult education" (Izobraževanje na daljavo-Nov pristop k izobraževanju odraslih) and "The rise and development of Adult Education in Slovenia (1750-1918; 1918-1941 and 1945-1990)" (Nastanek in razvoj izobraževanja odraslih na Slovenskem (1750-1918; 1918-1945 in 1945-1990)., which on one side signified the logical continuity of team work research and in cooperation with Prof. Dr. Silvijske Pongrac (Faculty of Arts, University of Rijeka, Croatia) and Prof. Dr. Ana Krajnc (Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia) edited scientific monography issue, and on the other hand the real reflexion of scientific and research force of Prof. Dr. Jurij Jug himself.

The monographies "Education on Distance" (Izobraževanje na daljavo, 1987) and "The adults' reading" (Branje odraslih, 1993), which previous are "The Technique of reading (Tehnike branja) and "The Technique of writing and marking" (Tehnika pisanja in beleženja)., which represented the rounding off the entire previous unpublished part of his dissertation and in domestic and foreign scientific and professional publications published and on founded acts finished research work. His original pioneer's work represents also the scientific monography in cooperation with (Dr. Tanja Šeme, Prof. Dr. Ivan Kejžar et al.) "The Development and the state of professional educational matters in Slovenia and the planning of professionals for it", in which he with the scientific analysis of professional needs, regarding to caught situation and in sense of

subtlety and foreseeing of raising and developing new, complex and demanding social processes, argued the needs for connection between andragogy and human management. As results of this theses are the published students materials "The Methodology of human qualifications (Metodologija usposabljanja kadrov) and "The Affirmation of human potentials" (Zagotavljanje kadrovskih virov), with which he rounded off his work of both scientific disciplines and settled the new contemporary goals in the project of the needs for lifelong education.

Prof. Dr. Jurij Jug had in cooperation with several immanent authorities in the field of Adult Education, worth mentioning such as Professors Doktors Poeggeler, Friedenthal-Haase, Cooke, MacSween, Jarvis, Maroti, Hinzen, Filla, Gruber, Pongrac, and last but not least, also with Prof. Dr. Reischmann and many others, in the fields of science, not only scientific and analytic but also with professional recognitions from the praxis established the concept of lifelong and adult education as one of the fundamental conditions of the post-modern society and andragogy as scientific discipline. He brought the needs and contents of adult education near to all those participants of adult education in a new, the contemporary social, economic and political circumstances corresponding manner that they felt the permanent need for self education. This is also evident from his organisational work, as he was for the 23 times the (co)editor, 6 times (co)organizer and permanent stimulator for different scientific and professional conferences, symposiums and meetings in Slovenia and Europe (as in Brdo, Jena, Strobl, Leibnitz, Budapest, Rogaška Slatina, Zreče, Salzburg, Pecs-Pecsvarad etc.) on behalf of Adult Education and lifelong education. He is also the coeditor of the international review "Studies in Pedagogy, Andragogy and Gerontology", the member of "Research field for upbringing, education and Sport" by the Ministry for Science and Technology Republic of Slovenia ("Raziskovalnega polja za vzgojo, izobraževanje in šport" pri Ministrstvu za znanost in tehnologijo Republike Slovenije), the fellow of the "Target research program for the realisation of national goals in Education" (Ciljnega raziskovalnega programa za uresničitev nacionalnih ciljev izobraževanja) and of the "National curriculum Committee for the Adult Education" (Nacionalne kurikularne komisije za izobraževanje odraslih). In the years from 1989 till 1993 he the president and active member of the Andragogic Society of Slovenia (Andragoškega društva Slovenije), which active member he still is.

A Trial Estimation Of His Contribution To Be Added

Prof. Dr. Jug, as one of the greatest Slovene adult educational "key figures", did not derive the impulse for his engagement from any regular professional routine. As he studied pedagogy and history and later on andragogy, he worked as a teacher in the "traditional" school. But ...

"a situation of neediness" in the population, this resulting from a complex of economic, social, political and cultural abuses. . . become the reason for setting up new initiatives of adult education; be on the University be in the People's universities".

As such an expert in Slovene adult education he is an universalist on one and narrow-minded specialist on the other hand. This was because he thought of adult education as a field of interdisciplinary research, a matter of scientific and scholarly as well as professional cooperation between several and different study disciplines. He still is convinced that the study of adult education should be applied science with a sociological, historical and cultural background. For him adult education is a "school place where the art greater verbal efficiency could be learned" Therefore it is not surprising that he made important contributions to theory and practice as, after his teacher's career with children and young people, he chose adult education as his further career as he ...

"strongly believed that popular education should be continued after the end of (protected) childhood and (prolonged) youth. I felt that education is better motivated in cases of voluntary participation, while school and in many cases and situations family education suffers from defect of being compulsory!"

After some years as director of the People's University in Celje and The Museum in Velenje, he left both positions to establish a new residential Department of Education in his residential Faculty of Organisational sciences, University of Maribor, one that soon won for itself a reputation as an Educational Center not only for Adult education but also for different subjects of Human management, Psychology, Pedagogy and Andragogy, but as a Center of a new kind of Adult Education within the organisational disciplines. His permanent new, contemporary visions and programs of innovation made him independent as a researcher, teacher author and organizer of several scientific meetings. His new methods provided it possible, not only in theory but also in practice, to discover a style of lecturing that weans the Department away from the rigid institution.

Be as researcher, University teacher or, last but not least, simply

man, he was never authoritarian in his approaches and methods. But, nevertheless, he knew how to impose his natural authority upon students and other participants, colleagues and all interested, functioning no less as instructor or lecturer, mentor and, in most cases, as a man. Therefore his success in his teaching approach which made him popular among different student's generations. For them to study with him as their tutor it was an adventure to seek truth along quite unpaved pathways, but with great expectations and gained results. Prof.Dr.Jug has taught us that, more often than not, the first step on the path to establishing a new system of adult education is a sober stocktaking of, be global or personal, political, cultural,, social, political and economical crisis situation. He pointed out that ...

“education in general, and adult education especially, and within it vocational and professional education had to be reviewed due to external needs dictated by social changes, and also internal which were dictated by the development of profession and scientific views and paradigms. One of especially demanding tasks is the coordination of the ratio between general and professional-theoretical topics on the one hand and practical education on the other, and adaptability of vocational qualifications to international standards, since the Slovene system had to take our specific social circumstances into account while being formed. This new market situation dictated partnership of all social groups, where the role of the syndicate is still weak ... We are still in the process of renovation and I hope that despite a great pressure imposed on us by international labour and capital market, Slovenian vocational and professional adult education will retain this particularity which fits our conditions and traditions, because this is the reason for its success and as such it should not lose its identity due to global interests and needs.”

My interest was concentrated not only on his research and educational achievements, as such, but also on his personality and his manner of acting during his professional life and striking characteristics in his biography. I concluded that this was only possible as Prof. Dr. Jug as I estimated, is respected as pioneer and as unique adult actor in the field of Slovene adult education.

Conclusion

The essay's purpose was to show the main steps of the scientific and research work of Prof.Dr. Jurij Jug in the field of Slovene Adult Education. In showing and analysing his main works and special circumstances, which formed him as University lecturer, teacher,

researcher and adult educator we get an in depth sight to his actual working methods as well, as into the effects of his activities in the field of general and especially Slovene adult education. A very specific view is given, including the necessary historic data. My primary intention in making the first correct review of Prof.Dr.Jug's scientific research work and his pedagogical activities ever been done in our academic sphere yet is an effort of our cooperation for more than twenty years, as I let him know as the Committee member of my Dissertation Commission where he strongly pointed out that in every school system and educational system particularly ...

“there always must be a place for adult education and motivation for the lifelong education, when the society and the state are proclaiming them for the democratic types as such.... and because adult education has a feature which distinguished it fundamentally from other sub-systems and areas of educational process. .. An adult in education decides for himself to undertake research or a series of studies or a training program. . . . He freely chooses his own activities; he opts for a study group or travel, or he may decide simply to do nothing other than spend his free time reading an interesting book or learning a new applicability of for him up to an unknown activity. HE is the master of choices!” he was and is still persuaded.

However, he was and still is aware that these choices are not as freely made as they may seem. He pointed for many times that consciously or not the individual is propelled by serious of factors which underline the individual's motivations. For him ...

“these may be economic, social and familiar, professional factors, or a reaction to the moral, physical and social environment in which he was raised and lives in. Several of these factors play a vital role! ... Specific life styles have to come into being, based on shared history: life styles concerning food, lodgings, the organization of work and leisure time, the way men behave towards others ...“

As he realized the true nature of the People's universities, in which he offered the latest knowledge and science and arts to a vast public, for him this experience was extraordinarily active for several years and as political life took up its former course, power in organizing different educational activities for adults again become his primary concern. Vaste networks of adult's education cooperation between the universities' colleagues has he established in Slovenia, Croatia, Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Germany, Austria etc., in those countries especially that had been part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and former Yugoslav State. This inspiration has been, and

still is essential force in his work in the field in adult education, even if he got retired in the year 2005.

However, my primary intention in making this representation of Prof.Dr.Jurij Jug and his work done in the field of adult education in Slovenian society and also in European dimensions was to share some perceptions of my own as well as those derived from several individual interviews made with him and his colleagues in the last twenty years and in with him in 2006 especially, and those derived on my readings and studies on this subject, and base on these perceptions, so that we could engage in a meaningful conclusions and concrete proposals for the meritorious place in the history of adult education. There is a great treasure and in the same time an obligation to all actives in the Slovene adult education sphere if we listen to his words ...

"In spite of all, the relatively liberal Slovene system of adult education has always been attractive to creative and thinking and acting independent teachers and trainers and it has been always attractive to those seekers for new knowledge whose mind does not sleep as he is permanently searching for a new, better kind of living, even if in the contemporary post-modern society."

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Adult education in twentieth century Ireland – towards recognition of the full story.

An Examination of the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart (temperance movement)

Abstract: This paper examines why there is a need to redefine the people and movements we count as part of the history of adult education in twentieth century Ireland. Unlike other examinations of the history of adult education, Irish historiography has largely ignored adult and community education, leaving it unacknowledged and unaccounted for.

The growth of adult education in the later half of the twentieth century and the corresponding shift in interest groups involved in education as a discipline and adult education as a practice reflect the changing nature of Irish society. These social changes in the twentieth century came about due to a number of internal and external factors which can be seen as shifts in the national focus – from the political (cultural nationalism and independence 1900 - 1922) to the religious (Church/State relations 1922 - 1950); from the economic (1951 – 1960s) to the feminist and liberal agenda (1960s – 1970s); from mass emigration to migration and the Celtic Tiger (1980s – 2000). Of course these shifts did not strictly occur within the indicated timeframes and did not occur in isolation, rather they reflected both the internal and the international political, economical and social movements of the time (for example, 1960s student protests in France). With these changes in mind, through an examination of the temperance movement in twentieth century Ireland (the activities and leadership of the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart), one can clearly see why social and religious movements, *not* traditionally examined in an adult education context, had ramifications for the roles that adult education played in Ireland.

However, one must first examine *what* history we are looking at. In redefining what is classed as the history of adult and community education, we are also redefining what historians and sociologists have hitherto viewed as important enough to be counted as part of our social history. In broad terms, given the newness of the Republic of Ireland's State – for example, compared to countries with a clear, linear history of adult education such as the United Kingdom or the United States of America – as we do not have an obvious and distinct tradition of adult education pioneers, it has not been clear where a discipline such as adult education might fit neatly into a twentieth century history dominated by the 1916 Rising, the war of

independence and the civil war. In a broad historical context, recent histories of twentieth century Ireland (for example Ferriter (2004), Kennedy (2001)) do indeed site the lack of detailed assessment of areas such as family and social pressure groups. While some historical research is leaning towards filling those gaps¹, the need for more critical studies on education, and specifically adult and community education within a social historical context as a whole, is one of the large and unnamed gaps in our historiography.

Furthermore, one must also be clear what definition or definitions of adult education one is examining and be aware of who has defined what 'counts' as adult education and in what context. One must be mindful that there are people who do not see themselves as adult educators and movements which are not classified as adult education movements throughout the century; these people and movements do form an important part of the history of adult and community education.

What History?

"There is no more significant pointer to the character of a society than the kind of history it writes or fails to write." (E.H. Carr: What is History?)

In late twentieth century Ireland, lifelong learning appeared to be the mantra of both the government and academia and informed public policy and public discourse whilst contributing to the existence of a popular notion of adult education. The measure of our success as adult educators in the twenty-first century and the success of adult education programmes is, much of the time, measured by reviewing how far we have come from this late twentieth century perspective.

And yet adult and community education still stands unwritten and unacknowledged in the history of twentieth century Ireland. Although there have been numerous analyses and studies devoted to adult and community education, principally within the academic discipline of education, many of these have been commissioned governmental or academic theoretical studies. That a history of adult education in Ireland within a twentieth century historical framework has yet to be written speaks volumes about where historians place it in our history and about the importance and influence assigned to it by sociologists.

What is missing then is the telling of the *story* of volunteers, "moonlighters", moral leaders, knowledge-experts, (semi) professionals involved in adult education in Ireland. What is missing is a history of 'education and learning of adults in all its forms of expression'.²

"All its forms of expression", of course, includes social

movements and groups, leaders and individuals working in and for the community, be it in healthcare, women's groups and associations such as the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart which, although religious, was, from its inception, involved in ground level community work.

Whilst this may be attributed to a perceived lack of interest or supposed (un)importance of this discipline outside educational circles, one cannot deny the significance of the fact that it was only at the beginning of the twenty-first century that the Irish government placed adult education into a formal framework and named the commitment to adult (and community) education with the publication of Learning for Life: White Paper on Adult Education in July 2000. This government commitment and naming of adult education has assigned an identity to adult educators – that of training providers - which would seem to be in conflict with the notion of adult educators as *facilitators* of learning and/or education. This training identity stems from a specific late twentieth century standpoint and points to a particular set of government and EU requirements of the type of educated citizen that is required for a twenty-first century Ireland.

If the 2000 White Paper "confirms the Government's commitment to the establishment of a national policy for lifelong learning and specifically to the establishment of a well-funded Adult Education system in the country" is this merely because "organisations like the European Commission, OECD and UNESCO uniformly promote lifelong learning as the foundation for education and training policy"?³ Or does this government commitment reflect a change in the educational needs of adults in Ireland prompted by economic and/or community needs?

*Including M.W. Ó Murchú's Adult Education in Ireland (1984); sporadic mentions in John Coolahan's Irish Education: Its History and Structure (Institute of Public Administration, Dublin, 1981); Peter Conroy's PhD thesis The history and structure of adult education in Ireland 1969-1997 (Education Department, TCD, 1998), and a more recent PhD on adult education Adult Education Policy-making in the Republic of Ireland 1997-2005. (Murtagh, Luke, Department of Adult and Community Education, NUIM, in progress).

Indeed, if one partakes in the required training and re-training as part of a lifelong learning policy, what are the rewards? The main reward for being an active and learning citizen in the twenty-first century is the perceived freedom to frequently move in the job market using the newly acquired skills which, in turn, will be built upon again as lifelong

and continuous learning carries on. The reward for the government, is of course, economic – whilst Ireland was once exporting its strongest currency in the form of a highly educated youth, the Celtic Tiger whichever way you look at it, has ensured that the economy (whether false or not) and continuing education work hand in hand to keep people moving from job to job and keep people spending. Long gone are the days of a job for life; instead we have education for life.

In accepting this identity principally as training providers merely because it gives adult educators a very clear place in society, it is often forgotten that this identity assigns specific tasks with measurable outcomes to the discipline of adult education; tasks and outcomes that do not necessarily and that should not exist in harmony with the goals and outcomes of grassroots social and community adult education. If an adolescent must find an answer to the identity questions (as Erik Erikson suggests⁴) “where did I come from?” “Who am I?” “What do I want to become?” can we say without an acknowledgement of our full history - and not solely from a late twentieth century standpoint - that we can fully answer those questions about the discipline of adult education in Ireland? Tom Inglis in his examination of the Catholic Church and its relationship with women in Ireland states that “great men, it would seem, make great history; women make only beds and dinners.”⁵ As adult educators then, are we the ones making the beds and dinners, providing the substance to those who were failed by the mainstream education system? Is adult education always going to be viewed as the Cinderella, the ‘other’, the place where people catch up with the rest of society, with the rest of education, with continuing education rather than the place where people are given a chance of a different type of education that values life experience? We must ask ourselves the question - are we doing to ourselves as adult educators what the establishment has done to women and to feminists before? Have we internalised the oppression which our adult learners have felt by constantly looking to outside disciplines for wisdom (psychology, sociology and so on), for leadership (government) or for guidance (EU agendas)? As the brief glance at Irish historiography has shown, it would seem that yes indeed, the discipline of adult education is still viewed as the ‘other’ and is not yet seen in the light of the vast and varied contribution that adult educators have made to Irish society, education and politics throughout the twentieth century and beyond.

Stubblefield and Keane in their Adult Education in the American Experience: from the Colonial Period to the Present examine the

history of adult education through five themes, one of which includes, “other ventures, such as reform movements and social campaigns [which] used adult education to achieve a broader social purpose.”⁶ They show how the temperance movement had a large part to play in adult education. Likewise, Fieldhouse and Associates in A History of Modern British Education are mindful of an inclusive approach when writing a history of adult education although the nature of non-formal adult education is examined in one chapter rather than in an overall approach.* Fieldhouse states several times that the “submerged” part of adult education needs to be constantly borne in mind. In the words of Allen Tough

Only a small part of the iceberg shows above the water's surface. In adult learning or adult education that small highly visible tip of the iceberg is groups of people learning...that is what adult educators have noticed and paid attention to over the years⁷

*This is partly due to the fact that this history was written by multiple authors, each of whom tackles one or more aspects of adult education in their chapter(s).

Whilst there is a shift towards a more holistic and inclusive approach to adult education with the recent formation of the Research Association of Adult and Community Education (RAACE)* and the upsurge in postgraduate research in the area combined with an ever increasing demand for taught professional postgraduate courses in the discipline, there is still a long way to go before we can claim to have a thorough understanding and analysis of the history of adult and community education in Ireland. This paper is thus a call to view and tell the history of adult education, in the words of Ranke (speaking in the 1830s) “how it really was”. It is a call to examine the full iceberg of adult and community education within an inclusive social and historical context and to be mindful in this analysis of (as John Dewey puts it) “when education served as a function of society and society as a function of education”⁸ and, I would add, when education served as a function of politics, economics and religion.

*RAACE was jointly formed in 2005 by the National Association of Adult Educators (AONTAS), the National Adult Literacy Agency (NALA) – NALA and AONTAS provided the funding for the initial feasibility study - and the National University of Ireland, Maynooth (NUIM).

What do we define as adult education?

There is properly no history only biography
Ralph Waldo Emerson, Essays: History

Just as the writing of history cannot be separated from the politics of the day and current historiography, the role of adult education in twentieth century Irish society cannot be examined in isolation from the groups and individuals that named and defined it. It is clear that there is an intrinsic connection to and interaction between adult education and Irish society. To think otherwise, is to assume that there is contained in each of these entities, a stable, unchanging notion of being and an unwavering set role which is indefinitely played out.

Ó Murchú's assertion illustrates the task that is set before the historian of adult and community education in Ireland:

Historically, adult education in Ireland resembles a mosaic of initiatives and motivations, ideas and idealism, objectives and programmes with a solid foundation originally in the voluntary sector. The cumulative result is the provision of adult education services which are organisationally and structurally far from simple or uncomplicated.⁹

Yet, like any unexplored field in history, often the very reason for this lack of thorough investigation lies in the definition of what it is we are investigating. That definition is, by the very nature of its *business* in constant flux throughout the century and yet, one sturdy thread remains constant throughout – that of empowering people to better themselves. Yet, it is vital to define what we mean by adult education? By what criterion do we define it? Indeed, what definition of 'adult' do we use when referring to adult education? Do we take one's biological age as the starting point – adulthood as reaching 21 – or the legal state as defined by the right to vote, that of 18 years? Or does adult education refer solely to those who 'missed out' first time round in the traditional compulsory 'cycle' of education regardless of age or status? Or are we referring to education for adults as taking place after compulsory schooling ended – "after the end of 'childhood'" ¹⁰? Indeed, should we consider the objective of the educator when defining adult education? In other words, is it "a set of organized activities carried on by a wide variety of institutions for the accomplishment of specific educational objectives" and does it therefore form a "discrete social system [of] all the individuals, institutions, and associations concerned with the education of

adults"? ¹¹ It may be that adult education can be, indeed, all things to all men (and women) if we take the Emerson's view to the adult education conclusion and agree that while there is properly no history only biography that there is also properly no (adult) education, only (adult) learners and their "learning" history – and that it is the learners that define what adult education is to them.

Looking at adult education in early twentieth century North America, Lindeman states that "the whole of life is learning...this new venture is called adult education - not because it is confined to adults but because adulthood, maturity defines its limits."¹² Interestingly enough, this early definition is echoed in the current early twenty-first century debate around the concept of 'lifelong learning' which "is invariably used in ways which highlight the significance of learning in adult life, and which promote a broad understanding of learning as a life-wide process".¹³

*The 1995 White Paper on education (page 109), for example, stated that it "empowers adults to take a more active and effective part in society".

It seems then that adult education is defined by the process of life itself; the individual learners come together in groups because they have defined themselves as adult and have a common goal of learning. They are both learning and being educated; they are self-educating and being trained. It is thus the individual adult that defines adult education in the context of adulthood, life and learning, not the groups contained within the state, the educational system or the institution. Brookfield echoes this crossover of learning and education, seeing adult education as taking place at the relevant opportunity for each individual adult ensuring that the concept of lifelong learning is not a privilege but a right which can be taken up in either a formal (documented) or an informal (undocumented) setting. We can thus broadly define adult education (without rigidly defining the "learning") as:

activities intentionally designed for the purpose of bringing about learning among those whose age, social roles, or self-perception define them as adults.¹⁴

What adult education means and its role in twentieth century Ireland waxes and wanes according to the shifts in power – the power of and the power within the government of the day, political parties, social groups and individual educators and learners. Both the observer and practitioner of adult education must thus acknowledge the history that the learners bring to the education and, in parallel, the history of the

society in which the education is taking place. As one of the most radical adult educators Paulo Freire, states:

In order to communicate effectively, educator and politician must understand the structural conditions in which the thought and language of the people are dialectically framed.¹⁵

The delivery of adult education is thus defined not solely through vested interests in adult education (for example, government led Vocational Educational Colleges, FÁS, the national training agency) but through a wide variety of religious and social movements, gatherings and political parties. One must be mindful, however, of the power of certain institutions in twentieth century Ireland when examining adult education. In terms of having the power to deliver education to the masses,

Other than the state, there has been no institution in Irish society that has had the same level of organisation and depth of resources as the Catholic Church...Through its dominance of education, health, and social welfare the Church has been largely responsible for the civilisation, moralisation, discipline and supervision of Irish people.¹⁶

Therefore to understand the history of adult education, one must not only look at the history of education or the history of the State but also the history of the churches and the role they played in education. Alongside this, social groupings either allied to the church or the state and of course church/state relations need also to be examined. Whilst adult education is about empowering people who were failed by an institutions or the traditional education system, the truth of the matter is that this is not and has not always been the case. Education and adult education has been used to achieve many outcomes which define winners and losers who are either perceived as holding power or who do indeed hold power in terms of social, economic or political capital. Whilst a simplistic aim of adult education may be an exchange of information or to impart information (banking method), the outcome of that aim differs greatly depending on what social, economic and/or political capital (power) is both held by the educated or stands to be gained by the "newly" educated. In an examination of social movements, the players involved and the play for power – power of the people, power over the people - a brief examination of the leadership and activities of Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart in early twentieth century Ireland provides an excellent case study.

Omissions in definitions of Adult Education in Ireland: An Examination of the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart

In December 1898, James Cullen, a prominent Irish Jesuit (who can be seen as a moral leader in the widest sense of the word) founded the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart – popularly referred to as The Pioneers. It was no coincidence that Cullen worked in inner city Dublin, a city with a rapidly expanding population marked by poverty and uncertainty, and in laying down the extremely strict rules and regulations of the Association, was conscious of the social role that the Association could play in Ireland. As with the formation of many religious, social and political groups, timing and circumstance were everything:

Given Ireland's small size and the fact that cultural debate was being steered in a common direction by both priest and politician, temperance, while it could not entirely dictate social and cultural prerogatives, certainly found a sizeable niche in a new regenerative era.¹⁷

Ireland's political position at the founding of the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart ensures that an examination of the role the Association played in the development of a national character using adult education principles to pass on its message and the social context in which that message was relayed, makes for a unique case. While temperance movements elsewhere were predominantly non-Catholic organisations, in Ireland, the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association, formed by the Jesuits and formally approved by Pope Saint Pius X in 1905, still remains today a large and active Catholic lay organisation. The most recent figure for the Irish population stands – after the April 2006 Census – at 4, 234,925 a figure last exceeded in the Census of 1861 when the population stood at 4.4million. This increase in the population – due both to increase in the birth-rate and migration themselves stemming from economic prosperity – has obvious implications for adult education. However, it also puts the importance of the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association as a social movement in Ireland into perspective. The Association claims that:

In Ireland today 8 per cent of the population are Pioneers and a further 17 per cent abstain for other reasons. That this is now the case among a people disparagingly known at the beginning of the 20th century as the "drunken Irish" is nothing less than a moral miracle.¹⁸

Compare this to the fact that in 1983 it had a total of 170,000 members and was by a large margin, the biggest Catholic lay organisation in the country. Curiously enough, the next largest organisations at this time were the Catholic Boy Scouts and the National Federation of Youth Clubs both with 35,000 members and both with aims revolving around personal development of the youth as a process of education with the ultimate goal of service and leadership within the community.¹⁹ While these figures illustrate the size of the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association, its relevance to a history of adult education is not really about how many members it had in Ireland or worldwide (as it also set up associations in Jesuit strongholds such as Northern Rhodesia, India, Australia and Belgium). What interests us as adult educators is how effective a social movement the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association was; how effective it was in educating people and bringing an awareness (or indeed praxis) to the public of the problems associated with alcohol; what social capital membership brought to the individual. The effectiveness and the social capital associated with membership of the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association changed alongside economic and social changes in Irish society and, as could be expected, in line with the changes in moral power the Catholic Church held in Ireland. Education has always played a large part in the formation of a particular type of national identity in Ireland, indeed has been one of the main sources of social and economic currency. One could rightly claim that “in Irish society, being well-educated has become central to attaining economic and political capital.”²⁰

Alongside the use of the education system to pass on the temperance message, women were used to promote the Association and to help filter through the message to the home and to ensure the it was received at school by securing attendance of children at school. Cullen invited four prominent Dublin women to join in the first and founding meeting of the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association. The four women - Anne Eagan, Lizzie Power, Mary Bury and A.M. Sullivan were all involved in charitable organisations, which illustrates the extent to which temperance advocacy was frequently combined with a variety of other spiritual and charitable endeavours – such as the establishment of homes and preventative institutions for the benefit of ‘fallen’ girls and women and work of the convent nuns in education and social work. The heavy involvement of women in the Association was due, in part, to Cullen’s own devotion to the Virgin Mary, partly to the belief that a woman drinking to excess was far

worse than a man doing the same and partly to the premise that women would be able to influence their men folk and children at home. In fact, Cullen originally wanted to restrict membership to women only. Women were involved in the Association from its foundation and although Cullen frequently praised them at various Association rallies throughout the early twentieth century, their role has almost been written out of history as so little information exists about those involved, particularly about the four founding members. It indicates, as Ferriter rightly points out, “the extent to which reforming women can be denied their proper place in Irish history.”²¹ Again, echoing the very active role of women in religious orders and the lack of studies devoted to them, the “unwriting” of women in our history, the writing of them in the shadow of the “great men” is uncannily similar to the assessment and treatment of adult education in twentieth century sociology and historiography.

Similar to the power of the Church, the success of the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association was based on creating a sense of pride and belonging amongst its members who could be easily identified by the Pioneer pin that they were obliged to wear. As “the strength of the Catholic Church in Ireland is indicated in its ability to get people to rank their allegiance to the Church primary to, for example, their allegiance to a political party, professional association, voluntary association, community or family to which they belong”²², so too the strength of the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association lay in getting people to rank their allegiance to it as naturally as they would rank their allegiance to their country or community. Unlike the temperance movement in England which, in the twentieth century, had values which largely were no longer valid in English life, the movement in Ireland went from strength to strength, particularly in the first half of the century as membership became equated with a particular type of national identity. The social capital that membership brought reflected the powerful position of the Catholic Church in society, particularly in the 1940s and 1950s when the Association was at its height. Similar to the Church’s reward system, the Association’s spiritual message revolved around being a good moral citizen who abstained from alcohol and thus provided a good example to others who would be rewarded in the afterlife. (We are reminded by this, of course, that the reward the government promises to highly - and continuously - trained citizens of twenty-first century Ireland are in this life rather than the afterlife). The portrait of a member of the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association was in direct contrast to descriptions of

“drunken” Irish in the late nineteenth century and at times throughout the twentieth century, and showed a moral, pure, educated and abstinent good citizen who worked for his or her community.²³ In its annual of 1907 – 1908, the Gaelic Athletics Association which, alongside student priests, women and the Gaelic League, was also concerned with promoting the same image of the Irish alongside the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association, described the ‘Ideal Gael’ as “a matchless athlete, sober, pure in mind speech and deed...loving his religion and his country with a deep and restless love, earnest in thought and effective in action.”²⁴

In 1912 Cullen established a weekly ‘Pioneer Column’ in the *Irish Catholic* newspaper which was to become one of the longest running regulars in Irish newspaper history (February 1912 to October 1921). The column reflected Cullen’s personal stance from linking the state of the national character with alcohol, to the nationalist cause and portraying the reality of the slums of Dublin. While there tended to be sweeping assertions and exaggerations, the constant each week was that it was always done in the context of the need for education. Alongside his column, Cullen’s *Temperance Catechism* which he designed for schools and colleges highlighted the importance of not forgetting to help the poor. While contemporary Jesuits tended to educate a middle class in preparation for future leadership roles, Cullen was “more intent on highlighting miserable slum conditions and the amount of money being spent on drink that could have been used so productively if spent on physical and moral improvement.” Cullen often “absolved the drinkers themselves from blame due to their social and political subjection”.²⁵ Cullen’s style of leadership and constant references to the inequalities in Irish society whilst still focusing on the spiritual element shows that he can indeed “be viewed as a modern and innovative campaigner in Irish social history.”²⁶ If as Paulo Freire says “The starting point for organizing the program content of education or political action must be the present, existential, concrete situation, reflecting the aspirations of the people”²⁷, then Cullen, through his constant public references to and reflections on to the living conditions and political needs of the people, was indeed a radical adult educator. If he was able to bring people to a state of consciousness where they could see their environment as it really was and become empowered to change – of course, change through membership of the Association and the promotion of the temperance philosophy - it could be said that Cullen was indeed a moral (and social) leader in the adult education sense

of the term. Perhaps the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association is not exaggerating when it claims that

The Pioneer Total Abstinence Association has been a major influence in Irish life all through the 20th century, raising awareness of the need for care in the use of alcohol and more recently, drugs.²⁸

Whilst the identity that the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association prescribed for members in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century reflected Cullen’s personal devotions as outlined, the change in leadership after his death in 1921 left the Association with less of a charismatic moral leader but with a highly organised structure of local Associations which functioned exceptionally well in recruitment. Throughout the thirties, forties and fifties, the Association became more specific in the interest groups that it allied itself to in order to promote membership. With this, Cullen’s focus on the immediate problems alcohol abuse brought to communities faded and was replaced with a focus on emphasising the religious element to the movement. The fact that at the 1924 Silver Jubilee celebrations many of the banners and placards contained socio-economic and political concerns illustrated Cullen’s influence; the fact that there was to be a strict ban on these type of banners in future celebrations (the Golden Jubilee in 1949 and the Diamond Jubilee in 1959) illustrated the strict religious focus and end of an era for the Association. What it also reflected, however, was the changing nature of Irish society and the shifts in power in Church/State relations.

While the Association targeted the Garda Síochána (Irish Police Force) and the Army with the intention of getting those with public civic responsibilities to make abstention from drink attractive, in Eoin O’Duffy, Chief Commissioner of the Garda Síochána, whilst an enthusiastic promoter and a contributor to the 1924 celebrations who also marched to Rome with 400 Garda Síochána in 1929, they had an ally who was later to become “a fascist with a fondness for guzzling whiskey.”²⁹ A more reliable ally was to come in the form of the founder of the rural self-help group, Muintir na Tíre (people of the land), which is traditionally viewed as part of the history of adult education in Ireland.³⁰ Canon Hayes, (like Cullen) stressed the social side of the Association and, contrary to Flinn’s leadership (and beyond), he befriended alcoholics and believed that pubs and moderate drinking did have a positive contribution to make to Irish society. Hayes described the invitation to deliver the keynote address at the Golden Jubilee in 1949 as “the greatest occasion on which I

was ever asked to speak”³¹ and indeed Hayes brought just the right populist touch to the celebrations which attracted over 80,000 Pioneers. By this stage, the Association was working closely with the first European branch of Alcoholics Anonymous (which had arrived in Dublin in 1946) in trying to highlight the growing problem of drink addiction in Irish society and had also set up a Pioneer magazine which, while the official mouthpiece of the Association, also enabled it to tackle temperance on a wider scale, including on social, political and economic terms. Hayes, through Muintir na Tíre, of course, organised non-alcoholic socials and certainly played his part in both the practical education of adults – through the provision of classes and setting up of community groups – and spiritual education through his involvement with the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association.

Hayes, like Cullen, it must be said, could be viewed as another moral leader in the history of adult education. Indeed, both Cullen’s and Hayes’s stance was echoed in 1964 by the Assistant Spiritual Director of the Association, the Jesuit Fr Mullin. He condemned the Government’s path of trying to solve the problem of alcohol consumption through legislative measures* and returned to Cullen’s consensus that education was the key. In effect what he was doing was challenging the traditional view of the Association that spiritual matters should always come before the social by aiming to adopt a co-ordinated policy of information with active social (and adult education) movements such as the Irish Countrywomen’s Association, Muintir na Tíre and the Saint Vincent de Paul Society. Ironically, the strict rules that Cullen set up were, by this stage an ingrained and unmoveable tradition whereby the spiritual message had to take precedence over the social. Hence, unable to change the system, we see a few years later, in 1967, Mullin underpinning his social message with the spiritual one of Vatican II, calling for a return to a charitable reading of scriptures.

Whilst a brief overview of the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart, concentrating on the early and mid-twentieth century period, shows that it was, in its ethos, primarily a spiritual and religious organisation, Association leaders such as Cullen and Mullin (to a lesser extent) endeavoured to empower people to improve their living conditions and quality of family life through encouraging abstinence. The structure of the Association which included representatives travelling around the country recruiting and actively forming community groups, which, although they were under the umbrella of the Association, were actively

involved in community work. Through various allied leaders – from the dubious O’Duffy to the populist Hayes – and work with other organisations such as Alcoholics Anonymous, the Association ensured that a knowledge and understanding of alcoholism reached people and areas that it would not have reached without it.

* It should be noted that the Government also had a vested interest in the consumption of alcohol in terms of revenue through taxes in drink consumption.

Indeed one can assert that the Association empowered and challenged an entire population to examine their attitudes to and behaviour around the consumption of alcohol. In 1980, the Fianna Fáil Minister for Agriculture, Ray MacSharry congratulated the Association for providing a forum for the broadcasting of ideas “that would otherwise, in all probability, never be brought to public attention.”³²

Whilst the Association’s achievements throughout the twentieth century were numerous, it was not without internal and external conflicts and neither were its allegiances to the aforementioned groups always smooth or straightforward. However, the fact remains that the use of education as a discipline and adult education as a practice by the Association remains unknown by the general public. What is called for then, is not only a re-examination of the history of adult and community education in twentieth century Ireland, but a re-assessment of social movements such as the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart, in the light of this revision of Ireland’s twentieth century social and educational history.

Whilst the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart is always seen in the context of the institution of the Catholic Church, adult and community education is always seen in the context of the institution of the State. With the government’s naming of adult education in the 2000 White Paper, it is time to view adult education in the context of society, social movements and individual learners. In other words, it is time to view and examine adult education on its own grounds. It is time to reclaim adult education from the State and take it back to the community – with the training mantra of the government and resulting ‘rationalisation’, ‘industrialisation’ and ‘economic-isation’ of adult education we are losing sight of its power to empower. The grass roots are becoming overgrown with the weeds of officialdom. It is only through an examination of both sides of the coin – the shiny, polished official history of adult education (formal) and the not-so-shiny, forgotten history of the un-formal and non-formal history of

adult education – that this can be achieved. In this way adult and community education will finally form a part of Ireland's official, standard twentieth century history.

Endnotes

- 1 For example the contribution of parish confraternities and associations to the religious and social history of modern Ireland which does include an examination of educational contributions (NUIM)
- 2 Savicevic, Dusan (1999) referred to in Reischmann, Jost (2003) *Why Andragogy?* Bamberg University, Germany <http://www.andragogy.net>.
- 3 Department of Education and Science (2000) *Learning for Life: White Paper on Adult Education* (Dublin: Stationary Office) both quotes - p54.
- 4 For an analysis of Erik Erikson's theories see Muuss, R.E. (1996) *Theories of Adolescence* (6th Edition. New York: McGraw-Hill).
- 5 Inglis, Tom (1997) *Moral Monopoly: The Rise and Fall of the Catholic Church in Modern Ireland* (This edition, UCD press 1998, Dublin) p178.
- 6 Stubblefield, Harold W. and Keane, Patrick (1994) *Adult Education in the American Experience: from the Colonial Period to the Present* (Jossey-Bass Publishers, San Francisco), p8.
- 7 Quoted in Fieldhouse, Roger with Associates (1996) *A History of Modern British Adult Education* (NIACE, Leicester) pviii.
- 8 Referred to in Giroux, Henry A and McLaren, Peter (eds (1989) *Critical Pedagogy, The State and Cultural Struggle* (State University of New York Press) pxvii Introduction
- 9 Ó Murchú, Micheál (1984) *Adult Education in Ireland: Adult Education in Europe Studies and Documents: Vol 21 – 22* (Edited by the European Centre for Leisure and Education, Prague) p56.
- 10 Fieldhouse, Roger with Associates (1996) *A History of Modern British Adult Education* (NIACE, Leicester) pvii.
- 11 Knowles, Malcolm (1980) *The Modern Practice of Adult Education: From Pedagogy to Andragogy*. (Chicago: Association Press) p25.
- 12 Lindeman, E. (1926) *The Meaning of Adult Education*. (New Republic, New York) p6.
- 13 Field, J.(2005) 'Social capital and lifelong learning', The encyclopaedia of informal education, www.infed.org/lifelonglearning/social_capital_and_lifelong_learning.htm
- 14 Merriam, S. and Brockett, R. (1997) *The Profession and Practice of Adult Education*. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass) p8.
- 15 Freire, Paulo (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Penguin, this edition 1996) p77.
- 16 Inglis, Tom (1997) *Moral Monopoly: The Rise and Fall of the Catholic Church in Modern Ireland* (This edition, UCD press 1998, Dublin) p39 – 40.
- 17 Ferriter, Diarmaid (1999) *A Nation of Extremes: The Pioneers in Twentieth-century Ireland* (Irish Academic Press, Dublin) p29.

