



The good life

Barry J. Hake on a high learning curve





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Content

Foreword 7

Part I – Studying history of adult education

Kirsi Ahonen 13

History of Adult Education as History of Society

Alain Gras 20

La croisade des Albigeois, Narbonne, les Cathares et le Languedoc: 1206-1255

The Albigensian Crusade, Narbonne, the Cathars and Languedoc: 1206-1255

Emilio Lucio-Villegas 30

A brief history on adult education in Spain

Christian H. Stifter 37

Let's be intellectually cruel to each other, but comradely! Fact-oriented criticism, intellectual inspiration and collegial cooperation formative experiences of scientific debate culture

Richard Taylor 49

Christian Socialism and adult education: F.D. Maurice and the Working Men's College (London)

Part II – Analysing éducation permanente, lifelong education and learning and adult education policy

Gerhard Bisovsky 69

Continuities in Austrian Adult Education Policy

Paula Guimarães 79

Meanings to the idea that one learns throughout life: the case of UNESCO policy discourses

Françoise F. Laot 87

Oral History of “Éducation Permanente”.

My encounter with Bertrand Schwartz through three research interviews

Licínio C. Lima 95

Paulo Freire: A subversive pedagogue?

Kjell Rubenson 102

Lifelong learning in times of social, economic, environmental and democratic crises

Tom Schuller 109

Learning through longer lives

Part III – Interpreting places, times, ways of doing and thinking about adult education

Simon Broek 121

The ‘good life’: reconciling individual agency and social determinism

Michał Bron Jr 129

Allotment Gardens as Learning Sites. The Case of Poland

Rudolf Tippelt 139

„Older generation“ in lifelong learning

Jumbo Klercq 147

The learning journey – the treasure within

George K. Zarifis 151

Historicity of skills and skill development for AE professionals

Jacques Zeelen 157

Crossing borders and finding common ground

Tabula Gratulatoria 161

Colophon 164

Foreword

Barry J. Hake was born in January 1943 in Cullompton, Devonshire (United Kingdom). He studied at several universities, such as Bristol, Exeter, and Hull, where he got his B.A, M.A. and a PhD in Comparative Political Science titled “Patriots, Democrats and Social Enlightenment: A study of political movements and the development of adult education in The Netherlands, 1780-1813”.

In 1970, Barry left the United Kingdom to start his first job in the Netherlands at the European Cultural Foundation in Amsterdam. Five years later, he became head of the educational department of the Tropenmuseum and in 1978 he started his work as researcher at the oldest university of the Netherlands, Universiteit Leiden. As Associate Professor of adult education at Leiden University School of Education he was running the ESREA secretariat from 1991 until 2007 shortly before he somewhat reluctantly retired, as Dutch law at that time wouldn’t allow to continue working after the age of 65 - o tempora, o mores! Barry always loved teaching and his students adored him. Since then, he has been working as an independent researcher, policy analyst and consultant and is still actively involved in scientific work with colleagues all over Europe and beyond.

7

From one of his earliest publications “Does education have a future?” (Bengtsson et al., 1975) to the most recent one “Re-reading the 1972 Faure report as a policy repertoire: Advocacy of lifelong education as recurrent education with neoliberal tendencies” (Hake, 2023), Barry’s writing has been driven by profound knowledge on history of education and educational policies in Europe. A passionate advocate of the idea that education and learning enable everybody to change for the better, he is convinced that adult education can be an instrument in the establishment of a more just society (Rubenson, 2023). Barry’s role as a scholar in European higher education and research institutions on adult education was a relevant one from various perspectives. Starting in scientific domains such as history of (adult) education and then developing research and writings in adult education policy, among other topics, Barry was influential in reflecting critically upon concepts and theories that have changed the way research and academic staff understand adult education as a wide domain of policy, practice, and investigation. This influence was clear, for instance, when it comes to the concept of *éducation permanente*, lifelong education and lifelong learning, the role international governmental organisations had in using and reinterpreting such policy idea and the adoption of such concept in different national policies of adult education.

Finally, Barry's engagement in cross-cultural collaboration must be mentioned here. Starting a new life in another country than where he was born, made him think differently in various aspects. Involved in numerous ERASMUS projects, he stimulated students from all over Europe to collaborate and to exchange their knowledge. Convinced that learning from other (scientific) cultures is an enormous enrichment, he succeeded in getting together a number of scholars throughout the continent. This developed from a modest group of researchers coming from both sides of the just turned down Wall in the early 90s to a widely spread network of European researchers. At the age of 80, Barry is still a highly critical spirit, reflecting the here and now of education and social movements on the background of the past.

This book includes chapters that reflect the influence Barry had in the interpretation and comprehension of adult education topics in adult education, history, policy, practices and research. Written by several colleagues interested in a wide set of topics, they all have met and worked with Barry at some stage of his life. Then, this book includes chapters that are organised in three parts: the first one on studying history of adult education; the second one on analysing *éducation permanente*, lifelong education and learning and adult education policy; and the last one on interpreting places, times, ways of doing and thinking about adult education. In each part the organisation of the chapters was made in alphabetical order, as chapters approach a large number of subjects, difficult to set in a systematic and coherent contents' order.

8

Therefore, the first part includes chapters holding historical debates of several issues. A chapter by Kirsi Ahonen can be found on the history of adult education and the relation of this domain with history of society as a framework. The connection of a specific field of education, such as adult education, is to be found on wider trends of development of society and can only be fully understood having this frame in mind. The second and the third chapters, by Alain Gras, are devoted to the discussion of the Albigensian crusade, the Cathars and the Languedoc. Both chapters, in French and in English, analyse the role of a 13th century crusade in Narbonne, a region where Barry found his second home. By Emilio Lucio-Villegas, the fourth chapter shows a discussion of the history of adult education in Spain, pointing at significant trends of development in a country characterised by diversity. By Christian H. Stifter, the fifth chapter analyses the scientific debate culture, focusing on some aspects relevant for academic reflection such as fact-oriented criticism, intellectual inspiration and collegial cooperation. The last chapter by Richard Taylor analyses Working Men's College activities and the role F.D. Maurice had in the development of Christian Socialism and adult education.

The second part of the book reflects the influence Barry had on the discussing adult education policies and on debating a significant concept such as *éducation permanente*, lifelong education and lifelong learning for adult education policies, especially after World War II. The chapter by Gerhard Bisovsky focusses on Austrian adult education policy, specifically in continuities in what refers to values, ideas and aims.

The following chapter by Paula Guimarães discusses meanings of *éducation permanente*, lifelong education and lifelong learning within significant international governmental organisations such as UNESCO. Between 1994 and 2009 Françoise F. Laot conducted several interviews with Bertrand Schwartz. In her article, Françoise is focussing on the influence this scholar had on *éducation permanente* policies and practices in France. The chapter by Licínio C. Lima looks at Paulo Freire and his role as a subversive pedagogue in the frame of adult education theoretical debate and in policies. Kjell Rubenson's article analyses lifelong learning in present times in the frame of social, economic, environmental and democratic crises. In the final chapter of this part Tom Schuller draws our attention to learning for later life and, consequently, learning for death. The question: How do we reconcile ourselves for dying? should be included when talking about Learning throughout Life.

The third part of the book is about interpreting places, times, ways of doing and thinking about adult education. It includes chapters on issues that Barry has reflected upon as a scholar, as a concerned and informed citizen and a man willing to take the best of life. Therefore, the chapter by Simon Broek includes a discussion on the meaning of the good life and the importance of developing links between individual agency and social determinism when considering adult education. The next chapter by Michał Bron Jr is about urban gardens and their role as learning environments for adults, in particular when talking about learning for healthy living and climate adaptation in big cities. Starting with some facts on demographic change, Rudolf Tippelt emphasizes the meaning of lifelong learning for older learners in the next article, whereas Jumbo Klercq takes us on a learning journey with the clear objective of enjoying the journey as such and not to pay too much attention to the destination. The chapter by George K. Zarifis is directed at analysing skills and skill development for those involved in adult education practices, the adult education professionals. The last chapter by Jacques Zeelen discusses adult education as a common ground domain that allows the crossing of borders with different scientific fields.

9

Michał Bron Jr, Paula Guimarães, Angelica Kaus, George K. Zarifis

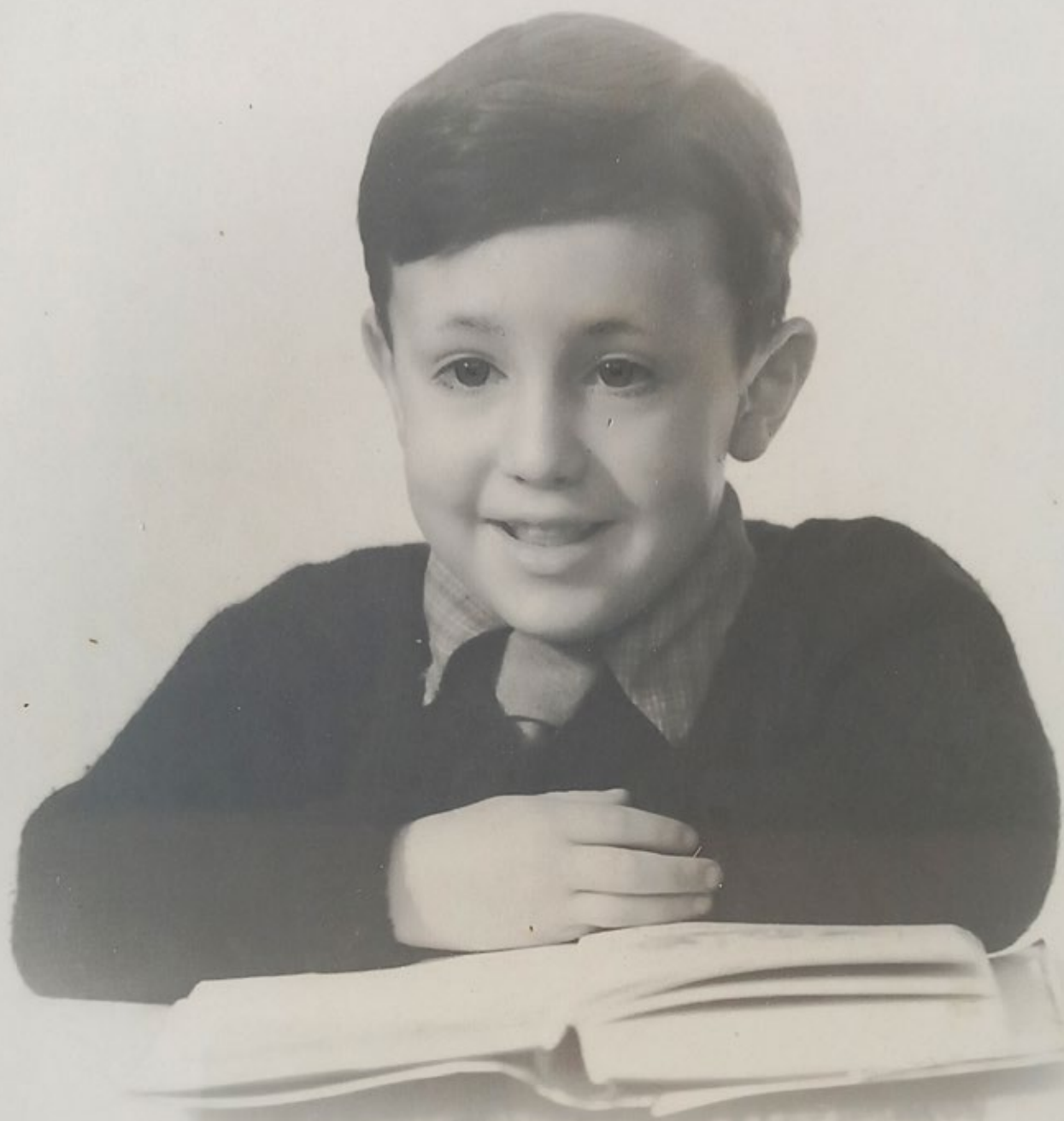
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Rubenson, K. (2023) in this volume

Part I – Studying history of adult education



Kirsi Ahonen

History of Adult Education as History of Society

Barry Hake (and associates) once wrote that 'histories of education are but social histories seen from particular institutional perspectives'.¹ In fact, throughout his literary production, he has emphasized that educational histories cannot be dissociated from the broader histories of societies, including social, economic, political and cultural spheres. On the level of his scholarly interests, this has been exemplified by his research on the relations between adult education and political and social movements.

Obviously, hardly anyone familiar with adult education and its history rejects the fact that adult education is connected with society in various ways. So is all education but given the many roles and responsibilities grown-ups have in society, the linkage is particularly strong and direct in the case of adult education, which extends to civic society, working life and even social policy. While children are the future actors in society, adults are the present ones.

13

However, the notion that the history of adult education should be viewed as a history of society suggests deeper understanding of the mechanisms connecting adult education with society. Society is not merely a framework setting the scene for adult education activities, but adult education and different political, social, economic and cultural contexts are in interplay. Emphasizing such connection and interplay may sound self-evident, yet it is not as those who are the very specialists in the questions of past societies – historians – only seldom recognize the significance of adult education and address themselves to, or even touch upon, topics related to it.

In this essay, I shed light on the connections between adult education and society by raising a few issues related to my studies on the history of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Finnish and Swedish adult education. However, I believe that my observations, at least some of them, are not specific to these countries only.

The first issue is the concept of adulthood, which in itself is socially constructed, as is also shown by historical changes it has underwent. I take this concept as my starting point in spite of the fact that the literal translations of the term adult education were not used in Finnish and Swedish languages before the latter part of the twentieth century. Although the terms used earlier did not refer to a phase

of life but to functions, socially defined target groups or methods of teaching, it is evident that people involved in these activities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were adults with regard either to their age or social role.

In defining adulthood, the criteria of age and social role did not often coincide. Adulthood from the legal perspectives of majority and marriage was defined in different ways for women and men and, in addition, the general statutory age of reaching maturity had usually nothing to do with school leaving age and the age when young people started work. Young Finnish and Swedish men reached majority at the age of twenty-one and this was also the age limit of marriage for men (women could marry younger); the statutory age of reaching maturity was only relevant for unmarried women (twenty-one years from the late nineteenth century) since married women remained under the guardianship of their husband.

14 As regards school leaving and entering work, the children of workers and farmers usually ended their school when completing elementary school at the age of thirteen or fourteen at the latest. Legislation regarded industrial workers adults when they reached the age of eighteen and employees between fifteen and eighteen were defined as young workers, whose terms and conditions of work did not greatly differ from those of adult workers, except in the case of night work. By contrast, upper-class boys might continue at secondary school until they were nearing twenty and even after that in other schools or at university while their sisters had a significantly shorter educational path. As the meaning of adulthood was different for women and men and among different social groups, the targets of adult education were not always adults in terms of age but rather of their social role, for instance, as a young worker earning his or her living or as a young bourgeois woman left outside the education system and preparing to be married.²

The second issue I want raise is the fact that adult education was an integral part of the societies where it was implemented, manifesting their values, ideologies and social practices. This is shown by its nineteenth- and early twentieth-century organizational forms, which typically catered for the educational needs of specific social groups distinctly. Thus adult education activities of different groups took place in social environments of their own, the boundaries of which were usually not crossed.

This is well illustrated by the Swedish and Finnish institutions providing education for the common people. Folk high schools were boarding schools offering full-time teaching to young adults in rural areas, mainly the sons and daughters of landowning peasants, whose economic status differed greatly from that of crofters and agricultural workers. Moreover, landowning peasants were an influential political force both in the local governments as well as in the diet or parliament. The educational needs of rural workers did not become an issue.

In urban areas, educational circles functioning around the mid-nineteenth century were aimed at craftsmen, who constituted the better-off part among manual labourers. Although these societies were inspired by the idea of levelling out the differences between social classes, they excluded industrial workers, casual labourers and domestic servants, who were deemed lower-ranking. It was only during the latter half of the nineteenth century when liberal workers' associations and workers' institutes with their evening classes and lectures started to offer education to all strata of urban working people, both women and men.³

Adult education of the past is easily associated with lower social classes but even educated upper-middle-class people took part in such activities. In Sweden and Finland, a typical form of such education was popular scientific lecture, organized by educational or scientific societies and universities. At Gothenburg University College, public academic lectures developed in the 1890s into an activity which can be characterized as university extension within a university as these lectures were given at the university college by its staff and were also a part of the curriculum of enrolled university students. At the end of the nineteenth century, a group these lectures in particular attracted was young women, whose opportunities for higher learning were not equal to those of young men.⁴

Social divisions were also visible in vocational adult education. In general, vocational adult education of working people – just as vocational school-like education of the young – developed relatively slowly but even the few opportunities available diverged according to the social status of workers. In Finland, a special technological institute was established in the early 1920s to provide further education for craftsman, part of whom were independent small-scale entrepreneurs, and skilled workers, whose earnings and position in labour market was better than that of casual or unskilled workers. The latter did not have many opportunities for training, except for vocational courses arranged for unemployed workers. Such courses offered rudimentary training with pay as a means of financial aid from the 1920s but were only organized occasionally during periods of economic recession. In this way, adult education was connected to social policy. Special targets of these courses were nevertheless working-class women and young boys.⁵

15

The distinction between social classes in adult education was also rooted in language. As I earlier hinted, such distinction could also be perceived from the names used of different activities. Whereas lectures organized for workers were called workers' or popular education, a bourgeois audience attended popular scientific or public university lectures. Popular education, for its part, referred to general or liberal education aimed at grown-up peasants and urban workers.⁶

The third issue I am addressing is how the societal nature of adult education also became evident in the periods of social transition. The changes modernization brought about in Swedish and Finnish societies at the end of the nineteenth century impacted the beginnings of organized adult education. The period between 1860s and 1930s, when

important initiatives were made and many activities became established practices in these countries, is actually one of the more general European formative periods of adult education Barry Hake has sketched.⁷

The aspects of modernization impacting the development of adult education included the changing role of the citizen, the emerging questions of women's and workers' rights, the pursuit for religious freedom and the increasing importance of knowledge in the lives of individuals and society. Such questions gave rise for instance to workers' institutes emphasizing citizenship education and instruction based on science as well as public academic lectures introducing the results of scientific research to a bourgeois audience.