- 18 Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart – Official Website see <http://pioneertotal.ie/pioneer/fc?action=pioneeringDifference>
- 19 For full listing see Inglis, Tom *Moral Monopoly: The Rise and Fall of the Catholic Church in Modern Ireland* (1997 Gill and Macmillan, this edition, UCD press 1998), pp53 – 6.
- 20 Inglis, Tom (1997) *Moral Monopoly: The Rise and Fall of the Catholic Church in Modern Ireland* (This edition, UCD press 1998, Dublin) p65.
- 21 Ferriter, Diarmaid (1999) *A Nation of Extremes: The Pioneers in Twentieth-century Ireland* (Irish Academic Press, Dublin) p40.
- 22 Inglis, Tom (1997) *Moral Monopoly: The Rise and Fall of the Catholic Church in Modern Ireland* (This edition, UCD press 1998, Dublin) p82.
- 23 For more detail on this see Ferriter, Diarmaid (1999) *A Nation of Extremes: The Pioneers in Twentieth-century Ireland* (Irish Academic Press, Dublin)
- 24 Quoted in Ferriter, Diarmaid (1999) *A Nation of Extremes: The Pioneers in Twentieth-century Ireland* (Irish Academic Press, Dublin) p47.
- 25 Ferriter, Diarmaid (1999) *A Nation of Extremes: The Pioneers in Twentieth-century Ireland* (Irish Academic Press, Dublin) p69 – 70.
- 26 Ferriter, Diarmaid (1999) *A Nation of Extremes: The Pioneers in Twentieth-century Ireland* (Irish Academic Press, Dublin) p74.
- 27 Freire, Paulo *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Penguin, 1970, this edition 1996) p76- 7.
- 28 Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart – Official Website see <http://pioneertotal.ie/pioneer/fc?action=pioneeringDifference>
- 29 Ferriter, Diarmaid (1999) *A Nation of Extremes: The Pioneers in Twentieth-century Ireland* (Irish Academic Press, Dublin) p106.
- 30 See for example, Ó Murchú, Micheál (1984) *Adult Education in Ireland: Adult Education in Europe Studies and Documents: Vol 21 – 22* (Edited by the European Centre for Leisure and Education, Prague)
- 31 Ferriter, Diarmaid (1999) *A Nation of Extremes: The Pioneers in Twentieth-century Ireland* (Irish Academic Press, Dublin) p160.
- 32 *Pioneer* magazine, October 1980, quoted in Ferriter, Diarmaid (1999) *A Nation of Extremes: The Pioneers in Twentieth-century Ireland* (Irish Academic Press, Dublin) p257.

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Freedom fighter – Instructor – Professional On becoming an adult educator in Poland

Abstract: The origins of systematic and purposeful training of adult educators date back to 1898. However, it was only in the inter-war period when institutions that trained social workers/adult educators were established. Among the best known schools of that type was, founded in 1925, the Centre for Social and Educational Work of the free Polish University in Warsaw. It was the first Polish educational institution training this kind of professionals at a University level. Thanks to its founder and director, Helena Radlinska (1879–1954), the Centre became an influential school as well as a place where principles of democracy were discussed and developed. The process of the development of adult educator profession in Poland differed from models and solutions present in other Western countries. There were mainly two reasons for this. Firstly, lack of state independence and a need for patriotic educational work for raising national awareness resulting from it. Secondly, it sought its theoretical background in pedagogy (educational work) and not in psychoanalysis. Thus, in Poland a concept of socio-cultural work, alongside with charitable work, contributed to the formation of a new profession that required a commitment to preserving national identity and became an agent of social development. At first, an activist, who can be called a *freedom fighter*, carried out the tasks. In the first years after 1918, when Poland regained its independence, a *freedom fighter* became an *instructor*, and then, after 1925, a *professional*.

Introduction

In the Polish tradition an educational and cultural activity aimed at adult population bore a name either of adult education or – when literally translated into English – of social work.¹ Eventually, especially after the World War II a split in the focus, field of study and theoretical perspectives took place. Two academic disciplines were established at the Polish universities – adult education (andragogy)

¹ This is not whatsoever a satisfactory term in English. It focuses too directly on a currently practised field of activity and the existing profession called „social worker”. Neither, does it properly fit Polish phenomena of the 19th and 20th centuries.

and social pedagogy. However, by the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century this distinction was not yet established. Thus, in this paper we use the notions of *adult education* and *social work* synonymically.

Educational, cultural and social work aimed at the development of individuals, social groups and whole communities is a sphere of activity of state authorities, non-governmental organizations as well as local administration. Such activity grew up from a natural and spontaneous habit of supporting people whose lives were in danger. At the very beginning religious and secular ideas of philanthropy served as its bases. Eventually it became the professionally carried work as well as the field of research and training.

The origins of systematic and purposeful training of social workers/adult educators date back to 1898, when the "Adam Mickiewicz" People's University (*Uniwersytet Ludowy im. Adama Mickiewicza*) was opened in Cracow. In 1916 a Department of Voluntary Work at the Higher Courses for Women in Cracow was founded (Radlinska 1925, 1961). However, it was only in the inter-war period when institutions that trained social workers/adult educators were established. Among the best known schools of that type was, founded in 1925, the Centre for Social and Educational Work of the Free Polish University in Warsaw; it was the first Polish educational institution training this kind of professionals at a University level. Thanks to its founder and director, Helena Radlinska (1879–1954), the Centre became an influential school as well as place where principles of democracy were discussed and developed (Orsza-Radlinska 1925; Radlińska 1928; Brodowska 1958; *Słownik biograficzny pracowników społecznych* 1993; Theiss 1985; Theiss 1996).

The process of the development of social worker/adult educator profession in Poland differed from models and solutions present in other Western countries. There were mainly two reasons for this. Firstly, lack of state independence and a need for patriotic educational work for raising national awareness resulting from it. Secondly, it sought its theoretical background in pedagogy (educational work) and not in psychoanalysis. Thus, in Poland a concept of socio-cultural work, alongside with charitable work, contributed to the formation of a new profession that required a commitment to preserving national identity and became an agent of social development. At first, an activist, who can be called a *freedom fighter*, carried out the tasks. In the first years after 1918, when

Poland regained its independence, a *freedom fighter* became an *instructor*, and then, after 1925, a *professional*.

Freedom fighter

Since the late 1860's Poland (*i.e.* the Polish lands) has experienced profound social and economic changes. Illegal adult education is often seen mostly as an example of society's resistance against the occupying powers' policies of depriving Poles of their national identity. However, at the a time of the split of old social structures such educational activities can, and should, be treated also as a form of protest against social discrimination, poverty and dependence. It is legitimate to state that illegal adult education was also an agent of social changes. With its often liberal, open-minded and Scientism-oriented ideas adult education organizations enter into a conflict with the clergy and find a formidable foe in the Roman Catholic Church.

Women, even those born into wealthy families, were excluded from universities and usually deprived of an equal education even when privately tutored. Nevertheless, at the end of the 19th century many of them began to challenge their prescribed roles. Their fight began with education through which, they believed, women's chances for and means of self-reliance would increase. Unlike working-class women, who could find employment in industry, the middle-class women were bound to secure their economy by 'proper' marriages; those who 'possessed' intellectual interests were expected to run a 'literary salon'. There were an increasing number of women to whom none of those two prospects appeal-ed as acceptable. The educational activities were usually of an 'informal' character – reading and discussion circles, public lectures; later on – even extension of formal instruction. Unlike similar activities in Western Europe and in the USA, study-circles in Poland were able to provide female participants with necessary and expected confidence and knowledge. This was due to their illegal character and the presence of leading scholars among the lecturers. The frequent imprisonment or exile of the menfolk in a family left women in positions of great responsibility for its survival, and their participation in conspiratorial and even guerilla activities (*e.g.* Emilia Plater, 1806–1831) tended to place them on an equal footing with men. As a result, they were voicing views and demands on the subject of sexual equality and freedom that were not heard in England or France until after the First World War.

The Tsarist authorities were anxious to destroy everything that

was Polish – language, culture, even people's identity. As a reaction, the extended and effective network of independent, underground activity of various kinds was built to preserve 'Polishness' and put it into operation. The alien character of school instruction determined the types of subjects studied at illegal courses, which almost in every case began with the Polish history and literature. Within the study-circles movement organized among and by secondary school students three phases according to their topics and forms can be distinguished: in the years 1871–1882 the focus was on history of Poland and on its literature; years 1883–1897 were characterized by such topics as society's needs and planning for the future; during the years 1898–1905 more ideological (left-oriented) topics were discussed (*cf* Targalski 1965; Tomaszewska 1987). Two intellectual movements of the second part of the 19th century were most influential: Scientism and Positivism. Education played a significant role in their social philosophy. Courses in the Polish language and history, publication of booklets and their distribution, public (although illegal!) lectures were organized. All those activities were aimed at raising the educational standard of a population as well as social awareness and (or) national consciousness. Self-learning activity was organized at all levels, namely, from literacy courses to University studies.

A phenomenon of an endurance of engagement became very common, namely from being a student to becoming an organizer and teacher of other study-circles as well as keeping active participation despite different set-backs and failures. Often the same institution or organization, after being disclosed and stopped by authorities almost immediately started under a new name. As a Polish historian asserts:

Polish society ... continued to think as a society in control of its own destiny, and reality did not deter it. ... The Poles continued to consider themselves as being wholly responsible for the fate of their society. This was ultimately why the nation continued to function as an entity..." (Zamoyski 1987:327).

The political movements established on Polish territories in the 1880s, especially farmers' and workers' movement, began to abandon reconciliatory Positivist slogans and take up ideas of more active struggle for social and national independence. Radical (leftist, even socialist) ideologies among educated social strata started to grow. For early activists, like Bronisław Limanowski, socialism was not a means for class struggle but rather for awakening the mass population and to raise its national consciousness. One of the newly

raised social strata was intelligentsia (a very Central-European feature!) which by its quantitative growth and, especially, by its social engagement built up its position as a distinctive social stratum. It was on this stratum on which independent and even illegal educational work began to depend.

Among the oldest such educational activities one can count clandestine study circles for women (1882), which laid a ground for established in 1886 the so-called Flying University (*Uniwersytet Latający*). It was named so because faculty and students had to move from one apartment to another to avoid surveillance by the Russian political police.

Its initiator was Jadwiga Szczawińska-Dawidowa (1863–1910), who made her apartment in Warsaw available for illegal meetings for women, during which they studied Polish language, literature and history. After her marriage, she found a committed ally in her husband Jan Władysław Dawid (1859–1914), an experimental psychologist and educationist. In their apartment they organized courses preparing young women for University studies. Women were at that time prohibited to enter University education. One should remember that in 1880's women still have been deprived not only access to higher education, but often also to other meaningful participation in the political life. Very soon, courses were organized in several private apartments throughout Warsaw. Jadwiga Szczawińska-Dawidowa succeeded to establish even quite a considerable scientific library.

Both women and men attended lectures given by leading scholars in humanities, social sciences and natural sciences. All courses were given in Polish, while all the official schooling organized by Tsarist authorities used Russian as a language of instruction. The alien character of school instruction determined the subjects studied in illegal courses. Almost all such activities began with Polish history and literature.

The importance and the role of the illegal study-circles movement in Poland in that time is shown by the fact, that they contributed to educating two generations of the most conscious and socially and politically active Poles. Many of those who organized, thought or participated in study-circles become eventful and event-making citizens.

Two of many students of the Flying University became well known outside Poland. One was an only scientist awarded twice the Nobel Prize, namely Maria Skłodowska-Curie (1867–1934). Upon finishing

her secondary schooling, she undertook courses in anatomy and biology, being able to conduct even some experiments at her uncle's laboratory at the Museum of Industry and Agriculture. She also studied sociology. She kept her contacts with Flying University even after returning from Paris where she obtained her first University degree at Sorbonne.

Another was Henryk Goldszmit (1878–1942), known under his pen-name Janusz Korczak, a doctor, paediatrician, and a writer. He was the one who refused to be rescued from the nazis; instead he shared the fate of Jewish children from his orphanage in Warsaw in gas chambers in the death camp Treblinka. At the Flying University he attended lectures by Jan Wladyslaw Dawid, who presented Wilhelm Wundt's and North American research and ideas on child development and child rearing.

Many graduates of the Flying University got involved in illegal educational and cultural activities of their own. In the first years of the 20th century, with growing tensions preceding 1905 revolution, were established several organizations that dealt with education and social work addressed to young and adult population; among them in 1903 the Educational Society (*Towarzystwo Pedagogiczne*), 1904 The Tutors' Circle (*Kolo Wychowawcow*), 1905 the Association of Mutual Aid Societies (*Zwiazek Towarzystw Samopomocy Spolecznej*), 1905 University for Everyone (*Uniwersytet dla Wszystkich*). In 1906 the Flying University surfaced from its underground existence and started to give courses openly; it took a new name: Society of Scientific Courses (*Towarzystwo Kursow Naukowych*). Among the leaders were such different personalities like: Natalia Gasiorowska (1881–1964), historian, student of L. Krzywicki, active in illegal study-circles for women (together with S. Sempolowska), teacher at the „University for Everyone”, active in the Association of Courses for Adult Illiterates, the Polish Culture Society, and after the WWI at the Polish Free University since 1918 (including classes during the Nazi occupation 1939–1944); Kazimierz Czapinski (1882–1941), a democratic socialist, co-founder of Workers' University Association (*Towarzystwo Uniwersytetu Robotniczego*), active in anti-clerical debates; or Antoni Boleslaw Dobrowolski (1872–1954), co-organizer of illegal study-circles for Warsaw students, professor of geophysics and education, polar explorer discovering a *halo* phenomenon, teacher at the Polish Free University

Also in other University cities, and even in smaller towns, similar associations devoted to educational and social needs of adults were

established. Among the first and most active in preparing specialists in adult education/social work was already mentioned "Adam Mickiewicz" People's University in Cracow. Among the persons active in the People's University there were Zofia Daszynska-Golinska (1866–1934), economic historian, demographer and politician; Henryk Elzenberg (1845–1899), lawyer, editor, translator and journalist; Helena Radlinska (1879–1954), educationist, historian, founder of social pedagogy as an academic discipline, participant and – eventually – organizer of a numerous educational initiatives and institutions..

Another institution in Cracow which dealt with training social workers and adult educators was already mentioned Department of Voluntary Work within the institution named Higher Courses for Women. The Department gave courses in civics, pedagogy, psychology, history of education, teaching methods, physical education for children and their safety, hygiene of everyday life, biology and anatomy, librarianship and accounting.

Organizers of these groups were mainly committed activists of a younger generation. Nevertheless one can find quite many familiar names which have already been seen among leaders of organizations from the past; e.g. Jadwiga Dziubinska (see below), Stefania Sempolowska (1870–1944), teacher, writer, radical socialist; Wladyslawa Weychert-Szymanowska (see below).

Those and other initiatives were supported (emotionally and practically), although from different ideological positions, by the 'old masters' – Edward Abramowski (1868–1918) and Ludwik Krzywicki (1859–1941).

Abramowski, a sociologist and philosopher, is best known as an ardent proponent of co-operative movement. During the 1905 revolution he advocated the need to fight against the Tsarist government. However, revolution, to be successful, should be preceded by "moral revolution". Thanks to it people will grow such moral virtues as brotherhood and solidarity. Only then citizens have a possibility to obtain "new consciousness". The most effective means to achieve this goal should be voluntary associations as well as co-operatives active in the field of education, economy, or social aid (Abramowski 1986).

Krzywicki had had a great impact on adult education/social work since early 1880s until his death. He was a scholar of broad education – mainly sociologist with University training in mathematics, medicine, philosophy, anthropology and ethnology;

obtaining his education at universities of Warsaw, Cracow, Leipzig, Paris, Berlin, Lwow. As an ardent democratic socialist and proponent of co-operative movement he devoted much of his time and intellect to various educational, cultural and social initiatives addressed to adult population (Bron-Wojciechowska 1985). He was initiator, or influential organizer, or an influential teacher of several organizations, institutions, or *ad hoc* initiatives.

Among a group of most famous adult educators/social workers of that period were women such as Jadwiga Dziubińska and Władysława Weychert-Szymanowska.

Jadwiga Dziubińska (1871–1937) is a good example of a Polish life course – from *freedom fighter*, through *instructor* to a *professional*. She was a 'graduate' of the 'Flying University' where she studied during 1893–1897. At the same time she worked (unpaid) at the Department of Free Reading Rooms of the Warsaw Charitable Society. Even before attending the courses at the 'Flying University' she taught in an illegal school in a village. In two illegal folk high schools she ran courses in civic education, the Polish language and history despite the explicit ban by the Russian authorities. Together with L. Krzywicki and S. Sempołowska, she was active in the Polish Peasants' Union. When the Union was dissolved by Tsar's government J. Dziubińska joined the S. Staszic Agricultural Circles. In independent Poland she was active in raising educational and cultural standards of the peasantry – being a Member of Parliament or as a teacher of, then operating legally, folk high school. She was one of organizers of the Staszic Institute of Education and Culture and co-founder of the Agricultural Schools Teachers' Union.

Władysława Weychert-Szymanowska (1874–1951) attended lectures at 'Flying University' and took part at study-circle run by Drużewski brothers (both democratic socialists), at the same time she was teaching the Polish history and literature at illegal grammar schools. She was active in Educators' Circle (1905) of the Polish Teachers' Association and in the Association of Courses for Adult Illiterates (1906). She was a member of its board; she also wrote handbooks and organized courses and lectures addressed to social workers and teachers of adults. Among people engaged in these organizations were those, who have been active in other, already mentioned educational initiatives, e.g. Dziubinska, Gasiorowska, Korczak, Kosmowska, Krzywicki, Radlinska, Sempołowska. In independent Poland she gave lectures i.a. at the Staszic Institute of Education and Culture; was a co-founder of the Democratic

Education Society *New Tracks*; and published extensively on education and social needs of the under-privileged.

To the same generation of devoted educators and social workers belonged also Józef Grodecki, Stanisław Kalinowski, Stefania Sempołowska. Later they, and many many others, were called "generation of unsubdued". In their work they were guided by such values, as patriotism, respect for the dignity of every human being, work for the sake of community, common good. Those values formed an ethical code of the "unsubdued". This was the ethics of non-conformism and concordance of words and action (Cywinski 1996; Mencwel 1990).

It was especially the mass illiteracy among adult education that posed a problem for many adult educators and social workers. In 1874 Konrad Prószyński (1851–1908; known under his pen name Kazimierz Promyk), organized a campaign against illiteracy in villages of the Russian Partition. The following year he published his first primer.² In 1879 it appeared in a revised and enlarged edition. His *Illustrated manual for reading and writing for use at schools, at home and for self-learners* [Obrazowa nauka czytania i pisanie do użytku szkolnego, domowego i dla samouków] was, in total, printed in 1,310,000 copies. He was a co-founder of an illegal Society of National Education (Towarzystwo Oświaty Narodowej) – an organization which undertook a task of combating illiteracy among adult population. In 1878 he opened in Warsaw a bookshop specializing in popular scientific books.

Helena Radlińska, one of the youngest representatives of the "unsubdued", was explaining that they differed from earlier generation of social-romantics by the fact that their complete devotion to others was replaced by the task of reaching out for human strength. It meant abilities and skills of individuals, groups and whole communities to express themselves in creative and mindful activity. According to Radlinska (1908) the potency existing in people could, and ought to, be used to create a new social deal.

Looking for and awakening people's "sleeping strength" was not a cliché for those *freedom fighters*. The most common form of this activity, i.e. clandestine educational eventually was being transformed according to new needs, opportunities and historical circumstances. Since 1905 it has been mainly the participation in

2 The first Polish primer for adult illiterates appeared already in 1812. Authored by Z. Rościszewski and entitled *Nauka czytania i pisanie polskiego* [Manual for reading and writing Polish] was used for teaching Polish soldiers of Napoleon's army.

anti-Russian strike, thus a clear, open and direct struggle with the oppressing state.

It was not different a few years later, when insurrectionist political and military organization led by Jozef Pilsudski was established. Then, educational work was accompanied by military actions and training soldiers. A letter from Radlinska to a well-known social activist Bronisław Wyslouch (1855–1937; he was a peasant movement leader, co-founder of Association of Education's Friends [1890, Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Oświaty])) from July 24, 1915 describes this vast activity:

In the [Polish] Kingdom cultural work has begun now on a broader scale. We must use every opportunity and every moment to raise national consciousness in people and awake understanding of civic duties. One of the means is to set up pro-independent libraries, which are to be created in vast numbers soon... (List H. Radlinskiej... 1915).

A still different area of social work of those years (1914–1920) in unveiled through activity of Jadwiga Dziubinska in Russia. She was travelling to Poles in far away Siberian prisons and POWs camps in order to bring words of support and consolation, keep their spirit and organize safe return home. Her mission, as well as other rescue actions, she described in a publication *On a bloody track of incarceration* (1923). Dziubinska is also known of being a co-founder (along yet another committed woman – Zofia Kosmowska) of the first folk high schools of the Danish type on Polish territories.

The experiences and examples of educational and social work on Polish territories were collected, systematized and analysed, by the above mentioned "Adam Mickiewicz" People's University in Cracow. The ultimate goal of this was to build solid foundations of education for the future independent Poland. One of the main achievements of that institution was publication in 1913 of a sizeable volume entitled *Educational Work. The tasks, methods and organization* (Praca oświatowa. Jej zadania, metody, organizacja). This collective work contains the history of educational work in Poland, current and future goals, as well as forms of this work. In short, it was the first in Poland theoretical and methodological outline of social work understood as educational and cultural activity. Among the contributors there were: Zofia Daszyńska-Golińska, Jadwiga Dziubinska, Ludwik Krzywicki, Helena Orsza (Radlinska) and Władysława Weyhert-Szymanowska.

Whilst the State (*i.e.* Tsarist authorities), in late 19th century, did its best to prevent creation of modern society, independent/illegal

educational activities apparently rendered it possible. Committed to this work people found often allies in other social groups. For instance several published in Polish magazines propagated for certain human values which should characterize a 'model citizen'. Oddly, although quite typical for Poland's historical situation, those values could be promulgated only through obituaries (even these eulogies had to undergo a censor scrutiny). The common denominator for the commendations was the praise of intellectual work which, in turn, required a certain level of education and professionalism.

The most frequently mentioned virtues were as follows:

- work apprehended for the country's well – thus, the public was encouraged to choose the nation's interests above the individual ones;
- combating poverty, famine and ignorance – an appeal for social tolerance;
- openness for others' needs – egotism and elitism were evil;
- competence and specialization – respect for professionalism based on a prior education;
- endurance and industriousness – important for maintaining social activity in the years of repressions and pessimism and.

Not surprisingly, these virtues were quite similar the content of courses given within adult education/social work. What is more, all those committed people who work in this field represented all the values of a 'model citizen'.

The importance and the role of the illegal study-circles movement in Poland at that time is shown by the fact, that they contributed to educating two generations of the most conscious and socially and politically active Poles. Many of those who organized, thought or participated in study-circles become eventful and event-making citizens.

Instructor

The conditions and needs of social and educational work changed considerably after 1918. The country was getting up from post-war ruins. Everyday life was difficult because of complicated economic situation, social conflicts, starvation and diseases. The country needed organizers of economic and social life: such as professionals, cooperatives' workers and competent local government officials. Committed individuals, non-governmental organizations, educational authorities of a newly re-established state, the army – all were engaged

in organizing courses for adult illiterates and upgrading courses. The newly founded agriculture schools, folk high schools, adult courses, libraries all needed specialists.

Naturally, staff shortages were also typical for establishing then social services and welfare authorities. The task of training those and other staff was taken at once by social-economic and cultural organizations, such as the "Stanisław Staszic" Institute of Education and Culture of the Countryside (Instytut Oświaty i Kultury Wsi im. ks. St. Staszica), the Central Office for Adult Courses (Centralne Biuro Kursów dla Dorosłych), the Department of Education of the Central Board of Agricultural Cooperatives (Dział Oświaty Centralnego Zarządu Kółek Rolniczych), the Educational Department of the Polish Associations of Consumers (Wydział Wychowawczy Polskich Stowarzyszeń Spożywców) as well as the Union of the Polish Librarians (Związek Bibliotekarzy Polskich).

In an independent Poland adult educators and social workers faced new, challenging, task: to contribute to reconstruction and organization of political and social life. The reconstruction was to result in the formation of people's agency, in raising an awareness of people's needs and abilities in accordance with the slogan: *by ourselves for ourselves!* The social-educational work was to teach bases of culture and economy, inform, disseminate, explain and show models. The instructor, in his endeavours to raise effectiveness of his/her work, used simple, clear means, e.g. showing examples of model fields and perfect breed, organizing a library, exhibitions, as well as tacking participants to leading cultural or economic centres.

New target groups were older youth, industrial workforce coming directly from the country-side and unemployment adult. A novel, quite progressive, approach to reach these categories of people was implemented. Adult educators and social workers were trained to be able to deal simultaneously with such varied task as teaching humanities (and civics), training students on vocationally oriented courses, being a competent counsellor as well as advising how to spend leisure time. The chief proponent of such an approach was a representative of a younger generation of committed adult educators, namely Kazimierz Kornilowicz (1892–1939).

Among adult educators there were also „self-taught activists”. These were professionals, who used his/her professional skills in social work. And thus, a medical doctor, for example, promoted the ideas of health education; an agriculture engineer introduced new ways of farming; a teacher developed parents' concern for their

children's school progress. They were real leaders, or – to use Radlinska term – „front men”. That was a name given to an outstanding individual, who, through his/her example, was to invigorate the community.

Professional

A *professional* was, on the one hand, to refer to the experience of the predecessors: *freedom fighters* and *instructors*; on the other hand, was to possess professional competences, based on rational and systematic foundations of theory and methodology of social activity.

The origins of Free Polish University (Wolna Wszechnica Polska – WWP) are quite typical for adult education initiatives of the late 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. The WWP is a direct continuation of already mentioned above initiatives: the illegal Flying University (1886–1906), the legally operated Society of Scientific Courses (1906–1910), then as the Free Polish University (1910–³). In independent Poland, after 1918, it became a fully fledged higher education establishment. It was a pioneer in terms in creating research and professional foundations of adult education/social work. It was at this particular University where the College of Social and Educational Work (Studium Pracy Społeczno-Oświatowej WWP), founded by Helena Radlinska, was established in 1925.

Keeping up with its tradition, the WWP gathered outstanding scholars as its own faculty. Courses in the College were given by the leading scholars and professionals, i.a. Józef Czesław Babicki (child care), Józef Chalasinski (sociology), Stefan Czarnowski (history of culture), Marian Falski (librarianship), Sergiusz Hessen (organization of cultural life), Ludwik Krzywicki (sociology), Józef Mikulowski-Pomorski (adult education), Władysław Radwan (adult education). Also representatives of science, culture and art, such as Aleksander Zelwerowicz or Janusz Korczak cooperated with the college (Orsza-Radlinska 1925, Radlinska 1928b).

In accordance with H. Radlinska's definition of social pedagogy, including cultural-educational work, the College was educating students in the following four specializations: adults' teaching,

3 The WWP worked throughout the whole inter-war period. It continued its classes illegally during the war and openly, until 1948. Then, it was, parallel to a numerous other associations, institutions and NGOs, closed down by the communist regime. In 1957, during the so-called „thaw period”, the WWP tradition was again revived by creation of the Society of the Free Polish Univ. (Towarzystwo Wolnej Wszechnicy Polskiej – TWWP).

organization of social life, librarianship, mother and child care. Two-years courses were given to those who already had some work experience or studied at/graduated from a college or University. The curricula of the College provided the students with philosophical foundations and the historical background of studied phenomena.

The theoretical foundations of education at the College stem from the concept of social pedagogy defined by H. Radlinska as "*mutual influence of environment and the strength of individuals transforming the environment*" "*wzajemnym oddziaływaniem wpływów środowiska i przekształcających środowisko sił jednostek*" (Radlińska 1935:15). Radlinska believing in agency of every human, sought in people creators of own reality, noticing their abilities, not their shortages; trying to make the strength of individuals and groups more dynamic, involving them into the work on "a better tomorrow". The category "better tomorrow" meant for her fuller, spiritually richer, more comprehensive life and reality based on principles of democracy. It "new" Poland everyone will have a right and real chances of access to culture as well as electing and controlling local and state authorities.

The graduates of the College of Social and Educational Work should – ideally – be the people with close links to their communities, „walking in the crowd, and not in front of it”, interested in both individual matters of a person, as well as general problems of the community; brave and non-conformist. They ought to be aware of necessity to continue their studies, to constantly update their competences. To do so, they were encouraged to participate in research projects. The latter requirements was an innovative element in their professional education.

According to Radlinska's ideas, adult education/social work would not constitute a separate profession, but it rather be a core of various social and educational professions. Unlike their predecessors, adult educators/social workers of 1920's and 1930's, could work freely and openly, without the pathos, without the image of a missionary. The so, apparently, modern concept of empowerment and inclusiveness was not alien to Radlinska. Almost eighty years ago she wrote the following:

Bringing energy out of individuals and of human groups – this is the key of the social work of our times. It tries to transform communal life and thereby the life of individuals through effort and creativity, through the powers of everyone. It discovers, awakens and organizes latent powers, and shows methods of action (Radlinska 1928a:5).

Aleksandra Majewska, a student of the College, and later

Radlinska's collaborator, carried out research to find an answer to „Who and why undertook social studies?”. The author has shown that the largest group was that of teachers (applicants to the College had to have a proof of social practice experience). The other candidates were mostly trade unions officers, youth and cooperative activists, even junior researchers. The most frequent motives for studying was the willingness to broaden their education in the area of social sciences (Majewska 1981).

The College of Social and Educational Work, like the whole Free Polish University, was serving a broad spectrum of the young adults and youth, who could not afford University education. It is clearly stated in a letter of the WWP Senate to the Minister of Religious Creed and Public Enlightenment of February 7, 1938:

Due to relatively low fees (from 160 to 320 zł) and classes... run in the afternoon, the participants of the Free Polish University, include a considerable percentage of the youth with peasant (small farmers – 20 per cent) and workers (14 per cent) background, as well as a rather substantial percentage of people already gainfully employed... (List Senatu Akademickiego... WWP 1938).

The College was not the only institution for the training of social workers and adult educators at that time in Poland. There were also two other schools: the Catholic Social School in Poznan as well as the College of Social Work in Lwow. Research on a wide range of social, cultural, health and economic questions was carried out in two other places: the Institute of Social Economy, (founded in 1921 by Krzywicki) and the Institute of Social Affairs (headed by Kazimierz Kornilowicz since 1931).

Three above described types of adult educators/social workers: *freedom fighter – instructor – professional*, laid foundations for further development of the professionalism after WWII. Radlinska continued the education of professionals in the field of social work and cultural work. This was the aim of the Chair of Social Pedagogy at the Lodz University, which she founded in 1945 as well as of the Polish Institute of Social Services (1946). In 1949, after the communist take-over in Poland, these two institutions were closed down. Only after 1957 (the so-called thaw period) Radlinska's former students re-activated the work of institutions for the training of specialists in the field of social work. In 1957 a Chair of Social Pedagogy was set up at the Warsaw University (soon after a Chair of Pedagogy of Adults was opened there, too) and in 1961 re-established at the University of Lodz.

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Adult educators, political models and moral leaders: Instructors of "Workers' and Peasants' Colleges"(ABF).

Biographical, institutional and professional processes in
 the 1950s of GDR¹

Abstract: The Workers' and Peasants' Colleges (Arbeiter- und Bauern-Fakultäten; ABF), existed in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) from 1946 to 1962. Their purpose was to enable workers and farmers to pass the *Abitur* exam, which granted access to higher education in Germany. However, it soon became clear that the advancement of workers and farmers was not an end in itself. Rather, the long-term intention of the ruling *Sozialistische Einheitspartei* (SED) was to create a conformist elite in its own image. Teaching at ABF could not only be described in terms of "transferring" or imparting the know-how of specific subject areas. Rather the ABF staff were supposed to act at the same time as political teachers and role models in moral behavior. In this paper we present different biographical and professional types of becoming an adult educator at the Workers' and Peasants' Colleges in the GDR.

Introduction

The Workers' and Peasants' Colleges (*Arbeiter- und Bauern-Fakultäten*; ABF) existed in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) from 1946 to 1962. Their predecessors were the *Vorstudienanstalten* (VSS), or preparatory colleges, founded in late 1945 to 1946. In other words, the ABF were adult education institutions. Their purpose was to enable workers and farmers to pass the *Abitur* exam which granted access to higher education in Germany. In all, some 35,000 people earned the right to attend University through the ABF (Lammel 1986). However, it soon became clear that the advancement of workers and farmers was not an end in itself. Rather, the long-term intention of the ruling *Sozialistische Einheitspartei* (SED) was to create a conformist elite in its own

¹ The findings presented in this paper are part of the research project "The Workers' and Peasants' College Greifswald. A biographical analysis of the institution" which is funded by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG).

image. The ABF faculties were soon labeled “Stalinist cadre mills” by their critics. This function is also evident in the fact that the ABF were associated with universities, not with adult education institutions. The SED explicitly aimed at gaining rapid influence in the universities, which were seen as fortresses of the bourgeoisie.

Thus the establishment of this institution can be seen on the one hand as an innovation with a democratic goal, namely equality of opportunity, that was unknown in the history of German education up to that time. On the other hand, however, because it was interwoven with the interests of the SED regime, this innovation was also used towards anti-democratic ends: one can easily demonstrate how it was instrumentalized for the Party's political purposes.

The focus of the present paper lies on the biographies of the teaching staff. Teaching at ABF could not only be described in terms of “transferring” or imparting the know-how of specific subject areas. Rather, the ABF staff were supposed to act at the same time as political teachers and role models in moral behavior. In our research project we reconstructed three different biographical and professional types of becoming an adult educator: first the “*Type of Dissociating from National Socialism*”, the “*Social Justice Type*” secondly and the third one we have called “*Career Type*”.

Before discussing this typology in detail, we are going to describe the development of the ABF (chapter 1).

In the next chapter (chapter 2) the special requirements for action are depicted with which the teaching staff were confronted in the ABF. The third chapter focuses on the three reconstructed biographical types that demonstrate which dispositions, traditions and ideological backgrounds formed the basis for teachers' actions. In conclusion, chapter 4 then expounds on the consequences of such backgrounds for the professional actions of the ABF teachers and for the actions of the educational institutions.

1. Phases in the Development of the “Workers’ and Peasants’ Colleges”

Over the period of time in which the institution of ABF existed, four phases of development can be identified in which this institution served different functions:

1st Phase: Aftermath of World War II and successful graduates (1945–1949)

The ABF served to continue educational careers interrupted by the

Second World War. The graduates successfully complete their University training. In this period, the primary function fulfilled by the ABF was to establish equality of opportunity. The political indoctrination intended by the SED politicians is achieved only partially since the institutions are still under construction, while the hosting University environment is still relatively strong and hermetic, and the decentralized political structure of the *Länder* has not yet been eradicated (cf. Miethe 2006). The students who arrived in the first few years after the preparatory colleges had been converted to ABFs were the types of students that best represented the SED's ambitions. These students were both highly motivated in their areas of study and politically active along the lines set down by the SED.² Their SED-aligned political activity was based in part on the conviction that the ABF corrected an old injustice inherited from the time before 1945,³ when workers and peasants had made up only about 6% of University students (Kaelble 1983). The students' support was also due, however, to feelings of gratitude, deliberately inculcated by the SED, for their admission to higher education.

2nd Phase: Euphoria and disillusionment (1951–1956)

This phase is characterized by increasing enrollment.⁴ In order to attain this high enrollment, publicity campaigns in industry and agriculture were aimed at persuading young workers and peasants to study. Since the SED closely monitored whether the enrollment in each ABF met the prescribed quotas, the publicity campaigns resulted in many people being admitted to study without adequate prior education and without sufficient motivation for such an educational career. The successes of the 2nd phase are only partly quantifiable. A large number of students did not pass the *Abitur* exam, or failed in their later University studies.⁵

Whereas in the first phase of the ABF a high proportion of students were members of the SED, party membership among students in this phase drops below ten percent. From this point

2 „Vertrauliche Kollegiumsvorlage 2/8/54 zur politischen Lage an den ABF und über Maßnahmen zur Verbesserung der politischen und erzieherischen Arbeit“, 1954, (Bundesarchiv Berlin, DR 3/I. Schicht, 149, n.p.).

3 Cf. interviews with ABF-graduates.

4 Cf. Statistische Jahrbücher der DDR.

5 „Rede des Genossen Loch auf der erweiterten Direktorensitzung“, 22.-23. September 1955 (Bundesarchiv Berlin, DR 3/I. Schicht/568, n.p.)

onwards we can observe that workers and peasants in particular increasingly keep their distance from the SED. This tendency is strengthened by the completed transformation of the SED into a Stalinist cadre organization (cf. Kluttig 1997) and by the fact that workers and peasants, who enjoyed preferential access to education in the 1950s due to their social background, were less motivated to demonstrate conformity by joining the SED than children of "other" social backgrounds (Miethe 2006, Kowalczyk 2003; Kleßmann 2000). Political training and technical training at ABF are given equal importance. The proposal of the Ministry to close the ABF was rejected by the Central Committee of the SED because they still needed these institutions for political reasons (Miethe 2006).

3rd Phase: Political instrumentalization and party discipline (1957–1958)

This phase is characterized by substantial political indoctrination and discipline ensuing from the "revisionism debate." Accusations of "revisionism" played a regular part in the Party's internal purges in the GDR of the 1950s. The institution of the ABF, which the SED had intended to serve as a political model, was especially embroiled in the Party's internal power struggles during these years. To avoid any accusation of revisionism, the faculty in this period tried to adhere to the party line as closely as possible. Thus the term "Stalinist cadre mill" is best applicable in this phase in which political indoctrination clearly took precedence over academic learning.

4th Phase: Development of the specialized *Abitur* exam and dissolution of the ABF (1959 to 1962/63)

After the end of the "revisionism debate" political instrumentalization recedes into the background. Since the institution's achievements are both academically and politically below the expectations of SED politicians, the full *Abitur* is abandoned. ABF studies are increasingly oriented towards a technical *Abitur*, then, in 1962 the ABFs are dissolved.