Trust in education was high and education seems to have been regarded as a general remedy for various social evils, even to the extent that it has been characterized as a key concept in the Finnish late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century social discourse. This refers to the fact that the notion was considered necessary for outlining any of the major questions of the era. Presumably the notion had a comparable role in Sweden as well.⁸

16 The idea of interplay between adult education and society suggests that the connection did not operate in one direction only, social conditions giving an impetus for the formation of educational activities but adult education was also regarded as a means of changing society. Bourgeois and educated people who initiated educational activities within the liberal workers' movement did not, however, aim at changing society radically. Instead, they preferred moderate improvements, which they tried to achieve by changing people, in this case workers, with the help of education.⁹ It was only from the turn of the twentieth century onwards when the earlier targets of adult education themselves started to organize educational activities within the framework of popular movements such as temperance and socialist workers' movements and trade unions. In these activities, the question was no longer about moderate but about more fundamental changes to society.

Another example of how adult education had an effect on social practices is its ability to contribute to active citizenship by preparing participants to act in civic society and in local government. My research concerning the Finnish city Tampere revealed that in the 1920s and 1930s a significant proportion of municipal decision-makers originating from the working class or from the lower middle class had studied at the local workers' institute. The institute generated knowledge and skills resources including the mastery of such basic skills as spelling, grammar and arithmetic, which were still assets at that time, but also other practical skills like bookkeeping and rhetoric. Knowledge and skills resources were also increased by lectures offering useful knowledge on social policy, municipal administration and other topical questions. Furthermore, theoretical subjects and humanities provided general education, which was important from the perspective of cultural citizenship and workers' inclusion in society. The workers' institute also generated social resources, including relationships, cooperation, mutual trust and the reputation of being a competent person. Such resources could partly be accumulated with the help of

planned educational arrangements, exemplified by discussion meetings and study circles, partly from any form of studying since studying is basically a social activity. Social activities organized at the institute and by its student organization also offered an arena for creating social resources.¹⁰

The fourth issue I want to cover is that the new forms of adult education emerging during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century can be regarded as social innovations, intended by contemporaries to offer a solution to topical social questions. From the perspective of the present-day research, social innovations are also supposed to have effects on social practices and people's social roles. This can be perceived, for example, in the fact that new practices such as workers' institutes and public academic lectures increased adults' and young people's opportunities to take part in educational activities on a more regular basis than earlier. These lectures and courses were nevertheless intended for free study and therefore they did not produce any qualifications in the form of certificates. While this could have been important for advancement in working life, free studies were obviously more advantageous and attractive from the perspective of self-improvement. As the aims and content of such free education differed from those of the education system, adult education widened the perspectives of schooling and offered alternative conceptions of education and practices according to them.¹¹

17

In the processes whereby new adult education institutions and practices emerged, the role of local initiatives and individual citizens was crucial. Although the general aims of initiators were often similar, like improving workers' intellectual and economic position and providing citizenship education, there were also more particular interests and expectations, which is exemplified by the case of the first workers' institutes.

In the early 1880s, the radical liberal founders of the Stockholm and Gothenburg workers' institutes, Anton Nyström and Edvard Wavrinsky, shared the aim of enhancing religious freedom by way of education providing tools for critical thinking and challenging the status of the Lutheran state church and religion in society. By targeting this kind of education at workers they hoped to find allies from the social class with the potential to develop into a significant force in society, particularly as workers' political rights had become a topical issue. The motivation was quite different when the first Finnish workers' institute was established at the end of the 1890s in Tampere. Eino Sakari Yrjö-Koskinen represented a conservative party and regarded a permanent municipal institute necessary in a situation where the workers' movement, having earlier functioned under the auspices of his party, was turning into an independent political actor with socialist aims. A municipal institution enabled control over workers' education and by way of this Yrjö-Koskinen intended to restore some of his party's former influence over the workers' movement. Interestingly, their ideological aims also had an effect on how they chose models for their plans. Anton Nyström was inspired by Auguste Comte's positivism and the Stockholm Workers' Institute also drew inspiration from a pamphlet written by a Parisian positivist worker. Yrjö-Koskinen, who was a Christian traditionalist opposed to positivism,

was suspicious of Nyström's model and emphasized the exemplarity of Finnish folk high schools with their religious and patriotic spirit.¹²

Finally, I briefly address the difference in pace in the development of adult education activities in various countries, connected with the non-simultaneous social developments of societies. Such features as industrialization, urbanization, the nature of the education system and civic society had an effect on when adult education emerged. In Sweden and Finland, industrialization and urbanization changing the conditions of working people and contributing to the development of civic society took place relatively late, gaining momentum during the latter part of the nineteenth century, and thus it was only then the question of workers' education became topical. A time difference can also be observed between societies that are quite similar, like Finland and Sweden. For instance, the educational activities of the liberal workers' movement started in Sweden two decades earlier than in Finland as was also the case with workers' institutes, due to the slower pace of economic and social change in Finland. As regards the educational activities of the socialist workers' movement, these were organized in Sweden on the national level in 1912, almost a decade earlier than in Finland. Differences are not visible in the pace only but the twentieth-century developments of the Finnish and Swedish workers' institutes is a good example of diverging paths. While the Finnish institutes, usually maintained by municipalities, became the mainstream of adult education in Finland, in Sweden this position was taken by adult education organized by the actors of civic society, that is, educational associations of various popular movements.¹³

18

Reflecting the connections between adult education and society, exemplified above, is naturally essential for comprehending the character of adult education in history: its actors, targets, content, methods as well as ideological dimensions. Such effort can also help observing 'forgotten' activities, those which have not been recognized as adult education as they were outside the sphere that has conventionally been viewed as adult education.¹⁴ Moreover, it may open up new perspectives on the history of society.

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- 1 Hake, Steele & Tiana 1996, 2.
 - 2 Ahonen 2022, 18–25. Cf. the UNESCO definition from 1976, according to which the targets of adult education are those who are regarded as adults by the society in which they live.
 - 3 Ahonen 2022, 113ff.
 - 4 Ahonen 2022, 55f.
 - 5 Ahonen 2009.
 - 6 Ahonen 2022, 80ff., 113–114.
 - 7 See e.g. Hake 2011, 215–218.
 - 8 The Finnish and Swedish counterparts of education are *sivistys* and *bildning*, cognate with the German *Bildung*.
 - 9 Ahonen 2022, 31 (Figure 3.), 117–118.
 - 10 Ahonen 2022, 322–338.
 - 11 Ahonen 2022, 351–352.
 - 12 Ahonen 2022, 121ff., 222ff.
 - 13 Ahonen 2022, 296, 350.
 - 14 Laot 2020.

Alain Gras

La croisade des Albigeois, Narbonne, les Cathares et le Languedoc : 1206-1255

20

On ne peut évoquer les cathares sans citer en premier la Gnose. Ce mouvement spirituel qui veut aller au delà des institutions religieuses, à la manière du souffisme en islam, puise sa source dans le polythéisme méditerranéen et oriental, et la thèse gnostique s'est faite entendre comme une voix discordante lors de l'instauration du christianisme doctrinaire, en se renforçant en même temps que le dogme se rigidifiait. Le bourgeonnement cathare fut le dernier épisode, ses fleurs furent coupées par le glaive de Simon de Montfort et les racines arrachées par les furieux Inquisiteurs après cinquante ans de guerre. Le très grand comté de Toulouse fut l'espace du conflit mais la région autour de Narbonne, l'Aude surtout joua un grand rôle. Le dernier pasteur Cathare Belibaste, fut brûlé à Villerouge Termenès, dans les Corbières, sud de l'Aude, en 1321.

Au fondement de cette quête spirituelle se retrouve la question fondamentale qui embarrasse tous les monothéismes, celle de l'origine du Mal. La réponse donnée est un polythéisme a minima, l'existence de deux dieux, l'un du Bien l'autre du Mal, lors de la Création. Ce dualisme, dit radical affirme que les deux démiurges sont totalement étrangers en essence l'un à l'autre, je donnerai l'exemple simple des Cathares, qui interprétaient ainsi le texte de l'Evangile de Jean

Omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso nihil fit¹

transcrit

« Tout a été fait par Lui (dieu bon) (c'est) sans Lui² (que) le Néant fut (dieu du mal) »

alors que l'interprétation canonique est évidemment inverse

« Tout a été fait par Lui, et rien n'a été fait sans Lui »

Les gnostiques les plus connus sont les Valentiniens, les Basilides, les adeptes de Simon le magicien, les Ophites, les Barbelognostiques, les Mandéens d'origine sémite, et bien d'autres, mais surtout le courant le plus répandu, les Manichéens

¹ Légère déformation de *sine ipso factum est nihil quod factum es*, ce qui grammaticalement ne change rien

² En fait la Parole mais Dieu était la Parole, *Deus erat Verbum*.

(celui fréquenté par St Augustin), que l'on a pu comparer à une grande religion et dont le catharisme est directement issu. Le rôle de la Perse et de son fonds zoroastrien, dualiste, est incontestable.

Les pasteurs cathares, aussi bien femmes qu'hommes, s'appelaient les Parfaits, ils étaient végétariens, s'interdisaient la reproduction, et conseillaient de faire de même aux fidèles de la religion puisque ce monde humain était l'œuvre du Diable. On devenait cathare par l'imposition des mains au nom du Christ seulement. Par ailleurs, ils professaient une grande tolérance qui fit du Languedoc le pays des troubadours célébrant la femme et un lieu protecteur pour les juifs.