2. Demands on and Recruitment of ABF teachers

The teachers employed by the VSS/ABF were to display not only competence in their subject areas but also the adherence to such political views as were expected by the SED.

It proved difficult throughout the four phases of the VSS/ABF's existence to recruit teaching staff that in all respects met the

requirement of subject competence as well as that of the political expectations.

The attempts at recruitment immediately following the Second World War suffered predominantly from the denazification taking place among teaching staff in higher education institutions that had led to many teachers of pre-war times being made redundant. As a result teaching staff for higher education were in short supply.

In addition, inferior benefits and unfavourable working conditions led to a high rate of fluctuation among teaching staff in the Soviet Occupied Zone/GDR (SBZ/DDR) (cf. Geißler 1992; Hohmann 1997, 2000). Due to the required high level of subject-specific know-how, the VSS/ABF had only limited options to fall back on recent graduates of teacher programmes "*Neulehrer*" training). Furthermore it took several years before the successors in teaching, who would have obtained the proper certificates for teaching in higher education, had undergone their training so that it was only in the mid- or late-1950s that the need for teaching staff could be satisfied by recruiting from this client group.

Whilst at first teachers were recruited who had obtained their teacher qualifications before 1945 (type "old guard" – born 1880-1895 – and type "old school" – born 1895-1915), later on – as of 1951 – recruitment concentrated on people who had undergone their training in education institutions of the Soviet Occupied Zone / GDR (SBZ/DDR). These essentially fall into two groups of people:

Firstly, there is the group of the so-called "post-war teachers" whose educations were delayed by the Second World War. The people of this group, born between 1916 and 1926, were either of bourgeois or petty-bourgeois family background or alternatively of proletarian family background. These "post-war teachers" had in common that they were obliged to obtain further qualifications throughout their working life because they had often not yet achieved the required qualification in the beginning of their teaching practice at ABF: a certificate to teach at higher education institutions. However, as of the late 1950s this group of people most likely dominated the ABF not only in political and administrative, but also in technical respects.

Secondly, increasingly younger teachers were recruited who were born approximately between 1927 and 1930 and who had passed a post-secondary qualification after 1945 under the East German system. Some were ABF graduates themselves. This group we have called the "self-recruited teachers". Their percentage in the teaching staff increased continually up to the dissolution of the ABF

in 1962 when this group made up two-thirds of all teachers.

The group of "self-recruited teachers" in the 1950s was clearly greater in number than the group of "post-war teachers". However, they hardly called experience on the job their own so that they often had to take orientation from the "post-war teachers" who also took up all management positions at the ABF. Seen from this perspective, the group of "post-war teachers" therefore may well be seen as the core group of the teaching profession with regard to the theoretical approach developed by Anselm Strauss, that of the "professions in process". This process-oriented approach dissociates itself from those approaches which define profession as homogeneous. Strauss and his colleagues emphasize instead segmentation processes taking place that lead to the formation of collegiate circles or to exclusion and inclusion processes⁶:

"There is a great diversity in the tasks performed in the name of the profession. Different definitions may be found between segments of the profession concerning what kinds of work the professional should be doing, how work should be organized, and which tasks have precedence" (Strauss/Bucher 1991: 249).

Due to this special institutional, political and organisational structure of the ABF, the teachers could be described as adult educators. This profession demands special biographical requirements from its members as is the case with other professions in the field of people-oriented services (cf. Alheit 1995; Egger 1995; Effinger 1993; Giesecke 1995, 1999; Hermann 1990):

"In such social and educational fields there are no 'fixed professional models' which offer traditional professional skills for orientation - in difference to the so-called classical professions. Rather, the socialization process taking place at work at the same time depicts a field of action that the member of the profession has to acquire in his or her own biographic process." (Schiebel 2003: 352)

This is even the more valid the less formalized and regulated an institution or organization presents itself. Those acting within the organizational context – whether it is members of the profession or students or novices – are thereby encouraged or even forced to fill the gaps in official options for interpretation by biographic contents (cf. Schütze 1999; Fabel/Tiefel 2004).

6 "We shall develop the idea of professions as loose amalgamations of segments pursuing different objectives in different manner and more or less delicately held together under a common name at a particular period in history" (Strauss/Bucher 1991: 246)

However, the ABF teachers were bound to a certain institutional and political framework that influenced their daily work at the education institutions. The teachers not only had to fulfil their "private demands" of perhaps organizing their household – be it purchasing food or taking care of their children (in post-war times the child care facilities were scarce) in parallel with their teaching duties. They moreover also had to handle manifold and time-consuming additional tasks on the job, be it supervising and controlling the self-study process of the students in the student residences, acting as head of a department or organizing subject-related excursions.

Furthermore, the ABF instructors were expected to fulfil a political role model function which is why they were urged to get involved in political activities, for example in mass organizations, in the military and in the Party. Finally the participation in work or harvesting aid activities was obligatory for the teaching staff of the ABF institution.

Given this background the question arises to what extent the teaching staff of the Workers' and Peasants' Colleges (*Arbeiter- und Bauern-Fakultäten*, ABF) could on the one hand draw upon their biographical resources. On the other hand the question is, how far an institutional moulding of biographies (cf. Becker/Geer/Hughes/ Strauss 1961) could be reconstructed.

3. Biographical study

The main research question in our project is to what extent biographies and institutional processes are reciprocally structured and to what extent an interrelated fusion process of biography and institution can be reconstructed. The empirical basis of the study consists of both written life histories of teaching staff (historic reconstruction of biographies, persons who could not be interviewed) and 30 narrative biographical interviews with ABF instructors. These interviews have been evaluated both sociologically by means of hermeneutic case reconstructions, and historically as eyewitness testimony. The hermeneutic case reconstructions based on the narrative biographical interviews were completed with respect to the research question of the relationship between biographies and institution. The goal of this sociological reconstruction is to discover the generative structure. To quote Fischer-Rosenthal (2000: 119):

"The generative structures of the lived and experienced life history and of the self-presentation in the life-story interview, as well as their interdependence are understood as principles that organise emergent events in the individual's life in order to enable him or her to achieve a consistent orientation".

After case reconstructions, types of generative structure are formulated: three empirical types could be found, representing three different types of becoming a professional adult educator at ABF, too.

	„Type of Dissociating from National Socialism“ (I)	„Social Justice Type“ (II)	„Career Type“ (III)
constitutive element	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ability to adopt the political requirements of the institution contemporary historic experience of national socialism (NS) and socialization-specific disposition towards accepting responsibility for NS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ability to adopt the social requirements of the taking responsibility for creating social justice by transferring cultural capital and educational-biographic support in order to contribute to equal opportunities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> no adoption of political or social requirements of the institution implementation of a occupational outline or occupational course at the ABF, ABF is insofar an exchangeable institution
Identification with ABF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> high degree of identification with ABF, since the institution serves as a forum for restitution of a subjective (metaphysical or moral) guilt 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> varied range of aspects for identification with the ABF as part of the education strategy experiment of the Soviet Occupied Zone/GDR which has the function as a symbol of social justice for them 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> career strategic, pragmatic treatment of ABF; hence only low-level identification with the institution
supporting factors of identification with ABF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GDR ideology (offer of anti-fascism and of fascism definition) delimitation to the West and to the real political situation in the FRG of the 1950s (process of denazification) educational duty (apart from transferring technical know-how) of the ABF 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ability to adopt the family-own biographic experience of advancement experience of support and encouragement in own educational history interrelating with political (and pedagogical) family tradition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the pragmatic "functioning" in the institution is sufficient and accepted by the institution ABF is of importance as a "career-advancing stepping stone" due to its closeness to University and its relatively high social standing (compared to high schools)

Type I: "Type of Dissociating from National Socialism"

ABF instructors belonging to this type are part of the "building-up generation" in the GDR (described in the literature by various

authors, for example Lindner 1997; Wierling 1993 and Niethammer/von Plato/Wierling 1991). They received their first political socialization in the National-Socialistic Youth organisations. The constitutive elements of this type are on one hand (family-)biographical experiences in the NS. On the other hand, they have the biographical disposition to assume responsibility (regarding the "guilt" of their parents) because of their socialization. It does not mean that this type only comprises those cases whose parents were deeply involved in National Socialism. There are other cases belonging to other types whose parents or who themselves were much more involved in the political system of NS; however, they don't reflect about their past involvement. This type in contrast shows a special kind of feeling guilty that Karl Jaspers (1946) defined in his philosophical approach as "metaphysical guiltiness". This caused a sense of responsibility. So the ABF instructors belonging to the type of "Dissociating from National-Socialism" are putting their lives and professional work at ABF in a thematic horizon that is supposed to compensate for NS-times (or to make good those times) and to help prevent a repetition of that dark era.

The anti-fascistic frame of mind as well as the delimitation against Western Germany are a characteristic of the political culture in the GDR in general and are nothing specific to the ABF institution. However, this institution is especially apt to prevent a repetition of fascism since it sets as its target the dissolution of social injustice and therefore at the same time supports a "fascism prophylaxis" that follows the fascism definition of GDR.

Teachers of this type emphasize the community, the commonalities and the sense of belonging in the context of the ABF. In this institutional context a generational unit arose, linked by both the suffering from common life historic experiences (World War II; National Socialism) and also the willing to engage in for a better future in GDR. This social process includes both groups of the ABF, instructors and graduates. It is helpful to know that there was no separation in every-day life at ABF between working life and leisure time.

The ABF was not only an educational institution that taught the subject-specific know-how necessary for the *Abitur*-qualification. Rather, the teaching staff were also obliged to educate especially in social and political respects. This educational impetus had at the same time political connotations and served to build a "better Germany". This is the assumption under which the members of the

"Type of Dissociating from National Socialism" work actively to convince the students of the anti-fascist ideals and to urge the students to get involved in favour of an anti-fascist state. The teachers of this type may therefore be labelled as "political role models".

ABF instructors of this type fulfil the important function of legitimizing the ABF politically. They carry forth the decisive ideological and political postulate of the institution and act as facilitators of it to the successive generations. Furthermore, they represent the anti-fascist postulate of the ABF also in public.

Type II: „Social Justice Type“

For the "Social Justice Type" it is constitutive that its members look upon their professional biographic actions within the ABF as an "act of social justice". The contribution to social justice that they try to make as teaching staff at the ABF consists of transferring their acquired cultural capital – in Bourdieus sense (1983) – on to successive generations and to students who have not been able to participate in the cultural capital due to their specific family backgrounds. Their actions are therefore embedded in the horizon of creating equal opportunities or dissolving social injustice with respect to acquiring an education.

Although this egalitarian understanding of social justice (cf. Becker/Hauser 2004; Cohens 1989; Rawls 1971) cannot be put at the same level as the education strategy that the SED publicly propagated, but it is rhetorically interrelated to it. With hindsight on the documentation it becomes clear that the SED most of all aimed at "breaking the educational monopoly of the ruling class" (Alt 1978). This power-centred motive within the educational policies of the SED (cf. Lenhard/Stock 1997) that served to secure the Party's power quite consciously ignored the inequality of certain groups that were not seen as worthy of support. The teaching staff of this "Social Justice Type" in contrast did not refer in their actions to this power-political aspect but rather to the creation of justice that was emphasized in the societal discourse of the time.

On the one hand this type assembles teachers who were able to participate in education due to their (petty-) bourgeoisie family origins even before 1945 and who had acquired cultural and social capital due to the milieu from which they originated. This group of ABF instructors came from families where the parents had mostly achieved an advancement into the petty-bourgeoisie during the

empire or in the Weimar Republic. In these families the acquiring of education on the part of the children was seen as highly relevant making the high school attendance of instructors during their childhood and youth an unquestioned part of their daily life. On the other hand this type also assembles ABF instructors who obtained access to University education only through the educational institutions of the Soviet Occupied Zone / GDR and who therefore themselves profited from the relevant political instruments of support of the SED-education policy.

The range of identification with the ABF varies amongst the members of this type according to the degree in which the ideological premises of the societal order in the GDR is shared or the values acquired during the socialization process are traditionalized further. Those who manage to interweave their family traditions with the new policies for society show a high degree of identification with the ABF. They share the wish to take responsibility for transferring this cultural capital and the educational support they themselves experienced in order to contribute to the creation of equal opportunities.

The members of the "Social Justice Type" contribute essentially to the success of the educational policies and the social and educational targets of the ABF. They hold up the social postulate of the institution. At the same time they not only traditionalize and transfer educational contents but also cultural values that contribute decisively to the moulding of the personality and character of their students.

Type III: „Career Type“

It is significant for the members of the "Career Type" that their actions are strategically and pragmatically oriented towards the aim of a professional career. The political or social postulate of the institution is peripheral to this group. This type to a large extent comprises scientists – in our research sample – who make clear with their choice of subjects that societal and political questions are not the focus of their interests. The institution ABF is merely an exchangeable framework for professional biographical actions. Therefore there is only minor identification with the ABF.

Amongst this type are on the one hand those who have developed their own motivation for a professional career during the period of socialization (family, role models among teachers, experiences at school) and who have constituted their occupational

outline autonomously.⁷ This type comprises those people who already possess a career and education motivation and who most often also already possess the relevant cultural capital. Based on the closeness of the ABF to University, the ABF often served this group as a stepping stone for a University career. On the other hand also that teaching staff are part of the career type at ABF whose occupational course is produced heteronomously since it is developed only due to the specific support structure of the Soviet Occupied Zone /GDR. Their family origins are in family milieus – coming from a farming or proletarian social background – where educational advancement or motivation for the children were relevant either not at all or only in exceptional cases. This ABF teachers managed to replace the lack of cultural capital by political capital (in the sense of Bourdieu 1991). Their family origins served them therefore as political capital. This means these teachers did not anticipate their educational career. Rather it was produced externally.

The ABF finds pragmatic use for these instructors. It offers an exchangeable framework to implement their occupational outline or occupational course where they acting quite pragmatically. Although for this group the ABF in general represents a pragmatic work relationship where one fulfils one's tasks, there are nevertheless instances of identification – however small – of this group with the institution. Thus, even for the “Career Type” a touch of identification with the ABF is created which, however, is not founded either on the political nor the social postulate of the institution, but rather is founded on relationships with colleagues and common experiences in the daily work routine. Since the ABF advances their professional career, this also adds a small factor for identification with the ABF.

This form of functioning pragmatically is supported by the fact that the outside adjustment to the requirements of the institution was sufficient and accepted within the institution in order to be able to work smoothly within this context. The teachers who are members of the “Career Type” group feature the ability to function pragmatically and willingly adopt the institutional circumstances. They embody the organisational dimension of the institution. Since they are quite willing to take on political functions and tasks in the institutional context and since they do not represent any challenging societal ideologies or goals, their pragmatic orientation is accepted within the institution.

7 The fact that biographies are influenced both by the dimension of an autonomous constitution and a heteronomous production has been developed in the biographic theoretical approach of Wolfram Fischer-Rosenthal (1991, 1995).

Conclusion

The teaching staff at the ABF were confronted with institutional and political postulates that concerned not only their professional actions or influenced their time management. Rather these conditions furthermore demanded biographical adjustments. Especially in times of political crises (for example the events in 1953 – workers protests, Stalin's death, expropriation of hotel proprietors on the Baltic Sea, better known under the name of “*Aktion Rose*” – or the events in the context of the “revisionism debate” in 1956/57) the pressure was at times strong enough to lead to migration to West Germany even among those ABF teachers who were supposed to fulfil a political role model function (the ABF Greifswald registered 16 cases of “illegal emigration”, see Lippmann/Schiebel 2006).

On the other hand the results of the biographical study clarify the fact that the ABF, although being a rather strongly formalized institution, employed more than one single type of teacher. The three reconstructed types – “*Type of Dissociating from National Socialism*”, “*Social Justice Type*”, “*Career Type*” – shows that even at the ABF, as well as in other fields of adult education, it was possible and even necessary to give the professional framework for actions a specific, biographical sense. In other words, the foci and horizon of sense relevant to the three types and expounded by them in which the actions of the teachers at the ABF were embedded are based biographically. Therefore the ABF proves to have been able to adopt various degrees of identification as well as various traditions.

In the end, the professional actions of the teachers at the ABF may be seen as an undissolvable interplay of biographical meanings and values with an institutional framework.

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The Formal Education of Adult Education Practitioners in Australia: The Case of UTS and Its Precursors

Abstract: This paper examines the history of that part of the Faculty of Education at the University of Technology, Sydney, which became Australia's premier institution for the education of adult educators. Beginning its life some 60 years ago, this institution has had a number of names and statuses. At first only concerned with the non-credit in-service professional development of newly appointed technical college teachers, its scope of operations eventually expanded to encompass the professional education of all types of practitioners from across the broad field of adult education and at all levels of formal qualification from the certificate to the doctorate. But success is not always an unmixed blessing, at the same time, the significance of adult education as a separate and special area of study has declined. The paper explores the development of this provider of professional education for adult educators – its rise and current state. In so doing, the paper presents a straightforward narrative account of the institution's development, its relations with important stakeholders, its programs, its faculty, its students, its successes and its failures in the context of the changing definitions and perceptions of post-compulsory education in Australia.

Introduction

Most adult educators today come to the field from a variety of occupational backgrounds, with a range of professional and academic qualifications and often, at least initially, in a part time capacity. Formal award programs for the professional education of such practitioners have only emerged in comparatively recent times. This paper examines the history of the Faculty of Education at the University of Technology, Sydney [UTS]; an institution that many would argue is Australia's leading provider of formal education for adult education practitioners. Beginning its life some 60 odd years ago as the Sydney Technical College Annexe of the Teachers' College, Sydney, this institution has had a number of names and statuses. At first only concerned with the non-credit in-service professional development of newly appointed technical teachers for

the New South Wales [NSW] state technical college system, its scope of operations eventually expanded to encompass the professional education of all types of practitioners from across the broad field of adult education and at all levels of formal qualification from the certificate to the doctorate. In this process enrolments went from a hundred or so part time students in the 1940s to some 1500 effective fulltime students [EFTS] in the 1990s and staff numbers from 3 or 4 to more than 70.

The Beginnings

The origins of that component of the Faculty of Education at UTS, which today has the responsibility for the professional education of adult educators, can be traced back to the late 1930s and the early 1940s, when lecturers from the Teachers' College, Sydney [hereafter referred to as the "Teachers' College"] began to be invited to give the occasional lecture on matters of educational import to technical college teachers. At that time, technical teachers were not required to undertake formal courses in teacher education. In the late 1940s, the state Labor government, at the strong urging of the local trade union movement, established a separate Department of Technical Education. Relations between school education and technical education within a single Department of Education had always been difficult. Recognising the value of more systematic teacher education, the new Department of Technical Education invited the Teachers' College to provide two or three lecturers to work fulltime with technical teachers. Thus the Sydney Technical College Annexe of the Teachers' College was born. These pioneer lecturers set to work: discovering the teacher education needs of technical teachers; running general workshops in teaching improvement; helping individual teachers with specific teaching problems; and convincing the Department of Technical education that compulsory formal teacher education for technical teachers was essential.

The Early Years

In 1952, the position of the Annexe was more firmly established when teacher education was made compulsory for all newly appointed technical teachers. This first formal course was six hours per week over one year and the new teachers were given a reduced teaching load in order to undertake it. The operation of the course in its first year was regarded as so successful, by the Department, that, in 1953, all those technical teachers who had not previously completed

the earlier voluntary programs of teacher development were now required to spend half a day a week over a year engaging in teacher education. This directive caused considerable resentment. Many of the teachers required to so attend had had long and most successful teaching careers. It says much for the good sense, professionalism, and interpersonal skills of the pioneers of technical teacher education that they were able to adjust to and meet the educational needs of technical teachers and eventually moderate the strong resentment expressed by many of the teachers in those early days.

Throughout the remainder of the 1950s and the 1960s, technical teacher education [as it was now generally termed] made steady if unspectacular progress. In the 1960s, the Department agreed to an expansion in the course from 6 to 12 hours [i.e. from one to two days] per week over the first year of the teacher's service. This pattern continued until 1972, when the period of training was further extended and a second year of one day per week was added to the basic course of initial teacher education. At that time, both tradesperson entrants [i.e. teachers of plumbing, hairdressing, bricklaying etc] and graduate entrants [engineers, chemists, and surveyors etc] to the technical education teaching service undertook basically the same program of teacher education for which no formal qualification was awarded. It was just noted on the teacher's personnel file that he or she had completed an appropriate course of teacher preparation.

In the broader higher education arena, at the same time, a new institution was emerging., the college of advanced education, to replace a whole range of single purpose institutions, like teachers' and agricultural colleges or to consolidate in one institute of technology the higher level courses from the technical education sector. Once the colleges of advanced education began to flourish in the 1970s, the Australian higher education system could be described as a binary one: the more academic research oriented universities and the more vocationally oriented colleges. This was the official fiction, though, of course, much University education remained highly vocational. The real difference was to be found in the prestige and standing of the professions or occupations involved. Universities prepared students for careers in law, medicine and the pure sciences while the colleges prepared students for careers in teaching, business and the applied sciences.

Accreditation

By the 1970s there was a growing belief that technical teachers should undertake basically the same order of teacher preparation and hold the same professional qualifications as other public schoolteachers. This belief was part of the broader movement to reform Australian education that culminated in the election of the progressive Whitlam Labor federal government in 1972. This government established a Committee to comprehensively review technical education across the nation. Its report, released in 1974 and named for its Chairman, the Kangan Report, greatly boosted technical and further education [TAFE] a term, which it introduced and which was soon in wide use across the Australian education arena. The boost was psychological as well as financial. The key underlying themes of the Kangan Report combined to produce a broad humanistic picture of TAFE as serving and empowering the individual. Kangan placed TAFE squarely in the educational sector (it was more than technical training) and advocated: lifelong learning; TAFE as a mechanism for achieving greater social justice and mobility; and increased public investment in TAFE to create greater public good.

Following the release of the Report, huge [at least in regard to past experience] outlays of Commonwealth monies flowed into the hundreds of TAFE Colleges across Australia. There was much criticism of this expenditure among the educational establishment drawn as it was, largely, from the schools and the higher education sectors. However, across Australia thousands of new students - largely women - poured into TAFE to take up the opportunities for second chance learning - literacy, basic education, bridging, and pre tertiary study boomed (Gribble, 1992). More and more it was realized that much of the work of TAFE was with adults and not just adolescents. Outreach activities, designed to meet the needs of particular clienteles, became important. Additionally, in many states, hobby and recreational courses became a significant component of the TAFE provision; especially in rural areas. The Kangan Committee had considered both the labour market and the social and educational emphases of TAFE. The Committee's Report came down strongly on the side of the social and educational emphasis. They saw the function of TAFE as being to enable people to develop their potential as individuals within the realities of the available job opportunities. Within the wider Whitlam reforms, which included the abolition of all post secondary tuition fees, the effect of Kangan was

to broaden participation in TAFE and to open opportunities for previously marginalised and under-represented groups [especially the adult members of those groups] to access such educational opportunities. Adult participation in education was becoming much more mainstream.

New technical teacher education courses were prepared by the Teachers' College for accreditation by the NSW Higher Education Board [HEB] and from 1975 all new teachers entered programs that led to the award of a formal qualification in technical teaching. Conversion programs were also provided to enable those who had completed earlier non-accredited programs of teacher preparation to gain the new formal qualification. Non-graduate [i.e. trade] teachers were able to complete a three-year equivalent course of study leading to a Diploma of Teaching [Technical] and graduate teachers a one-year equivalent course of study leading to Graduate Diploma of Education [Technical]. In 1981, a Bachelor of Education [Technical] a four-year equivalent qualification, by way of advanced standing, was introduced. Now all technical teachers had the opportunity to build on their earlier studies and to achieve graduate status.

Up until the late 1970s the overwhelming concern of the Teachers' College remained with technical teacher education, though the needs of other educators of adults [especially vocational educators] were to some degree addressed. Throughout this period, however, much more attention was beginning to be given to the professional development needs of other educators of adults. Detailed needs analyses were conducted and extended discussions with practitioners, their employers and their organizations were held. Finally in 1980, the college introduced its first formal award-bearing course for general adult educators - the Graduate Diploma in Adult Education. So by the late 1970s/early 1980s - just as the future of "certain metropolitan Colleges" came under the attention of, at first, the NSW government and, later, both the State and Federal governments in terms of amalgamation and rationalisation - the Teachers' College was poised on the brink of expansion and diversification.

Establishing ITATE

A new entity, Sydney College of Advanced Education was incorporated on 24 July 1981, following the amalgamation of "certain metropolitan colleges", and commenced operations on 1 January

1982. The H E B's aim had been the development of a single strong multi-campus college, which would comprise a federation of semi-autonomous teaching entities each concentrating a particular area of practice to administer the educational programs formerly offered by the amalgamating colleges. Thus the College was to be seen, when fully developed, as an aggregation of semi-autonomous specialist teaching entities under the overall control of a single governing Council and chief executive officer [the Principal]. The term "institute" was chosen as conveying some indication of the notion of the academic independence of each of the specialist teaching area. Each Institute would have its own head [the Director] and a Board composed of members drawn from the specialist sphere of operation of each particular institute.

The Sydney College of Advanced Education Regulation, which was made under the Higher Education Act and Gazetted on 18 December 1981, provided the basis for the academic governance of the College and established the original five semi-autonomous Institutes. These were: City Art Institute [CAI]; Institute of Early Childhood Education [IECS]; Institute of Nursing Studies [INS]; Institute of Technical and Adult Teacher Education [ITATE]; St George Institute of Education [SGIE]; and Sydney Institute of Education [SIE]. The last two of these Institutes were concerned with the education of teachers to serve K-12 schools. ITATE [no longer merely a minor part of a much larger general teachers' college] was looking forward to exercising its newfound measure of "semi-autonomy".

In 1982, the first year of its "semi-autonomous" existence, ITATE provided courses for the initial preparation and continuing development of technical teachers and educators of adults. The full range of those courses were: Graduate Diploma in TESOL [Adults]; Graduate Diploma in Adult Education; Graduate Diploma in Education [Technical]; Bachelor of Education [Technical]; and the Diploma of Teaching [Technical]: only five courses in all and all at the undergraduate or graduate diploma level. ITATE continued to be located in leased accommodation but planning was well under way in conjunction with the NSW Institute of Technology to develop a new, shared campus on the old City Markets site. In that year ITATE's 50 full-time academic staff taught 1335 students [667.5 EFTS] as every one of those students was classified as part-time. This was fewer students than had been expected, because there had been a shortfall in the number of new teachers recruited into the Technical Education

service that year. This shortfall allowed an expansion in the numbers of students recruited into the Institute's adult education programs. The downturn in technical teacher recruitment had two important long-term results. A greater effort was made to diversify the Institute's offerings and hence its client base. Greater efforts were made to develop even closer and more cooperative relations with the Department of Technical and Further Education [TAFE].

Now began ITATE's golden years. The Institute was re-organised into two Schools, the School of Technical Teacher Education and the School of Adult Education, and grew steadily. Each year, there were more students more courses and more academic staff. Student numbers increased by some 70 per cent, in the period 1982 to 1989, from 667.5 to 1050 but more important than enrolment growth, in terms of the long term development of ITATE and the fields of adult and vocational education practice, was the continuing diversification of the programs offered. Perhaps most significantly, academic staff members, both old and new, began to develop national and international reputations as scholars and researchers.

ITATE Academic Program in 1989

1 School of Technical Teacher Education

Undergraduate:

Diploma of Teaching [Technical] introduced in 1975

Bachelor of Education [Technical] introduced in 1981

Graduate:

Graduate Diploma of Education [Technical] introduced in 1975

Graduate diploma in Educational Studies [Computer education] introduced in 1984.

2 School of Adult Education

Undergraduate

Associate Diploma in Adult Education introduced in 1983

Aboriginal Education Strand

Community Adult Education Strand

Training and HRD Strand

Bachelor of Education [Adult] introduced in 1986

Graduate:

Graduate Diploma in Adult education introduced in 1980

Graduate Diploma in Adult Education [Basic Education] introduced in 1983

Graduate Diploma in TESOL introduced in 1982

Adults Strand

Schools Strand

3 Across Institute

Master of Education [By thesis] introduced in 1987

As has been suggested, those who would form the initial academic staff of ITATE were looking forward to the establishment of the new institute. In general, by 1989, their high hopes had been realised. The establishment of a specialist institute to deal specifically with the formal education of teachers of adults [rather than children] acted as catalyst to vitalise and greatly expand formerly neglected areas of higher education. And as these areas developed so did the staff of the Institute. In 1984, seven [7] of the Institute's 51 academic staff members held doctoral level qualifications – just over 14 percent. In 1989 sixteen [16] of the Institute's 62 academic staff members held doctoral level qualifications – more than 25 per cent. Additionally, in 1984, there were twenty [20] refereed publications reported by 15 members of academic staff. Whereas in 1989, there were 60 publications written by 36 members of the academic staff. This is a threefold increase in the number of publications and a doubling in the number of authors. There were similar increases in applied research, continuing education and consultancies. The institute developed a very successful commercial arm– Training and Development Services – which provided a range of development and consultancy services in the area of training and staff development across industrial, commercial, and governmental sectors. Part of the surplus generated by these for-profit activities was used to subsidise the cost of the continuing education activities ITATE provided to the not-for-profit community-based sector.

Perhaps the best way to sum up the story of this stage in the life of the institution, which is to day the Faculty of Education at UTS is to quote from ITATE's 1988 Annual Report.

The Institute of Technical and Adult Education [ITATE] remains the major Australian provider of specialist teacher education for technical and vocational teachers and the full range of other educators of adults. ITATE provides degree and diploma level programs as well as short courses and consultancy services. Occupying modern purpose built premises in central Sydney, the Institute's sixty plus staff teach more than 1000 students who are employed as: technical and vocational teachers; industrial, commercial and governmental trainers; adult basic educators; teachers of English to adult speakers of other languages; Aboriginal

and other community-based educators; and other adult educators. In addition, the Institute provides programs of professional development for instructors in the Australian Navy, Army and Air Force and for police educators at the NSW Police Academy.

Australian Higher Education is Re-organised Once Again

From about the mid 1980s on, a critical mass of issues regarding life long learning, retraining, re-skilling, second chance learning and other aspects of access to educational opportunity began to come together to create a more positive climate for adult and vocational education. Adult and vocational education had gained growing value in the eyes of government, as it was able to link its activities with government priorities. Adult and vocational education was beginning to move from its marginal position to one of formal recognition. There were numerous policy statements, reports on and enquiries into post compulsory education in Australia. These included [most notably]: **Australia Reconstructed** (1987), **Higher Education - A Policy Statement** (1989), **Training Cost of Award Restructuring** (1990), **The Finn Report** (1991), **Come in Cinderella** (1991), the **Carmichael Report** (1992), the two **Mayer** papers (1992 and 1993) and the **National Policy – Adult Community Education** (1993). All of these, in one way or another addressed the question of the fundamental reform of Australia's education and training system. This concern was linked to the broader economic and social agenda of government. A central idea was that education, training and work should fit together more effectively so that the acquisition of knowledge and skills no matter where they occurred should be encouraged and recognised.

After the Federal election in 1987, there was a major re-organisation of the federal government's administrative structure. As part of the process, a new "super" Ministry of Employment, Education and Training was created and there was a major revision of the advisory structures and program delivery arrangements that had previously prevailed in the higher education sector. There was now a single advisory body, named the National Board of Employment Education and Training [NBEET]. This new Board advised the Minister directly. Many other roles and responsibilities formerly the province of the CTEC [the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission], which had been a Statutory Authority and as such had a degree of independence from the Government, were now to be exercised from within the federal bureaucracy. Later that year, wide-

ranging reforms were foreshadowed in a Ministerial Green Paper [Dawkins, 1987]. These reforms included: fewer and larger higher education institutions; competitive tendering between higher education institutions for new student places; better targeting of research funds; and an end to the differential funding of colleges as opposed to universities [an end to the so-called binary system].

It soon became apparent that the Sydney College of Advanced Education, of which ITATE formed almost exactly one fifth, was unlikely to be able to maintain its status an independent freestanding institution in this new environment. The College needed to do one of three things: to “federate” with other similar institutions to establish a state University or college system on the US model; to join, as a semi-autonomous entity, an already established metropolitan University; or to allow the various components of the college to be hived off in a series of separate amalgamations with a series of universities. The first option never really got off the ground and, in terms of the second, no University was prepared to have its teaching profile distorted by acquiring some additional 5000 teacher education enrolments. So in the end, the College was dismembered and its component institutes were distributed across four existing universities. On January 1st 1990, ITATE became the Faculty of Adult Education within the new University of Technology, Sydney, which until 1988 had been a college itself, though it had been called the New South Wales Institute of Technology [NSWIT] and with which ITATE had shared a campus since 1984. As a faculty of “adult” education, the former ITATE was possibly unique in the world. However, this status only lasted for one year. In the amalgamation process UTS had acquired another College, which had a more usual school of teacher education, which prepared schoolteachers. So on January 1st 1991, the two Schools of the Faculty of Adult Education joined the School of Teacher Education to form a new comprehensive [K to 12 plus post school “teacher” education] Faculty of Education.

Faculty of Education, University of Technology, Sydney

At the beginning of the 1990s and for a number of years thereafter, things looked good for the future development of the education of adult and vocational educators. Most members of staff thought that this second new start, like the first new start, of almost a decade previously, might herald another even more golden age. Enrolments continued to grow steadily, within the University, the Faculty of

Education shared equal second place in terms of total student numbers, with the Faculty of Engineering, behind the Faculty of Business, which was and remains the largest faculty. Many new courses were added, especially at the postgraduate level. New academic staff members were employed and the reputations of individual staff members and of the Faculty, as a whole, continued to grow.

In terms of new courses, the priority area for growth was post graduate study at both the coursework and research levels: a coursework masters degree was introduced in 1992; the first Ph D candidates were admitted in 1993, and the Doctor of Education program commenced operation in 1995. There were also a range of developments at the master's level in the areas of the teaching of English to speakers of other languages and Applied Linguistics. Additionally, because of the level of expertise in general language teaching, a graduate professional qualification in the teaching of languages other than English [LOTE] was introduced in 1991 to meet a severe shortage of foreign [particularly Asian] language teachers in the state's high schools. In 2000, a new master's level qualification was introduced to augment the Faculty's existing series of qualifications in Aboriginal Studies, the Master of Arts in Indigenous Social Policy, which was designed to meet the needs of Aboriginal Australians who are involved in the indigenous social policy process. A new integrated initial bachelor's level qualification was introduced, in 1996, to replace the Bachelor of Education [Adult], the Bachelor of Teaching [Technical] and the suite of Associate Diplomas. The new Bachelor's degree was built around a common core but featured five distinct field of practice specialisations: Aboriginal Studies; Community Adult Education; Language, Literacy and Numeracy; Human Resource Development; and Vocational Education. Finally, in 2001, the Faculty introduced its first qualification specifically targeted to the recent school leaver student “market”, the Bachelor of Arts in Organisational Learning [BAOL], which was designed to develop that knowledge and those skills and attributes needed to support the learning and change management activities within organizations.

The move to the University sector had meant that academic staff members now needed to work in a different ways and to emphasize different aspects of their knowledge and skills-set, if their potential ability to succeed within that sector was to be maximised. In general, academic staff members were able to make this transition. This process of transition was assisted by the retirement of a substantial

number of older staff members who had been recruited at mid career in 1970 to staff the first major expansion of technical teacher education, when the accredited qualification was first introduced, and who were now approaching 60 years of age when their state civil service pension would begin to be payable. Those staff members who remained were younger, generally held or were completing doctoral level qualifications, and were more research active. Soon the Faculty was even better known, both within Australia and internationally, for the quality of its research and its teaching. Many graduates of the Faculty's programs had moved on to important academic, government, business, industry and community appointments. The future seemed assured.

The More Recent Past

However, from about the turn of the century, the forward progress of the Faculty's adult and vocational education programs began to stall. At first there was just a slowdown in the rate of growth, then there was a pause, and finally there has been an actual decline. Though, of course, in absolute terms the UTS adult education program, both in comparison to other Australian programs and most international programs, remains strong and substantial. A number of partial answers can be proposed that help to explain this situation. These are set out below.

First and foremost of these partial explanations must be the quite major changes in the Federal Government's arrangements for the funding of higher education. As mentioned previously, the Whitlam Labor government of the 1970s abolished all tuition fees for higher education. Later Labor governments modified this position, by introducing the Higher Education Contribution Scheme [HECS] whereby students were liable for about one fifth of the cost of their higher education. This debt was deferred until the student entered the workforce and then repaid via an income tax levy. Following the election of the Howard Liberal government, in 1996, the student contribution to the funding equation grew at the same time as the general governmental funding of higher education per student declined dramatically. Universities that wished to survive and grow had to adopt more and more the characteristics of private corporations. To the economic rationalists of the federal educational bureaucracy, the status of a higher education had moved from that of being "a social good" to that of being "a personal possession". This development impacted adversely on the more lowly paid and mature-

aged adult education practitioners, who thought twice before enrolling and thus exposing themselves and their families to a substantial HECS debt.

Secondly, there were a number of interrelated changes to the NSW TAFE system, which substantially reduced the number of technical teachers, who were enrolled in the Faculty's programs each year. While such students had not been the most important component of the Faculty's enrolments since the 1980s, they did provide an ongoing, significant, and dependable source of core funding and participants for a number of program offerings particularly at the undergraduate level. The TAFE system, itself, had become more entrepreneurial and decentralised. Now individual Institutes had to meet the costs of teacher education for their newly recruited teachers, it was no longer a "head office" cost shared across the state. Institutes recruited, where possible, new teachers who had already completed teacher training or, for those who needed it, chose local and/or more inexpensive [eg distance] modes of teacher education. Moreover, fewer and fewer permanent, full-time teachers were being recruited. Instead, more and more part-time sessional teachers were being employed. Such teachers had three important "advantages" for the employing authority: they possessed recent relevant industry experience: they were cheaper to employ than full-time permanent teachers; and it was not mandatory for them to possess formal teacher education qualifications.

Thirdly, when ITATE, as the Faculty was then known, expanded its program offerings, in the early 1980s, so as to better serve the professional education needs of adult education practitioners from across the broad field of practice, there was a huge unmet backlog of demand from persons who "wanted/needed" to participate in such programs. As a field of practice, adult education was then, in terms of formal qualifications, severely "undereducated". Now, some 25 years later, this situation, could no longer, be said to prevail. Much of the backlog in terms of demand for formal professional education had now been cleared and the demand for new places, particularly at the undergraduate level continued to dwindle. So while the quality of the candidates for post-graduate qualifications continued to improve and the number of doctorates awarded annually steadily grew, the solid ongoing enrolments, in the formerly quite large bachelors level programs, had largely evaporated.

Fourthly, as work-based and other forms of vocational education and training [VET] grew over the past 20 years, there were demands

that there should be established by government fiat, as largely a quality control device, a minimum mandatory level of qualification in order for a person to be permitted to deliver accredited VET. This was done and the Certificate IV in Workplace Training and Assessment was established as that minimum standard of qualification. This persuaded many educators of adult that once they had gained the mandatory level of qualification as an educator of adults [i.e. the Cert. IV] then perhaps it would be more profitable to pursue any further academic study in the more content oriented areas, i.e. IT, Management etc, of their practice rather than in the more process oriented areas, i.e. Adult Education.

All of these factors have come together to reduce the viability of the Faculty's adult education program. As enrolments have declined it has become impossible to maintain the various modes of participation formerly available. These included: normal weekly class attendance; weekend block attendance; and a distance option. Additionally, it has become impossible to appropriately replace academic staff as they retire or move on. Quickly, these difficulties have begun feed on each other and for the situation to grow even worse. Contracting options for modes of participation and declining staff availability, appropriateness, and/or quality have contributed to a reduced demand, which has led to further contractions in participation options, which has led to even further reduced demand and a reduced capacity to recruit new academic staff and so the cycle continued to spiral down.

Some Broader Issues

However, underlying all of these partial explanations there seems to be a more bedrock explanation for this decline: an explanation, which has more to do with the field of practice and the field of study known as adult education than the specific circumstances of particular institution. While this paper has largely focussed on such a single case – that of the programs of formal education for adult educators offered within the Faculty of Education at UTS and its precursors, many of the issues and trends discussed are by no means limited to that institution. While it is the more unique and local issues that are the most immediate and pressing for providers of professional education for adult educators, this fact should not prevent us from at least looking once again at some of the broader issues that have long bedevilled adult education: both as a field of practice and as a field of study. Foremost among these issues are:

- There is a lack of clarity in the terminology used to describe the field of practice and its practitioners. In addition, adult education as a field of study also lacks terminological clarity. Finally, there is the continuing confusion in many people's minds between adult education as a field of practice and as a field of study.
- There is, across the broad field, a widespread and deep lack of agreement over the desirability of professionalization of the field. While there has been a growing demand for the professionalization of a field of practice, which was previously dominated by missionary zeal and an adherence to a clear ideological position, others urge caution in what they see as the headlong rush to credentialism.
- There is, moreover, a tension between academic respectability as defined by University traditions and professional relevance as measured in the field of practice. Many adult educators cannot see any real need for formal qualifications in adult education, arguing that such professional education makes little difference in performance.
- The above dispute, however, may soon disappear, as questions of competence, credentialism, and the new vocationalism come to dominate the field of practice and will inevitably come to influence the field of study. The validation of one's "competence" in a largely technical manner has begun to replace the study of the field in any sort of systematic intellectual way as the organising principle upon which academic programs leading to a formal qualifications are built.
- There are unresolved questions to do with just whom professional education is for and what should be the content and nature of that education. Many of the arguments set out above only make real sense in terms of full-time practitioners but many [most?] adult educators are part-time. Many full-time adult educators are often already qualified in another field and even without the benefit of professional education many have developed quite considerable skill as a teacher of adults.
- And finally is development of adult education practitioners essentially different to or merely one part of the more general field of teacher education. To many adult education activists these generic programs are an anathema. However, as the processes of teacher development are increasingly informed by the practices of adult teaching and learning, this position becomes less tenable. Teachers are also adults!

It is in the resolution of these more fundamental questions that the future of adult education as both a field of practice and a field will ultimately depend.

Conclusion

This paper has sought to tell the story of the development of the formal education programs offered by the University of Technology, Sydney. Admittedly, this account has been a very personal and probably a very partial one. However, many of the themes that have been discussed in this single case study, it could be argued, are relevant to a consideration of the broader issues confronting the formal education of adult education practitioners both within Australia and internationally.

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My Way to Andragogy - Autobiographical Reflections

Abstract: In this paper the author describes his professional way through his life becoming the chair of andragogy at the University of Bamberg. Here he is a professor of adult education since 1977 and he looks back asking which were the influences and events on his way. Describing his personal history within a temporary frame he wants to point out how he became an adult educator or - as he says - an andragogue. Looking back he finds several motives - a political, a family-related, an anthropological and a special andragogic one. First a teacher, he studied pedagogy, philosophy and political journalism, then he became a professor of pedagogy, he founded a department of adult education, he was the head of a Volkshochschule, and finally he was the first chair of adult education in Bamberg. Describing this walk of an individual life at the same time wants to search for the history and development of andragogy in Germany in the form of a biographic case study. Based on these biographical reflection the author tries to find general structures in the development of andragogy in Germany. The reader is invited to compare these observations in the authors country with the development in the own country. Perhaps these personal observations can serve as background to structure the development in the readers own country.

I. Two reasons and historic background for these reflections

The title of the Bamberg-Conference 2006 "How to become an Adult Educator" causes me to reflect on andragogy as a discipline at universities in Germany. In the context of this title I came to the idea to present this question in the perspective of reflecting my own professional life as a way to andragogy - by the autobiographical method.

There were two reasons for me to do so. First: Since thirty-five years I am professionally engaged with problems of adult education as an academic subject - five years as a full professor of pedagogy at the University of Paderborn; then for seventeen years as the holder of the first chair of adult education at a University in Bavaria, Germany, this chair in Bamberg, since 1995 named chair of andragogy; and now as a professor emeritus here for thirteen years, still teaching students. These experiences asked me to reflect what had happened to me concerning my professional development during my life - and at the same time what happened to andragogy as a

developing discipline at German universities. I will answer these questions by referring to the special sources, influences and events in this time.

The second reason: I am a witness of our developing discipline. Since fifty years, since I began my academic way, I am involved in andragogy and its growing up, and as a witness I thought it allowed to analyse my personal way. I will do this as objective as possible and - important to say - in the mode of authenticity. Maybe I can present a piece of history concerning us as adult educators in theory or practice. And by looking at an individual case it might be possible to understand a piece of a general development in Germany.

A young discipline

Why did I become an adult educator or, as I prefer to say, an andragogue? In this context we have to remember that andragogy or 'Erwachsenenpädagogik' (pedagogy for adults), as many German colleagues use to say, is a very young academic discipline. When I studied in the 1950th, and when I was a young professor in the 1960th there was no discipline of this kind. Only in Frankfurt and Berlin there were some concentration points - special departments for adult education within an institute of pedagogy. So questions or problems concerning adult education were treated only by a few professors of pedagogy at universities or by some professors in other faculties. Adult education was a term for practice, a matter of special institutions like the "Volkshochschulen" or other educational institutions of learning. In 1960 an important experts-opinion was published about "On situation and duty of German adult education". Interesting to know is the fact that a named political writer and broadcasting manager, Walter Dirks, was responsible for the last composition, but not one of the professors of pedagogy who were members in the committee.

A discipline at the beginning

The year 1969 was important for the development of an own discipline at universities. The (West-)German University professors of pedagogy had designed a new rule of study and examination for diploma-students. And therein they had fixed adult education as a possible field of concentration. Since this time one could study this subject as an academic one - if there were professors to care for. In the following years professorships for adult education or institutions like the chair of adult education at the University of Bamberg (1977)

were founded.

There was no academic tradition for appointing professors for this discipline. Universities or colleges which were interested in this new subject had different opinions about it. The new professors had different subjects and degrees as their background, and so later on we find a spectrum with various or heterogeneous lines - pedagogy, sociology, psychology, history, political science or theology. So we had as a consequence a wide field with many perspectives, opinions and terms.

First Generation: Adult educators 'in passion'

Looking back we find this in a longer tradition, and I will make a short but specific historical retrospective helping to understand the present:

There was Robert von Erdberg (1866-1929), the important initiator of the so called 'Volksbildung' at the beginning of the last century and especially after World War I. Erdberg had studied history of art, he was an actor before, his thesis for doctorate he had written in national economics. And then adult education became the main subject of his life. He was a founder of the famous 'Hohenrodter Bund' (association of adult educators) (Erdberg 1924).

Another one was Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy (1888-1973), who was a historian of rights and a professor of sociology at the University of Breslau. . In 1920 he founded a special educational academy for grown up workers ("Akademie der Arbeit") at the University of Frankfurt a.M. (Michel 1933; 20-22) and a working-camp for adult education with workers, farmers and students (Rosenstock 1933; 138-145). In regard to our subject it is important to know that it was Rosenstock, who firstly differentiated andragogical terms for adult education. Reflecting about the structure and new methods at the "Academy of Work" he pointed out that the learning of adults occurs in another way than with children. He was the first to notify the difference between an "andragogue" as a teacher for adults and a pedagogue teaching children (Rosenstock 1920; 93/1921;119). It was Rosenstock who wrote the constructive essay "Andragogy" (Rosenstock 1924;193-219), from which Lindeman (1926) took over this term to the later andragogy-movement in the USA last century, when Malcolm Knowles used the term andragogy to define and explain the conditions of adults' learning (Knowles 1973).

One should also not forget Paul Natorp (1854-1924), professor of philosophy and pedagogy at University of Marburg, who had studied music, history and philosophy, who was engaged in adult education

in consequence of the University Extension Movement. He founded the "Marburger Ferienkurse" and was president of one of the first German 'Volkshochschultage' in the beginning of the last century.

Wilhelm Flitner, one of the determining Hohenrodt-members, must be named in our context. Primary he absolved studies for an activity as a grammar school master with the subjects German philology, history and English language and literature. His doctoral dissertation he wrote about Fichte's philosophy. After World War I Flitner discovered the field of adult education and here he found his duty in the German society of this time. For seven years, since 1919, he led the new Volkshochschule of Jena. Reflecting problems of adult education in a certain historical view he was the author of the remarkable publication "Laienbildung" (education of laymen; Flitner 1921). He was one of the three headmen of the Hohenrother Bund. Later he became a professor of pedagogy, but he remained in connection with problems of adult education.

The other members of the Hohenrodter Bund all came from various disciplines and degrees: Theodor Bäuerle (1882-1956), first a teacher, founded an Association for "Volksbildung" (adult education) in 1918. As a creative organiser he was one of the initiators of the mentioned Hohenrodter Bund. Werner Picht, a politician for cultural affairs, was an expert in ministry for adult education. The famous Martin Buber finally was a religious thinking philosopher. We have to mention Anton Heinen, who was a theologian, Hermann Herrigel a journalist, Walter Hofmann a librarian, Fritz Laack an adult educator at a 'Heimvolkshochschule'. All these persons were extraordinary engaged in adult education. And many others more in this educational movement.

When I try to characterize these former persons in our field I might name these people the 'generation of adult educators in passion' ('Erwachsenenbildner aus Leidenschaft'): They came from different fields of the society, they were active in a new sector of life without an academic mandate or an institutional structure. They only were motivated by a new and important problem and, so to say, they were active in a form of private duty.

Professors in "double disciplines"

In the time after World War II - the period of the 1950th - we find the first academic development of adult education at German universities. Still we find as before the heterogeneous or specific personal background. A prototype of this time was Fritz Borinski

(1903-1988), one of the first professors of pedagogy at a University, who especially were engaged in adult education within their main discipline. Borinski presents a very interesting biography. He had studied law and had a doctor's degree in this discipline. His further studies were sociology and history. He came to Hermann Heller, who had founded a "Seminar für freies Volksbildungswesen" at the University of Leipzig, which Borinski later on led as an assistant of well known Thodor Litt. Borinski emigrated to England because of the German political situation in the Nazi-time. Here he was active in different educational fields, for example in 'Worker's Educational Association'. After the war he managed adult education in North-Germany and he became the director of the 'Volkshochschule' Bremen. Then in 1956 he was appointed a professor of pedagogy at the Free University of Berlin and there he had as a main subject political education and adult education (Borinski 1954; 1976,1-81)..

Another professor of pedagogy 1956, who took care of adult education in a philosophic way, Theodor Ballauff (1911-1995) at the University of Mainz, had studied chemistry, biology, philosophy and psychology. His thesis for the doctorate was about a problem in Kant's philosophy. He wrote one of the first books about adult education in these years (Ballauff 1958).

Wolfgang Schulenberg (1920-1985) was a professor of sociology at the University of Oldenburg. He was the first professor in our field, who obtained his doctor's degree with a thesis on an andragogic theme, the so called 'Hildesheim-Studie' (Schulenberg 1957). He further wrote several important publications on adult education.

Then I have to mention Joachim H. Knoll, born in 1932, first a historian, who was appointed a professor of pedagogy at the University of Bochum in 1964, where he founded a department of adult education in the institute of pedagogy. He became one of the very active professors in our field.

Last but not least in this short survey there is Franz Pöggeler, born in 1926, who studied pedagogy, German philology and English literature, later a student of Wilhelm Flitner. He became a professor of general pedagogy ("Allgemeine Pädagogik") at the college of pedagogy in Aachen. He favoured the term of andragogy already in 1957 (Pöggeler 1957). He is well known as an exponent of adult education and author of many publications.

When I try to characterize these professors I hope that I am right in saying: They belong to a generation of "professors in double disciplines" (Professoren mit zweifacher Disziplin). That means they

were at universities engaged in adult education *within* their main subject. They were, so to say, double interested, as professors of pedagogy or sociology and - as first academic ones - reflecting as individual persons on professors positions at universities on questions of adult education.

II. Motives on my way to Andragogy

Now it may be allowed to speak of myself. I went the way from a professor of pedagogy to a professor of adult education (andragogy). Looking back on my life and on my professional way I can find four different motives, which were important for this: a historic-political one, a familiar founded moment, an anthropological reason and then a special andragogical one.

The historic-political motive: Born in 1928, I am a member of the so called generation of the 'Luftwaffenhelfer' (secondary school boys called to the arms with sixteen years). Formally I belonged to the Hitler-youth, but I was not infected by Hitlerism, I think in consequence of familiar education. At the end of war I became a prisoner for two month. A brother of mine, 19 years young, died as soldier during the war, when I was 15 years old; two brothers were prisoners for several years. These bad experiences told me the absurdity of the Nazi-time and I was induced to think about my further professional life. I wanted to be active in an educational sector.

After the war I worked in the agricultural sector for a year to have food for the family. Then I finished the school-leaving examination on account of my time as 'Luftwaffenhelfer' hoping to get a place at a University. But in this time there was no possibility for me to begin my studies. Therefore I went the way to a teacher training college to become a teacher and for several years I was in this profession. When I had the possibility to live and work in a University-town I could study the intended main subject of pedagogy, accompanied by philosophy and political journalism. My decision for pedagogy was a hidden condition for later andragogy.

The family founded moment: I am sure that here lies a special influence for my later way.

I grew up in a teacher's family. I learned the facts and perspectives of the pedagogic field. My father induced me how to think about helping others and serve in the community. So I got a certain cultural imprint by my family. Later on I have interpreted adult education as actions of helping adults living their life and learning to educate themselves. And for this task I saw empathy as a necessary

condition to make possible the positive contact with others as the addressees of education - a consequence of family's effect.

The anthropological motive: A leading motive for me and my later engagement in pedagogy and andragogy came from the thesis for my doctorate. It was about Martin Buber (Faber 1967), who in the 1950th was not so well known in pedagogy. My scientific searching here came to a significant source and I am right in saying that I found answers on my questions for the structure of human conditions and mutuality. Buber's philosophy of the dialogue opened anthropological perspectives in pedagogy and later on in andragogy. Here I found a theory which accompanied me on my professional way to go. Dialogical aspects got an important place in my thoughts on adult education. I will not forget to say that I am very glad to have met Buber for a personal dialogue in 1963 in the town of Amsterdam in the context of the Erasmus-award-ceremony.

The andragogical moment: In my pedagogical studies I early had discovered the thesis of 'lifelong learning' or 'education permanente'. The whole life, I had found out, was a task to live and to learn. The responsible adult became the position of a central object in my pedagogical reflections with the accent of anthropologic founded capacity of self-education. This view, living and acquiring life as a wide and the whole life accompanying perspective, I discovered in many examples of literature. There authors presented pictures of adults in various situations, with problems and individual proceedings. So literature became an important source for my reflection and knowledge. I am glad that I have stimulated a doctoral dissertation about an important German author (Dieckhoff 1994). In my early theory life of adults was understood as a permanent process of learning and self-education and these perspectives motivated my first andragogical thinking. To say it with Boris Pasternak: 'Living the life is no children's play'.

III. Stages on my way to Andragogy

Years as a teacher

This autobiographical reflection and remembering now comes to describe the practical periods of my professional life. To begin with the beginning - there were my years as a teacher. Now I was responsible for children and their education, they had to become adult persons. I had to learn the specific development of children's learning and to prove the unknown contact with these young personalities. I remember these years of pedagogic practice as time

of very interesting engagement and creative trying. I did many things which were not obligate - playing theatre, reading in the afternoon, chorus-singing, contact with writers and so on. "Pedagogy" was to me more than school- and knowledge-training: It meant "learning to live a human life". I was not aware that this time was a founding course of practical work important for my later teaching at college and University and for my andragogical activities too. In other words: I see therein a time of significant preparation and training for the coming engagement in the world of adult education.

A first contact with adult education - the international "push"

In this retrospective I remember an interesting experience in 1952, as I was a young teacher. During a vacation-time I lived with some friends for a week in an English Summer-School. I did not know before, what sort of adult education was practiced there. The school was arranged in an old castle and we intended to improve our English conversation. But this is not the point. What I have to tell concerns the specific atmosphere of adults' contact - free and constructive. A bit I improved my English, but my specific learning was about adults and their learning - a new and until these days an unknown field of education. The impressions of this vacation-time made me curious on aspects of adult education.

Studying pedagogy

Here I remember some rich impressions I got during the first study at a teacher training college. Naturally I absolved the obligate lectures, but main influence had a professor of poetry and rhetoric. I became a lover of the spoken word. I learned to play theatre and to recite poems. Later on as a professor and in the practice of adult education I could remember this as a helping and useful competence. Then at University when I studied pedagogy, philosophy and political journalism I had good contacts with some professors. I learned wide historic perspectives in Theory of Bildung and reflected special aspects of "paideia", significant for pedagogy as well as andragogy (Lichtenstein 1962). In pedagogy as my intended University-study I had impressive professors, but soon I learned that I had to educate myself in a way of autodidactic practice. I later understood the sentence of Hieronymus: 'I am my own teacher' - an important thesis in my later theory of adult education. In these years I learned that it is straining to be an adult as I had two professions: a teacher in the morning and a student in the afternoon or the evening. And, by the

way, I was the leader of a student's theatre.

During this time, in 1956/1957, my first publications occurred in the added discipline 'political journalism'. They came from some tutorial exercises in the institute; their subjects were problems of adults in rural sectors. I did not know yet that for a certain time at the University of Bamberg I would concentrate on problems of rural andragogy.

In my retrospective it seems that I went a consequent way. After obtaining the doctor's degree, after a short time as an assistant and as University lecturer I became a professor of general pedagogy at the "Pädagogische Hochschule" Aachen in 1962.

Professor of pedagogy - Aspects of adults

In the coming years I was interested in thinking and researching about educational ideas and anthropological subjects. The students now were young adults, and I had to learn how to teach them. I was not interested in making pedagogy to a sort of paidology, but I wanted to open this subject for life-wide perspectives and to the world of adults. Many themes of my lectures or tutorial exercises were treating the life of adults and their educational problems - for example: *The structures of encounter; Learning and education in the older ages; Manners of living in Chassidism*; or the political theme of *Totalitarian education in Nazi-time*.

Extra-mural activities

Outside of my profession I had specific contacts with adults. As an important one I name my engagement in a Society of Christian-Jewish-Cooperation. This activity had to do with a special learning and a special education in a very sensitive field, a sort of extra-mural task with lectures and discussion-groups and public performances. In this field I had the possibility to learn much about adults, their life and the necessity of tolerance.

Adult education - double-engaged discipline

In 1968 I was appointed to the University of Paderborn as a full professor for pedagogy. Now I directly had to do with the new rule of study and examination for students in the academic subject of adult education. Already in 1971 I decided to care for this new discipline as a responsible professor and I began specializing myself in adult education. During the following years I conceptualized theoretical aspects of andragogy together with a generation of older students,

who were searching a new profession, with theologians, teachers and others. It was a time, when the new study of adult education found much resonance and therefore many persons changed their former profession. Some books coming from these discussions and diploma-examinations were published. I remember at "Legal questions in adult education" (1975) by Wolfgang Gernert, and "Further education in the old age" (1976) by Mechthild Rennkamp.

Concerning researching in this period I planned and organized an investigation about the readiness and the practical experience of adults in the town of Paderborn, comparable a bit to Schulenberg's 'Hildesheim-Studie.' The results were published in: Faber, W./Ortner, G.E., 'Erwachsenenbildung im Adressatenurteil' 1979 (Adult education in the opinion of their addressees). In a review the author said: "All speak about adult education, but only a few know, what adults really expect. These dates from a team of Paderborn are important".

Head of a 'Volkshochschule'

A marking activity was my leading of the Volkshochschule of Paderborn, honorary by the way. This was a challenging work for some years. The teaching-units at the beginning were 900 and at the end 3500, when the Volkshochschule hired a full-time director. Why did I do this? I found it exciting and useful to combine theory and practice of adult education. I was a professor of this subject at the University and parallel I learned and got experiences in an institution only for adult education. So I had the possibility to bring in practice, what I theoretically had discussed, for example the andragogic demand, that adults need own houses for their education. I hired the rooms, and until today there is the Volkshochschule of the town. I learned how to make programmes, how to win lecturers for adult education, I proved the learning contact with adults in own courses, I managed public performances and special University-days for public learning. The experiences of these years were very important for me on my way to andragogy (Faber 1986; 45-48; 77-81).

In 1975 I was encouraged to apply for the new chair of adult education at the University of Bamberg.

Professor of adult education

The former advisory body of the University of Bamberg must be commended explicit, that the members of it gave high accent to the raising importance of adult education in the society and positioned in

their concept a chair of adult education. Later on I would be asked if this new chair should be located in a sociologic faculty. I rejected the proposal as I was convinced that the new subject belonged to the field of educational sciences. I was appointed as full professor in to January 1, 1977. Perhaps it is allowed to mention that I had refused an appointment as a professor of pedagogy at another University. I simply wanted to go the way to andragogy, where I saw my duty and determination. As a professor emeritus later on I supported my successor Jost Reischmann to rename the Bamberg-chair as "Chair of Andragogy" (Reischmann 2002), and I was glad when this was accepted by the University and the ministry in 1995.

IV. On andragogy

In a formal sight I had brought to an end my way to andragogy coming to the University of Bamberg. But there is to say that I had got a new academic subject which I had to build up and a new field to cultivate. I was the head of a new chair, and there were no prototypes or patterns for the discipline which I had to give a character. Manners of teaching and forms of researching in this sector were to design.

Concerning theory it was difficult, because this discipline was in the beginning. There were no compulsory or even shared concepts, ideas or categories. They had to be designed and improved. Here I will not speak about problems of theory. But I will clearly notice the fact how I handled the central term of our discipline. 'Erwachsenenpädagogik' (pedagogy for adults) was a term some colleagues had nominated for this science of adult education some years before. I thought this term is a "contradictio in adjecto". In my logic and after my knowledge it was a misconception and it did not concern to the figure and image of adults and their education.

I used the term of andragogy, which I firstly had notified by Buber (1956;56) and Rosenstock, which also Franz Pöggeler (1974) had favoured. I was convinced that in this perspective of thinking and using this category one could better discuss the problems of adults independent from pedagogy. Problems of self-education, life-wide learning, activities against lack of education, sense of responsibility, living after one's own concept - all these perspective could be touched by a theory of andragogy. Here we have to remember: adults are no children - a simple statement, but this must be understood in all seriousness.

Surely the word andragogy presents a bit of semantic failing, but

in the long run this term is more reasonable, more serviceable and better in pragmatic use for us. So I told students: Andragogy is 'the science of education and self-education of adults' (Faber 1981, 1988).

'Aufbaustudium Andragogik'

When I came to Bamberg the name of the new chair was fixed. It is to remember, that 'Erwachsenenbildung' or adult education, strictly speaking, means a field of practice. But in a near future I saw no possibility for changing the name. So at once I was active in another field. I designed a new course of study, called "Aufbaustudium Andragogik", an additional study of adult education, the first of this kind in Germany, addressed to students who had already finished their studies at universities. This new course of study began in 1981. In this way the term andragogy was firstly positioned at a University and the word 'andragogy' got the character of an official "ministerial fixed term" (Faber 1996. 107-113).

A further accent I tried to give was the publishing project "Andragogy" in 1981. Unfortunately there were only two books in the planned series on account of the publishing house. But once more the term andragogy was notified. At the Bamberg-chair I began to differ several sectors of andragogy, so 'Landandragogik' for questions of rural adult education (Faber 1981) and 'Gender-Andragogy' for problems of love and sexuality as a thesis for doctorate (Bönnen 1982).

Institute for University adult education

In the years of my professional time practical adult education was done in several modes. In 1977 I had designed a "Kontaktstelle für Universitäre Erwachsenenbildung", an institute for University-adult education (University extension), of which I was the head for fourteen years. In this kind it was the only one in Bavaria and the Bamberg-University was engaged in extra-mural activities of further education in a new way. We planned and managed University-days in the town of Bamberg and the region around for several years. So andragogy in practice did the job of transmitting science and knowledge to the community. I have to mention that the name of this institute now is 'centre of scientific further education' (Faber 1984).

Adult Guest-Students

Another concrete consequence of andragogy in Bamberg was set in the field of adult "guest-students". We helped them and took care for

this group, especially older students, as autonomous learners. For some time guest students were 5% of all students in Bamberg, the largest part at all universities in whole Bavaria. Researching about guest-students became an important subject with the consequence of several publications (Faber/Dieckhoff 1984, Faber 1993).

Generation of "Explicit-Andragogy-Professors"

I have tried to name former generations of adult educators in the history of our science. When I try to do this for me as a member of a University, I like to say that I went through all the discussed three forms of our history: I am an adult educator in passion, I belong to the generation of double engaged professors, and now I am a member of the generation of the "Explicit-Andragogy-Professors". With this specification I want to express, that now for the first time we have the academic reality in our science that adult education or andragogy is not an additional subject but - *expressis verbis* - only the main one. So autonomy and development are granted in the scientific community. This interpretation naturally includes all appropriate academic professorships for "Erwachsenenpädagogik" or "Adult Education".

V. How to become an andragogue?

I will give a short remark to the question of this conference: How to become an adult educator. I repeat: Here in Bamberg I like to say: How to become an andragogue. This is a question with several points to clear. What is the meaning - the academic professor or lecturer of adult education, the teacher in the field of practice, the examined student? Here is not the place to finally discuss and to decide this - but this question has to be answered!

What I want to explain here is to point out some individual characteristics, which perhaps can be recognized out of this biographical reflection and give a generalizing accent too. I will name four aspects - in order to give a circumspect answer.

- First: Andragogy seems to need a specific nearness to pedagogy as both are sciences of education. Indeed, both are parts of a wider "Bildungswissenschaft" (science of human education). On this common fundament the andragogue should study and reflect this connection considering the richness of historical perspectives of education.
- Further: Andragogy is a human discipline and so it needs specific human motivations. As a science of "Bildung" it must be seen

different from only technological sights. Becoming an andragogue includes to be interested in human beings and human life. One must be convinced that men are able to change themselves. The andragogue needs open eyes for the adventure of life in any biographical development and the fact, that adults as individuals have unknown possibilities of learning. Anthropological aspects and educational views can enlarge the stock of knowledge and widen the perspectives concerning andragogy.

- Then: Additional studies and relevant interests seem to be useful for andragogues. Life at all encloses many sights and perspectives concerning men, and by those experiences one can learn many things about oneself and about adults. So the individual horizon of an andragogue can be extended in a significant and useful way.
- At the end: Experiences in practical fields of life and adult education are important. They make possible special competencies and perhaps they support the later activities in the responsible sector of education of adults.

The question was: How to become an adult educator or an andragogue? Based on a biographical reflection I tried to find general structures in the development of andragogy in Germany. The reader is invited to compare these observations in this one country with the development in the own country. Here was presented an individual, but authentic view, a specific and very personal way to the profession of an academic andragogue. Life always has its own touch. and describing how to become an andragogue must be seen as one biographical possibility of life. To say it in the end: I did it my way!

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Part 3: Contemporary Aspects on Becoming an Adult Educator

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Why do people decide to study andragogy and what happens during their studies? A qualitative research study.

In Germany as in many countries, numerous people are actively engaged in the various fields of adult education. They are employed on a part-time or regular basis, either in a permanent position, as a free-lancer or for a fee as a consultant - or as unpaid or lowpaid volunteers. They all have very different life stories and come equipped with different educational backgrounds and professional degrees.

Within this diverse group more and more academically trained adult educators can be found. They have studied pedagogy at the University and graduated in andragogy. This paper focuses on a close-up analysis of this group of "professionals" and on two questions:

1. What was their subjective learning reason (Begriff im Original: "subjektive Lernbegründung" Ludwig 2000 und 2001) for choosing pedagogy as study topic for obtaining a University degree?
2. What do they learn, which qualifications do they acquire and, most notably, which processes of personality development do they pass through during their studies?

The following descriptions are based on the results of a qualitative dissertation initiated and finished at the University of Bamberg's Chair of Andragogy (Groß 2006). Pedagogy students were interviewed once at different time-points of their studies. Selected sub-groups were questioned twice either during their introductory or their advanced study periods. The latter were only interviewed if they graduated in andragogy. Questionnaires and research process were based on Grounded Theory (Glaser/Strauss).

First question: Why do they study pedagogy/andragogy?

People's motives for pursuing studies of pedagogy have so far been

analyzed in Germany in a quantitative and retrospective manner (Flacke/Prein/Schulze 1989, Krüger/Grunert 1998, Mägdefrau 2000, Grunert/Seeling 2003).

The results show that not only interpersonal, social, and vocation-oriented motives, but also the desire for further personal development are of importance to choose this field of study.

While these quantitative studies identify and rank the different criteria for choosing a study field, they do not allow an understanding of the personal and subjective reasons behind these individual decisions.

The qualitative-hermeneutic approach of the Bamberg research yielded a complementary result, allowing to understand that these different "motive-headlines" actually represent idiosyncratic and very complex "learning reason"-clusters that are frequently derived from the respective individuals personal and/or professional biography. The clusters of arguments so identified could be grouped into distinct types of learning reasons. The pattern describing such a type does not represent any particular person. It rather stands for a group of arguments originating from different people, but clearly belonging together.

Our research confirmed that the decision to study pedagogy/andragogy is the result of an individual and multilayered interaction of different subjective learning reasons. Especially at the beginning, but also during the course of the studies, the original learning reasons serve as motor driving the selection of specific themes and topics for the courses and specialized workshops. They hereby also influence the dedication in dealing with the individual topics and, consequently, the results obtained from learning.

The analysis of the interviews yielded one principal result:

The interviewed people do not justify their selection of the study field monocausally, but instead multicausally and complex. Their perception of the study field and the following vocation are closely intertwined. In addition, the students have a pronounced interest to learn how to "do their job" by practicing it (Groß 2004, p. 333).

The analysis of the data yielded five types of learning reasons. Some of these could even be further subdivided.

Types of learning reasons	Subdivision
social learning reason: "to work together with people"	a) altruism – the desire to help others (and oneself at the same time) b) pedagogic interest in facilitating people's development c) familiarity and closeness to people
Degree-oriented learning reason: "to obtain either a good or even better qualification"	a) high initial qualification (first course of studies) b) even higher further qualification (additional course of studies)
A personal development oriented learning reason	
A learning reason oriented on an individual's estimation of his ability to master the study or the job	optimistic and pessimistic viewpoints
"Runner-Up"-learning reason	

Type 1: Social learning reason – "to work together with people"

The 'social learning reason' is an excellent example to highlight the complexity of the qualitative conclusions derived from the results. I will therefore present this section in more detail and only briefly cover the other type.

People that begin to study pedagogy are genuinely interested in working together with or for other people - this has been studied extensively and is common accepted knowledge. But what does this rather vague and ill-defined interest really mean for the individual student, what precise ideas, which conceptions of the human being and which self-conceptions are connected to this interest?

The qualitative design of the research study allowed to identify three argument groups that, in principle, are all socially motivated, but nevertheless differ strongly from each other.

Several different arguments expressing the wish to "help other people" were grouped in the social learning reason: "*altruism – the desire to help others (and oneself at the same time)*". Interestingly, the people interviewed that give altruism as important reason for their study field selection frequently relate to past personal crises and their having experienced interpersonal and sometimes even professional

help. The triad "help needed, help received, help to give" becomes a decisive learning reason (Groß 2006, p. 112), and a strong affinity to the disciplines psychology and medicine is eye-catching. The self-experienced suffering is used here as one precondition to account for the wish to "sacrifice" oneself for other needy people - without reflecting on the necessity of personal and professional limits. To define oneself as "helper" can also mean feeling "healthy", competent, and able to work under any kind of pressure which can result in an altered and more positive self-perception. However, this should not be generalized. The future field of work is anticipated more in the line of classical social work than in adult education.

A second group of arguments led to establishing the social learning reason "*pedagogic interest in facilitating people's development*". In contrast to altruistic motives dominated by "helping", the focus here is on "facilitating, educating and guiding" people. Students interviewed generally aspire a vocation in youth work or adult education and consequently choose andragogy for their advanced studies. Pedagogy is viewed as a professional job with clearly defined personal and professional perspectives.

The third group of arguments follows the motto "*familiarity and closeness to people*". The wish to help people is also present in this type. However, it is based on friendship and equality. The occupation envisioned is mainly one in social work. It is not viewed as a job to do, but rather as a fun-filled extension of everyday life.

Taken together, the motif "to work with people" does not arise from a single root, but from diverse attitudes and is either seen as a "mission to help", a pedagogic professional job, or a hobby. Students that refer to the second group of arguments prefer andragogy for their advanced studies.

Type 2: Degree-oriented learning reason – "to obtain either a good or even better qualification"

Analysis of the data allowed to identify two distinct, degree-oriented learning reasons. The arguments brought forward by the students clearly differ, depending on if pedagogy is the first field studied or the second (after having prior to this graduated from a college of applied science). The type of reason "high initial qualification" stems from the desire to obtain a premium education comprising both the necessary scientific theoretical background and the relevant practical experience. On the other hand, the group that studies pedagogy as second study field generally acknowledge that the experiences they

made during the course of their first studies were either personally or professionally disappointing. They stress the need for an explicit scientific training combined with the wish to develop a unique pedagogic or andragogic identity. They also hope to obtain a higher social reputation and a better income.

Type 3: A personal development oriented learning reason

The Bamberg study also shows learning reasons that are targeted towards personal maturation and increased self-awareness and/or self-development, although the importance of this motive cluster varies strongly from person to person. Further personal development was not mentioned in any interview as having been a decisive criterion. Interestingly, the students consider a healthy degree of self-awareness a valuable and necessary key competence for a pedagogic or andragogic vocation.

Type 4: A learning reason oriented on an individual's estimation of his ability to master the study or the job

The choice to study education is also strongly influenced by the individual perception of one's intellectual and mental ability to master the requirements of both study field and future job visualized.

This capability can either be defined pessimistic ("I'll never be able to do something else") or optimistic ("this should be easy for me"). The significance of an imagined job profile for the choice of this study field was not found in any of the older quantitative analyses.

Type 5: "Second (last)-choice"-learning reason = nothing else available.

As has been frequently confirmed, a certain portion of the students of pedagogy choose this study field, because a different, and in fact preferred, study field isn't open to them, either generally or at this moment. So, what happens to these essentially negative explanations during the course of the studies? Two individual cases may serve as exemplary models demonstrating that it can, but must not automatically always, come to a reconciliation and identification with the pedagogic study field taken.

Conclusion

The decision to study as a means to establish a profession and an area of expertise in the complex fields of pedagogy and adult education is the consequence of similarly complex and subjective

learning reasons.

Second question: What development happens during the study-years?

Studying education influences and develops a way of thinking specific for this scientific discipline and characterized by an ability and willingness to analyze situations from multiple points of view.

How can we explain this developmental process?

Based on our interviews it became clear that within the subject of pedagogy, it appears to be difficult to clearly recognize and identify the knowledge one has obtained. The students experience different educational theories as complex and partially self-contradictory – and this precisely invites and requires them to reflect and discuss the topic – demanding from them to adopt a clear standpoint to focus their convictions. As one student said:

“I have the impression that one acquires a broad knowledge base in pedagogy – how do I approach a certain topic, where do I get the information, how do I present it – especially the specific way of thinking. [...]. This is a clear advantage. There is relatively little factual knowledge – you can't say “this is wrong” or “this is right” – you always have to adopt an “as well as” point of view. You can never say “these are the hard facts” and if you've learned them all you're ready for life. No, you always have to use your own brain to be able to say “this person sees it this way” and “that person sees it that way” “how do I see it” – how to find your own standpoint and that's also something I learned. [...] So, making everything transparent and visible for everyone, why I have the certain standpoint that I have.” (Ms. Müller, Int. 2, I. 172-187).

It seems as if, during the course of examining the various educational theories monopolistic single-cause explanations are more and more replaced by an complex and reflected “as-well-as” attitude. Students approaching their graduation more and more express that knowledge in terms of “that's the way it is, and that's it” is not accepted anymore. Instead, an “It depends on ...” comes to the fore. This “it” is redefined depending on the respective view-point adopted in a particular situation. The competence to assume and critically reflect different perspectives allows the students to better experience their personal and professional life-world in all its complexity and inherent necessities.

This ability is generally described as a positive trait by the students. They perceive it as “helpful” in their professional dealings with other people and, furthermore, as an enrichment for their personal development.

“I believe that I have adopted other strategies to cope with different problems and questions. Something has changed, I have become more sure in dealing with other peoples' problems, I have become more sure with myself, in knowing what I want.” (Mrs. Ober, Int. 1, I. 264-267).

Taken together, the interviews showed that (after three years of study!) the study-inherent preoccupation with andragogic and educational theories facilitates the development of and competence with multi-perspective observation and reflection. Professional pedagogic argumentation is generated in a dynamic process of theoretical examination, discussion and reflection.

The challenge of willingly adopting different view-points and the ability to really do this, transforms the students of pedagogy and andragogy during the course of their studies: they develop their personality (naturally to different extents). This process of “personal growing” is not without consequence for their self-reflection and their perception of other people in their respective everyday lives and life-world.

Thus, a pedagogic view of world and human beings frequently emerges and thrives during the course of their studies.

As I have already demonstrated, the students interviewed choose, on the basis of idiosyncratic social learning reasons, to study education. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that they already possessed a humane disposition before beginning their studies. So, it was interesting to understand how these initial ideas and images are altered in the course of their studies and how the “pedagogic view” originates.