Mais venons-en à l'époque de l'épanouissement du catharisme, le XIIe siècle et à la croisade. En 1199, Innocent III en prend conscience et met en place une procédure répressive. En raison du premier concile cathare tenu à Albi en 1155, on parla ensuite de croisade des Albigeois mais elle ne commença vraiment qu'en 1208, lorsque le légat du pape Pierre de Castelnau fut assassiné peu de temps après un rendez-vous avec Raymond VI, comte de Toulouse, qui refusait de participer à la lutte. Il faut noter qu'à l'époque le Roi portait le titre de « Roi des Francs » (Rex Francorum), et les occitans appelaient les croisés les « Francimans », à partir du mot germanique « Fransman ».

21

En 1206 (Saint) Dominique : la croisade commence à devenir une éventualité avec Domenico de Guzman qui passe dans la région. En mission pour le Danemark il se rend compte de l'étendue de l'hérésie. Au retour du Danemark il va à Rome, renforce la conviction du pape, obtient l'autorisation d'utiliser des frères prêcheurs qui par la parole seulement voulaient s'opposer aux cathares. Et crée à Fanjeaux, à 94 km de Narbonne, un monastère et un couvent, toutefois l'ordre des Dominicains ne sera fondé qu'en 1216 pour instituer l'inquisition, on ignore souvent cette origine liée aux cathares .

En 1208, les garçons francs arrivent : le Pape Innocent III excédé décide d'en finir avec cette hérésie qui progresse rapidement et décide la Croisade. Le Roi Philippe Auguste déjà mêlé à la querelle de famille Plantagenêt en Angleterre n'a pas envie de s'y joindre, mais c'est une bonne affaire pour les barons du nord du royaume qui rêvent de s'approprier de nouvelles terres, mais aussi plus largement pour les nobles du nord germanique, car partir à la Croisade offre de nombreux avantages et Toulouse est plus proche que Jérusalem.

La Croisade militaire débute donc en 1208. Après la prise de villes peu fortifiées l'armée arrive le 22 juillet 1209 devant Béziers qui résiste jusqu'à ce que la population se réfugie dans l'église, Monfort hésitant demande à Arnaud Amaury, légat du pape, ce qu'il doit faire et celui ci répond « Tuez les tous, Dieu reconnaîtra les siens », c'est ce qu'ils firent !

Narbonne sans chef, son archevêque démis avant la Croisade par Rome, se soumet peu de temps après, mais le vicomte Raymond-Roger Trencavel résiste vaillamment à Carcassonne où il est finalement fait prisonnier par trahison, puis assassiné dans sa prison. Commence alors une longue campagne militaire où toutes les villes entre Narbonne et Toulouse, et

dans les environs pas loin Mirepoix, Minerve, Limoux, Castelnaudary sont prises malgré une forte résistance, qui se fonde sur des valeurs culturelles bien plus identitaires que Cathares, par exemple le sud était de droit romain, les villes administrées par des consuls, élus par les habitants et non désignés par le seigneur, le droit d'ainesse n'existait pas. Or Monfort imposait le droit germanique.

En 1212 guerre totale : il arrive jusqu'à Toulouse mais ne réussit pas à prendre la ville ; il élargit la guerre alors à toute la région jusqu'à la frontière avec la Catalogne et l'Aragon au sud. Usant d'une très grande violence, détruisant les villages et les récoltes, et massacrant les populations lorsqu'elles ne se soumettent pas immédiatement. Les seigneurs qui échappent aux croisés s'organisent en un mouvement de résistance dit des « faydits ».

En 1213 Muret : survient un évènement décisif qui aurait pu changer l'histoire de l'Europe, *le comte de Toulouse se déclare vassal du Comte de Barcelone et roi d'Aragon, Pierre II, auréolé de sa grande victoire sur les arabes à Las Navas des Tolosa !* Pierre II joint alors ses troupes à celles de Raimond VI pour empêcher Monfort de foncer à nouveau sur Toulouse, cette armée occitano catalane est cinq à dix fois supérieure en nombre. Pourtant cette armée est défaite, en raison, semble-t-il de Pedro qui se croyant invincible avait fait la fête la veille de la bataille et fut tué bêtement au combat, ce qui désorganisa complètement ses troupes.

22

Pourquoi est-ce si important : Pedro possédait déjà la Provence (dont le drapeau est le même que celui des catalans), la ville de Montpellier, il était suzerain de nombreux petits vassaux dans tout le sud, donc maître d'un espace qui, avec Toulouse, serait allé de Barcelone à Nice, où la langue était unique (avec des différences seulement dialectales) et la culture latine préservée, un grand royaume méditerranéen aurait pu alors repousser vers le nord le pays des barons francs !

En 1215, Concile de Latran : devant cet échec mais aussi celui de la conquête franque, le concile obtient apparemment la paix en donnant toutes les seigneuries, donc la Provence, au fils Raymond VII. Tansis que Toulouse revient à Monfort ; or Raymond VI et son fils entretemps ont relancé la résistance, en évitant la confrontation directe comme dans toute guerre de libération.

En 1216 « Lo lop est mort ». Il faut donc revenir à la croisade : la route de Toulouse est de nouveau ouverte militairement et politiquement pour Montfort, mais il arrive difficilement, en raison de la guérilla, à rentrer dans la ville en l'absence de Raymond VI, et se proclame Comte de Toulouse (et aussi de Leicester en Angleterre, il était lié aux Plantagenets !). Alors la ville se révolte à nouveau, et chasse les croisés. Le siège recommence mais le 25 juillet une pierre lancée par une baliste ou trébuchet ; maniée dit-on par des « demoiselles » fait éclater la tête de Simon de Monfort. « Lo lop es mort » - le loup est mort - l'insurrection reprend de plus belle, et à la demande l'Eglise le Roi est obligé de s'en mêler. La mort de Simon de Monfort change la donne, le Roi intervient en tant que suzerain et moins comme croisé. Raymond VII est finalement réinstallé comte de Toulouse après avoir fait semblant

de se repentir, laissant les cathares tranquilles, tandis que les faydits reprennent une partie de leurs châteaux. Le pape transforme en une police « fédérale » l'ordre des Dominicains qui va faire régner la terreur, l'Inquisition ce qui déclenche la fureur contre les croisés, la révolte reprend avec le massacre d'inquisiteurs.

En 1226 le Roi s'en mêle : cette fois les forces royales interviennent, toujours avec une intention politique derrière l'affiche religieuse. Mais les seigneurs qui ont parfois récupéré leurs terres sont las, les cathares sont pourchassés et les populations ne peuvent plus résister.

En 1244 le bucher de Montségur : une grande partie des « leaders » Parfaits, se réfugient dans la forteresse de Montségur qui sera prise le 16 mars 1244 après dix mois de siège. Ils seront brûlés en bas du château au « Prat dels cremats » (pré des brûlés), dont une vingtaine de femmes parmi elles la sœur du célèbre Comte de Foix, Esclarmonde de Foix et la femme du seigneur de Montségur qui, avec dix défenseurs laïcs du château prend le *consolamentum* pour mourir dans la foie des « hérétiques ».

En 1255 la dernière page militaire elle se passera...chez moi, le dernier point de résistance sera le château de Quéribus sur la falaise des Corbières, frontière avec la Catalogne, seigneurie dont dépendait ma bergerie. Les six parfaits s'échapperont du côté Catalan et les défenseurs auront la vie sauve. Comme déjà dit le dernier parfait fut brûlé pas loin de Quéribus à Villerouge Termenes. Sur les deux images ci-dessous on peut voir que le roi des francs s'il avait perdu le grand Languedoc n'aurait plus régner sur un petit royaume, mais ce fut aussi le cas avant Jeanne d'Arc. Curieuse chose que les aléas de l'histoire.

23

En France même si l'on ne connaît rien sur la croisade, le mot de Montségur évoque immédiatement l'infamie de cette croisade la seule entreprise contre des chrétiens.

En 2023 pour conclure : il est vrai que le dualisme appliqué à la modernité contemporaine prend une allure bien réactionnaire par rapport à l'optimisme technologique ambiant et à l'obsession de la croissance économique. En effet, cette trajectoire philosophique nous amène à penser que la recherche de la vérité au cœur de la méthode scientifique n'est que prétention insensée, tandis que la fuite en avant par l'innovation technique marque une fascination pour la matérialité de l'être qui n'est qu'un leurre ou un piège. De même, le gnostique du XXI^e siècle dénoncerait l'absurdité de la croyance au progrès, puisqu'elle est tissée sur une trame illusoire, celle de *Chronos*. Pour autant cet « abîme de liberté » n'ouvre pas sur une « réaction » au sens politique habituel, mais bien au contraire sur un principe de précaution cosmique, une mise en garde métaphysique. L'orgueil démesuré de l'homme contemporain peut le mener à sacrifier l'esprit à la matière du dieu mauvais et ainsi réellement conduire par une fausse connaissance au Néant. La gnose pose ainsi de manière toujours pertinente la même interrogation sur la figure dans laquelle le Mal se révèle. On n'élucidera pas le mystère, on ne peut que tourner autour mais encore faut-il le reconnaître au lieu de nier son existence.