These processes of learning and personal development can be reconstructed in a very impressive manner from one interview. During an extensive narration (Int. 2. I. 451-501), the student Mrs. Ober, who is just about to graduate (after semester 10), describes and reflects her personal and professional processes of development. In the first excerpt she emphasizes the importance of adopting different perspectives:

O.: „I believe that to be a pedagogue is to be predominantly concerned with viewing a situation or an issue from a certain perspective. Such a distinct way of viewing reality in a comprehensive and not in a tight manner, because I am convinced that it is really very wide-spread. I believe that I have become familiar with various aspects of this view during the course of my studies. I can either take up this perspective or one of several different pedagogic perspectives.“

For her, the “pedagogic view” is definitely something she learned during her studies. This different way of “seeing and reflecting” has an impact on her perception and interpretation of situations and people in everyday life. As a consequence, she experiences people and their interactions, communication and behavior in a more differentiated and context-dependent manner. Dealing with her own idea of humanity also leads to her increasingly respecting and even trying to understand the conceptions of world and human being of her vis-à-vis:

O.: “What I have just described are points of view that we applied and adopted during our studies. It is also an exercise to assume these perspectives. This question, for example: What idea of humanity does this person or this author have. Or, what idea of humanity is hidden behind the words or actions of somebody. This question was frequently asked during our studies, I have also asked it many times of myself.”

Finally Mrs. Ober marks her pedagogic concept of the world and human beings by stressing the human potential for change:

O.: “A pedagogic perception of the world and humanity accredits mankind with the potential for development. A human being is not entirely predetermined in his development and isn't complete, irrespective of his age. There is always the potential and the possibility. [...], how a person can advance and alter himself. This also needs a pedagogic conception of the human being that is not influenced by color, sex, ethnic group, etc. and does not define a person according to these criteria.”

These statements from the interview suggest that the subjective learning reasons, perceptions and constructions of world and human beings the students already come equipped with might be connected to the multiple-perspective view that is presented and learned during their studies. The competence and willingness to adopt different perspectives augments and alters the student's personality. Pedagogic and andragogic anthropology is characterized by accepting and recognizing the human being as a mature and adaptive individual capable of development. To reduce him to a one-dimensional cause-effect automaton is obviously impossible.

The development of the described changes of thinking are, in my opinion, a necessary, but also time-consuming, component of University training in education. Especially with respect to the “Bologna process” and its shortened study cycles, it is important that the students will still have to struggle with “theory” so that they can develop and hone their individual concepts of humanity and the world

to finally become professional and academically-schooled pedagogues and andragogues.

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Adult educators' career trajectories, learning patterns and educational philosophy – connections and/or contradictions

Abstract: Educators of adults are in a unique position among professionals in that they often have not had the opportunity to study how to do their job. Most educators of adults come into their positions through a circuitous route, one that does not include training and their development tend to come from experience and trial-and-error practice (Cranton 1996, Taylor 2003). They have had different career trajectories, different biographical backgrounds; they have experienced different learning patterns that determine their vocational practice as adult educators. Their values, beliefs and assumptions about teaching and learning are shaped by their ways of understanding the world, their personal preferences and personalities. As the understanding of the personal conception of oneself as an educator and a subjective educational theory affect strongly educators' professional behaviour and activity it is important to pay more attention to the development of professional thinking and professional learning of adult educators: how the adult educators have gained the knowledge and skills they need in the field of adult education? Which kind of experiences do they have as for transformative learning process? How have they acquired the sense of professional identity as an adult educator? What do they actually learn from their experiences as educators? Which kind of beliefs, assumptions and conceptions do they have about learning and teaching adults?

Career trajectories

From the biographical perspective, the professional behaviour and activity of the educator is determined by the experience gathered during the career. In order to understand the professional behaviour and activity of an educator one has to research their professional life (Kelchtermans 1993). Teachers' experiences and background, teachers' lifestyles, life cycles and career stages, critical incidents in teachers' lives (Goodson 1994) develop the understandings of teaching and being a teacher and create the basis for practice.

The difference between a biography and other forms of narrative lies in connecting the events of personal life with social events. Life is viewed as lived at a specific time, in a specific place and within the framework of certain specific social conditions, not as a mere

collection of events (Goodson, Sikes 2001; Hatch, Wiesniewski 1995).

This presentation introduces research based on narratives and photo-interviews on adult educators' views on teaching, professional identity and professional growth. The material presented is a part of a study on professional identities, professional learning and personal educational theories of adult educators in Estonia with the aim to analyse what kind of support and which support systems educators actually need to foster their professional growth.

I have conducted interviews with 28 adult educators. Collection of material for research took place in two stages. First, professional biographical interviews were conducted. The interviewees told their stories about how they had become educators, i.e. described how they had become adult educators as well as their work and development.

The second stage consisted in a photo-interview (Hurworth 2003; Taylor 2002). For that, educators were asked to find pictures as a response to questions related to learning, teaching and educator's work (e.g. what is learning to your mind? Who is an adult learner in your opinion? Who is an adult educator? How have you developed and changed as an educator?) The pictures could be photos taken by the interviewees depicting their personal life, or selected from other sources, or drawings. The important thing was that the picture had to depict an image that to the interviewee's mind answered the above-described questions in some way/opened an important idea. After that, interviews were conducted to give the educators the opportunity to explain their opinions, understandings and views. This analysis is based on what the interviewees said, not on the interviewers' interpretations of the pictures. If the interviewer noticed some contradiction between the image in the picture and the spoken word, additional questions were posed to get more information and clarification.

The analysis of professional biographical interviews highlighted the same characteristic features described by Mishler (1999) in his studies: educators' professional trajectory is not uniform, there are several disjunctions, discontinuities, and transitions in it.

The analysis of educators' stories showed that the choices made by the interviewees were affected by changes occurring in Estonian society in the 90-ties as well as by the widening areas of activity related to the adult educator's profession. In the conditions of market economy, changing a profession or job became common (Titma

2002) which meant that people did not seem to consider it strange to quit a former job and become an educator instead. Collective activity was replaced with individual entrepreneurship (Titma 2002).

These changes affected also adult education – international cooperation in the field of adult education was started, the percentage of private training organisations increased and adults had more opportunities for continuing learning (Jõgi 2004).

Changes in the economic life and adult education in the 90s in Estonia caused or made it possible that the interviewees became educators.

The interviews show that the changed circumstances enabled them to abandon work in their chosen area of specialisation which was becoming less valued by society and choose another area of activity which was connected with education.

Thinking back at the time it actually seems a rather sad period where the Soviet money did not exist any more and the Estonian kroon came into use and musicians didn't have much perspective. (Marko)

The feeling of insecurity, including economic insecurity, caused by the changes in society created the belief that you have to seize every opportunity. Often people held several different positions at the time and also accepted offers to try their hand at the educator's job.

I think it was the period when (.) when I couldn't say "no" to anything. Perhaps, if somebody asked me now to come to a place like that and do something I do not master I would probably refuse without giving a second thought because why should I(Tiit)

Some started work as educators after losing their prior jobs because companies were closed down and organisation were reorganised. Opportunities to start work as an educator came from the new nationally established structures (National Defence League) and new popular areas of training (teamwork, sales).

In addition to that, several foreign training projects reached Estonia in the 90s; close contacts were created with adult educators in Denmark, Sweden and Finland and many educational projects reached us from USA. Some interviewees were involved in the projects and continued independent training careers after the foreign educators had left.

How the interviewees found their area of training

The interviewees' stories about their biography, lived life, patterns and descriptions of the events related to learning, work and self-improvement reflect various routes through which they reached their area of training.

1. The area of training is related to the speciality studied in University or to professional work.

This route seems quite natural and logical: these interviewees had acquired theoretical knowledge in the field (medicine, psychology, accounting, etc.) in University and gained professional experience through work and then started to share it by becoming educators.

However, the seeming smoothness of the route is misleading – there are interruptions on this route too: people change jobs, move to a new place, hold different positions although within the same area of specialisation; taking up the educator's work induces to quit the basic job, etc.

2. The area of training is related to practical work experience in a field not studied at school/University.

Those who took the second route acquired a specialisation but started work in a totally different field and the area of training (sale, secretary, service) is connected with their practical experience. They lack theoretical knowledge in the area and, instead, share practical experiential knowledge.

Basically you can say that a man came out of nowhere, although the man was a good salesman, even a very good salesman, and started to share his knowledge and experience. (Marko)

3. The area of training is related to in-service training, hobbies or community work.

In case of the third route, the area of training (floristry, adventure-training, project drafting, *feng shui*, management, teamwork) grows out of in-service training – it is not directly connected with a specialisation acquired earlier, but with hobbies.

4. The area of training pops out of nowhere – there is no visible connection between the area studied in University/school, prior work, or hobbies, yet it is in a way linked to all.

Looking at the mere biographical facts it is quite difficult to understand why this choice was made – the person already has a

job, and starting work as an educator improves neither the financial situation nor the position at work. Now that the educator's job is chosen, the person has to learn both the content of the training course and learn to educate other people. On the other hand, the prior learning, life and work experience have helped to create the context in which the person started to think about becoming an educator.

These schemes offer an insight into how knowledge of the relevant area of training develops. Professional knowledge is based on propositional (theoretical) knowledge, practical know-how and tacit knowledge (Eraut 1994). Important aspects of professional competence and expertise cannot be represented in propositional form and embedded in publicly accessible knowledge base (Eraut 1994). The professional knowledge of the educators who followed the first route is based on theoretical, practical and tacit knowledge. In case of the rest of the educators, the knowledge learned from practical experience and tacit knowledge is prevailing.

Working as an educator you can cultivate a certain lifestyle, which arises from a new attitude towards values – several meanings described reflect individualism - self-fulfilment, freedom, success, consumption, self-assurance, hedonism, etc. (Kalmus, Vihalemm 2004).

It's the freedom that I like best about the job. That I am actually (.) free. OK, I am not free all the time. Of course I have to read and prepare quite long course plans, but when I really get bored with everything, I can ... In autumn I went to Egypt 4 times, for example. I read a lot. It's fun. If I was a workman I couldn't have all this. (Marko)

The interviewees who can link the educator's job with their prior experience (studies, work, hobbies, etc.), who can connect it with their personality and see it as a link in a chain are better able to explain the essence of the job for themselves. There is no objectivity in it – it is a completely subjective process how they explain it and make it pleasant for themselves. In educator training and in-service training it is necessary to enhance the process and help people see the educator's job as part of the whole.

Learning patterns

It's important to construe learning as a complex process and avoid any separation between learning, personal development, socialisation, qualification and the like by regarding all such processes as types of learning when viewed from different angles or

positions (Illeris 2003).

Learning implies the integration of two very different processes, namely an external interaction process between the learner and his or her social, cultural or material environment, and an internal psychological process of acquisition and elaboration (Illeris 2003).

An important aspect of professional learning is defining self as a member of a community of practice. In a community of practice, in real work situation and work context skills, knowledge, norms, routines, stories, discourse is learned (Wenger 1998). Adult educators are not linked with any specific community or area or profession that brings along partial, fragmentary or impermanent identities (Malcolm, Zukas 2002).

In the 90ties in Estonia majority of adult educators were newcomers and they were shaping the community and learning in the community concurrently.

The career of an educator often starts with practical experience, which is followed by the studies to become a certified educator, as beginners they are learning mostly from personal experience. The important point of experiential learning is that the learners must reflect on their experiences in a critical way (Mezirow 2000; Kolb 1984).

The reflection process needs special conditions: time and space for reflection, the facilitators of reflection, the curricular or institutional environment, an emotionally supportive environment, broader theoretical viewpoint, and reflection skills (Moon 1999). In their daily work, adult educators rarely have time and conditions for conscious self-analysis; they also lack necessary experience and habits.

Adult educators' professional development can be understood as transformative learning. Transformative learning is a process by which previously uncritically assimilated assumptions, beliefs, values, and perspectives are questioned and thereby become more open and better validated (Mezirow 2000). Central to Mezirow's conceptualization of transformative learning theory is also critical reflection. Teachers then transform frames of reference through critical reflection on their own and other's assumptions and beliefs about teaching.

Transformations often follow some variations of the following phases (McGonigal 2005, Mezirow 2000):

1. A disorienting dilemma, activating event – exposes the limitations of a learner's current knowledge and approach
2. Opportunities to identify and articulate underlying

assumptions, critical self-reflection

3. Critical discourse – recognition that one's discontent and the process of transformation are shared
4. Exploration of options for new roles, relationships, and actions
5. Planning a course of action
6. Acquiring knowledge and skills for implementing one's plans
7. Opportunities to test and apply new perspectives

Recent studies on transformative learning have shown that the process of transformative learning may be long-term and progressive process which involves emotions, intuition, soul, spirituality and which is affected by sociocultural context and person's life-history (Dirkx 2001, Mezirow 2000, Taylor 2000).

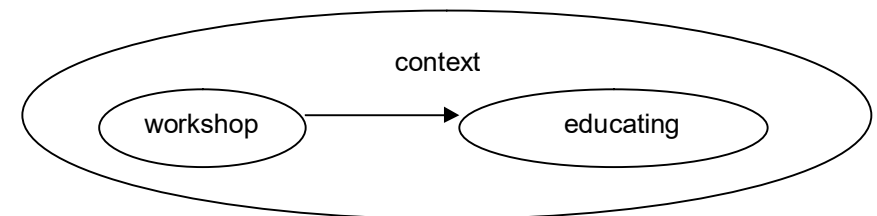
I. Sources of learning

The following sources of learning can be pointed out on the basis of the narratives:

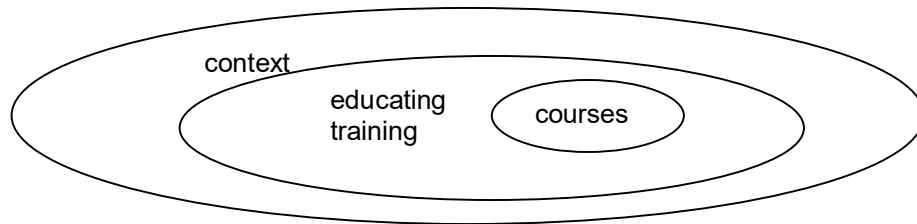
1. educator training: foreign projects, training provided by training institutions, studies related to adult training;
2. prior experience: life experience, work experience, experience gained as a learner (University, in-service training);
3. learning by doing: from learners, colleagues and peers; analysis of personal experience, reading;
4. general (cultural) context.

The following are basic patterns that characterise the educators:

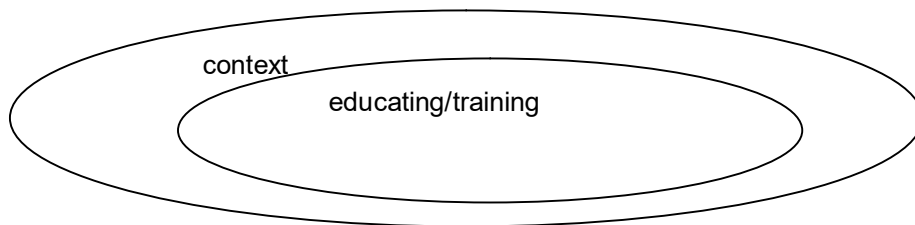
A: workshops – educating (working as adult educator)



B: educating (working as adult educator) – adult educators' courses



C: educating (working as adult educator)



1. Training

The interviewees acquired preparation for the educator's work in different ways.

a. Workshops

Some completed short time workshops or an induction period in an institution and thus acquired the content of the course and the basic truths of how to teach this content to other people. This kind of training is focused on teaching a specific course – the future educator learns the subject matter, and the structure and basic methodology for teaching this subject matter.

The above-described way of training is often characteristic of training courses conducted by foreign educators and learning within cooperation projects. The advantages of the kind of training are hands-on experience, opportunities for reflecting and discussing and getting feedback on the first steps taken. The future educators' feeling of security is increased by provision of a clear model; they can adhere to this model and their actions are clearly structured and defined.

The disadvantage of the kind of training is that no theoretical background either on the content of learning or the methodology of teaching was provided. This makes them a bit insecure when they

start teaching others.

However, these training courses are often described as transformative, courses that change the way of thinking or understanding things. This is probably due to several things – on the one hand the courses took place at the time when general paradigmatic changes in social life and educational beliefs occurred in Estonia and within the new circumstances these courses had a new, learner-centred, humanistic and experiential approach that was completely new to people who had acquired education in a Soviet school. Thus, the courses broke the old understanding of learning and teaching and changed the reference framework.

I would really call it a religious awakening that took place during this course. I had a learning-related awaking experience. (Taimi).

On the other hand, the courses were based on experiential learning and reflection and this provided the learners with the opportunity to analyse - and sometimes transform their beliefs and understandings.

b. Adult education studies

Usually people go to a specialized course for trainers after acquiring some experience as an educator. Practicing educators tend to feel that they need to learn more about the job. Since the interviewed educators started their work without special preparation, they felt insecure and doubted whether they did things right. Regarding these courses the interviewees emphasize the theoretical aspect, the opportunity to get a theoretical explanation to their practice (meta-theories), reasons for doing this one way or another.

In addition, such courses are a place where the community of educators gathers. Educators of different subjects can share their experience related to the problems of teaching and learning.

I had worked as an educator for 5 years already when I finally realized that one must learn more about it and how to do it. (Virve)

2. Learning from prior experience

For those who have not studied how to teach, the main source for developing an idea of the educator's practice is their personal life, work and learning experience.

Life experience is especially important to understand learners and manage interpersonal relationships. Life experience is the base on which an educator recognises, interprets and uses personal experience. He/she does not know what experience others have in this area – mediated experience. This can be both liberalizing and

restrictive at the same time.

And I began to realize that when people are unable to answer my questions, they probably do not understand. I realized it because I had experienced it myself. (Rita)

Work experience gives a feeling of security about the learning content – enables to give examples and create links. Sometimes even a period of life that seemed of little significance from the professional aspect at the time turned out to be important later on.

Lack of means/strategies of transferring an experience (work experience) to another situation (training, teaching). It seems to be difficult to transfer prior learning experience.

Generally learners do not know why the teacher or trainer does this or that. It is good if the learner remembers what he/she learned but probably he/she did not pay attention to the methodology or approach. The methodology and context need to be generated/added.

I knew how to do it but I had never taught it to anybody. Now I had to recall how I was taught. I tried to do the same but then I discovered that I didn't have the kind of equipment as my teacher had had. Then I had to start improvising and thinking how to get the best results (Tõnu)

An educator who conducts a course is first and foremost focused on teaching the subject matter, not on training educators – the educator's goal is not to draw attention to methodology and the underlying principles, perhaps he/she does not even have them. That means that it depends on the awareness of the learner what he/she manages to learn from other educators. There is no opportunity to reflect. A learning educator interprets his/her experience within the limits of his/her understandings, but the person who conducts the course may have quite different intentions.

3. Learning by doing - Learning from own experience while working as an educator

In some interviews educators declare that they learn from experience, learn from teaching, but it is quite difficult to understand what exactly they have learned – tacit knowledge.

Possibly, tacit knowledge is quite common and a problem may be the lack of the community with whom to discuss, interpret, create meaning, and formulate more specifically what has been learned.

Reflection is an important part of learning to become and be an educator. Reflection requires experience and skill and a theoretical context in which the experiences can be placed. It is important to

have the opportunity to share teaching experience with somebody. This person does not have to be more experienced and wiser; it is important just to have somebody. Educators feel the lack of professional reflective dialogue.

Understandings expressed in photo-interviews

Beliefs about life in general and beliefs about education do provide some basis for selecting instructional content, establishing teaching/learning objectives, selecting instructional materials and interacting with learners (Zinn 2004)

In the photo-interviews learning is seen by adult educators from a quite broad perspective. Learning is described as a process, a constant lifelong activity – you come back to the same issues and revise them on a new level (spiral).

The learning matter should be applicable. Learning is a purposeful activity but you do not often see the purpose while learning.

Learning is a change. Change in views; seeing things differently, changes in thinking that should be reflected in changed behaviour.

The changing process can be a transformative experience (Picture 1).

- Learning is like an earthquake or volcano eruption. It is not always pleasant; it may shatter or shift something. But new worlds have always emerged as the result of earthquakes. However, the earthquake or eruption cannot be totally destructive – I have drawn here green grass springing up. (Virve)
- *Learning is storing and arranging information - few people talk about learning as storing information but learning as arrangement of information is mentioned more often.*
- *Learning is understood as a cooperative process – social aspects of learning.*
- *Learning makes you independent (emancipatory learning?) – being able to walk on your own.*

Interviewees also stated the instances of incidental learning – while learning one can acquire some skill without planning to do so – elbowing, treading under foot.

- *Much of learning occurs without our noticing it – tacit knowledge.*
- *Learning is connected with emotions; often it is an effort, fear and temptation all together. Certainly, learning is connected with creativity.*



Picture nr 1. What is learning to your mind?

The understandings expressed by the educators reflect quite clearly their life patterns and learning experiences.

To conclude, the stories narrated by the adult educators show that the people who have chosen this profession and remained true to it describe themselves as independent people who can learn from their experience. They are experienced sudden changes and turns in their job-related activity, they have coped with these, learned in new situations, adapted well this far and they see being a trainer/educator as another challenge.

However, they do not know exactly how to identify themselves. They do not see a problem in that. They commit themselves to their educator's work in the way they see it and want to be the best. As the community with very clear boundaries has not been formed yet, they feel rather alone as practicing educators and do not know where to turn to ask help or share doubts and problems with. They discuss their activity more often with their friends and relatives than with other adult educators and this is the reason why critical reflection is not achieved.

Some factors supporting the formation and development of professional identity may be lacking or insufficient; therefore, adult educators may feel that learning and growth is difficult. Although the work of an adult educator is complicated, the studies to become one are often conducted unconsciously and lack systematic approach. If an educator does not think about self as an educator, i.e. does not identify self as an adult educator, it is possible that they do not pay enough attention to learning and teaching processes or personal learning and development as an educator.

Transformative learning process may be experienced as disorienting and confusing and adult educators need during these emotionally stressed periods stronger support to continue their learning and self-development processes. This means that educators need various support systems: communication within networks, clubs, organisation leaders' improved knowledge of how to support educators' growth, informing articles in the press, research, etc. Professional learning is an important challenge for an educator fostering professional growth and helping to achieve emotional balance and professional well-being.

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Development and Change in Municipal Adult Education

Life History Studies and Narrative Analysis of Teacher Trajectories

English abstract and summary of dissertation thesis at Goteborg University, March 2006

Keywords: Municipal adult education, development, restructuring, life history, teachers, narrative analysis, trajectory, plot, project

Abstract: In this dissertation the development and change of Municipal Adult Education (MAE) has been investigated through occupational life history studies of four teachers who have worked in MAE since the mid 1970s. The point of departure for this choice of methodology is that context is always lived and that studies of individuals' narratives of occupational life and practice will provide unique opportunities for analysing development and change in context. The four teacher trajectories have been organised into four storied narratives containing genealogies of context for narrative analysis. Structuring tools for configuring the narratives in this way have been brought in from time-space geography and comprehensive, comparative and thematic analyses of the teacher trajectories have then been carried out. Three periods of development in MAE have been identified in terms of its relationship to the State.

Five main conclusions have been drawn from the overall analysis. Firstly, how development and change are initiated by conditions not directly coupled to a reform or a restructuring programme. Secondly, that although reforms and restructuring are of importance for developments in practice in the MAE field; preconditions for development are "travelling ideas", mimetic processes and the setting up of new (local) projects. This implies a critique against more traditional implementation studies. Thirdly, the role of stabilizing processes and activities in development and change is emphasized, the plots in the narrative analysis of the teacher trajectories are much about ways in which projects take shape gradually – and also how projects destabilize through restructuring. Fourthly, what I conceptualize as "a clash of incentives" is pointed out, as two consecutive restructuring shifts in the 1990s operate simultaneously. My material shows here how quasi-market models are strong instruments of change and how goal-steering, local curriculum development, teacher collaboration and local development

projects can be de-stabilized by market technologies. Fifthly, I put forward the importance of a complex conceptualisation of professionalism – the trajectories of the teachers demonstrate how professionalism rests on many premises.

Summary

Sweden has a tradition of adult education dating back to the popular movements at the end of the 19th century. Municipal adult education (MAE) has been a part of the public sector, offering elementary and secondary education for adults since 1968. It was launched by the 1967 Adult Education Reform after adult education had become a crucial and central issue in Swedish educational policy and labour market policy in the 1960s, when the parallel school system was abandoned and a nine-year compulsory school was introduced, as well as modernized secondary education.

Initially, MAE (municipal adult education) was to a great extent the means of providing a 'second chance' for the 'educational reserve' that had previously been denied the opportunity of secondary education. Four goals for MAE were gradually formulated and reinforced between 1967 and 1975 in a series of government bills: 1) equality, 2) democracy, 3) economic growth and 4) the satisfaction of individual preferences. These goals have applied as general goals over time, but the emphasis has differed (cf. Lundahl 1997, Lumsden Wass 2004).

Although the goals of MAE have been the same over the years, disparate ideas, concepts and techniques concerning how the MAE-state relationship should be structured, administered and organized have been brought up. From the early 1980s, as in all other organizational fields in the public sector, different forms of decentralization models and restructuring concepts have dominated. MAE can be said to have been a landing site for 'travelling' New Public Management (Hood 1991) ideas and models. However, MAE is not only a site of reform and restructuring – it is a field of adult educational practice, of learning, of teaching, and of developmental work by teachers.

Purpose and methodology

This study is part of a research project "Transforming incentives in Swedish Adult Education", funded by the Educational Sciences Section of the Swedish Research Council. The purpose of this study is to describe and analyze the development of and changes in MAE,

from the mid-1970s until the 21st century. It is based on occupational life history studies with four teachers who have worked in MAE – in different municipalities – since the early 1970s.

The reason I have chosen this approach to describe and analyze the development of and changes in MAE is that (although there has been much research on specific issues in MAE) there are no other studies that have investigated change and development over time with teachers' narratives as the point of departure. Nor are there any explorations of the trajectory of the field over time. The source of my inspiration can be found in life history research. As put by Ivor Goodson & Pat Sikes: "Given that teachers play the key role in interpreting, mediating and realizing what goes on in educational institutions, their values, motivations and understandings have considerable influence on professional practices of all kinds. Life history methodology, uniquely perhaps, enables the exploration, the tracing and tracking of this influence through the way in which it attempts to take an holistic approach to individuals in the various contexts (for example social, political, economic, religious, geographical, temporal) they inhabit." (Goodson & Sikes 2001, s. 57).

My research has resulted in four "genealogies of context" (Goodson 1992) based the interviews with the four teachers as well as historical documents. I have configured the material and worked with "narrative analyses" as described by Polkinghorne and the result is my production of four "storied narratives" (Polkinghorne 1995). The procedure has been collaborative and has included informed consent. The teachers have read and commented on abstracts, have provided further information, and I have carried out complementary interviews after having gathered additional texts, documents, etc. As a part of the collaborative nature of the research design, I have explained the conceptual framework and tools used for configuration, and we have had several discussions on analysis. The collaboration with each teacher lasted approximately half a year, the last ended in January, 2005.

Conceptual framework for narrative analyses

In order to perform narrative analyses on people in context – on teachers in Swedish MAE over a period of some 30 years – I have worked with concepts from time-geography, an approach originally suggested by Torsten Hägerstrand (1970). Central in this perspective is that space and time are an inseparable unit: *space-time*. Everything individuals (or other entities) do takes time and occurs somewhere –

space-time provides the resources and the constraints. Hägerstrand defines three types of *constraints*: capacity constraints, coupling constraints and institutional constraints. An individual's movements/activities in space-time makes a *path*, a space-time path (also called a *trajectory*), which can be studied, related to e.g. constraints, and analyzed. A path (or trajectory) also makes it possible to study "the continuity of succession of situations" (Hägerstrand 1982, p. 323) – *situation* is another core concept of the perspective. Finally, two concepts from time-geography that I work with are *project* and *diorama*. The concept of project consists of the individual's intentions, of space-time possibilities and the "storehouse of culture", as put by Hägerstrand (p. 325). The concept of diorama is used to relate the individual to other entities – the "thereness aspect" of the concepts is what is essential.

I found the time-geographical concepts to be fruitful when organizing plots of teachers over time in MAE – my research interest being development and change in MAE. The concepts have been tools for understanding the trajectories – to conceptualize how the trajectories have been formed. Thus, the narratives concern teacher trajectories in space-time, Swedish MAE from the 1970s until a couple of years into the 21st century.

The trajectories of the teachers

The teachers have worked with MAE since the mid-1970s with the exception of Maria, who began in 1981. They have taught different subjects: Gustav has worked with maths and physics, Anna with English and history, Britta with Swedish, history, social studies and (mainly) Swedish as a second language. Maria began teaching subjects equivalent to grades 4/5 – 9, but has been involved solely with literacy projects since 1994.

All the teachers express the enthusiasm they felt when they began working with MAE. The field was expanding and developing and they were involved. The teachers' narratives reveal how they were in agreement with the idea of a second chance, with the national project of providing adult education, with teaching and working with adults.

All the stories include certain reforms and incentives for change: the curriculum for adult education established in 1982, the restructuring of the Swedish school system in 1990/1991 in which professional freedom and local responsibility was to substitute steering by regulations, and the five-year national adult education

project the Adult Education Initiative (AEI, in Swedish Kunskapslyftet) 1997-2002, one of the aims of which was to transform MAE in order to match ideas about lifelong and flexible learning. It is evident that these reforms and incentives constitute contents of the stories: they are part of my sphere of interest in this study of development and change in MAE. More precisely, my approach using occupational life history studies, together with case studies, is a deliberate choice in order to investigate their content in specific contexts.

Gustav's trajectory

Gustav's first MAE diorama is in a centrally located building in one of Sweden's larger cities. He gets introduced to the job and the field by his colleagues and head teachers. He attaches great importance to the school and "climate" there. MAE was important in the city, and the school had a strong identity. Gustav describes the early years as intensive. He talks about the spirit of the time: "I happened to begin when there was this spirit of the time, when [MAE] was being built up and expanding". Connected to this spirit of the time was Olof Palme, the minister of education at the time. Gustav talks about the high level of ambition of the teachers at the school where he taught, and he remembers how challenged he was and how he sat at home in the kitchen during late evenings, preparing his math examples and different explanations.

In Gustav's trajectory, projects are closely connected to his subjects. Over the years, he works with developing educational packages, is involved in discussions on course content, test construction and forms of assessment. In the 1980s, commissioned education for companies and public organizations becomes a large part of his job. In the 1990s, he gets involved in other types of projects: with a national group working with standardized course tests, with an ICT project, and with designing and distributing distance education on the Internet. His story of the early 1990s is also about study trips he made to other countries.

After the AEI, the situation changes in the municipality: in 1999 an adult education board – a meso arena of structuring and ordering adult education – is established and Gustav's MAE unit becomes one of many "providers". The MAE units in his city are first downsized and in 2001/2002 turned into a freestanding company owned by the city council. Flexible learning and flexible courses become a norm and Gustav reflects critically on these kinds of study forms.

Gustav's trajectory is the most dramatic of the four in my study. In

2002, the municipal company lost its mandate in the tendering processes. Gustav and some 300 staff were transferred to a 'holding project' where the purpose was to find new jobs in the municipality. Today Gustav is a teacher at a comprehensive school.

Anna's trajectory

The storied narrative of Anna's early years at MAE is about how stimulating she thought it was teaching adults English and history and about her work methods, but also about MAE being housed in the building of a upper secondary school, with no special space for the students and no workroom for the teachers. These coupling and institutional constraints are prominent.

In the 1980s, her working methods gradually change towards more individualisation and project work. The explanation she gives to this development is the 1982 curriculum for adult education and the influx of different groups of students with different needs and desires. A new headmaster becomes an important person for the development of MAE in the municipality – he has political connections and visions, manages to create space for MAE and works up an identity for it. In Anna's narrative, the development in the 1980s turns into an "exposition" in the 1990s when MAE gets a structure of its own. The staff can arrange better schedules for the students and the teachers get a workroom where they can place their materials and can plan together and produce things together.

At the end of the 1980s, Anna and her colleagues begin working with more elaborated forms of individualization methods and some of years later they move to a special building, which also houses a EU project on Open Learning. The teachers work collaboratively and, in Anna's words, they were 'ahead of the new curriculum' (introduced in 1994). Staff from other municipalities pay educational visits. Anna also works on changing working methods in her history classes during these years, but this is a more problematic. Her way of doing things differently goes via studying the history of ideas at University – i.e. primarily via content and not via form.

Also in Anna's municipality, MAE becomes one of several providers during the AEI, with 30% of the 'market'. Similar to Gustav's case, a pedagogical concept based on flexibility is prescribed; here without a time schedule for different subjects and without fixed terms, and also strongly favoured by the school leaders. The plot developed into an organizational drama in 2001, when the Labour Inspectorate came to the school to make an inspection. The

school leadership was ordered to take four measures, the most important of which, Anna emphasizes, was that the school leaders must investigate organizational factors concerning burden of work, in order to prevent ill-health, and to take measures to rectify the situation. After the inspection, the municipality came up with an action plan, and for a year all the staff met in groups with a professional counsellor in order to establish a new organisation. Slowly, things turned around and by the time of my study in 2003, there are once again work schedules and organised courses at the MAE.

Maria's trajectory

Maria began working in MAE in 1981, teaching basic adult education, i.e. subjects equivalent to grades 4/5 – 9. The initial part of her story is – as in Anna's story – a diorama with constraints: adult education in a remote corner of the compulsory school building. However, it is expanding: when she begins working in 1982, there are two teachers in basic adult education, at the beginning of the 1990s there are eight. The development of Maria's organization is, like Anna's, connected to a school leader with political knowledge. In the early 1990s, MAE has premises of its own, located in a central building and with "an identity" and "high status".

Maria's trajectory is explorative. She attends in-service training from the outset and after having worked a year or two she and one of her colleagues become involved in a project initiated by the county education department intended to implement the MAE Curriculum 1982. A recurrent theme in the plot of Maria's trajectory is trying out different methods and pedagogical concepts. She began to work more and more with students in need of literacy training and since 1994 has only worked in this field. Maria's trajectory becomes both a reflective and a pragmatic path towards a practice that works well for this target group. She tries out and rejects different ideas and finally finds a theory that she agrees with. In time, a matching methodology and model is developed, with strict routines and tools for adults with reading and writing difficulties.

The trajectory of the literacy activity that Maria is responsible for is dynamic and stable, but the rest of the organization goes through major changes. In the early 1990s up until the AEI, a development takes place that is revolutionary in Maria's words. But with the AEI, a major restructuring takes place. This results in multiple providers and repeated cuts in Maria's organization. Her story of the recent years is

one of economic imbalances and MAE administrators being replaced. Rather than the aimed for and commonly spoken on flexibility, there is turbulence and uncertainty.

Britta's trajectory

Britta's trajectory is special because it extends from being an adult education student at Hermods correspondence institute in the 1950s and 1960s to being an adult education teacher at a folk high school, to being a teacher at MAE from 1976. A recurrent theme in her story about practice is connecting to adults' experience and cultural and historical background. Her appreciation of MAE structure is also frequently emphasized, and through the years she is involved in various projects organizing adult learning activities and environments – e.g. a library at the school. From the mid-1980s, Britta becomes increasingly involved in working with students who study Swedish as a second language. In the 1990s, she and her colleagues develop interdisciplinary models, in order to provide a coherent structure for these students.

Like Maria, Britta works with the implementation of the 1982 MAE Curriculum on behalf of the county education department. Britta attaches great importance to this curriculum and the work that the school was doing at that time. When she explains developmental projects carried out much later on, she refers to the tradition they have had at the school since the days of working with the curriculum of 1982. She also attaches importance to the building which they moved in to in 1984, and where they have been since then. With a centre for MAE, a community for students and teachers is established.

In contrast to the others, there is a continuity 'in the successions of situations' in Britta's trajectory, over the decades and through reforms. Other providers were only given 20% of the market after the introduction of the AEI. In Britta's story, the municipal politicians from several parties have guarded MAE – they have had occasional contact with different teachers at MAE, have paid visits to the organisation and she thinks they have been of the opinion that it works well. This implies that the teachers have been able to complete projects, e.g. EU projects that Britta has been involved in. The collaboration with Britta takes place a year before she retires. When asked what her reflections are concerning the development of adult education, Britta points out that "the wheels turn". Individualism, flexibility, distance learning and student responsibility were what

characterised Hermods correspondence institute where she once studied as a young adult. A point she wants to make is that MAE and its structure with teachers, classes and groups was originally established because many adults did not complete their studies at Hermods or via other flexible arrangements.

Comprehensive analysis

In my analysis, I have distinguished between three eras in the development of MAE. My categorization of "eras" is grounded in the disparate ideas/concepts/techniques based on how the education-state relationship should be structured/organized and the implication these ideas/concepts/techniques have had for the trajectories. The eras are as follows: up to 1990/1991, 1991 to 1997 and 1997 and onwards. Briefly, one can speak about two restructuring shifts: (1) from centralization to decentralization in the early 1990s, and (2) the establishment of quasi-marketization of adult education with the AEI 1997 project onwards.

I have designed and organized my comprehensive analysis in two chapters: in the first, the field of MAE and the development of the field are the unit of analysis, in the second the development of the occupation is the unit of analysis.

The field and the development of the field

In this analysis, I have used DiMaggio & Powell's discussion on institutional isomorphism (1991) to analyze how the different MAE organizations, which the four teachers work in, develop in similar or homogenous ways. DiMaggio & Powell identify three mechanisms through which isomorphic change occurs: "(1) coercive isomorphism that stems from political influence and the problem of legitimacy; (2) mimetic isomorphism resulting from standard responses to uncertainty; and (3) normative isomorphism, associated with professionalization." (ibid, p. 67). From my material, I find that the teachers and their organizations very much accept the central government model, and the mechanisms of coercive institutionalism are very strong until the implementation of the MAE curriculum reform in 1982.

With the introduction of the curriculum for adult education in 1982, decentralization enters the stories. In this curriculum, local planning and shaping is emphasized. One example is that the syllabus for every course is constructed so that 1/3 of the course is defined as 'deeper studies', aimed at enabling students and teachers

together to negotiate/agree on and define both the subject matter/content and the methods. When the curriculum reform of 1982 was to be implemented, with its 'andragogical mode' of structuring every syllabus with 1/3 left for the teachers and students to agree on together, the county education boards arranged for in-service training. The way in which this in-service training was arranged was via teachers and headmasters in the field. The strategy was to set up what can be regarded as network-like arrangements where teachers would discuss adult learning and inspire each other. The stories of Britta and Maria give account of this process, as they are both involved in these arrangements. Here, we see how the early efforts at decentralization during Era 1 result in uncertainty (1/3 of the syllabus – how is that supposed to be done?) and how that uncertainty encourages mimetic isomorphism.

Some reflections can also be made on normative isomorphism during Era 1. None of the teachers had come across any adult education issues during their teacher education. At the time, teacher education was oriented towards subjects, method and levels, and despite the policy of building MAE, there were no courses that focused on adult education or adult learning. Thus, when the teachers in my studies (and most of their colleagues) begin working with adult education, none of them except Britta had any professional knowledge or experience of working with adults. This means that how to teach and work specifically with adults was something that was learnt in adult-educational practice.

However, in my material, the way in which the teachers refer to a magazine that was issued in the mid-1970s indicates the presence of normative pressures. This magazine was published by an interest group in MAE, and in the editorial office there were representatives from both the field and a department at a University. Through this magazine (KOM) questions and matters involving adult education, such as good or best practices, are spread to the organizations. In-service training, courses and experience-sharing seminars were also arranged for teachers and other staff in the field, and two of the four teachers talk about such courses.

A third aspect involving normative pressures can also be found in the stories from Era 1 concerning a recurrent theme about a specific strong-willed director of studies. In three of the four stories, this is a character who manages to give MAE 'an identity', and the character is also closely connected to the fact that the organization gets a building of its own. The teachers' stories describe this man not

necessarily as a beloved boss, but more as someone who knows a lot about MAE and knows how to argue with local politicians.

To sum up, my analysis leads me to the conclusion that although Era 1 can be regarded as an era of centralisation and of government control, the main trend during the era with the governmental decentralization efforts is actually towards 'looser coupling' to central state bureaucracy. However, the field stabilizes during the decentralization efforts and the way in which it stabilizes is via mimetic isomorphism rather than coercive isomorphism. When the Swedish school system is restructured in 1990 and coercive isomorphism is defused by the government, the other isomorphic mechanisms are already in place.

There are a number of parallel processes and projects going on in the early 1990s. There is the story of the path to a MAE structure, and stories of how projects started when the teachers, students and staff were gathered in the same building. Packages of various kinds for various target groups, multiple efforts to arrange and rearrange and integrate groups, courses, collaboration with e.g. the library, with 'Open learning', etc. "Travelling" (cf. Czarniawska & Joerges 1996) pedagogical ideas such as Suggestopedia, Total Physical Response, learner autonomy etc. circulate, are adopted for a while in one way or another, or set their mark in practice more permanently in some way or another. The dominating gestalt of Era 2 is new or ongoing projects.

Although MAE was intended to be part of the regular allocation of public money to the municipalities after the restructuring in 1991, it is evident from the stories that commissioned education for companies and public organizations was also a regular feature, and in 1993, earmarked funds were granted to MAE for educating the unemployed. Instead of 'bad times with cuts', conditions during the first half of the decade were fairly prosperous. All the teachers talk about conferences they participated in during this period, study trips to other countries. They call these years "the golden years" (and other similar expressions). Others come on field visits to their organization, to see how they organize and provide for AE. These mimetic features increase after the new 1994 curriculum. The difference from the reform in the 1980s is that during the implementation of the 1994 curriculum, there is no county education department. The initiative to model organization/AE practice by looking at others and imitating is solely an initiative that comes from within the organization.

Mimetic isomorphism during these years of 'the withdrawal of the coercive central state' is strong and there is also a development towards normative isomorphism. In the new 1994 curriculum and in the so-called school development agreement in 1995, the idea of professionalism was heavily emphasized. The rhetoric pointed towards 'extended' responsibilities, 'extended' professionalism and greater autonomy for the local schools, and the professional teacher is described as the key to 'school improvement', working in teacher teams, in collaboration with others (Carlgrén 2000, Sundkvist 2000). The accounts of the 1990s up to 1997 show how involved they all were, collaborating with others, developing and improving projects and education models. They were all involved with colleagues in finding ways to improve practices they wanted to improve and when they describe their work at that time, they talk about school development.

The five-year Adult Education Initiative (1997-2002) is the point when a change takes place in three of the four trajectories, but not Britta's. The restructuring of MAE resulted in the establishment of quasi-marketization, municipal order boards, purchasing processes and the entry of a variety of AE providers brings about a radically different institutional environment for the organizations the trajectories are connected to.

In all the organizations except Britta's, the teaching staff is reduced through the years and MAE is repeatedly re-structured. From the order boards and other actors in the institutional environment there is also pressure to deliver flexible and individualized MAE of a different kind than previously. With the concepts of institutional isomorphism, this restructuring shift with the pressure to deliver a certain kind of MAE can be termed as a shift towards neo-coercive isomorphism. In the era of 'flexibility' this is paradoxically about providing and delivering a certain kind of model, and this attachment to one kind of form can be termed "neo-formalism".

The neo-coercive mechanisms of Era 3 and this way of restructuring clash with the predominant mimetic and normative mechanisms embedded in the restructuring shift that took place the early 1990s with the withdrawal of the central state and the idea of defusing coercive pressures. This clash is evident in several situations in the trajectories and I conceptualize it as a "clash of incentives".

The teaching occupation in MAE and its development

The second chapter relating to comprehensive analysis relates to the first, but the focus is shifted somewhat onto the teaching occupation in MAE and its relation to the state in terms of a welfare state profession and its development and change. Initially I bring forth how teachers in MAE, compared to other teachers in the public sector, are more dependent on state education projects, temporary priorities and educational labour market measures. Both the way in which this specific group of teachers are continuously forced to adjust to state priorities and the fact that there is no teacher education for adult education provides a basis for judging the status of the group as more dependent and thus also less professional than teachers in the compulsory school system. However, teachers in MAE often have high academic degrees in the subjects they teach and a standing as a socially sanctioned expertise by their grading authority. Features such as commissioned education also give a different, more loosely coupled, connection to the state. The trajectories of the teachers include periods in the late 1980s and early 1990s when the MAE organisations made a profit and teachers could attend courses and travel to other countries on study visits.

What feels most striking about the teachers' narratives is the broad agreement expressed with regard to the policy ideas for municipal adult education that were articulated during the years of central bureaucracy. The school system was restructured in 1990 through normative mechanisms for isomorphism that were supported by the state and new incentives in terms of goal steering and talk of teacher professionalism were introduced. In my analysis of the development of the occupation this is given importance, but I also emphasize how knowledge and the development of practice has to do with other stabilizing processes such as an established infrastructure for MAE, rooms to collaborate in, projects that take permanent form, etc.

Relating to the discussion on de-professionalization in teaching and the development of the AEI, I argue that the trajectory of the occupation tends toward more de-professionalization at this point. The quasi-market structure implies a situation that in a sense disempowers teachers as others begin to others define the profession for them. On the other hand, some examples in my material suggest teacher resistance and contestation. Thus, conceptualising the trajectory of the occupation/profession in terms of de-professionalization is problematic and I also argue that

professionalism is related to normative value systems.

Concluding remarks

I bring forth five concluding remarks. First I point out how development and change is initiated by conditions not directly coupled to a reform or a restructuring programme. The consequences of organising all MAE in the same school building is one example. Secondly I state that reforms and restructuring are of importance for developments in practice, but the life history studies I have conducted also show that the field develops through "travelling ideas", mimetic processes, the setting up of new (local) projects and so on. This implies a critique against more traditional implementation studies. Thirdly, the role of stabilizing processes and activities in development and change is emphasized – the plots in the narrative analysis of the teacher trajectories are much about ways in which projects take shape gradually – and also how projects destabilize through restructuring. Fourthly, the clash of incentives with the AEI and quasi-market models is pointed out and I stress how my material shows how powerful this model is. Fifthly, I put forward the importance of a complex conceptualisation of professionalism: the trajectories of the teachers in my study demonstrate how professionalism rests on many premises.

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The Modern - Postmodern Divide. Differing Motivations of Adult Learners?

Abstract: This paper wants to discover through a comparative examination of two very different decades the differing motivations and expectations of learners from the modern and postmodern eras.

Why is it important? I believe this to be important research as we move deeper into the postmodern era. As more writers and thinkers begin to illuminate and question the difference between the modern and the postmodern paradigms, there may be important messages for modernist adult educators who continue to make up the bulk of the profession. For instance, are there essential learner motivations that adult educators (who have been schooled in the modern paradigm), must be aware of when assisting learners essentially schooled within a postmodern paradigm? Do the "Principles of Adult Learning" still apply in the same way to the postmodern generation? Therefore, this research may have implications for curriculum design, as it will concentrate on the differing motivations and technologies of the eras.

Although there have been some studies that contrast the missionary like adult/workers' education activists of the early 1900s [of the WEA school] with the HRD technocrats [of the Malcolm Knowles school] of the 1970s etc., as far as I am aware, limited work has taken place in this area of enquiry.

Research approach. In an effort to discover if indeed significant differences exist, this presentation will compare the decades 1925-1935 and 1995-2005 and in particular examine the fashions, art and architecture of both eras to draw out possible learner motivation and expectations. I believe that it is in the *public display of creativity* that most often changes of attitude and therefore, changes in motivation can be demonstrated. Clear examples of the coming of the modern era are evident in the Art Deco movement of 1925-35. Are there similar indicators to changes in thinking and motivation to be demonstrated in 1995-05?

Once examples of *public display of creativity* have been identified, I intend to use two scenarios of fictitious learners from both eras as a way of giving form to the differing learner motivations.

Chapter 1. What is Modernism?

1.1 The emergence of modernism

Implicit within our understanding of “*modern*” is a sense of newness, of motion or progression, of change and superiority especially to do with products. Indeed, *modern* as in the Oxford Concise Dictionary means “... of now, the present...” and implicitly, therefore always, the future. In a historical sense, *modern* refers to the period beginning the 15th Century. (Williams, 1983) For the purpose of this paper, however I do not use the term in this historical sense but use it to describe the movement of modernism as embodied in its beliefs and values at the turn of the 19th Century. It can be easily argued that a simple reliance on a date range could capture those who were vigorously opposed to *modern* ideas.

Our thoughts relating to modern are often associated with equipment and technology. The modernist movement emerged in the mid-19th century in France (Burn, 1991). Prominent in the ideas of modernism was a reaction to the traditional or classical. The driving force of these ideas seems to have been the pace and shock of new engineering and scientific materials and discoveries. Also, the rise of the middle class and industrialisation and ideas that sprang from the roots of Marxism. (Hughes, 1991). Proponents of the ideas seemed to feel that linkages to the past were like anchors or weights holding back “progress” and further, that progress itself was a good thing. Much of the argument promulgated by modernists suggested that to make the move forward was both inevitable and good.

1.2 Architecture

Within architecture, the term “*modernism*” is also often used to describe a particular group of architects who wanted to detach themselves from the strictures of the past. Architects such as Sullivan, Jenny and Richardson, (Hunter, 1973) active in Chicago at the turn of the 19th century, were responding to new engineering materials that allowed for new less restricted ways of designing. Prominent also was the influence of the Bauhaus School in Germany, active especially between 1919 and 1933 run by different architect-directors (Walter Gropius from 1919 to 1928, Hannes Meyer from 1928 to 1930, and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe from 1930 to 1933). Gropius as founder argued that a new era had commenced at the end of the Great War and therefore a new set of artistic values and pretences was necessary. His idea was to align design more

carefully to the new techniques of mass production. He particularly developed the idea that artists should be encouraged to work with industry.

Brave to the point of arrogance, modernist architecture and the architect can be summed in Ayn Rand (1947), *The Fountainhead* in which her uncompromising architect Howard Roark, claims;

“I set my own standards, I inherit nothing. I stand at the end on no tradition. I may perhaps, stand at the beginning of one.”¹

Likewise, Le Corbusier, in a famous piece published in *Decorative Art Today*², announces a rejection of past standards, including old-fashioned artisan values as being redundant in the age of the machine aesthetic.

One of the most obvious characteristics of modernist architecture is its steadfast refusal to reference itself back in time. It is a complete and absolute break with tradition.

Ironically, the starting values of modernism in architecture, those of democracy, standardisation and the new industrial quality available through the machine age and consequently applied for the benefit of the masses, seems in retrospect to have dictated taste rather than to have reflected it. In the places where it was so uniformly incorporated, it imposed a strict systematic order and a way of living that demanded uniformity and soullessness. Internationally, it seems that the major modernist housing complexes have failed in their underlying values of social harmony and order. Indeed, at least in Australia, the debate over visual suitability of iconic buildings on the harbour foreshore such as Harry Siedler’s “Blues Tower”, continues to rage 40 years after its approval and construction. Many would have it destroyed and as many would defend its preservation.

1.3 Jeffery Smart Portrait of Clive James

“To appreciate fully a work of art we require nothing but sensibility. To those that can hear, Art speaks for itself.”³

In the early part of the 19th Century, there was a marked shift from the natural landscape with figures as the dominant subject matter of painting to that of the *Metropolis*. The rise of the machine age became apparent in paintings by many including George Grosz,

¹ Rand, A. *The Fountainhead*, (1938) Signet Press.

² Sim et al, *The Routledge Companion to Postmodernism* p 80.

³ Bell, Clive. In Harrison, Charles (1984) *Introduction to Modernism, Problems and Methods*. Open Univ. Press.

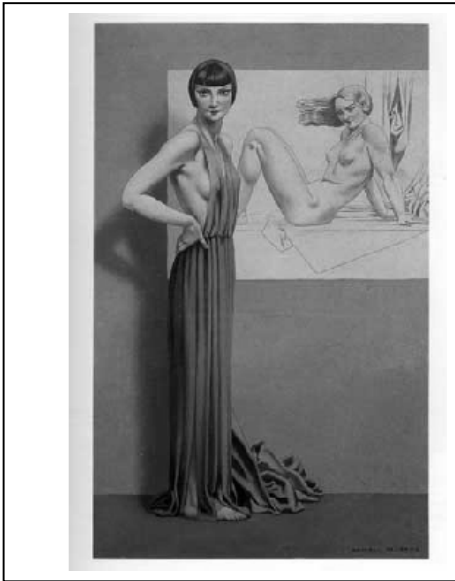


Spirit of Our Times, R. Hausmann 1921.

"*Republican Automatons*", 1920 Rudolf Schlitchter, *The Rooftop Studio* c.1922 and sculptor/painters such as Raoul Hausmann, *The Spirit of Our Time* 1921. (Hughes, 1991). We also see the rise of art movements such as the Dadaists, the Futurists, the Cubists and the Surrealists, all of which seem to have been a response to the rapidly changing times. The very fact that we have a

fragmentation of art into several competing yet complementary fronts is an indication that responses to the changing times were becoming many and varied. The importance of the writing of Sigmund Freud, the coming of the motorcar, the electric light, the telephone, the publishing of the special theory of relativity by Einstein, locomotion and the spread of the railway, photography and film, powered flight, the radio telescope all added impetus to the general feeling of forward motion.

"One did not need to be a scientist to sense the magnitude of such changes. They amounted to the greatest alienation in man's view of the universe since Isaac Newton"⁴



Significant proportions of populations were moving, emigrating and the shift from rural to urban had long been apparent. Great fortunes were being made and the middleclass was growing.

1.4 Fashion/Style

With urbanisation and increasing wealth came Art Deco, which was at once modern but not modernist purists. Clearly affluent and in some instances, decadent, pure modernists would have objected to it. Designers such as Rene

Lalique, Clarice Cliff active in the inter war years, were at the forefront of what must be described as a tangential departure from modernism. With its reliance on iconography from both classic and ancient periods, Art Deco seems to have looked backwards while going forward. A good example of this is the painting by Raphael Delmore, *La Robe verte*, oil c. 1930 (left). At once luxurious and austere, modern yet classical, a young woman stands somewhat arrogantly clad in a revealing gown referenced to classical times. She has large hands and eyes and large feet, firmly planting her in the present. Juxtaposed yet complimenting her, she stands next to a drawing of a seated nude woman of similar age. This drawing is stylised and angular reflecting the modern movement. The artist uses the hair of the model to suggest speed and progression. The hair is thrust out horizontally backward. The model is seated backward whilst apparently going forward. Art Deco is the bridge between the modern and classical times, an adaptation of the austere modernism with ornamentation of the past. An admission that to reference was both useful and unavoidable. Its symbols of speed, progression and movement are carried forward by Art Deco, well into the modern times and can still be seen in design in the 1950s.

1.5 Music

With the movement of populations from rural to the city, there is the coming of the coming of the Jazz Age instigated by African Americans. They in turn were to influence composers such as Aaron Copland, a New Yorker who studied in Paris and was also influenced extensively by Igor Stravinsky and his "*Neoclassicisms*". Also in America, Scott Joplin blended European Classical with African America rhythms to create "*Ragtime*". In 1924 as part of a concert entitled, "*An Experiment in Modern Music*", George Gershwin premiered, "*Rhapsody in Blue*"⁵ which has very clear reference to Jazz and Blues and is highly reflective of the built environment, suggestive of skyscrapers in its echoing and soaring score. We also witness the coming of the "*Big Band*" giving popular reference to the *machine age* by way of beat timings familiar in the sounds of building construction and travel in particular the steam trains. "Fascinating Rhythm" (Gershwin, 1924) is a good example of this.

1.6 Politics

⁴ Hughes, Robert. *Shock of the New*, p 15.

⁵ The Official Gershwin Site < <http://www.gershwin.com/>>

World Conflict and the rise of the *Grand Narrative*. Although it is difficult to make simple summaries of the features of politics at the beginning of or during the modernist period, it is fair to point to the rise and adaptation of the all-encompassing theory as being a predominant feature. Be it Marxist or free market, democratic or totalitarian, the idea that the world could be a better place stems from *the Enlightenment* (Grant, 2005), and is a pillar of the modernist paradigm. That is, the solid belief in systems, science and the certainty of the future. At least in part, world conflict as a feature of *modernity* can be seen as a clash of the *Grand Narratives*. We also see in the 20th Century, the rapid overtaking of small local arrangements of loose governance, with large uniifications, for instance the creation of Malaysia, Indonesia, Yugoslavia the USSR. We also see the inception and creation of the United Nations and now of course, the European Union. Although created for very different reasons, they are still examples of the unswerving faith in large, managed systems.

1.7 Table of Themes

Modern	Traditional
Objective	Subjective
Mass Produced	Individually Crafted
Democratic	Autocratic
Liberating	Constraining
Autonomous	Humanist
Detachment	Attachment
Bureaucracy	Patriarchy
Capitalism	Feudalism
Functional	Decorative

Chapter 2. What is Postmodernism?

2.1 The emergence of postmodernism

The postmodern debate has been heated and vocal over the past decade in particular. Some have argued that the postmodern condition as a paradigm is simply a logical extension of the modern paradigm, and therefore modernity in its literal sense, of now, the present. This seems simplistic given the very different characteristics cited in the table below. Others have raised more sophisticated arguments linking the condition of postmodernism to the growth of globalisation through the apparent victory of capitalism and also as

an undermining of adult education's traditional working class or cause-based organisations. (Edwards, Usher 2001). Rolled into these arguments are notions of new social movements that stride old political divides, encampments of both the left and right seem to be crumbling. What is suggested is the death of dogma and the triumph of pragmatism driven by a global economy. One of the most recognised and cited thinkers on postmodernism is Lyotard who asserts that there is a need to reject the *grand narrative* or *universal theories* because these theories have lost their credibility. (Sim, 2005)..

At the very least, *postmodernism* is a reaction to *modernist structural* ideas about knowledge and the *construction* of knowledge. The *postmodernists* challenge the view that the world was ultimately *knowable* and governed by systems. Early arguments put forward by Lyotard in "*Libidinal Economy*" (1974) claims that humans are all subjected to *libidinal drives* that can only be controlled by totalitarian measures. Thematically therefore, the writings on *postmodernism* seem to support the cult of the individual against the State. Interestingly, Lyotard argues that *postmodernist* thought should not argue against the *grand narrative* of the *modernist* traditions, but should ignore such engagements. By doing so, the old theories or grand narratives, will simply wither. Indeed to take a position is to engage in dogma. Lyotard argues that a more useful form of engagement is via the *petit recit* of *little narrative*, the put together on tactical basis by small groups or individuals. (Sim, 2005). Whether such a strategy could be adequately employed against the grand narratives as embodied in religious fundamentalism is not clear.

Postmodernist thought also rejects the idea of a predictable future. Here we see a yet another departure with the *modern tradition*. *Modernist* thought embraces the idea of a knowable future suggesting a linear trajectory. *Postmodernists* reject this claiming it to be limiting to human endeavour. We see therefore a *postmodern* trajectory not as trajectory at all but rather a multi-directional progression.

2.2 Architecture

The discussion of Architecture is an interesting place to delineate the differences between *modern* and *postmodern*. Particularly because of the apparent failure of the *modern promise*, that of a pure and pristine existence enhanced by functionality. As a comparison with the *modernist tradition*, *postmodern* architecture can be seen to

display a tendency to plurality of designs and concepts. *Modernism* - Art Deco aside - had demanded an ideology of style and design, international, without decoration and with definite boundaries. Comparatively, the *postmodern* design often confuses or blends the end of one functional space with the beginning of another, room to room, indoors to outdoors. While in the *modern* house there is only **one** place for the lamp; the place for the lamp in the *postmodern* house is where you want it to be, **today**. To highlight this juxtaposition, the Villa Tugendhat completed in 1930 by Mies van der Rohe, had the dining table fixed – bolted in position. There was definitely only one place for the table in this remarkable icon of modernity.

Charles Jencks is known as the foremost commentator on postmodern theories in architecture having published most notably *“The Language of Postmodern Architecture”* in 1977. *Postmodernism* in architecture seems to have been a reaction to the soullessness and stricture of *modernism*, and its treatment of humanity as a secondary or bit player in a perfect design. There are also arguments about consumerist and capitalist excess that became *modernism*, however others (Holloway, 1988) argues that *postmodern* design is more about pastiche and perhaps appropriation than its is about direct criticism of *modernism*.

2.3 Art

Unlike the modern period, art in the postmodern world has lost its ability to shock. There is a merging, a borrowing from all periods, a constant referencing to everything else, an ambiguity and what has been termed in early writing, a pastiche of style. Some have argued that art is over. (Kuspit, 2004). He argues that:

“Who is naïve enough today – more that century after van Gogh’s death – to think that art is not rotten, at least in part?”⁶

Kuspit’s position is based on his belief that art is no longer relevant because it has lost its aesthetic import and that it has been replaced by “postart”.

The notion of the loss of aesthetic as the centrepiece to an argument about the eventual downgrading of art to an everyday activity practiced by all, is an interesting point to look at postmodern art. The transient nature of artistic activity, the rise of installation and conceptual art, the representation of the ordinary as art, (perhaps

⁶ Kuspit, D (2004): *The End of Art*. p 147.

started by Duchamp and the Dadaists), all point the eventual downfall of art. The prevailing feeling is that there are now no horizons for art, that it has all been done before.

2.4 Fashion

Symptomatic of what has been “termed the end of fashion”, style in the postmodern era is so plural, so referential, so eclectic as to be claimed to not exist at all. However a feature that is common is a continuing reference to tribalism with tattooing and body piercing first seen as radical and anti-establishment, then being appropriated to become common or mainstream.

“Punk was trash culture gone avant-garde and/or the avant-garde gone trash, and just as Dada had tried to destroy the institution of art, so the punks seemed bent on destroying the very institution of fashion”⁷.

The shock and violence of the 70-80 punk movement have been softened and adapted into a postmodern era with hairstyles now coloured, gelled, spiked and shaven. In a postmodern world, the regularity and predictability of fashion’s excesses have completely exhausted its ability to shock. Fashion and style is also fragmented at the extremes, with styles such as neo-gothic, feral-punk or urban-rasta co-existing and borrowing from each other. Many designers have taken tribal objects and ornamentation to make a strange adaptation of the natural world.

2.5 Music

Rap, sampling, and endless referencing are the dominant features of music in a postmodern world. Like punk in fashion, rap at first anti-institutional and celebratory of criminality and bravado, is now appropriated and marketed. It no longer shocks.

Sampling, a technique of electronically extracting a section of a song or tune, most often from another era, and then placing it within another composition sometimes looping it in the background so that it is barely recognisable, has been revolutionary to the development of popular music. Alongside this has been the impact of the personal computer as a tool for composition and mixing of music. Add to this the power of the Internet and we see the gradual and unforeseen erosion of the established pathways for bringing music to the public.

⁷ Wilson, Elizabeth, *Bohemians: The Glamorous Outcasts* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 2000), p. 173.

The term “Indi Style” refers to music created *independent* of the major publishers. Downloadable music, playable in mp3 players and personal computers, have re-shaped and challenged the way major publishers package music.

The conservative social commentator, Mark Steyn said during a radio interview in Australia⁸ that in any recording made in 1938, the singer, writer and arranger were all doing what they specialised in. He went on to say that in 1998, this had changed to the one person doing all of the specialities, a reversal of the theories of Adam Smith. Although Steyn could not support this development because of what he viewed was the inevitable impact on quality, it is clear that in the postmodern era, music is now out of the hands of the few and into the hands of the many.

2.6 Politics

Leon Weiseltier wrote in The New Republic (July 1993), the postmodern politician, as demonstrated in President Bill Clinton, is not marked by non belief but by belief in everything, a belief which eliminates the rule of contradiction and leaves one with only one working principle--belief in “Process”⁹

This is indicative at least of the condition of postmodernism. The old alignments have frayed at the edges. Solidarity with cause and ideals has fragmented into many fronts where old enemies align for utility. The protests at the World Trade Organisation meeting in Canada are a good example of this. Here, neo-conservatives were seen alongside radical anarchists, agreeing to pursue the disruption of the talks for very different reasons. New single issue political parties have attracted support as traditional alignments begin to fail. Moreover, some political parties have been left floundering as the changes in public attitude stepped ahead of the old parties understanding of the new order or rather, the new disorder. In Australia, a dogmatic adherence to factionalism within the Labor Party was cited by the party's first essentially postmodern leader, Mark Latham, as the coming death of the party, something it would not recover from. Latham had himself been described as a seething mass of contradictions, a fact exploited by the Government and Media alike.

⁸ Counterpoint, 7/08/06, ABC Radio National.

⁹ New Republic, July 18 1993.

2.7 Table of themes

Modern	Postmodern
Commitment	Ambivalence
Loyalty	<i>Detachment</i>
Monogamy	<i>Singularity</i>
Linear	Multi directional
Truth	Relative Truth
Certainty	Scepticism
Authoritarianism	Free Expression
Idealism	Pragmatism
Consistency	Contradictory
Conformity	Difference

Chapter 3. Adult Education in a Postmodern World.

Motivation and expectations.

Have the learning motivations and expectations of adults changed from the *modern* to the *postmodern*? My general proposition is that adults do not consider themselves as *modern* or *postmodern* in the main. However, it is the visual references we are exposed to on a daily basis that influences how we relate the world. The best way of working through this proposition is by use of scenario.

The Modern Learner

It is 1932. Warren Gibbs is a returned soldier having served in the Middle East, and in Europe. Born in 1901, he is only as old as Australia itself is as an independent nation. He is now thirty-three and in his short lifetime has seen more change than has occurred in the previous hundred years. The building of huge ocean going vessels and resultant international travel, the rapid construction of cities, the mass movement of people, destruction and carnage on a scale not known before, the destruction of the old order, the rise of the middle class, great wealth and great poverty.

Warren has a low level of schooling, having left like many others to give support to his large family of six siblings and then to join the great adventure of WW1. Unlike his father, he is literate and numerate. The schooling he received imparted knowledge by rote acquisition, knowable facts about history, language and arithmetic. Ironically, as a child of the new nation, Warren knows many more facts about Great Britain and its history than he does about Australia

and its new Asian neighbours. Indeed, it was the association with the history of Great Britain that encourages his enlistment in the Australian Army.

Most of Warren's news comes from the newspaper and from public meetings in particular public lectures at the Railway Institute and union meetings.

All around Warren are the symbols of progress despite the great depression, now almost at an end. As he lives in Sydney Australia, the greatest and most potent of these symbols is the Sydney Harbour Bridge. For ten years from 1922, the construction of the bridge has dominated the thoughts and dreams of Sydneysiders. So much so that the *Arch* and *Pillar* elements of the bridge can be seen reflected in the features of buildings from facades to fences all through the newly expanding Sydney Suburbs and in some of the modern architecture in the City itself. Architects such as Marion Mahony and husband Walter Burley-Griffen of the USA's Prairie School are in Australia and their influence is being seen from the everyday new housing of the expanding suburbs to industrial buildings and in the very creation of the new Australian Capital city, Canberra.

With over 1200 listed venues, cinema as the new entertainment is popular. The film industry in Australia at this time is very active with over 60 films per year being made. (Pearl, 1974). Many of the new cinemas are built in the Art Deco style. Long reaching lines are prominent in the decoration, indicative of speed, wind or motion. There is also reference to classicism and antiquity, Greek, Roman and Egyptian.

Powered flight is now common with a circumnavigation of Australia having been completed 10 years earlier. Women are seen wearing trousers as part of the new fashion; the telephone network is now expanding with 500,000 connections apparent in the larger capital cities and the mainland states are connected to via telephone trunk lines. Radio broadcasting has commenced and among other things, Warren is listening to the new Jazz Music.

In his workplace in the NSW Railways, Warren is an active member of his trades union. His experience in the Great War has shaped his views about politics especially the new nation's relationship with the "Mother Country". He has managed to maintain his position at the NSW Railways throughout the Great Depression. In order to progress from Station Assistant to Station Master, Warren must undertake further study. He does this at the NSW Railway

Institute, an organisation established in line with the Philosophy of Liberal Education if biased towards the Technical. He is able to undertake courses including Accounting, Safe Railway Working, Arithmetic, Chemistry, Shorthand, Applied Mechanics, Chemistry, Electricity, Physics, Telegraphy, Typewriting, Mathematics, Mechanical Drawing, Locomotive Engine Driving, Westinghouse Brake, English and Composition and Geometrical. All classes are free to members of the Railway Institute, and on payment of five shillings per annum, Warren's sons may also attend. Ladies Classes are open to his wife and daughters to further their education with classes in Dressmaking and Cutting, Millinery, Painting, Cooking and many other skills¹⁰.

As a learner, Warren has faith and belief in his teachers. He believes he has knowledge deficits and trusts that learning *facts* and developing *expertise* is his way forward. He chooses subjects that are useful to his career and for him, the usefulness of learning is to do with that which can be known and applied. He trusts science and mechanics and has faith in the large system he is part of. He does not imagine that his working life will extend past the Railways and looks forward to a modest retirement on a Railway Pension.

The Postmodern Learner

It is 2002. Catherine Ariartis is 32 years old. She is the daughter of a second-generation Australian-Greek Doctor married to a third generation Australian-Scottish woman. Both of her parents are University educated. Catherine is single, has two degrees, the first in Business and the second in Politics. She has travelled widely and has lived overseas, firstly as part of her University studies where she lived in the USA, and second as an extended holiday in Greece where she studied Classics at a private college. She also spent time working in Northern Africa as a volunteer with "Care Australia". Catherine is non-aligned politically, but is active in two groups, "Amnesty International" and "Greenpeace".

Catherine has had a patchy working life. She did not adjust well to the commercial world and after two failed internships, she returned to University to undertake her second degree in Politics. Her major work for her honours thesis focussed on NGO's. Consequently, she has spent varying amounts of time working with cause-based

¹⁰ Adapted from NSW Railway Institute Website
<<http://www.railinst.com.au/index.php?section=History>>

organisations. Currently she job-shares two positions, one with a volunteer coordinating group and the other in a travel agency specialising in Adventure Travel. Although she cannot make a good fit with the corporate world, Catherine has no major objection to it. Work is important to Catherine, however it is not the entire focus of her life. Importantly, much of the workplace has adapted to Catherine's value system and both her employers engage her on her results and not the amount of time she spends at her desk.¹¹

Home for Catherine is a single room apartment in a converted late modern factory building the inner city. Space, unlike the twenties when her building was first built, is now at a premium. Room sizes are smaller, ceiling heights generally lower, but windows are larger. There is both a sense of privacy and exposure, of intimacy and intrusion. Here, Catherine watches television never staying long on any of the many channels available to her. Most of the news Catherine gets is from television but she views it with a sense of scepticism, as she understands the bias with which it is presented. A more important form of News for Catherine is the BLOG she maintains titled Concrete Daisies, a reference to a loose coalition of friends, all women, with whom she has maintained contact since University. Her BLOG has on-going contributions from these friends who now live in many parts of the world including Australia. Many of these friends in turn maintain their own BLOGS focussing on the interests they individually have. Catherine spends up to ten hours in any week, reading and contributing to many of these BLOGS. For Catherine, these are points of collision, where she develops ideas, discusses politics, recommends books and films and creates links to interesting places on the Internet she has found. Unlike her mother and father, Catherine's friends are from differing sides of the political spectrum and she is influenced by the merging of thoughts and ideas adding to her concept of how things *are* rather than how they should *be*.

Catherine listens to music spanning all eras. She does this in a faddish manner, sometimes spending weeks at a time listening to music of a particular decade. Less and less of her collection of music can be found on her shelves. Most is now in soft format only enjoyed via her mp3 player that she also uses to listen to radio programs and commentary from around the world.

¹¹ The Manager of the 21st Century, a Report by the Boston Consulting Group, Nicolson and Nairn 2006.

The art Catherine is most interested in is Tribal Art and she has a close artist friend who uses tribal art references to juxtapose the modern disconnection from the natural world. Her apartment is strewn with tribal fabrics and weavings she has collected.

Catherine views learning not as instrumental to her progress in life but rather her progress in life incidentally results in learning. She is influenced by many sources of knowledge and is connected to learning experiences at many points. She confidently accesses and assesses the value and validity of the sources and trusts none implicitly.

Summary

I have used the two scenarios positioned at radically differing points in time, i.e. the beginning of modernism and this postmodern moment to highlight the differences in exposure to the everyday and its many temporal visual references. Subconsciously, it is these factors that influence motivation. By no means can these scenarios be used as a complete all embracing picture. They do however, point to some of the influencing factors as I see them. I have attempted to draw attention to the fact that many factors impact on how we become who we are and therefore what we bring to the learning environment. For instance, Warren, is motivated by a sense of forward motion. All around him are the symbols of progress and the success of systems and are particularly represented in Art Deco. He has an un-erring faith in science as the solution to all problems. He believes that all things can be known and he has faith in teachers to fill his knowledge deficits. His pathway in life will be punctuated by education events, which, he will apply for instrumental vocational benefit.

Catherine, conversely, lives in what has been termed, the post industrial, late capitalist, post aesthetic era. (Milner, Thompson, Worth, 1988). Certainty is not apparent her world. She is not shocked by or impressed by science in the same way as is Warren. She does not trust in it having seen the results of much of the work of science through her activities in Greenpeace. Politically, she has lost faith in systems of all colours through her work in Amnesty International.

Whereas Warren's knowledge inputs are few, limited reading sources, public lectures etc, Catherine's are seemingly limitless. She sees herself as both a knowledge receptor and an originator of knowledge. Implicit in this understanding is a view that factual knowledge is referenced to the immediate and is, therefore, transient.

The Challenge for the Adult Educator in The Postmodern Environment.

In 1991, Robert J Blakely, the American Adult Educator and activist, mourned the death of Liberal Adult Education¹². Perhaps we see at the beginning of the 21st century, the first glimpse of the death of the Concept Adult Education per se. From a postmodern perspective, Adult Education from its various theoretical frameworks, can be seen to have failed to deliver its promise. The liberal educator's view of a utopian democratic society at peace with itself is not evident. The adult educator as social activist can also be seen to have failed as poverty, disease, social disconnection and on-going low rates of participation in the democratic process by disadvantaged people continues. Usher and Edwards (2001), point out that:

"In a situation where knowledge is constantly changing, and becoming more rapidly – almost overwhelmingly if unequally – available, globalizing processes result in a decentering of knowledge"

My example of Catherine fits well within Usher and Edwards view. Knowledge has both been decentered and made less valuable. Other recent theoretical constructions of adult education, particularly the concept of lifelong learning, have taken emphasis from the adult and placed learning more in a *cradle to grave* context. The new adult learners who will be entering a learning context, be it on-line, face-to-face or in a community setting, will have many more past learning events by comparison with learners of even the very recent past. Learning will also be for these individuals, more self motivated but less utilitarian and is likely to be short and in *sample* rather than a deep engagement.

The impact of new technologies such as the portable mp3 player which, is now delivering video, as it is combined with institutional delivery both within and across disciplines, will add dimension and flexibility never before available to learners. Further, the explosive increase in the sources of and variety of information will challenge adult education as a profession requiring and on-going assessment of the place and task of adult educators.

¹² Zacharakis-Jutz interview cited in "Philosophic shift at Mid Century, Podeschi, R & Zacharakis-Jutz, J. (Date unknown)

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Profession and Professional Work in Adult Education in Europe

In the recent decade it became more important to reflect about the work which is done in adult education, who is doing it and how he/she is qualified to do that. It is somehow the reaction on the shift to the learner, who is more and more seen as a self-directed and self-responsible actor apparently without the need of any professional help. So I would like to talk about trends and challenges in the professional development of adult educators.

Already the expression "professional development" of adult educators suggests that there is – or might be - a "profession" of adult education. Is that so?

We talk of "profession", when special knowledge and skills are needed to carry out a job in this field. But this is not all. Normally, special training or education, usually at a high level, is formally required to get access to the profession, to take up a job in the field. Such as is the case in the fields of medicine, law and religion, for example. And finally, the members of a profession are regarded as experts and enjoy a high level of respect from the general public. And accordingly they have themselves a high level of self-esteem.

What is the situation in adult education then? Are there needed special knowledge and skills? Is special training required to allow people to take up a job in adult education? What about the prestige and self-image of adult educators? And finally, what is an adult educator after all, whom do we consider as belonging to this group and why? If we talk of professional development of adult educators in Europe, it will be necessary to have these questions in mind.

My institute has recently set up a European research group – the first meeting was in October last year - which deals with the issues of competence and professional development of adult educators in Europe, and I am going to summarise here some of the discussions that this group has had so far.

Adult education as an occupational field

Let's have a look at Adult education as an occupational field first: Adult Education/Continuing Education is the educational sector which

is most closely connected with many other societal sectors. In contrast to the school or higher education sector, adult education has not a clearly delimited institutionalized structure with its own internal rationale and dynamics. Adult education in some form or other is present in many appearances.

Adult education has developed in different contexts and is structured different in sub-sectors, which are partly overlapping. This is true for most European countries. In some countries, especially in Southern and Eastern Europe, adult education is very closely connected to the societal areas in which it has originated and continues to develop such as social movements or the business sector. In other countries, especially in the North and West of Europe, there exist also different fields of adult education that are defined by a certain type of institution, such as folk high schools, private commercial providers, institutions of social and cultural education or technical colleges. In all cases, the whole picture of adult education (and the related „profession“) can only be understood against the background of its historical development and its current links with other societal sectors.

Across countries, the articulation of the field of adult education differs considerably, although usually one will find in most countries a broad distinction between vocational training and education on the one hand and liberal or general adult education on the other.

Also, the bases on which adult education provision rests differ considerably. Often laws or initiatives have been implemented in one given sector of adult education only and have there created very specific structures and institutions which are governed by this particular law or funding regime. One will normally find, also, that the responsibility for adult education does not lie with one particular ministry but is spread over various ministries, such as education, labour market, social affairs, culture or science.