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Le dualisme radical au XIIIe siècle, etc...le meilleur connaisseur de la culture cathare, the best connaisseur of cathare tradition

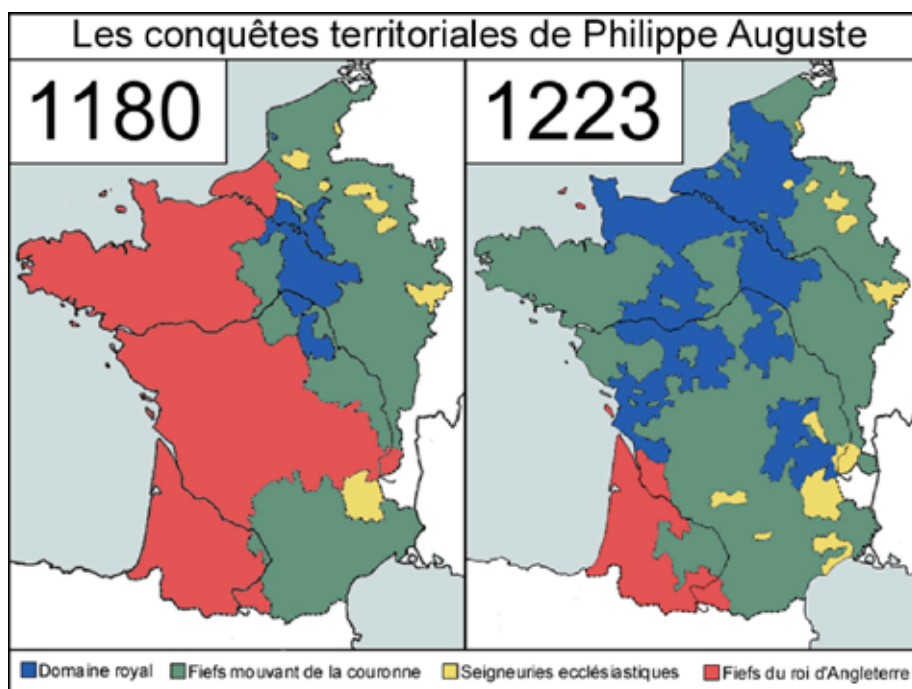
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24



Alain Gras

The Albigensian Crusade, Narbonne, the Cathars and Languedoc: 1206-1255

The Cathars cannot be mentioned without first mentioning Gnosis. This spiritual movement, which wanted to go beyond religious institutions, in the manner of Sufism in Islam, drew its source from Mediterranean and Eastern polytheism, and the Gnostic thesis was heard as a discordant voice during the establishment of doctrinaire Christianity, becoming stronger as dogma became more rigid. The Cathar budding was the last episode, its flowers cut off by the sword of Simon de Montfort and its roots uprooted by the furious Inquisitors after fifty years of war. The very large county of Toulouse was the area of conflict but the region around Narbonne, especially the Aude, played a major role. The last Cathar shepherd, Belibaste, was burnt at Villerouge Termenès, in the Corbières, south of the Aude, in 1321.

25

At the root of this spiritual quest is the fundamental question that embarrasses all monotheisms, that of the origin of evil. The answer given is a minimal polytheism, the existence of two gods, one of Good and the other of Evil, at the time of Creation. This so-called radical dualism asserts that the two demiurges are totally alien in essence to each other. I will give the simple example of the Cathars, who interpreted the text of the Gospel of John in this way

Omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso nihil fit

transcribed

“All things were made by Him (good god) (it is) without Him (that) the void could exist (god of evil)

whereas the canonical interpretation is obviously the opposite

“Everything was made by Him, and nothing was made without Him.

The best-known Gnostics are the Valentinians, the Basilides, the followers of Simon the Magician, the Ophites, the Barbelognostics, the Mandaeanes of Semitic origin, and many others, but above all the most widespread current, the Manichaeans (the one frequented by St Augustine), which could be compared to a great religion and from which Catharism is directly derived. The role of Persia and its Zoroastrian, dualistic background is indisputable.

The Cathar pastors, both men and women, were called the Perfect Ones, they were vegetarians, forbade themselves to reproduce, and advised the faithful of the religion to do the same, since this human world was the work of the Devil. One became a Cathar by the laying on of hands in the name of Christ only. Moreover, they professed great tolerance, which made Languedoc the land of troubadours celebrating women and a protective place for the Jews.

But let's come to the time of the blossoming of Catharism, the 12th century and the crusade. In 1199, Innocent III became aware of this and set up a repressive procedure. Because of the first Cathar council held in Albi in 1155, the Albigensian crusade was then called, but it only really began in 1208, when the papal legate Pierre de Castelnau was assassinated shortly after a meeting with Raymond VI, Count of Toulouse, who refused to take part in the fight. It should be noted that at the time the King bore the title of 'King of the Franks' (Rex Francorum), and the Occitans called the Crusaders 'Francimans', from the Germanic word 'Fransman'.

26

In 1206 (St.) Dominic: the crusade begins to become a possibility with Domenico de Guzman passing through the region. On a mission to Denmark, he saw the extent of the heresy. On his return from Denmark, he went to Rome, reinforced the pope's conviction, obtained permission to use preaching friars who only wanted to oppose the Cathars by word of mouth, he created a monastery and a convent in Fanjeaux, 94 km from Narbonne, although the Dominican order was not founded until 1216 to institute the inquisition.

In 1208, the Frankish barons arrived: Pope Innocent III, exasperated, decided to put an end to this heresy which was progressing rapidly and decided on the Crusade. King Philippe Auguste, who was already involved in the Plantagenet family feud in England, did not want to join the Crusade, but it was a good deal for the barons of the northern part of the kingdom, who dreamt of taking over new lands, and also more widely for the nobles of the Germanic north, because going on the Crusade offered many advantages and Toulouse was closer than Jerusalem.

The military Crusade therefore began in 1208. After the capture of poorly fortified towns, the army arrived on 22 July 1209 in front of Béziers, which resisted until the population took refuge in the church. Monfort hesitated and asked Arnaud Amaury, the Pope's legate, what he should do, and he replied, "Kill them all, God will recognise his own", which is what they did!

Narbonne without a leader, its archbishop dismissed before the Crusade by Rome, submitted shortly afterwards, but Viscount Raymond-Roger Trencavel resisted valiantly in Carcassonne where he was finally taken prisoner by treachery, then assassinated in his prison. A long military campaign then began, in which all the towns between Narbonne and Toulouse, and in the surrounding area Mirepoix, Minerve, Limoux and Castelnaudary were taken despite strong resistance, which was based on cultural values that were

much more closely related to identity than to the Cathars, e.g. the south was governed by Roman law, the towns were administered by consuls elected by the inhabitants and not appointed by the lord, and there was no such thing as the right of descent. Monfort imposed Germanic law.

In 1212 total war: he reached Toulouse but failed to take the city; he then extended the war to the whole region as far south as the border with Catalonia and Aragon. Using great violence, destroying villages and crops, and massacring populations when they did not immediately submit. The lords who escaped the crusaders organised themselves into a resistance movement known as the “faydits”.

In 1213 Muret: a decisive event occurred that could have changed the history of Europe, the Count of Toulouse declared himself vassal of the Count of Barcelona and King of Aragon, Peter II, crowned by his great victory over the Arabs at Las Navas des Tolosa! Peter II then joined his troops to those of Raimond VI to prevent Monfort from rushing back to Toulouse, this Occitan-Catalan army was five to ten times superior in number. Yet this army was defeated, apparently because Pedro, believing himself invincible, had partied the night before the battle and was killed stupidly in battle, which completely disorganised his troops.

27

Why is this so important? Pedro already owned Provence (whose flag is the same as that of the Catalans), the city of Montpellier, he was suzerain of many small vassals throughout the south, and therefore master of an area which, with Toulouse, would have gone from Barcelona to Nice, where the language was unique (with only dialectal differences) and the Latin culture preserved, a great Mediterranean kingdom could then have pushed back the country of the Frankish barons to the north!

In 1215, the Lateran Council: in the face of this failure, but also that of the Frankish conquest, the council apparently obtained peace by giving all the lordships, and therefore Provence, to the son Raymond VII, and Toulouse to Simon de Monfort. But meanwhile, Raymond VI and his son have revived the resistance, avoiding direct confrontation as in any war of liberation.

In 1216 “Lo lop es mort” It was therefore necessary to return to the crusade: the road to Toulouse was once again open militarily and politically for Montfort, but he managed with difficulty, because of the guerrilla warfare, to enter the city. In the absence of Raymond VI, he proclaimed himself Count of Toulouse (and also of Leicester in England, he was linked to the Plantagenets!). Then the city revolted again and drove out the crusaders. The siege began again, but on 25 July a stone thrown by a ballista handled, it is said, by “demoiselles” shattered the head of Simon de Monfort. “Lo lop es mort” - the wolf is dead - the insurrection resumed with renewed vigour, and at the request of the Church the King was obliged to intervene. The death of Simon de Monfort changes the situation, the King intervenes as a suzerain and less as a crusader. Raymond VII was finally reinstated as Count

of Toulouse after pretending to repent, leaving the Cathars alone, while the Faydits took back some of their castles. The pope transformed the Dominican order into a “federal” police force, which was to reign terror, the Inquisition, which unleashed the fury against the crusaders, and the revolt resumed with the massacre of inquisitors.

In 1226 the King got involved: this time the royal forces intervened, always with a political intention behind the religious poster. But the lords who had sometimes recovered their lands were tired, the Cathars were hunted down and the populations could no longer resist.