This may be one of the reasons, why many activities which could be considered as some kind of adult education are not always understood or termed as such. Often adult education activities have better chances of funding when they are not labelled as adult education but demonstrate a relation to labour market programmes, regional development schemes or social movements for example. This has an obvious impact not only on the terming of the activities but also on their image and self-image and on the definition of their aims

Professionalism

If professionalism in adult education is discussed at all, then the debate usually refers to one particular sector within adult education rather than to the whole picture. There are various reasons for this:

For one, the sectoral context prevails over an overall perspective on adult education activities. An “animator” in a museum is seen as someone very different from a “trainer” in a company, even though they do things that are quite similar

In no country the access to a job in adult education is regulated for the whole field of adult education. Such rules do exist only for individual sectors, especially in vocational training or second chance education, where adult learners study to obtain a state diploma or certificate.

Proper educations for adult educators do exist in some countries – for example in Germany University degree courses leading to a diploma in adult education. However, since these courses are not compulsory, they failed to exert a shaping influence on adult education as a profession.

Continuing training for the professional development of adult education staff is usually offered within the individual sectors of adult education (by associations, companies etc.). The qualifications that are generated through these trainings are very diverse and hardly comparable. Thus, a key prerequisite for the existence of a „profession“ - a systematic and regulated education for the exertion of the work – is lacking.

The employment conditions of adult education staff are more or less insecure everywhere. A permanent full-time job in adult education is the exception rather than the rule in all countries. However, we lack reliable data in this regard. Not even the numbers of staff working in adult education are available in most countries, even less so are data on further details of their work conditions.

Many adult education staff members do not even see themselves as adult educators but rather as belonging to a certain social or business context. This is especially true in cases when the adult education activity is related to other organisational contexts (such as companies, cultural institutions, associations etc.) or when the adult education activity represents only a part of work in the job.

So virtually in no country we can find a debate on adult education as a profession. What can be seen though in many cases, is an intense debate on the competencies and skills needed by people working in certain jobs in the field of adult education. This debate is

less intense in countries where the institutional structure of adult education is less developed, but even there it has started. Countries such as England or France on the other hand have developed quite differentiated approaches to the debate on competencies in adult education – normally with a focus on vocational education and training. The existing competence profiles vary enormously from country to country, being sometimes more differentiated, sometimes of a more generic character. Some refer more to „core skills“, others more to instrumental skills. In no case however have the identified competencies been made a compulsory prerequisite for taking up a job in adult education in general.

Employment conditions of adult education staff

If we look at the employment conditions of adult education staff we find that only a small minority works exclusively for adult education and in an institutional context. The majority of people who contribute with their work to adult education and learning has either fairly insecure employment conditions, working on a free lance basis for example; or they have a job which is only in part related to adult education activities, for example company employees with training duties or persons working in cultural institutions.

It is difficult to apply identical categories to the various groups of adult education staff in different countries. This is still relatively easy in the case of teachers in school or higher education institutions, who are also concerned with adult students; but it is much more difficult in the other fields and sectors. All in all, the spectrum of adult education staff is extremely broad – which is not surprising given the integration of adult education in all societal sectors.

Where there is a concern with professionalism or professional development it is often targeted at the small minority of adult educators which is full time employed and works exclusively in adult education. But it is safe to estimate that this minority represents at best 10 % of all those people who are active in one way or another in adult education. This relation varies from country to country and sector to sector – f.e. it is less in confessional contexts, more in the community sector. Less in eastern and southern Europe, more in the north.

For the professional development in adult education it will however be especially interesting not to concentrate on full time professionals only – which do not exist in great numbers in any country – but to take into account also other groups who work only

partly for adult education, or who are not even considered as adult educators, at all or do not consider themselves as such, but whose activity is nevertheless relevant for adult education. The updating of their skills and competencies will be of crucial importance for assuring a high quality level of adult learning. The problem is that we know relatively little about these more “hidden” groups of adult educators, about the concrete activities of relevance to adult education that they perform in their jobs and about the skills that they possess or that they would yet need to improve. Here is a challenge for research and analysis work to provide a basis for the further professional development of the field.

Adult education related activities

As mentioned before, adult education related activities are widely spread and can be found in practically all societal fields. An overview on adult education which covers all is hardly possible even within one single country. Any attempt at a comparison between countries with their differing societal structures must then necessarily fail.

For a common approach to the professional development of adult educators in Europe it seems therefore necessary rather to identify different fields or clusters of activity in adult education which will then allow identifying sets of skills and competencies that are related to each of these fields. For this purpose a rather broad definition of adult education is needed which makes it clear what in our understanding belongs still to adult education and what is distinct from it.

If we define as adult education any activity that is concerned with the learning of adults; as anything that is done to enable and support the learning of adults, then we may find a number of activity fields which may have different emphases in different countries but which can be essentially found in all of them. These are:

- teaching
- management
- counselling and guidance
- media
- programme planning
- support

The mentioned fields of activity are not complete, nor do they have clearly defined profiles, but they may nevertheless help the analyses. To each activity field there belong a number of activities which may be carried out in very different societal or institutional contexts. These

activities may vary over time and they are differently shaped in different countries.

All these fields play an important role for the professional development of adult education. Some of them have always been seen as directly being related to adult education, for others the awareness of their relevance for adult education has only developed more recently.

Teaching represents the classical activity of adult educators. But the notion of teaching itself is changing. With the paradigm change towards learner-centred approaches the activity of teachers is also changing its character, a trend which becomes apparent in the use of alternative terms such as facilitating, coaching, moderating etc. New skills are required from those who teach, such as the planning of settings for learning other than the traditional classroom course, for example at the workplace. In many cases those who teach belong to the more hidden groups of adult educators – those that work only partly for adult education, or those who would not even consider themselves as such because the teaching – even under a different name, is only part of their duties.

Management has only recently come to be seen as an activity field of adult education in many European countries. And still, the debate on management and the development of management skills is often not linked at all with adult education. Nevertheless management issues are relevant for many adult educational contexts. Not only for the managers of adult education centres and institutions who have of course to deal with issues such as quality management, staff development or educational marketing. Also in companies questions of staff development, career planning and management of human resources are related to activities which are increasingly seen to be a part of adult education. And more recently management activities such as fundraising, project management or the building and steering of regional cooperation networks have grown in importance for many adult education contexts and actors.

Counselling and guidance too are an area whose importance is ever more increasing in adult education and this is true for all countries. Especially the counselling of learners belongs here, which means supporting the learners in the search for appropriate offers and in analysing their learning needs. To the activity field of counselling belongs also the setting up and updating of information systems and data bases and the checking of relevant information on offers. Learner counselling also includes the guidance of learners

throughout the learning process, the counselling in the case of learning problems or the evaluation of the learning achievements. Sometimes this form of counselling is also seen as being part of the “teaching”; however if one considers the skills needed for counselling, it seems appropriate to define it as a field of its own.

And last not least, another very important part of counselling has developed a lot over the last decade: the validation of individual competencies and the recognition of prior and experimental learning.

Media use can be seen as another distinct field of activities and it is one which is still developing fast. It involves especially the production and the use of learning software for adults, the cooperation with IT experts, the development of teaching and learning opportunities with interactive media and on the internet.

Programme planning is often equated with the planning of an offer of an educational institution. However, programme planning involves a broader and more differentiated spectrum of activities and related competencies. For example, programme planning includes also the development of training offers for companies or the negotiation of a regional development programme with adult educationally relevant parts. Especially programme planning in cooperation with other actors, such as companies, local authorities, associations and other educational institutions becomes more and more frequent and requires a distinct approach.

Support: This broad activity field has so far not been the main concern for professional development in adult education. It involves the whole technical, administrative or organisational support of adult learning and very diverse activities such as answering enquiries of potential learners on the phone, administering course registration, providing classroom equipments and many more. Staff providing for these services will often not consider themselves as adult educators or be considered by others as such, but also these activities have a direct impact on the quality of the adult education provision. Professional development also in this field should therefore contribute to enhancing the appropriateness of these services for adult education purposes.

Challenges

The professional development of adult educators in Europe poses several big challenges:

The first one is to identify the training needs of a target group which is extremely heterogeneous. This, in turn, requires a good

knowledge of the activities that adult education staff is required to perform. Such knowledge is an essential prerequisite for the development of appropriate training offers that cater for the different training needs.

I have here expanded on this aspect mainly, but there are at least three more big challenges related to the professional development of adult educators which I can only mention here, by way of concluding, but which it is important to bear in mind as well:

There is, first, the issue of quality: the question of how the quality of training offers can be evaluated and assured.

There is, second, the issue of motivation: especially for those groups of adult educators who are not full-time professionals it will be necessary to find ways to reach them and to motivate them to update their skills.

And there is, finally, the political issue: the question of how and to what extent the professional development of adult educators should be integrated at the policy level. This will be especially interesting in view of a balance between the various educational sectors within the spectrum of lifelong learning.

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European Master in Adult Education A Curriculum for Transnational European Education of Adult Educators

Abstract: With the Bologna-Process the Europe-wide development of comparable study programmes has started. This development has also affected the study programmes in adult education. A group of eight universities and one German research institute has developed a transnational curriculum for the education of adult educators in Europe. During the development process they had to find ways to integrate the different traditions and situations of the education of adult educators of each participating country. In winter 2006 the study programme will be offered for the first time at three partner universities.

Background

The European Ministers of Education signed the Bologna Declaration in the year 1999. This declaration marked the beginning of the Bologna-Process which led to a radical restructuring of study programmes in European Institutions of higher education. The vision is to create a European Higher Education Area until 2010. This area shall be characterized by transparency, comparability and quality.

During the Bologna-Process the European Ministers defined the criteria for the common European Higher Education Area (Bologna Process 2003; Bologna Process 2005): a degree system with three cycles; the introduction of the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS); a quality assurance system and the recognition of degrees and study periods. Furthermore the European Ministers want to strengthen research and ensure equal access to higher education for all. They also see the importance of student and staff mobility. In the Berlin Communiqué the Ministers mention the promotion of European modules and curricula, which should be jointly developed by Higher Education Institutions from various European countries. (Bologna Process 2003: 6).

As all disciplines in Europe, adult education, too, has to develop study programmes in the frame of the Bologna-Process. A group of eight European universities and one German research institute from seven different countries – which is called EMAE-Network in the

following - started to develop a transnational study programme of the second cycle in 2004. The goal is to implement the study programme in each partner University.

The development of a common European Master in Adult Education (EMAE) has specific challenges. These specific challenges lie in the cultural traditions and structures of adult education in Europe. At the moment a European research group¹ is exploring the implications of these differences for the professional development of adult educators in Europe. A first stock-taking has shown the big differences which exist in adult education between the European countries (Nuissl 2005: 45-56):

The structure of adult education is very complex in each European country. This complexity is rising, if you compare the adult education systems in Europe. Until now, there is no discussion about professional development of all adult educators. Normally these discussions are just looking to a specific group. The kind of employment in adult education is very different and adult educators are working in different fields. Nuissl (2005: 55) resumes that there is no common debate about competence profiles of adult educators.

This is the situation in which the EMAE-Network has developed a transnational European Master in Adult Education. In the following I will give at first a short overview about the education of adult educators at the different partner universities. Then I will present the aims of the study programme. Afterwards I will explain the developed curriculum and how the implementation process is planned. In the different chapters I will describe how the EMAE-Network has handled the described challenges.

The EMAE-Network

The EMAE-Network is a group of eight universities and one German research institution². Prof. Dr. Dr. Ekkehard Nuissl von Rein from the University Duisburg-Essen/ Germany and the German Institute for Adult Education initiated together with the following partners a

¹ This research group was initiated by Prof. Dr. Dr. Ekkehard Nuissl von Rein/ Germany. In this group researchers from the following European countries are taking part: Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Netherlands, Poland and Sweden.

² You can find more information about the project at the homepage of the project <http://www.emae-network.org>

Curriculum Development Project:

The Danish University of Education in Copenhagen/ Denmark;
The West University of Timisoara/ Romania;
The University of Florence/ Italy;
The University of Barcelona/ Spain;
The University of Helsinki/ Finland;
The University of Kaiserslautern/ Germany;
The University of Ostrava/ Czech Republic.
The University Duisburg-Essen is coordinating the project.
The German Institute for Adult Education is doing the evaluation.

The project is co-funded by SOCRATES, ERASMUS³, it runs for three years. A first stock-taking has shown the big differences which exist in adult education between the European countries by the European Union under the SOCRATES programme.

At the beginning – in the year 2004 - the group compared the situation regarding the existing and the planned study programmes in each University: In Ostrava and Timisoara they had no study programme in adult education. But in Timisoara there were several initiatives for the establishment of adult education as a study offer. In Barcelona adult education was a component in several study programmes like Social Education, Pedagogy or Training in Organizations. Kaiserslautern, Copenhagen and Florence offered post graduate study programmes in adult education in the second cycle of the Bologna model: The Master of Education in Adult Education at the Danish University of Education and the distance Master-programme in Adult Education at the University of Kaiserslautern. The University of Florence had a study programme in adult education which leads to the degree 'laurea specialistica'. At the University of Helsinki you found study programmes in adult education in all three cycles (graduate, post graduate and doctorate). At the beginning of the project, at the University Duisburg-Essen you could find a graduate study programme of education with a specialisation in adult education. Not least because of the Bologna-Process the partner universities were at this time experiencing a process of radical change.

Beside these differences we found also disparities in the content

³ See http://ec.europa.eu/education/programmes/socrates/erasmus/curriculum_en.html

and the target groups which are focused on by the programmes⁴. In Copenhagen an emphasis was on work-based learning, organisational learning and competence-development in a societal perspective. In Florence the programme has an emphasis on policy of adult education. In Helsinki we found a big emphasis on research methods. Duisburg/Essen had specialisations in general adult education/ educational counselling, management of qualifications and organisations as well as educational management of information/ multimedia based learning.

Whereas the University Duisburg-Essen offered a programme for graduate students, the West University of Timisoara had managers of adult education institutions as students. The Danish University of Education offers programmes exclusively for postgraduate students. Their Master-Programme in Adult Education is studied part-time.

Beside these differences in the structure of the study programmes and the differences regarding the themes and the tradition of adult education, you may find differences in the way of teaching and learning (see v. Queis 2002: 27-31). The students of the EMAE will be enabled to handle these differences.

Aims of the EMAE-Project

The idea of the EMAE-Network was to develop a common curriculum which should be implemented in each participating University of the network. For the development of the curriculum the network follows these aims (EMAE-Network 2006):

- "identify through a European discussion process the core competencies that are needed by professional adult education staff in Europe today;
- develop on this basis a qualification of transnational relevance that reflects both traditional and newly emerging qualification needs, and that includes a 'competence for Europe' as a particularly important aspect;
- use synergies and benefit from a wide range of experience and best practice in the various countries to develop and implement a high-quality degree programme."

During the discussion the network fixed which competencies each partner identified as necessary for an adult educator in his cultural

⁴ Regarding the different fields of activities of adult educators see also Nussli (2005: 51-52).

background. Furthermore the network discussed together which specific transnational competencies adult educators should have who act in European contexts. Through these discussions the network integrated the perspectives of all partners in the development process. So the network collected all relevant competencies. This was the basis for the curriculum development.

The partners agreed that competence development shall be facilitated not only through the study content but also through the ways of teaching and studying:

A big part of the curriculum shall be taught in English. So the students will have the possibility to choose for themselves, in which of the participating University they would like to study.

The students shall have the possibility to gain international and intercultural experience. For this, the network developed several ways.

Beside the European aspects of the programme there should also be enough space for the national and cultural traditions of adult education at each University.

All parts of the EMAE-Programme, which the students will complete in one participating University, will be fully recognized in the EMAE-Programme of the other participating universities.

The EMAE-Curriculum

The EMAE-Network decided to develop a Master Programme in the second cycle with 120 ECTS. A study programme with this amount is the most interesting for most partner universities. This curriculum will have two main parts: 70 ECTS will contain the common Core Curriculum; 50 ECTS will be individual offers from each University. The Core Curriculum was developed together by the network. The responsibility for the development of the individual offers lies in each University. For the acceptance of the individual offers, the network has to agree on this as a part of the EMAE-Programme.

This structure allows to focus the European context as well as each national context. It recognizes that adult education is a discipline which is deeply connected with national and cultural traditions in each country. Through several ways of teaching and studying, students have the possibility to study adult education in different national contexts.

Furthermore, this structure also sees the European themes and competencies becoming increasingly important. It allows to include all themes the partners see as core themes in adult education in

Europe.

The EMAE-Programme is a qualification for students, who would like to work in the field of adult education and learning in European contexts⁵. That means that they will be enabled for activities in European institutions as well as in institutions outside of their home country. Therefore they must be able to interact professionally with their European colleagues and clients or customers. The graduates will work in fields which focus on the support and facilitation of adult's learning. Possible careers would be researcher, administrator, counsellor, instructor, programme planner, and manager of adult education institutions.

For this, the students will acquire the relevant knowledge and skills in the study programme. A specific focus will be on European themes, comparative and international research as well as on intercultural skills. The above described structure will qualify students not only in European themes and intercultural skills. National themes are a component of the EMAE as well as European themes. Through this, students will have a point from which they can compare themes and different point of views (see Webler 2002: 19).

The students will be qualified for the labour market in their home countries. Additionally they will become aware and able to use Europe as a labour market for adult educators.

To enter the EMAE programme, students must hold a degree of the first circle (e.g. Bachelor degree). Additionally they must have experience in education. This experience will be accepted in different ways: For example through a first degree in education or through work experience in education.

After successful completion of the EMAE, the students will receive a degree of the second cycle of their home universities. Additionally they will receive a diploma supplement from the network which documents that this study programme fulfils the standards of the EMAE-Network.

The EMAE-Network will also work together for a double or joint degree. But this will be realised only in the next years.

The Core Curriculum

The Core Curriculum is one part of the EMAE. It contains the following fields:

⁵ You can find the whole description of the EMAE-Programme which is written by Susanne Lattke at http://www.emae-network.org:8080/structure/document_view

Core fields of Adult Education in Europe Research in Adult Education in Europe Transnational Project Work Master Thesis

EMAE - Core Curriculum (70 ECTS)								
Core fields	Theoretical Framework	Learning And Teaching	Research	Management / Marketing	Policy	Economy		
Study units	Essentials of Adult and continuing education in Europe 3 ECTS	European Teaching Theories 3 ECTS	Fields and Trends 2 ECTS	Management of AE 3 ECTS	Policy of demand 3 ECTS	Adult learning and consumption of educational goods 3 ECTS	Transnational Project 10 ECTS	THESIS 30 ECTS
	Theories of Adult Education 2 ECTS	Competence and Competence Development 2 ECTS	Research Methods 3 ECTS	Needs Analysis & Programme planning 2 ECTS	European Strategies of LLL 2 ECTS	State and market in lifelong learning in the European context 2 ECTS		

Figure 1: Core Curriculum

Core fields of Adult Education in Europe

The students study five fields which are defined as Core Fields. This part of the common core represents the sum of main focuses of research of the EMAE-Network.

In the Core Field '**Theoretical Framework**' students will get an overview of the field of adult education in Europe and its different structures. They will also get an introduction to theoretical approaches.

The Core Field '**Learning And Teaching**' focuses on the

theories of learning and teaching of adults. According to the aspect of competence development, students will gain competencies to analyse and plan learning situations in different contexts.

Within the Core Field '**Management and Marketing**' there are themes like management and marketing strategies of adult education institutions. Here students will gain competencies regarding the combination of economic and pedagogic perspectives.

The Core Field '**Policy**' focuses on different political contexts in which adult education is situated. Beside European policy, students will have a look at the policy in different European countries.

The core Field '**Economy**' takes the relationship between adult education and economy as theme. In a knowledge-based society such as Europe this aspect will increasing importance.

In the part '**Research in Adult Education in Europe**' students will get an overview of fields and trends in research in Adult Education in Europe. Afterwards they will develop a research design for their own research project. This research design will be used for the Master Thesis.

In the part '**Transnational Project Work**' students will deepen one part of the Core Fields. In intercultural groups students will work together online. They will design, plan, manage and evaluate a transnational project work. Students who spend a semester abroad may also do an individual project or they can do a traineeship in a relevant institution of the partner country.

For the **Master Thesis** students should carry out a research project with a European dimension. This could be a comparative research or a European topic. It can be written in a national European language and must include an English abstract.

For each course one University of the EMAE-Network is responsible. The teaching language will be English. A big part of the Common Core will be offered as online seminars. For this, intercultural teams will be formed. So the students will do virtual mobility and can get an intercultural learning experience. Furthermore researchers and teachers from the participating universities will visit the partner universities and will teach there. To gain further intercultural experience, the students are strongly advised to spend one semester at another partner University.

Through these various ways of teaching and learning, the EMAE gives the opportunity to get to know different demands and values in various European countries. Students will get intercultural learning

experience and can develop their intercultural competencies.

EMAE at the University Duisburg-Essen

Every University of the EMAE-Network has to develop its own University specific curriculum within the above described conditions. So the detailed study plan varies from University to University.

In parallel with the development of the EMAE-Curriculum, the University Duisburg-Essen has developed a national Master in Adult Education. This led to the idea to develop a study programme with two variants. We call this model 'Y-Model'. Student will first complete a Bachelor programme in Education. Afterwards they can do a Master in Adult Education. Here they have the possibility to choose between two variants: National Master in Adult Education or European Master in Adult Education. These variants have common and specific parts.

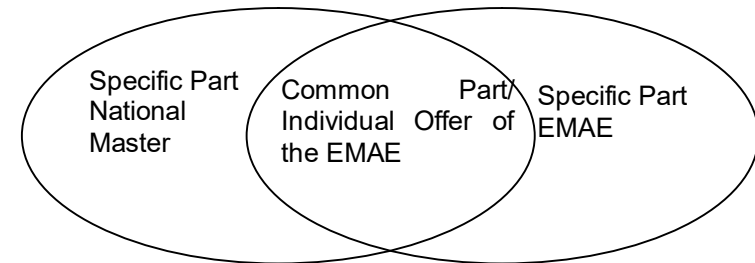


Figure 2: Connection between the national Master and the European Master

By this, the EMAE at the University of Duisburg-Essen is intensively connected with the national Master. The students have the possibility to study national themes as well as European themes.

The main focus of the individual offer of the University Duisburg-Essen lies on Didactical Competencies, Organisation and Management of Education, Empirical Research in Education and Continuing Education between Market and State. The courses of the Core Curriculum have been enriched by courses which are also offered in the national Master in Adult Education at the University Duisburg-Essen.

Implementation of the EMAE

In winter 2006 the EMAE is starting at three universities. At the University of Florence the EMAE is starting as an accredited study programme. They have also selected the Y-Model which is described

above. The West University of Timsoara is starting an accredited study programme with expected 20 students. They have developed new courses for their individual offer, because there is no other programme with which they can link the EMAE.

The accreditation process at the University of Duisburg-Essen is underway. In winter semester 2006 they will offer in a pilot phase all courses of the first semester for the students which are enrolled in the study programme Diplom-Pädagogik/ diploma paedagogy. The achieved certificates will be accepted for the study programme Diplom-Pädagogik/ diploma paedagogy. They can also be accepted for the EMAE, if students enrol in the EMAE-Programme from winter 2007.

The University of Barcelona is discussing the accreditation for winter 2007. The other universities are also thinking about possibilities for the implementation in the near future.

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Studies of the past and cooperation for the future in the training of adult educators at universities Preparation, implementation and results of the TEACH project

Abstract: The professional training of adult educators at University level is of highest importance for the development of the profession, and the quality of the provision in the education of adults. Two studies, one for Germany and the other for several countries in Eastern Europe, looked closer into the University training of adult educators. The findings were discussed at a conference, and then the TEACH project was prepared and later funded by the EU. The process and major outcomes are presented and discussed.

1. Context and process

1.1 Context

On a European level there are currently major changes going on within the development of lifelong learning policies, strategies and programmes, often in the context of strengthening the European dimension of education and culture for the further integration and enlargement of the European Union (EU). The revival of the four pillar approach to the education system – based on equal recognition of schools, vocational training, universities and adult education (AE) – is one of the cornerstones for a systematic support to lifelong learning, including adult learning. The EU has developed four programmes for those four pillars using the well sounding names of Comenius, Leonardo, Erasmus, and Grundtvig, and is looking at different priorities in their new education and training 2010 programme.

The development of the European Qualification Framework (EQF) will soon lead to national NQFs in the different countries. Both shall include AE, especially all which is vocation oriented, and to some extent non-formal and informal adult education. The respective document from the Commission discusses at length the “validation of non-formal and informal learning”, and looks for “an integrated credit transfer and accumulation system for lifelong learning”. (Commission, 2005, 27-30)

The Bologna process is transforming universities in Europe

dramatically. It goes beyond the member states of the EU as it was signed by the European Education Ministers Conference. It started in 1999 with the Bologna declaration which aims at comparable degrees, a two cycle BA/MA model, a European credit transfer system, all of which should help to improve mobility, quality and a European dimension in higher education. The institutions training adult educators within universities are no exemption in this. (Knoll / Hinzen, 2005)

The Institute for International Cooperation of the German Adult Education Association (IIZ/DVV) cooperates with AE organisations in many countries of the world. The political changes in Central and Eastern Europe increased the network for cooperation into this region strongly. A sectoral approach towards strengthening AE called for collaboration with Governments, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), professional institutions and universities. Key areas were and are policy, legislation and financing of structures and programmes for AE. This includes the training of adult educators a higher level, and this is where the universities played a key role in the past, and they will have to do so in the future – of course within the Bologna process. However, not much was known in detail outside the countries, and no comparative perspective looking at similarities, communalities and differences in the many countries going through a difficult period of transition had been applied. The simple question therefore was: What has happened to the many University institutions training adult educators and their programmes during the last decade? What is there to learn? Where are the areas for future cooperation?

1.2 Process

From different levels of prior cooperation it was known that some institutions in some countries had embarked on quite substantial changes in their University institutions and training for adult educators. To name a few: The University of Pécs in Hungary has by now up-graded their former Institute of Adult Education and the Development of Human Resources (FEEFI) into a faculty, in order to cope better with more than 3000 students, full and part time, regular and via distance mode. The University of Iasi in Romania has created an Adult Education Regional Centre (CREA), which amongst other programmes has started a European Master in Adult Education. High level of cooperation between Iasi and the New Bulgarian University in Sofia and their adults education master programme is there,

especially due to the cooperation with the University of Hanover in Germany, and strong backing of IIZ/DVV regional office for the Balkan Stability Pact area. (Siebert, 2005)

The IIZ/DVV regional office in Warsaw for Central Eastern Europe supported cooperation with universities in that region to a certain level, especially using seminars, symposia, and conferences as places for exchange and discussion. At the same time cooperation with several universities in Poland was intensified during the nineties. The Nicolaus Copernicus University in Torun strengthened their Department for Lifelong Learning and Comparative Studies, and this is when and where the idea was generated to have a more systematic look at what was happening in the different universities of the region.

2. Studies and conference

2.1 Study in Germany

Already since 1995 the German Association for University Continuing and Distance Education (DGWF) has taken a closer look at the situation of AE within German universities. They were interested in both: academic AE in different disciplines as well as the professional training of adult educators. The latter one benefited immensely from the development of adult AE policies and legislation in several states (there is responsibility for education and culture) of Germany, and subsequently the financing of AE at local level got stronger support. This asked for more and better qualified staff, which in turn helped to develop adult AE as an academic discipline with training and research as two important domains. The diploma or magister in education with a specialisation in adult education was a major result during this period. Follow-up research 2002 was a possibility for comparison at the advent of major changes following the Bologna process. (Faulstich / Graessner, 2004)

The amount of data they generated from responses of 49 institutions of higher education (117 were approached) helped to get a clearer picture of recent developments:

- there are now 25 universities (against 21 in 1995) offering 41 courses (against 40 in 1995)
- there are 287 staff members in the field of AE, out of which are 71 full professors
- calculation resulted in about 11.000 students studying AE, or as part of education

- out of 64 types of qualifications mentioned, the diploma degree in education (34) and the magister (13) dominated, with BA (4) and MA (5) just coming up
- research interests rank high on performance of students and target groups, theory, teaching and learning, quality
- teaching emphasizes the learning/teaching process, history, policy, theory, management
- inter-University cooperation had national (33) and international (11), in all 121 contracts
- cooperation with practitioners included AE providers, NGOs, enterprises, in all 135 contracts
- in the future several universities wanted to intensify their research, their cooperation with practitioners and saw the need for new courses.

Since that study of 2002, follow-up was provided concerning recent developments of the Bologna process at German universities. This time they had 30 responses which showed that within this fairly short period nine additional BA and eleven MA courses are being planned, and some ten courses called master in continuing education are either being implemented or in planning. This leads them to state "that the process of transition to consecutive courses is already well underway". And looking into the future they argue "it would be wise to press ahead rapidly with developing a consecutive BA/MA model..." (Faulstich / Graessner, 2005, P. 58-60).

2.2 Study on Eastern Europe

2.2.1 Background situation

At most universities in Central, Eastern and South Eastern Europe, that is in most countries in the previous Eastern bloc, there were AE courses before the political changes which took place in the 1980s. Courses were subject to each country's own specific regulations governing higher education policy. Since then, changes have been made, so that provision has expanded and become more diverse, but has so far not been documented.

In most Central, Eastern and South Eastern European countries a market for continuing education has developed and has been trying to meet growing demand – particularly in cities – for general and especially vocational adult education. The staff of the institutions (along with their professional bodies, in either the national, private or University sector) require professional training and continuous improvement. Some countries have begun working on legislation

concerning continuing education, and some laws have already been implemented.

2.2.2 The objective and benefits

The objective of this research was to collect data and to evaluate as many adult education courses as possible at the most significant colleges and universities in the Central, Eastern and South Eastern European countries within our reach. The basic data were collected through a survey, with German, English and Russian language versions of the questionnaire. These were distributed among all the institutions identified. Apart from the survey, materials additionally provided by the participating institutions about AE courses were evaluated.

The research was of practical help in two ways. At the level of each college or University, the survey evaluation may lead to re-examination of current arrangements in the light of the experience of other institutions in the region. Thanks to this outside inspiration, implementation of educational processes and changes were possible.

Secondly, similarities, common features and differences were described and University courses compared. This comparison enabled the introduction of exchange and cooperation between institutions in terms of programmes, good practice, professional staffing, etc., and the joint development of media and materials.

The research positively influenced future cooperation in the area of adult education between:

- higher education institutions at national level,
- higher education institutions at regional level,
- higher education institutions and other partners active in the adult education area in the particular countries.

2.2.3 The Scope

Geographically, the research covered the area from the Baltic region to the Balkan countries, the Russian Federation in the East, and part of the Caucasus and Central Asia. Politically, the Central, Eastern and South Eastern European countries could be divided into three groups:

- countries which were about to enter the EU,
- countries cooperating within the Stabilization Pact for South Eastern Europe,
- members of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Such a division was equivocal, although it might be helpful

because of historical similarities, such as language, and therefore very useful in possible cooperation in the region. In the research it had to be taken into account that Slovenia, for example, was one of ten countries about to enter the EU and cooperated at the same time within the Stabilization Pact, or that Uzbekistan is an Asian country but also a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

2.2.4 Research results

The questionnaires and additional materials about the institutions and study courses included information about:

- Institutions: the full name of the University/college division, department or institute dealing with AE. The purpose was to discover the level of the organisational structure of a unit at which AE was placed.
- Major courses in AE/continuing education.
- Supplementary courses in AE/continuing education.
- Research activities of the units: main research subjects; academic achievements; cooperation with other institutions and holding of conferences; quality management and public relations; AE/continuing education development plans.

From analysis of the research results we might attempt to evaluate the condition of the discipline of AE in the region:

1. The first general conclusion from the available data was that AE as an academic discipline has a long tradition, at least in some countries in the region. It was begun mainly after World War II and was taught from then. This was the situation until the late 1980s, shown, among other things, by the traditional titles of courses (General Andragogy, Comparative Andragogy, etc.). On the other hand, after 1989, a number of new educational programmes have been developed in the region. These initiatives, however, do not aim mainly at research but at expanding teaching. A clear tendency was here to make a profit out of education, and less invest in it.
2. As regards the AE units, most of them were universities or other colleges which are dependent on state funding. There was absence of the non-governmental sector, which was needed especially that governments in the region were increasingly withdrawing from financing education. The lack of educational provision explicitly directed to the unemployed was one symptom. Only two units have addressed that problem through supplementary courses. This was difficult to understand when the main social plague in the region was unemployment.

3. Taking into account the size of the region and its population, and particularly the complexity of the full range of its educational problems, the network of the units dealing with adult education was poorly developed. The following facts led us to formulate such a conclusion:
 - in many countries there were only single units of AE
 - in many units no research activities were conducted
 - in some units the activities undertaken were quite narrow.
4. We might preliminarily sum up the academic status of the units: There were seven units which seemed stronger than the rest of the group. They are Pécs, Ljubljana, Lvov, St. Petersburg-AE, Toruń, Minsk and Belgrade.
5. One of the weaknesses in the case of some units was insufficient (and sometimes even non-existent) commitment to "external" activities. That weakness was easily detected on three levels:
 - In a country there might be no initiatives in AE extending outside the unit
 - outside the country there might be insufficient participation in international research enterprises and academic meetings
 - in the region as a whole there was no close cooperation between units in neighboring countries; instead of using the academic literature published in the region, units often referred to Western literature.
6. Irrespective of the limitations, a number of units saw the need for self-development based on internal organizational structures and international co-operation, and primarily on constant development of Internet networking.
7. Being aware of the limitations of a diagnosis which was based on a questionnaire mostly with closed questions, we would like to make another suggestion. The questionnaire could become a starting point for further investigation of particular AE units. We should then be able to prepare monograph studies of units. (Hinzen / Przybylska, 2004)

2.3 Conference in Pécs

All institutions who participated in the Eastern Europe study sent their representatives to the conference held at the University of Pécs, 2-5 October 2003. Additionally there were some key experts, and a colleague of the study in Germany. Invited guests came from countries in Central Asia who are as well in reform processes after the Soviet period. The event created very good opportunities to

inform each other beyond the findings of the study, and the personal contacts helped to prepare for better cooperation in the future. Additionally, the participants felt that the conference was a good opportunity to come up “A call for cooperation in the education and training of adult educators through higher education” (Hinzen / Przybylska, 2004 P. 13-14) pointing to the need for

- the introduction of new study programmes at BA and MA level
- the acceptance of mutually respected examinations and the modularisation of study programmes
- the integration of fundamental elements into common modules whilst accepting different contexts in practice of individual countries
- cooperation in establishing these programmes and modules.

The Call was adopted, and the report states: “Participants concluded that the ground had been prepared and the first steps taken to create understanding and share experiences and data in a meaningful way. Appreciation of diversity and cultural differences, including the obstacles that these represented, was frank and clear. A common interest in international cooperation was clearly shown. The Conference created a springboard for future cooperative work.” (Duke, 2004, P. 20) And the key partners in the research and the conference got then together to prepare a project proposal which later was named TEACH.

3. Project TEACH: Teaching Adult Educators in Continuing and Higher Education

3.1 Background

It is the aim of European education policy to create an area of lifelong learning for all European citizens in order to improve their chances of employment, foster their communication and problem solving skills in intercultural, pluralistic social contexts, and prepare them to assume active roles in democratic society and the market economy. As an important sector in the education policy of every country, AE is crucial to this effort. Special consideration must be given to the needs of people from ethnic and religious minorities and other socially disadvantaged groups. Initial and in-service training in the interest of skilled and specialised staff plays a key role in improving the transparency of qualifications, increasing student mobility, upgrading the quality of educational counselling, and facilitating the transfer of academic theory into AE practice.

The EU therefore supports AE through the Grundtvig programme, and the TEACH project has been funded for two years from these sources. Exchange was realized with a second project called EMAE (European Master in AE) in a different partnership, covering three years got support from Erasmus, the EU programme for higher education, is still going on.

3.1.1 Aims and objectives

The TEACH project sought to provide students (educators) with opportunities for learning and understanding the theories and methods of instruction and training in order to strengthen and promote lifelong learning and AE on an individual, national, and European level.

The project was intended to develop a three-stage framework for University courses in line with the European BA/MA model:

- an element (module) to be contained in a first vocational Bachelor of Education degree;
- a framework of modules for a second, professional Master of Adult Education degree;
- a modular postgraduate European Master of AE programme incorporating the European dimension of AE, to expand the Master of AE into a European Master of AE.

This three-stage structure is closely linked with the modules to be developed, and its examinations fit into the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS). By linking the development of curricula with the European concept of lifelong learning, the project was intended to contribute to the Europeanisation of University training in AE and to joint agreements of content and mutual recognition of qualifications and certificates.

3.1.2 Project partners

Participating partners are: Nicolaus Copernikus University of Toruń, European Association for Education of Adults (EAEA), University of Bielefeld, Institute for International Cooperation of the German Adult Education Association (IIZ/DVV), University of Pécs, Vytautas Magnus University of Kaunas, Polish Association for Adult Education Regional Branch in Szczecin (TWP), A.I. Cuza University of Iasi, New Bulgarian University of Sofia, Bogazici University of Istanbul, Universities Association for Lifelong Learning (UALL), University of Stirling.

3.1.3 Innovation

TEACH is innovative in seeking for the first time to develop a

systematic basis for harmonisation of University courses in AE

- incorporating the experiences and needs of various stakeholders (universities, AE associations, educational organisations, students and adult learners);
- relating University adult education courses more closely to educational practice;
- promoting social inclusion for people from socially disadvantaged groups and ethnic minorities;
- taking the principles of European transversal policies into account;
- supporting development of a European Area of lifelong learning and Citizenship; and
- drawing up joint lists of learning objectives and international examination standards.

Mobility of staff and students in line with the European dimension, and exchange of research, is facilitated by mutual recognition of qualifications. This in turn is made easier by increased transparency of course content. The Bachelor's degree provides initial professional training for organisers of AE. The Master's degree is a more advanced professional qualification for teachers designing and teaching their own courses. The additional postgraduate European Master of AE programme responds to the growing need for cooperation at a European level. It is practice-based and designed to be taken by students of education, and by teachers and staff in AE, social and cultural establishments.

3.1.4 Pedagogical and didactical approaches

While being based on developments in the theory of AE, the project emphasised equally practice as the basis for the teaching of skills, taking into account learners' experience of life and work, linking formal and informal learning and fostering learners' creativity, flexibility and motivation. Given the increasing effects of globalisation on everyday life, employment and social values, the project aimed at a skills profile based on a range of core areas:

- methodological skills – the ability to use and combine specialist knowledge, develop systemic thinking, willingness to learn, acquire skills, solve problems, make decisions;
- specialist skills – the ability to use specialist and more general professional knowledge;
- social skills – team and communications skills, ability to take responsibility, show solidarity.