In 1244 the stake of Montségur: a large part of the Perfect “leaders” took refuge in the fortress of Montségur which was taken on 16 March 1244 after ten months of siege. They were burnt at the bottom of the castle in the “Prat dels cremats” (meadow of the burnt), including about twenty women, among them the sister of the famous Count of Foix, Esclarmonde de Foix, and the wife of the Lord of Montségur, who, along with ten lay defenders of the castle, took the consolation to die in the faith of the “heretics”.

28 In 1255 the last military page will take place... at home, the last point of resistance will be the castle of Quéribus on the cliff of Corbières, border with Catalonia, seigniory on which my sheepfold depended. The six perfects will escape from the Catalan coast and the defenders will have their lives saved. The last perfect was burnt not far from Queribus in Villerouge Terme, and in the two pictures below we can see that the king of the Franks, if he had lost the great Languedoc, would no longer have ruled over a small kingdom, but this was also the case before Joan of Arc. Curious thing that the vagaries of history.

In France, even if one knows nothing about the crusade, the word Montsegur immediately evokes the infamy of this crusade, the only one undertaken against Christians.

2023 - CONCLUSION

It is true that dualism applied to contemporary modernity takes on a reactionary air in relation to the ambient technological optimism and the obsession with economic growth. Indeed, this philosophical trajectory leads us to believe that the search for truth at the heart of the scientific method is a foolish pretence, while the headlong rush of technical innovation marks a fascination with the materiality of being that is only a lure or a trap. In the same way, the gnostic of the 21st century would denounce the absurdity of the belief in progress, since it is woven on an illusory web, that of Chronos. However, this ‘abyss of freedom’ does not lead to a ‘reaction’ in the usual political sense, but on the contrary to a cosmic precautionary principle, a metaphysical warning. The inordinate pride of contemporary man can lead him to sacrifice the spirit to the matter of the evil god and thus actually lead through a false knowledge to the Void. Gnosis thus always poses the same pertinent question about the figure in which evil reveals itself. The mystery cannot be solved, it can only be circled, but it must be recognised instead of denied.

The recent literature on the subject is even more extensive than in French, so I just give an overview.

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First and last book (except participation to B.J. Hake on the future of education, 1975) on this theme "Sociology of Education - Fundamental Texts" 1974, the others on the concept of time, technological evolution, energy, thermo-industrial society, last book 2021 "La servitude électrique" on the electric illusion of the New Green Deal. Mission outside teaching: Morocco (creation of ISCAE 1972-74), Brazil (UNDP-Ministry of Labor, Brasilia1981-82), WZB (Large Technical system), Valencia (Spain, Sustainable Development, 2008-2012).

Emilio Lucio-Villegas

A brief history on adult education in Spain

INTRODUCTION. THE 19TH CENTURY

Adult education in Spain can be considered as a very recent development. Only at the beginning of the 19th century were the first references made to adult education in the project of the Constitution of 1812 and in the so-called Quintana Report. The latter was elaborated following the *Rapport of Condorcet* presented to the French Constitutional Parliament in 1793 (González & Madrid, 1988). Even so, the report didn't explicitly refer to adult education; the project of the Constitution of 1812 – the first attempt for a democratic constitution in Spain – indicated in its article 368 the necessity to become literate by 1830 to participate in future elections.

30 This movement was completely derived from the Enlightenment. Jovellanos, the leading Spanish representative of this, affirming that the major wealth of a country is the culture and education of its inhabitants (Lerena, 1983). None of these reforms were ever implemented because, just as other moments in the history of the country, an authoritarian response closed the Parliament in Cadiz and re-established an authoritarian monarchy.

In the same century, the so-called 'Moyano Law of Education' was also enacted in 1857. Regarding adult education, its proposal was to introduce 'night and Sunday lessons' for adult citizens. As Collado (1988) has researched in the case of the city of Seville, this law was a failure because education was the responsibility of the City Halls – without funding – and the teachers were the same for children as for adults. In fact, it meant an extension of the teacher's working days.

In this scenario, Spain entered the 20th century with an illiteracy rate of over 60%, a rate that was higher than other European countries during the 18th century (Viñao, 1990). It is important to stress here that Spain's high illiteracy rate is a result of the policies – better to say the lack of policies – concerning education during the 19th and 20th century. It is possible to remember here the execution of Francisco Ferrer i Guardia at the beginning of 20th century (1909) or José Sánchez Rosa in 1936, as examples of how teachers were always victims of repression. This situation was aggravated in Franco's dictatorship (1939-1975) – including the execution, as mentioned above, and exile of a lot of teachers and the abandonment of education until the 1970s.

However, the roots of the entire situation – exacerbated by the political domain of landlords until the end of the monarchy in 1931 - can be traced further back in Spain's

history, to even before the 19th century. Weber's thoughts on Christianity and Protestantism – mainly related to the personal reading of the Bible and the consequences of that for the development of literacy in northern countries and the backwardness of it in the South of Europe (Cipolla, 1970) - could be useful here. The main causes of Spain's high illiteracy rate and the abandonment of education and adult education was derived from the lack of interest in both the popular culture and education of common people – together with a kind of “patriotic” sentiment that considered culture and education as negative influences brought by democratic countries such as France. And lastly, the situation was also provoked by an economy based on agriculture – and great landowners living from the rents rather than producing anything – joined together with the lack of industrial development.

THE SECOND REPUBLIC AND DICTATORSHIP

Only under Spain's Second Republic (1931-1939) was there a real effort to reduce the rates of illiteracy and poverty. While I will not explain in detail here the important role that education and adult education played in the policies of the Second Republic - including during the Spanish Civil War - it is nonetheless important to stress that these educational efforts have no comparison in the history of Spain, even during the democratic period after the rise of the Constitutional State in 1978. And not only in relation to adult education but also in regard to the development of a new attitude toward culture. The experience of the Pedagogical Missions is very important and can be presented as an example of the cultural and educational work of the Second Republic. In the words of Tiana (2021):

31

In Spain, between the years of 1931 to 1936, an original and interesting popular educational experience was developed. Some people, mainly younger people connected with teaching activities, together with writers and artists, went across Spain bringing books, music, copies of paintings, projectors, films, plays, and puppets to places and villages, some of them still very isolated. In these places, they organised exhibitions and theatres, taught keynotes, gave public reading sessions, worked and played with children and their teachers, and lived together with villagers. They would spend several days in the area, planting the seeds of education and culture, as well as leaving books and records in the schools before returning to their homes. This lasted for a five-year period and in different seasons of the year (p. 15).

The same author refers to the methodology of the experience that he names ‘recreational school’ to stress that it was open to a diversity of cultural events and activities to break the isolation of Spain's hinterland (today called as *emptied Spain*).

This diversity of activities can be summarised as follows: i) the study of the natural environment through keynotes, exhibitions, etc.; ii) the ‘socialisation’ of fine arts with exhibitions of copies of great paintings; iii) the organisation of public readings and the listening of music - popular and classic - live or on records; iv) the use of the cinema; v)

citizenship education focused on people's rights and the principles of the Republic; vi) activities to encourage people to read, mainly by the organisation of public libraries in small villages; and viii) actions devoted to teacher training (Tiana, 2021).

Participation in the *Misiones Pedagógicas* (in Spanish) involved not only those connected to education. It is possible to highlight individuals such as the poet Luis Cernuda, the philosopher Maria Zambrano or the playwright Alejandro Casona, among others. Most of them went into exile when the fascists won the Civil War in 1939 and the Franco dictatorship began.

DEMOCRACY AND CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS

With the rise of democracy after the dark years of Franco's dictatorship, adult education once again became a matter of public interest during the period called *La Transición* from 1975 to 1978. Education became an important public concern during these years, as well as during the initial years of the Constitutional State after 1978. Until at least 1990, adult education grew without strict State control. To further explain this, it is important to highlight four movements in Spain (Lucio-Villegas, 2012).

32

The Peasant Schools. These schools were located in rural areas, mostly in Castilla-Leon, and they focused on maintaining a rural way of life. In contemporary times, the major issues that these schools focused on matters such as food security, biological agriculture, and dignity for people working and living in the countryside are also discussed at *The Paulo Freire Rural University*. For many years, The Peasant Schools were an important adult educational reference for people working in rural areas.

The Worker's Permanent Education Service. This service was an important movement in Catalonia. Its main goal was to encourage people to attend schools and to promote 'community literacy'. The impact of this service, SEPT (*Servei d'Educació Permanent dels Treballadors in Catalan*), helps to better contextualise some adult education as it still exists in Spain connecting popular adult education for the working class with community work. It is important to stress that SEPT addressed the provision of general education rather than solely being focused on job-related outcomes.

Popular Universities. Popular Universities are focused on cultural development at the municipal level – usually, they are dependent on The City Halls. They have a long tradition from before Franco's dictatorship – the first was created in Oviedo in 1901. (Federación Española de *Universidades Populares*, 2023). The achievement of democratic City Halls (1979) entailed a blossoming of *Universidades Populares* (in Spanish).

Pedagogical Renovation Movements. These movements, led only by teachers, embraced the entire educational system rather than adult education alone. For many years, there was an

energetic new movement that pushed for full education throughout Spain connecting – in our particular case - adult education to community work. By the middle of the 1980s, some of the members of that movement were co-opted into the government, and the movement was orphaned.