The project was thus an essential prerequisite for meeting the anticipated need for skilled specialists able to:

- promote lifelong learning within the pre-school, school and vocational training sector, motivating learners to pursue further training and education;
- link adult education and the social sciences, promoting social skills training in non-formal and informal learning settings as a way of improving participation and inclusion of people from socially disadvantaged groups and ethnic minorities;
- encourage mobility of learners, students and teaching staff in accordance with the principles of free choice of working place and place of residence for citizens of the European Union;
- teach effectively using IT;
- encourage problem analysis, development of creative solutions and practical implementation;
- strengthen learners' identity development, social participation skills and employment orientation.

The parameters for the modules developed during the project were: topic and description of content (system level, conceptual level and applied level); location within BA/MA structure; admission requirements; number and type of teaching sessions; overall length; and links with the ECTS testing system.

3.1.5 Target group

The immediate target group are students of educational sciences, teachers and organisers working in AE institutions, those employed in the field of social and educational work, and staff of cultural and youth centres. The indirect beneficiaries are large sections of the adult population who profit as participants in learning groups from the improved professional skills of adult educators and be taught course contents that better match their abilities and educational desires.

3.2 Outcomes

After the successful implementation of TEACH we can now look at some of the project results, which include:

1. Case studies identify the current status of existing AE courses at the universities taking part in the project.
2. The project website sets up a forum for discussion of the project objectives and documents all project results and findings (case studies, recommendations, interim reports and evaluations, guidelines). The website www.teach.pl is in English.
3. The book: "Guidelines for teaching adult educators in continuing and higher education" was published in all the national languages of partners (total 3000 copies), to include:

- Recommendations describing the AE module to be contained in a Bachelor of Education degree, the framework for a Master of AE and Postgraduate Programme in European AE analysing the case studies and additional comments from outside experts. The recommendations set out a framework to harmonise contents of examination requirements and certificates. They contain also information on professions to which qualifications lead and on consequent opportunities for exchanges of teachers and students of AE.
- The curriculum for the three-stage structure of AE courses was developed, with particular regard to the European dimension of AE: thematic modules, reflecting the interdependence between European transversal policy issues, principles of the European lifelong learning concept and related tools for educational practice. Learning objectives, recommendations for teaching resources, and examples of best practice were provided.
- The database on recommended teaching and learning materials for adult educators (including E-learning, research-based learning and participatory research) was compiled to improve the use of new and innovative approaches and methods in educational practice and to set up a generally valid basic canon of AE knowledge, skills and competences to be taught in Europe by teaching staff, organisers of educational activities, social workers and people working in culture and the social sciences. The intention was also to make national differences and cultural peculiarities affecting adult learning in the relevant countries more visible.
- Examination requirements were brought into line, according to the ECTS system, to ensure that qualifications are comparable and to facilitate mutual recognition.
- The joint agreement on implementation and dissemination, maintenance and further development of the three-stage structure of AE courses was signed at the international conference in Iasi, Romania (8.-9.09.2006).
- The CD-ROM was produced, with the same content as the TEACH book. The CD contains materials in all the national languages of project partners.

4. Where to go from here?

The Bologna Declaration signed by the Ministers of Education from 29 countries on 19 June 1999, initiated the entire process of material

change in the European system of higher education. The objective of the Bologna Process is to establish the European Higher Education Area by 2010. This initiative is supported by the EU as it is an attempt to take a common stand and face problems affecting most European countries. The objective of the process is to increase mobility, modify education systems to meet the needs of the labour market, enhance attractiveness and competitiveness of the European higher education institutions. The Bologna Process does not aim at standardization. The goal is to develop a cooperation framework based on mutual respect for diversity and autonomy of individual states and higher education institutions.

The TEACH project is part of the Bologna Process towards the European dimension of lifelong learning, and as it was financed by the Socrates / Grundtvig Programme it demonstrates the strong interest of the EU and at the same time a commitment of academic centres and adult education institutions from Europe to infuse the concept of the European Higher Education Area with the spirit of life. TEACH and its products are results of a partnership among universities and professional associations that influence AE policy and financing.

Universities and AE institutions participating in the TEACH project are highly motivated to implement the results themselves, and disseminate them further for more cooperation with others. Given the marketing strategy developed under the project, coupled with undeniable determination of the TEACH partners and a very good evaluation of the study program by AE experts, we trust that the successful dissemination of this product is just a matter of time. However, each country applies different accreditation procedures and it is difficult to predict precisely when they will be offered by individual universities. Comparative studies in a few years from now could be helpful to find out where and why the implementation of the TEACH results were easier and more successful than elsewhere.

Cooperation between universities from different countries has been invigorated and exchange of students and academic staff has been intensified. We have positive examples of students learning based on online communities and blended learning methods. Finally, comparative adult education has become a popular subject of diploma thesis.

As a follow-up, we examine possible cooperation with universities and adult education institutions operating outside the European continent. The EU opens up these new avenues designing programs

and ensuring financial support, Erasmus Mundus may be one of them. Reaching beyond Europe is an inevitable challenge which we have to face. We need to answer this call of globalization being aware that it serves the best interest of European and worldwide AE.

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International Projects and Comparative Adult Education. The Example of EBiS

1. Introduction

For many centuries people showed interest in education and learning in other countries and continents (Titmus, 1996, Savicevic, 2003). From merely curiosity, it moved to cultural and educational borrowing and attempts to learn from others in order to improve the practice of education based on comparisons with other practices. As Reischmann points out: "While the international aspect in adult education and onto adult education has a long tradition, only a small and limited access to adult education is done comparatively" (Reischmann, 1999, p. 12). But it is just the second half of 20th century that brought about massive joint efforts, common activities and even increased activity in regional and international projects in the area of adult education. The relationship between those two approaches might be considered first as a terminological and conceptual one, and second as a practical one. We will not try to enter this discussion (see numerous books and papers of the authors like: Alexander Charters, Roby Kidd, John Henschke, Colin Titmus, Dusan Savicevic, Paolo Federighi, Peter Jarvis, Jost Reischmann) but to show that these approaches are rather more complementary than exclusive and show this relationship with concrete examples of regional projects from South-East Europe.

Although some authors believe that this is a tensed relationship, Titmus (1996, p. 682) states that comparative education "make ritual obeisance to adult education" and usually tended "to reflect the changing preoccupations of national and international authorities rather than of people at the grassroots level" (ibid, p. 684), however, this might change in the course of dynamic social developments and globalisation. Especially, recent European developments in education

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Source: Reischmann, Jost (ed) (2006): "On Becoming an Adult Educator - historical and contemporary aspects". Bamberg. <http://andragogy.net/conference2006.htm>

and learning prove that comparative adult education nowadays could have stronger links to international projects in two-fold way:

- The value of educational projects can be substantially increased by using the information and knowledge available in comparative studies, theories and approaches. Many times mistakes in projects, costing a vast amount of time and money, result in failure, because the knowledge, findings and principles available in comparative adult education were not used.
- Making use of the results of international experiences would be beneficial to the quality and effectiveness of international projects (see for example Samlowski, 2002). Many highly regarded comparative studies are the result of the sharing of international experiences. A practical reason should be considered as well: Financial resources available for practical projects are incomparable bigger than those invested into scientific comparative studies of adult education. A change from some years ago is that "most of the empirically based research is nowadays performed not only within the traditional research institutes such as universities, but also in agencies, institutes and working collectives of international and supranational organizations" (Knoll, 1999, p. 27). Therefore, available data, experience obtained and lessons learned in the projects should be a valuable source for comparative studies. They could also contribute to an increase of qualitative and interpretative approach and comparative studies.

An additional reason for the shared use of international project data is the fact that regional and international projects are seldom limited to merely improving adult education in one country or region. Generally, they include strong conceptual components and at least preliminary studies that can serve as a guide for planning of practical activities in other countries or regions.

2. DVV international – EBiS project: some facts

DVV international (previously IIZ/DVV) is an institute of DVV – German Adult Education Association, which unites about a thousand adult education centres in Germany, called *Volkshochschulen*. The head office of the Institute is in Bonn, with offices, partner organizations and projects all over the world, particularly in less developed regions.

Societal problems are no longer restricted to single countries. Unemployment, illiteracy, questions of multicultural society, social

mobility and participation in democracy are matters best dealt with at a transnational level. Most of IIZ/DVV activities comprise several countries simultaneously, thus weaving a network which includes the entire region. In addition, this facilitates an international exchange of experience and best practice (IIZ/DVV, 2006).

Due to the political changes in South Eastern Europe, DVV international established the network of offices and partner organisations in almost all the countries in this region. As the Stability Pact project (supported by the German Ministry for Economic Development and Cooperation and the German Foreign Office), the EBiS project (abbreviation from the German: *Erwachsenenbildung in Südosteuropa* – Adult Education in South Eastern Europe) was developed in order to help maintain the peace, to support democracy and economic prosperity via adult education. Further more, this helps (re)building and modernising the systems and structures of adult education in the countries in transition, and the dissemination of the EU policy of lifelong learning and the goals defined in "Education for All – Dakar Framework". Thus the project enables international exchange, supports regional cooperation and the European integration processes.

Shortly after the political changes in 1989, the project started in a few countries. With political and economical developments, the number grows. The countries participating in the project or their role in the project changed. The following countries and regions have or are now taking part in the project: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, and Kosovo, Slovenia.



The EBiS-project is designed to impact on three levels: national, cross-border and regional. Thanks to the strong cooperation with local providers, educational authorities and experts, the EBiS project meets the local needs to a large extent. Various areas are covered: literacy and basic education, vocational adult education and training, teaching and learning methods, professionalisation of adult education and train-the-trainer, lobbying for lifelong learning etc. At the same time, exchange and cooperation are developed via common, regional projects. Some of the projects are: History (Reconciliation, human rights and methods of teaching history), SMILE (Multiethnic and intercultural learning experience), European certification in adult education and learning (Xpert ECP, Xpert PBS, EBCL), Education for disadvantaged groups, common participation in some EU-projects (Socrates – Grundtvig, Leonardo), organizing Adult Learner's Weeks and Lifelong Learning Festival etc.

3. EBiS project: questions arising

Long-term projects like EBiS are really a big challenge both for project management and for the researcher: Several countries and regions, with some similarities, but more differences, are all under the roof of adult education, which reflects those differences more than any other area of education. Especially when the aims are so ambitious. It is rather hard to run the project and to have success both on national and regional levels without some principles and knowledge from the area of comparative adult education. Under the motto: "Learning from each other – learning for the future" this network was confronted with a two-sided task: On one hand to develop national adult education systems, concentrating on specific, local needs, meeting them via education. While on the other hand, there is a need for levelling, balancing out and making certain adjustments that can enable intensive cooperation and exchange. There is a long list of questions and problems arising in this kind of project – a few examples:

- How developed should/could the national system of adult education be in order to enter into regional and international cooperation? Some of the countries included in project were at the start of the development process when the project began, for example Albania, was without a tradition in adult education. Obviously there was need to support national adult education, to build up structures, to establish institution and organisations. After that, the country could intensively participate in the regional

activities and contribute to them permanently and fruitfully, which is the case today. Of course, an open question is the set of criteria or indicators to measure and evaluate the state of development – both for the level of general development and for adult education.

- A similar question is: What are the requirements for political stability of the country or region that are needed to start fruitful support of adult education and regional exchange. This applies for example to Kosovo. The first attempt to start the EBiS project there was not very successful, because shortly after the war it was hard to: first – use adult education to reform the country and to support democratic development and not use it for political purposes, secondly: how to reach the level of tolerance and understanding among the neighbouring regions and countries which would make cooperation possible. The second attempt (a few years later) was successful and makes Kosovo an integral part of the project.
- The issue of the relationship between the political climate and adult education seems to be eternal one and did play/plays an important role also in the EBiS project. Serbia could be taken as an example. The project started during the period of Milosevic's regime which made the project activities difficult in several ways. The main question was: Is it possible to support adult education in a country, without at the same time supporting the regime, even if just indirectly? Is it possible to do it via NGOs and avoid state providers, or should just they be the target for the project activities? If only the adult education outside the formal system and state provider is supported, how can the project results be sustainable? This partly became a question in later stormy political developments in Serbia, which raises again the question often discussed in comparative adult education – the role of the state and adult education (*cf.* Pöggeler, 1990). Comparative adult education research might profit from engaging in this dynamic area, where cumulated experiences allow for the drawing of some conclusions.
- In regions that have been through turbulent political changes, and still face serious political problems, it is impossible to free adult education from political influences. But how could this be done without peril to the project and jeopardize its "neutrality", is it possible even to use the political tensions to raise the awareness about the need for adult education and lifelong learning? Since the EBiS project covered all the territory of former Yugoslavia, the

risks were always present and issues to be dealt with were numerous, like: Where to settle the regional office (a question which could be luckily solved by choosing Bulgaria)? What status should the DVV-office in Prishtina have and how far could it be supported from Tirana considering the unsolved disputes with Serbia? What is the best way to cooperate with adult education providers in regions where national minorities live, like in the Serbian Republic in Bosnia and Herzegovina? How to make a smooth transition from the period when activities in Montenegro were run from Belgrade to the period after independence and how to continue efficient work and fruitful cooperation?

Comparative adult education might help find the approach to these risks and issues. Maybe even the history of adult education can contribute with some knowledge and experiences from the rich history of turbulences that adult education had in different periods and various regions.

- Probably one of the most discussed issues, since the very beginnings of comparative research in education is the question: What could be transferred among the countries and regions? It is well known that pure copying can not give the desired results and this approach has been abandoned. Still, it is helpful to analyze what could be “borrowed” or “copied” in the area of adult education, under which conditions and circumstances, and to what extent could the results be predicted. The attempt to find common topics and interests and to share best practice was important for the countries participating in the EBiS project.

Because of the differences among the countries, combined with political tensions, it wasn't easy to define common ground and sharable preconditions for the project work. What is the level of similarities needed for that countries to cooperate and exchange good experiences – in general and particularly in the field of adult education? What type of experiences and practices can be transferred, and where are there limits and preferences? Those questions marked some know-how transfer among Slovenia, Romania and Serbia in the area of counseling and guidance; similarly it marked attempts to improve the University education of andragogical personnel via exchanging programs and experts, and some of the regional projects. One of the key questions is: What is more relevant when countries are entering into regional cooperation, what is critical when a country decides to learn from the experience of others? If we take Serbia as an example, what

criteria “promises” the best outcome in this process – similar general and political climate and developments (Croatia), reached level of European integration (Albania), similar adult education tradition (Slovenia) ...? But at a certain point, it seems that political relationships and unsolved problems overwhelm the priority and overshadow all other criteria. Again, the issue of “neutrality” of adult education could be raised.

- An issue relevant not just for EBiS, but also for European and international adult education, is the mutuality in the exchange process or in cultural borrowing. Usually it is a one-way road: The less developed countries learn from more developed (South from North, East from West ...), and very seldom in the opposite direction. But in adult education the opposite direction might make sense, especially in the case of some countries of the former Yugoslavia, where the level of general development is not in accordance with the traditions in adult education: This specific experience could provide interesting material for further research.
- There is one more topic which is relevant for theoretical discussion and scientific research in comparative adult education, which at the same time represents one of the most difficult problems in managing international projects: The relationship between national identity and adult education. The EBiS project faced this challenge in several ways, but mostly because of the newly (re)emerged identities of the countries and nations who become independent after the breakdown of Yugoslavia. Although the other participating countries (Albania, Romania, Bulgaria) were also very much preoccupied with their “new, post-communism” identity, the problem was bigger among those who are shaping their own identity by explicitly pointing out differences to the ‘Others’ (or even inventing them), especially the neighboring countries. There seems to be both positive and negative aspects of comparison: The permanent comparison with the Others, either for sake of defining their own identity, or just because of competitiveness, might be used as a driving force in reforms of education (numerous successful international projects prove that), but very often it presents a risk for exchange and cooperation (Pöggeler, 1995).
- An interesting resource for analysis is the introduction of European certification systems in all EBiS countries. The results were, as expected, very different, but not in expected way. The certification was more successful, not in the countries with more

developed adult education, but with a strong and decisive orientation to the European integration processes. But could it be predicted and applied on all quality assurance steps, measures and projects? For example, is it possible to foresee the future of EQF in those countries?

- An everlasting question for adult education in various crisis situations is (Pöggeler & Yaron, 1991): Is it possible to use the crisis and undesirable events for the sake of adult education and lifelong learning? In the EBiS project this topic was mostly related to the war in former Yugoslavia, the communist past of the countries in the region, and more and more to the problems of transition, where lifelong learning is meant to assist them on an individual and social level and to surmount difficulties of transition and democratisation. Some methods for overcoming the tensions of intolerance and rivalry between participating countries have already been developed, but there is still a lot to be done in this area.
- Additional elements could influence the type of support for individual countries and their potential for cooperation within the project. There are countries with rich traditions in adult education, with significant potential remaining from former periods, but who lack awareness of the shortcomings, failures, and necessary change. They stick to the past and don't seem willing to accept changes in their paradigms (like Serbia and Croatia). On the other hand, there are countries with a less developed tradition of adult education and still in need for capacity building, but who are trying hard and are highly motivated to compensate for what they missed in previous periods, with a strong orientation to the learning processes and to the future (like Romania and Bulgaria). What could be the right approach for these different attitudes and how to combine them in the project which assumes the learning process as basic for cooperation? Raising this question to a more general level, researcher might ask: Are countries/states able to learn or is it more an individual process; what are the best premises for successful learning and how can adult education motivate this "jointly learning"?
- The continuing topic of European integration could be applied also to EBiS: Can we be united, together, and comparable, but still be specific and different? What are the areas where it is necessary to reach the unification (European quality standards, as EBiS example) and what should remain unique (approaching the target groups and lobbying for LLL, as EBiS example)? The more

countries and regions are involved, the more complex is it to draw the line between regional/European-common and national-specific. The question how diversity in international adult education should look is still open.

- There are numerous, well-known problems for comparative researches in adult education which are valid for regional and international projects as well and should not be discussed in details: The jungle of adult education terminology, different conceptions, definitions and connotations, incomparable data, different politics, laws and national strategies etc.

4. The contribution of international projects

The example of the EBiS project shows clearly that there are areas of regional and international activities that can be permanently improved by knowledge of comparative adult education.

On the other side, such projects can contribute:

1. to the reforms of adult education in single countries or region,
2. to the comparative adult education theory and research.

4.1. Questions important for the reformer of education

"International efforts in adult education are often intended to inform and improve the practice of adult education, and to increase government interest in and support for adult education programs" (Duke, 2006, p. 696). For the purpose of reforms of adult education in a country or region, one could look at rich experiences from international projects (EBiS is one example) and various elements they were related to, providing the answers to at least some of the questions he/she is faced with:

- What are the main forces and decisive elements in the reform processes in the area of adult education (history, tradition, learning habits, political climate, economic tendencies, motivation, integration processes ...?)
- What level of economic and political stability and development is needed to start changing adult education?
- How far could one aspect or area of adult education and lifelong learning be developed without considering the whole context of the national (adult) education system?
- Could one aspect or area of adult education and lifelong learning be developed jointly with other countries, on regional/international level, isolated from other aspects and areas?
- What makes the efforts, changes and result sustainable?

- To what extent can adult education support or oppose political developments?
- What are the advantages and risks in cultural and educational "borrowing" / learning from the others?

Of course, for the purpose of the reform processes the answers for very specific, concrete issues can be obtained from this rich "project-source", based on growing number of attempts, pilot/programs and "experiments", various solutions for strategies, providers, curricula etc. The problem is still "the way of reading", interpreting and using these results in individual countries.

4.2. Questions important for comparatists:

There are numerous ways regional and/or international projects can contribute to comparative adult education. Some of them are:

- Providing information: Even single-nation studies provide a lot of useful information for comparison (approach commonly used by UNESCO, OECD, ETF, and CEDEFOP). Projects providing comparable data already gathered during the projects could offer even more.
- Showing regularities, tendencies and relations: Almost as a kind of scientific experiment, projects offer the possibility to test hypothesis, check the interdependences of various factors and prove the validity and consistency of influences.
- Discovering some specific fact or phenomena, things that are unique and thus valuable factors that make them distinctive.
- Finding and showing similarities and differences, therefore offering the possibility for valid explanation and interpretation. This could be very helpful when trying to understand the role of the context (particularly nation-state context) in the development of adult education.
- Enabling exchange and comparison – a possibility not very often given for comparative studies, make detailed analysis on the grassroots level possible, including participative research, which has a special value in adult education.

The list of issues and questions relevant for comparative adult education becomes longer when focusing on such projects. Based on the experiences of such projects comparatists could better deal with questions like:

- How developed should national Adult Education system be for regional/ international project: What are the criteria and indicators necessary to evaluate and judge?

- What types of data, criteria and indicators should be used?
- What are the preferred methods of analysis (quantitative/qualitative, case studies, juxtaposition...?)
- "Educational transfers" – when and how are they possible?

EBiS was mentioned as one possible example of "using" projects to develop theory and research in this scientific field, but there are many others as well. For example the International Society for Comparative Adult Education ISCAE is a leading force in comparative research, as its president Jost Reischmann states: "ISCAE wants to serve international comparison

- by supplying a network of contacts to other comparatists,
- by fostering exchange through conferences, and
- by documenting and sharing the developments and standards in publications" (www.ISCAE.org).

Another example is the European Association for the Education of Adults EAEA, which conducts projects (comparative as well as the other), but in addition serves very efficiently the comparative researches, fosters comparative use of national data and supports improvements of national adult education by using information and knowledge developed through comparative approaches.

5. Some final questions

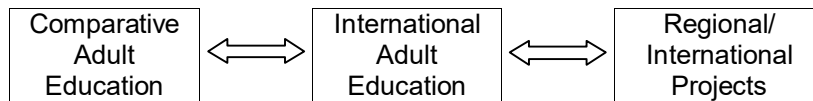
The list of areas and fields of adult education that could be discussed from an international and comparative point of view could be very long, but one of them seems to be of special relevance not only for the countries participating in EBiS projects, but also for other regions in Europe and the world:

- Is it possible to contribute to peace, tolerance and understanding in efficient and sustainable ways via cross boarder and international projects? Mr. Boris Trajkovski, President of the republic of Macedonia, said on the opening of DVV - Regional Lifelong Learning Festival in Skopje in October 2003: "May education be the bridge in our joint efforts to overcome barriers of time, space, and social, economic and political differences." (Trajkovski, 2004, p. 90). Is this too ambitious and what could be done to make this wish more realistic?
- Is there a risk that the projects could make the situation even worse, for example by strengthening prejudices, imposing certain solutions and values, by making changes too fast, by misbalancing developments of certain areas in the society ...? Could comparative adult education create lists of such risks for

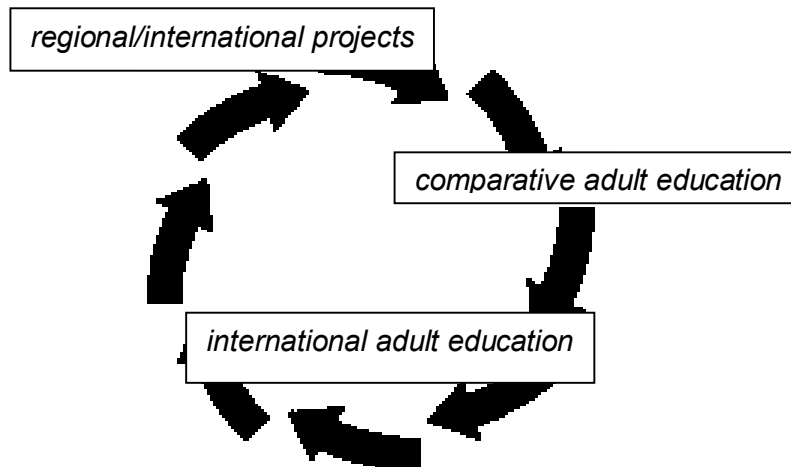
specific, various contexts, and develop approaches that could prevent this from happening?

- Could the European integration processes have been fostered by the fruitful and creative combination of regional/international projects and comparative studies and analyses? Such results have already been used for decision-making process in single countries; could they be useful for decision-making on the European level?

The scientific use of international projects and the practical value of comparative approaches and theories are, still, an open and fruitful area of discussion. This discussion may in future move towards an answer to the old terminological dispute – the one between “comparative adult education” and “international adult education”. “International adult education” seems nowadays to be placed more in the middle between the strict use of comparison as a method in adult education on one side, and international activities which use the results of it, aiming improvements of adult education and providing, vice versa, materials for the comparisons, on the other side. It could be discussed if it is rather the continuum with more theory on one pole and more practice on another:



Or a circle, with lots of exchanges and mutual interaction:



This is very similar to Heribert Hinzen's use of “the notion of trinity”: “We urgently need support and stable union with those in the: Education policy, Science and Practices...” (Hinzen, 2004, p. 88). In a similar way, this “trinity” helps to overcome the limits and to “mobilise and strengthen the forces in individual countries that would be able to bring forward regional projects and networks” (ibid). We may add: With this “triple approach” the strength of single areas, approaches and results could be leveraged and contribute to a broad, all-embracing framework.

International adult education is sometimes defined in a way very similar to this model, as a phenomena taking two forms: “One is comparative studies, between rather similar or very different countries and systems... The second major form of exchange has focused on adult education as a form of aid for development...with the transfer both of resources, and of ideas and models of adult education...” (Duke, 2006, p. 697). Knoll underlines also the importance of country reports for the development of comparative adult education research (Knoll, 1999, p. 25). Some authors would talk more about “theoretical and applied comparative researches in education” or plead for holistic approach (e.g. Savicevic, 2003, pp. 267-269). This tendency seems to be a bit unexpected: The holistic approach might be the integration of project results, international activities, and comparative studies, but not under the umbrella of comparative education. This flow rather meanders through different, specific areas of adult education and lifelong learning, intensively improving some of them, using these combined efforts to meet the new emerged needs and challenges of contemporary times. Gruber (2001, p. 190) put it briefly as: “Networks are the Transnational Policy of the Future” – or we might say: at least the European policy in adult education, which should make more use of the project networks and theory based on their results.

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Andragogy and adult educators' training in Russia: Actual state and trends

More than centennial experience of development of adult education (from different forms of outdoor education in XIX – beginning of XX centuries to modern forms of general secondary education, system of additional professional education, education by correspondence and part-time education in Russia; from general and professional education circles and schools to contemporary systems of continuing, further and recurrent education of adults in Slave and Occidental countries) obviously and convincingly witnesses that **organization of efficient adult learning requires appropriate theory and technology of learning, specific teaching-learning aid materials and specially prepared personnel of educators, including teachers, counselors, tutors and managers.**

It is obviously also that this organization is possible only on the base of **andragogy as an autonomous science of adult learning and as a field of studies in higher education.**

Andragogical theory and technology of adult learning in Russia

The development of andragogical theoretical, methodological and technological aspects of adult education in Russia actually is enough stable and persistent.

Organization and development of adult education, theoretical and technological foundations of adult learning, activities and training of adult educators were the object of investigation in more than dozen PhD in Education theses, a number of monographs and collections of articles during last 5-6 years.

Fundamental statements of andragogical theory and technology of adult education have been investigated and formulated in the thesis of author of these lines "Arising of Andragogy. Development of Theory and Technology of Adult Education" (Moscow, 2000), and later have been presented and explicated by him in the monograph "Andragogy: Theory and Technology of Adult Education" (Moscow: Per se, 2003). In this monograph, published in Russian, the author formulates following statements.

Towards the end of XXth century, the education suffered

impressive changes in its role, functions and meaning in the contemporary society and in the life of an individual. These changes are own to the development of socio-economic situation, human being, transmission technology of information and sciences of education.

The main goal of education today is provide an individual with a multifaceted training and principally with knowledge and skills for creative activities, for adapting to the changes of the natural and social environment, or the "noosphere" (the term by V.I.Vernadskiy), and for permanent learning.

All theses changes of status of education are producing mainly because of rapid and potent development of adult education. Nowadays just the adults need to increase constantly the level of their competence for harmonise the anthroposphere of each one of them. The practice of adult education, the researches of scientists from different countries convince that the adult learning requires its own specific principles and technology.

These principles and technology are based on the theory of adult learning named **andragogy** (term created by analogy to *pedagogy* from Greek *aner*, *andros* - adult man, mature person + *ago* - I guide).

Andragogy consider the learner as a real subject of his\her learning process. This situation changes the **roles** and **functions** both of the **learner** and of the **teacher**. The **learner** in adult education is a self-directed, responsible person, the principal performer. The **teacher** in adult education is primarily an expert in the learning technology and an organiser of the co-operative activities with the learner.

Andragogy could be determined as **the theory of adult learning that sets scientific fundamentals of activities of learners and teachers concerning the organisation, i.e. planning, realisation, evaluation and correction of adults' learning.**

Taking account of the particularities of adult learners mentioned above, the specific roles and functions of learners and teachers in adult learning, we could formulate the **fundamental principles of adult learning** as follows.

1. Preponderance of the self-directed learning.
2. Principle of the co-operative activities.
3. Experiential learning.
4. Individualisation of learning.
5. Systemic learning.
6. Contextual learning.

7. Actualisation of the results of learning.
8. Elective learning.
9. Principle of the development of educational needs.
10. Consciousness of learning.

The principles formulated above serve as the **base of the technology of adult learning** which can be used in different educational situations and in diverse domains of the educational service sphere.

Technology of adult education represents a system of operations, actions and functions accomplished by learners and teachers on every one of six stages of the process of learning: diagnostics, plan designing, creating appropriate conditions, accomplishing, evaluation, and correction.

Operations on the stage of *diagnostics*: 1. Determination of educational needs of learners. 2. Determination of volume and characters of vital experience (everyday, professional, social) of learners. 3. Revealing of physiological and socio-psychological characteristics of learners. 4. Revealing of cognitive and learning styles of learners.

Actions on the stage of *diagnostics*: diagnostic tests, questionnaires, talking, observation.

Operations and actions on the stage of *plan designing*: creation of an individual learning plan (or learning program, or learning contract) determining objectives, strategy, tasks, contents, models, sources, means, methods, forms of learning, essential stages, criteria, procedures and forms of evaluation of achievements of learners and of the process of education.

Operations and actions on the stage of *conditioning*: creation of favorable physical, psychological and educational conditions of learning.

Operations and actions on the stage of *accomplishing*: realisation of an individual learning plan (program, contract).

Operations and actions on the stage of *evaluation*: Determination of a real level of learner's achievements, appreciation of the organisation of learning process; determination of prospective educational needs of learners.

Operations and actions on the stage of *correction*: introduction of necessary modifications in the process of learning.

Functions of adult learner: 1. Participant of joint educational activities together with teacher. 2. Co-author of an individual learning program (plan, contract). 3. Accomplisher of an individual learning

program (plan, contract). 4. Creator of necessary comfortable conditions of education.

Functions of adults' teacher: 1. Expert on technology of adult education. 2. Organiser of joint educational activities with learners. 3. Counselor, facilitator, guide of adult learners. 4. Co-author of an individual learning program (plan, contract). 5. Creator of necessary comfortable conditions of education. 6. Source of knowledge, abilities, skills and qualities.

Technology of adult education, i.e. realisation of mentioned above operations, actions and functions of learners and teachers, based on the andragogical principles and andragogical model of education is more appropriate to the learning of adults and contributes to the **creative development** of both **adult learners** and **adults' educators**.

The **training of adults' educators** is one of the essential problems in the development of adult education. It requires the setting of scientific foundations, the elaboration of teaching-learning aids and an intensive practical work. The scientific base of andragogical studies in Russia is a **standard of adult educators' training**. Professional requirements and matters contained in the standard form a scientific **paradigm of andragogical studies**. This adult educators' training is basing on the theory of andragogy and implies the use of **andragogical technology of studies**.

In a series of thesis appeared during last 5-6 years there have been analysed andragogical conditions and factors of development of regional systems of adult education, in particular, in Tatarstan (Z.N.Safina), and of professional and social mobility of andragogues in a regional system of education (Y.I.Kalinovskiy).

Number of thesis' researchers have been investigated different problems of andragogical approach to the organisation of higher education studies, particularly, autonomous learning activities of students, development of their motivation, formation of their professional abilities and skills, creation of andragogical conditions in the learning of concrete study matters, for instance, foreign languages.

Andragogical theoretical and methodological approaches toward researches of adult education existent actually abroad were the object of thesis and correspondent monograph "Arising and Development of Additional Education Abroad" (A.M.Mitina).

It is wonderful, that problems concerning adult learning and andragogical approach toward organisation of adult education and,

more generally, of any activities of personnel in the sphere of adult people, are analysed in the context of social, philosophical and methodological problems in some contiguous human sciences, in particular, in philosophy and sociology. In one of these thesis the author (V.S.Nekrassov) formulates "the concept of educational activities of adult being as andragogically realised practice and cognitive transformation of himself in conditions of a sane society".

Problems of adult education, activities and training of specialists-andragogues were the object of a deep analysis in a series of other monographs and collection of articles appeared last decennial. Concrete problems of learning of people of different age in divers socio-economic, socio-psychological and juridical conditions and in different fields of knowledge were examined in details in dozens of articles in scientific and popular reviews and journals. Among these last must be distinguished "Novye znania" ("New knowledge"), the unique review in Russia dedicated to adult education and published by Russian national society "Znanie" (<http://www.znanie.org>).

Summarising and developing many of scientific statements mentioned above a group of scientists and managers in adult education headed by author of these lines in 2001 has created a Concept of Development of Adult Education in Russia which has been approved by Scientific and Methodological Council on Adult Education attached to the Ministry of Education of Russian Federation.

Nevertheless, unfortunately, as authors of Concept have indicated, "scientific investigations in adult education and andragogy, elaboration of technology of adult learning in Russia yet did not achieve necessary scale". Actual state of development of adult education in Russia requires considerably more large and deep both fundamental researches and practical developments in the fields of psychology, andragogy, philosophy and sociology of adult education.

Andragogy as a field of study in Russia

Andragogy in educational practice contributes to acquisition of abilities, knowledge, skills, personal qualities and values by everybody who wishes to be efficient and successful in all his/her activities concerning adults. Nowadays **everybody occupied in the sphere of activities of adults must be in some extent andragogue**, i.e. specialist of certain level of specialised - it means, andragogical-training.

That is why actually in Russia, in spite of yet not sufficient

theoretical and methodological provision, andragogical studies are becoming more and more important in training of different specialists.

Andragogy as a matter of higher education and training in different fields of study concerning personnel in activities with adults is nowadays included in the curricula in many higher education institutions, particularly, in these training pedagogues, managers, business and finance personnel, physicians, tutors and employment service personnel. It is one of essential matters of training and retraining of faculty of establishments of higher medical education at the Department of Educational Sciences, which is a part of Faculty of Additional Professional Education of Faculty in I.M.Sechenov Moscow Medical Academy.

It is very important and remarkable that many courses of higher, postgraduate and additional professional education and training, particularly, course of additional professional training of faculty at Moscow Medical Academy, are organized on the bases of andragogical principles of learning.

Nevertheless, study of andragogy as only one matter of curriculum does not guarantee complete and deep psychological and andragogical competence of specialist-andragogue.

Specialists of this kind are professionals in educational, instructional, rehabilitational, informational, orientational and organizational activities concerning adults. They could: organize and realize the learning process in every levels and domains of life-long education as teachers; provide aids to adult learners as tutors, counselors, social worker, official of guidance and counseling in the sphere of educational services; carry out research work in adult education and andragogy; realize management in educational, industrial and tertiary establishments. All of them need a large and deep specialized - psychological and andragogical - training.

However, the main sphere of activities of andragogues is adult learning. Therefore, teacher-andragogue, **adult educator is the principal specialist in activities with participation of adults.**

Training of adult educators is now more and more important part of scientific and practical educational activities of 15 chairs of andragogy in different higher and additional professional education establishments in Russia.

Training of adult educators in Russia is basing on the State standard of professional andragogical training leading to the degrees of BA and Master in Education. This standard represents a set of determined skills, knowledge, abilities and qualities required from an

andragogue and a minimum of training matters necessary and sufficient for a successful realisation of functions of an adult educator possessing higher education degree.

Beside competencies common for all kind of educators, the andragogue must be a competent in psychology of adults, in psychology, theory and technology of adult learning. He must be conscious of his role of a facilitator of adult learning and the leading role of an adult in the process of his/her learning.

According to the standard, an andragogue must possess:

- knowledge about psycho-physiological characteristics of adult learners of different age;
- a systemic knowledge about psychology and theory of adult learning;
- a concept of the history of andragogical ideas;
- knowledge about the philosophy, sociology and organisation of adult education;
- concepts of organisation and technology of distant education.

An andragogue must manage the technology of adult learning, the technology of self-directed learning and different techniques of teaching.

This specialist must have such qualities indispensable for the work among adults as empathy, tolerance, communicability, discretion, organisational abilities.

Knowledge, abilities, skills and qualities mentioned above could be acquired by learning the matters recommended by the standard and grouped in various blocks: that of general culture, medico-biologic, psychology-pedagogical, and andragogical.

Knowledge, abilities, skills and qualities mentioned above could be acquired by learning the matters contained in the andragogical block of matters of the standard in question. They are: Psychology of growth of the adult, Psychological foundations of adult education, Fundamentals of andragogy, History of development of andragogical concepts and ideas, Philosophy and sociology of adult education, Technology of adult learning, History of organisational forms of adult education, Technology of self-directed learning, Organisation and technology of distant learning.

This adult educators' training is based on the theory of andragogy and implies the use of andragogical technology of studies.

All these blocks of matters have been determined scientifically on the bases of pedagogy, psychology and andragogy.

Professional requirements and matters contained in the standard

form a scientific paradigm of andragogical studies.

Nowadays there is also elaborated by author State a Standard of additional professional andragogical training leading to obtaining of an additional professional qualification of andragogue-specialist in activities with adults. This document is in the state of adoption by the Ministry of education and science of Russia.

Training of adult educators in Russia in different educational establishments actually is providing with enough sufficient manuals and other kind of teaching-learning aids (in particular, manuals "Foundations of Andragogy" and "Technology of Adult Learning" by author).

Nevertheless, the sphere of adult education, which is in full development in modern Russia, and other sectors of socio-economic life demand much more number of adult educators and another specialists in activities with adults. It is even more important in conditions of Bologna process, which foresees the building of European space of higher education, the training of adult educators including.

This phenomenon requires reinforcement of research, methodological and practical work for purpose of development of adult education and adult educators' training and retraining in Russia.

It could be very important to analyze and implement in Russian adult education experiences of other countries, where, as it is well known, practically in all universities (especially in Serbia, Slovenia, Poland, Czech Republic, Germany, Great Britain, France) exist Departments of adult education (Departments of continuing education, Departments of further education) or Faculties, Departments or Chairs of Andragogy.

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