Although I could cite a number of groups, associations or institutions here, almost all have their roots in the aforementioned. But the most important aspect here is to take into consideration that adult education was linked to the development of people in communities either in neighbourhoods or in little villages. This also meant that methodologies were mainly based on Freirean approaches joining the daily life with the school.

After entering the EU and, overall, after Lifelong Learning became the dominant model in adult education, there was an important shift from basic adult education to Vocational Educational Training that are in the laws enacted in recent years.

Before to refer to legislative measures, I would like to say something about the specificities of the organisation of adult education currently in Spain.

Developing a uniform overview of the adult learning system in Spain is very difficult. These difficulties have intensified because of the tensions between the Central and Autonomous Governments who are competing for control on issues around funding and the enacting of laws. Some policy elements such as health services, some public transportation and taxes, education, and others, are in the hands of the autonomous governments. For education, every territory has full legislative authority, taking into account the minimum standards set up by the national government's Ministry of Education. In terms of adult education, there is no adult education law that exists at a state level.

33

Apart from Education, other Ministries – or departments at autonomous levels - are also involved in adult education and learning, the most important in terms of funding is the Ministry of Labour and Social Economy, or the departments of labour and employment in the diverse autonomous governments. As mentioned above each territory in the state has full legislative power and can implement its own adult education legislative measures in the framework of the minimum standards set by both ministries at state level. Another way of explaining adult education policy is by saying that there are various developments and practices in the different territories. Finally, it is important to stress that education has been – and still is – a partisan issue. It means that each change of government – from left to right, or on the contrary – means new regulations.

The major goals concerning adult education can be defined as follow:

- To acquire a basic education that allows people to develop their knowledge and gain access to different levels in the education system.

- To improve professional qualifications.
- To develop the skills needed to express themselves better.
- To develop the capacity to participate in social life, including active citizenship.
- To implement programmes for people who are at risk of social exclusion.
- To implement new programmes addressed to older people, such as Universities of Third Age and other programmes developed in Community and Civic Centres, usually depending on the City Halls, or in the universities.
- To develop policies and strategies that overcome gender inequalities.
- To develop both an orientation and information system.
- To improve education and training of teachers and trainers.

Regarding Vocational and Educational Training, it can be stressed:

- Encourage workers' lifelong learning, to improve the employability of workers through both training actions and requalification.
- Promote the accreditation of workers' professional competences acquired through training or work experience.
- Encourage the integration of unemployed people – e.g., disabled people, low-qualified adults, women, young adults, etc. - into the labour market through VET actions.
- The creation of a National System of Qualification.

34

The major legislative measures can be summarised as follows:

The Act on Sustainable Economy (*Ley de Economía Sustentable*, in Spanish) was enacted in 2011. This is strictly not an education law, but it introduces changes in the production system that has an influence on education – mainly in VET. Complementary to this is the Organic Act 4/2011 (*Ley Orgánica 4/2011 complementaria de la Ley de Economía Sustentable*, in Spanish) also enacted in 2011.

The Organic Law to modify the Organic Law 2/2006 on Education (*Ley Orgánica 3/2020, de 29 de diciembre, por la que se modifica la Ley Orgánica 2/2006, de 3 de mayo, de Educación LOMLOE*, in Spanish) was enacted in 2020. The most relevant aspects related to adult education and Vocational Training of the new law can be summarised as follows:

Article one bis, point 2 stresses the importance of professional teacher training focused on research and the introduction of new technologies. The law improves and reinforces Vocational Training and increases its offer in articles 30, 39, 40, 41, 42bis, 43, 44, 46, etc. Articles 67 to 70 are devoted to adult education. The most important element here is the reinforcement of digitalisation addressed to adult education and learning.

The Law on the Organisation and Integration of Vocational Training (*Ley de Ordenación e Integración de la Formación Profesional*, in Spanish) was enacted in 2022. The main characteristics can be summarised as follows:

To establish a unique, modular, and flexible provision of Vocational Training either to students or workers. Itineraries will be set up to facilitate the progression of the trainers. There are five consecutive degrees: Partial accreditation of competences (Grade A), Certificate of Professional Competence (Grade B), Professional Certificate (Grade C), Training Cycles (Grade D) and Specialization Courses (Grade E). Cycles includes in grades C, D and E will become divided into two different types: a) General Dual Vocational Training; and b) Advanced Dual Vocational Training.

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE CHALLENGES

I think that the main challenges for the future in this – sometimes painful – history means to overcome the following aspects:

The low participation of adults in job-related or non-job-related training. This low participation was worsened by the shutdown of schools and other institutions associated with adult learning during the time of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Low literacy and basic education levels among a significant segment of the adult population. This is a very urgent issue, generally related to digital skills, but also to other important competencies. These competences must include social and relational life.

35

A high rate of early school dropouts. There is no specific information about adult learners, but, due to the difficulties concerning digitalisation in this field, it is possible to assume that a great number of young and adult learners lost contact with schools and institutions during the shutdown. Now, for some of them, it is difficult to return to school. There are aggravated psychological problems too – mainly related to isolation and the recovery of social relationships after the pandemic. On the other hand, inequalities to access digital skills are increased too.

The lack of specialised training for educators, teachers, practitioners, counsellors, and other people working with adults. Moreover, the lack of both instruments to develop distance and digital education, and the lack of training for using specific methodologies addressed to adult learners.

Transitions from the school to the labour market. It can be expected that the two new laws – LOMLOE, and the Law on the Organization and Integration of Vocational Training – as well as other new regulations about professional training can provide responses to this matter.

In short, it can be concluded that there is not a long tradition of adult education in Spain. The most powerful and creative initiatives in this field were undertaken during the Second Republic or in the 1970s to 1990s when it was not being controlled by the legislative

power. After 1990, the most pressing issue was the attainment of a Compulsory Secondary Education Certificate. Today, the main focus has mainly shifted to job training in a country that still has significant and worrying levels of illiteracy and school drop-out rates.

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Christian H. Stifter

“Let’s be intellectually cruel to each other, but comradely!”

Fact-oriented criticism, intellectual inspiration and collegial cooperation – formative experiences of scientific debate culture

It may sound slightly emotional, but there are encounters and experiences that leave such a formative impression that they are not only remembered in many details for a lifetime, but can also become a kind of intellectual marker for one’s own actions, for one’s own scientific ethos.

At the end of 1990, as a young graduate of the History and Philosophy Department at the University of Vienna, I found myself in the field of adult education. As the first full-time historian and scientific archivist in this field, I began to deal with the far-reaching history of this traditional educational institution and to organize the establishment of a central archive for Austrian adult education.

37

However, I soon had to realize that the examination of the ideological-historical foundations, the general political conditions and the social contexts of adult education was entirely a desideratum at the academic-university level. In the narrower field of historical sciences as well as in the context of my own academic discipline, contemporary history, even general works on the history of education, for instance in the fields of school or university, were extremely rare exceptions with marginal status; this was and is true — even if the situation here has improved slightly in recent years.

One explanation for the *undeserved* marginalization of studies and analyses in the history of education — popular education simply had too much historical significance, especially from an international perspective — seemed to be the fact that — apart from recurring party-political-ideological disputes in connection with school issues — serious substantive discussion of educational issues after the end of the Second World War generally had hardly any social or political relevance. The absence of qualitative and quantitative research worth mentioning, especially in the field of adult education organized under the law of associations, seems to be a true reflection of its low status in Austrian politics as well as in public debate.

The situation was hardly different at the level of institutionalized adult education and its main functionaries. For a long time, interest in dealing with the history of their own development was limited to short-term activities in connection with anniversaries, which





at best resulted in small commemorative publications or small exhibitions. Interest in serious historical research on the basis of appropriate sources — especially when it came to the provision of the necessary resources — was, to put it politely, rather modest for a long time and limited to a comparatively small circle of aficionados.

Against the background of this difficult overall starting position, it seemed important to me to stimulate genuine historical research in the field of adult education as well as modern scientific popularization in direct connection with the established cultural and historical sciences. In particular, it was also important to strengthen the connection to the results and activities of international historical adult education research far beyond the German-speaking world.

Meanwhile, the “European Society for the Research on the Education of Adults” (ESREA) was founded in 1991 after previous discussions within the European research community in the field of adult education. The declared aim of the newly created society was to stimulate research into all areas of adult and further education in Europe. Specifically, the aim was to stimulate intensified contacts and regular discussions between researchers, including PhD students in the final phase from the beginning, in order to specifically promote young researchers. (Sprung, 2021). The decision to establish a transnational research network was driven by the “conviction that the challenges to a European (further) education policy must also be dealt with in the context of European scientific cooperation” (Alheit & Hake, 1998, p. 27).

40

As Peter Alheit and Barry J. Hake stated, probably not only retrospectively, with a critical view of adult education research as an “undisciplined discipline” (See: Plecas & Sork, 1986), it suffers from very unequally shared channels of communication and highly divergent scientific-methodological standards. In view of the “hegemony of Anglo-American approaches in adult education research [...] these justified, as it were, an unspoken practice of mutual ignorance of independent traditions” at the European level. And further: “In this respect, adult education suffers not only from a kind of national-cultural ‘overdetermination’, but also from a deficit of practical scientific experience. Adult education undeniably remains a young science with considerable professionalism deficits compared to related neighboring disciplines” (Alheit & Hake, 1998, p. 29).

The initiative for the establishment of this research network in the form of a separate company came largely from Barry J. Hake of Leiden University, who had prepared a proposal in early 1991 and sent it out to a large number of specialized university institutes in Europe. After 80 University Departments had expressed their agreement, Hake, with the involvement of the European Office for Adult Education, created the conditions for the establishment of a steering committee, which initially consisted of twelve scientists from eight countries (Alheit & Hake, 1998, p. 27). The inaugural meeting was held in December 1991 at Leiden University, chaired by Kjell Rubenson of Linköping University (Nicoll et al., 2014, p. 9). Under the umbrella of the newly created research society ESREA, whose secretariat Barry J. Hake led with passion and great strategic skill until his retirement from

Leiden University in 2007, twelve thematic networks were subsequently established to engage in intensive and theory-driven research exchange at the international level. For example, in 1993 (Geneva) the Life history and biographical research network began to successfully merge the linguistically and culturally compartmentalized research traditions on biographical methods in adult education in annual international research conferences (Alheit & Hake, 1998). Incidentally, the second meeting of this network was held in Vienna in 1994, with the thematic focus on “Biography and Institution” (Brugger, 1994).

From the beginning, the primary goal of ESREA was to stimulate high quality adult and further education research in Europe. The starting point was the idea of creating appropriate general conditions for the development of adequate intellectual exchange at the European level. This was to be implemented through a decentralized research network, the development and expansion of which was given the highest priority (Waxenegger, 1995, p. 35).

One of the oldest ESREA networks was the historical research group initiated by Martha Friedenthal-Haase (University of Tübingen and Leipzig respectively), Stuart Marriot (University of Leeds), and Barry J. Hake (Leiden University), whose first seminar at Leiden University in 1991 focused on the role of university extension in the emergence of social movements in the European context.

41

Under the initially chosen title “cross-cultural influences in the history of adult education”, aspects of the cross-cultural dissemination and transfer of pedagogical ideas as well as social and methodological-didactic practices in particular were at the center of the critical discussion.

The fact that Barry Hake, who coordinated and organized the historical research network until 2006, is of British and Dutch nationality and is also able to read specialist literature in French and German, has probably influenced the content of the seminars just as much as the fact that he himself earned his doctorate on a historical topic of adult education (Hake, 1987) and taught at the universities of Exeter, Hull, Amsterdam and Leiden on the comparative European history of adult education. Consequently, the publication of the first ESREA historical research seminar at Leiden University gathered papers on “British-Dutch-German Relationships in Adult Education 1880-1930” (Friedenthal-Haase et al., 1991).

Hake’s own numerous research contributions and studies cover a wide spectrum of historical topics and approaches, ranging from biographical-historical studies, approaches in the history of ideas, the history of science popularization, the history of social movements, to historical pedagogy, and — as a quick glance at Google Scholar easily shows — have had great international scholarly impact.

It is therefore hardly surprising that the main period of observation defined for the historical ESREA research network follows a genuinely historiographical perspective: it is the period between 1880 and 1930, i.e. the phase of the industrial-scientific revolution,

urbanization and incipient democratization processes, which, against the background of the participation claims of the liberal bourgeoisie, the working class and the women's movement, is now rightly regarded as the historical formation period of modern adult education in Europe.

After holding the Second Historical Research Seminar in 1992 at the University of York, the results of which were published under the title "Adult Education between Cultures: Encounters and Identities in European Adult Education since 1890" (Friedenthal-Haase et al., 1992), the third historical ESREA research seminar in the series now took place in Austria in 1993 for the first time — significantly outside a university institution.

At that time, I was only vaguely aware of the existence of ESREA through brief references by individual professional colleagues. The books published in the series of the cross-cultural-network were unknown to me at that time and — as was soon to become apparent — not available in the country's scientific libraries.

42 Through information from the then head of the Adult Education Department of the Ministry of Education in Vienna, Ministerialrat Johann Dvořák, who, as a political scientist, was personally very interested in an examination of the history of adult education and also took part in the seminar himself, I learned about the planned research seminar, which was to take place at the invitation of the Ministry and with the financial support of the British Embassy in Austria at the Federal Institute for Adult Education (bifeb) St. Wolfgang in Strobl.

Until then, I had mainly participated in national contemporary history symposia, historical conferences, and archive seminars, which usually followed the same classic pattern. The speakers read their written presentations in the form of half-hour to one-hour lectures, followed by the opportunity to ask individual questions until the next lecture or presentation follows. This is predominantly a ritualized, linearly structured lecture culture, which is strongly oriented towards the lecture mode of university teaching. A research-oriented, critical debate culture based on factual argumentation on an equal intellectual footing is traditionally not part of the standard of scientific debate in German-speaking countries. A deeper discussion of the contents presented is hardly possible, because, apart from the missing time frame, all listeners only have the opportunity to follow the concrete content-related explanations and arguments in the course of the lecture itself.

In the first two years of my professional activity as a research assistant at the Austrian Archives for Adult Education — I did not take over as director until 1996 — I had begun to study the history of Austrian adult education at the time of the Habsburg Monarchy and the First Republic in depth on the basis of the very manageable relevant historical studies and the accessible historical sources, also including the international contexts as far as possible.

When I was officially invited by Barry Hake in his function as ESREA secretary and convener to participate in the research seminar in Strobl on the general topic “Cultural and Intercultural Experiences in Adult Education” and to present a research paper, I of course gladly accepted, admittedly without any idea about the extent of the workload connected with this acceptance.

Quite apart from the fact that it was my first participation in an international conference with a high proportion of proven experts, that the conference language in English was additionally a certain challenge— as was soon to become clear to me — there was a not inconsiderable effort to fulfill the ESREA seminar regulations.

First of all, only active participants were admitted to the four-day seminar, which means that — after positive review of the abstract — each participant had to present a research paper of about twelve pages. Furthermore, each participant had to carefully read all other seminar papers that had been sent out to all participants in advance to be able to actively participate in the seminar discussions. In addition, each participant was assigned in advance as a mandatory “first reader” for another colleague’s assigned research paper. The task consisted of a discussion of the assigned paper within a time frame of about ten minutes and a profound content-related and methodological critique of the paper.

43

What I did not know at the time was that this arrangement of scientific communication based on different roles was a specific ESREA way of working, which, in contrast to usual adult education conferences, aimed at achieving a “high productive intensity” (Waxenegger, 1995, p. 33).

For someone who had been socialized at an Austrian university, it was completely unusual to limit the “presentation” of one’s own contribution to merely elaborating on or adding something in five minutes that was not already contained in the written text and then to listen to one’s own research contribution being picked apart in a friendly but determined manner. The remaining time, about one hour, was reserved for critical and scientifically unsparing collegial debate — a circumstance that put quite productive pressure on one in the preparation of both one’s own contribution and the assigned task as a “first reader”.

For the first time, colleagues from Austria were invited to the ESREA seminar in Strobl to present the Austrian state of research and to discuss the potential contribution to intercultural adult education research that could be elicited from it. In addition to myself, these were the aforementioned Johann Dvořák, who presented a paper on Edgar Zilsel based on his research going back in time (Dvořák, 1994), and Gerhard Bisovsky, then a pedagogical staff member at the Association of Viennese Adult Education, who presented a developmental contribution to state adult education policy in Austria for discussion based on his political science dissertation. (Bisovsky, 1994). I myself had submitted a historical research paper on the public relations and media coverage of the early *Volksbildungsvereine* in Vienna (Stifter, 1994).

The friendly and informal atmosphere of the seminar, the courteous and respectful interaction on an equal footing, where titles and functions obviously did not matter, together with the beautiful September weather and the wonderful location of the Federal Institute in the Salzkammergut in the immediate vicinity of Lake Wolfgang, created a perfect and stress-free balance to the intense debates that followed.

From the very first moment of getting to know him, Hake's bearded appearance, his sonorous voice, his exceptionally cordial, courteous and humorously ironic manner — which only in rare moments could also tip over into the slightly harsh — as well as the mixture of casual, relaxed demeanor and sharp, always alert critical intellect made a very special impression.

As head of the research seminar, in an almost exemplary manner Hake fulfilled the task of ensuring well-coordinated and structured administrative procedures and, by leading discussions in an energetic and at the same time inspiring manner, ensuring smooth and lively discussions in which he himself was always present in terms of content through substantive comments and critical questions.

44 I have never forgotten Barry Hake's introductory words at the opening of the seminar in Strobl, whose ideal-typical perspective should always remind me in the future of the argumentative starting position of any serious scientific debate. With a slight mischievousness in his eye, he programmatically reminded all participants of the intended relentlessly critical character of the following discussion by giving the motto with a conciliatory undertone: "So let's be intellectually cruel to each other, but comradely!"

In fact, despite the beautiful setting and the collegially relaxed atmosphere in which friendly contacts were made, the seminar proceeded in a relentlessly critical but always objective manner with regard to the discussion of the research contributions presented, which was at least unknown to me up to that point.

For me, this first active participation in a process of collaborative scientific examination of research results for argumentative correctness, coherence of content and soundness of the underlying historical sources meant a kind of scientific key experience, which obviously showed me the value of unreserved criticism. If, after an intensive, hour-long scientific critique, more than half of one's own paper survived unscathed, this was to be considered a success — after all, one is then certain of the quality of one's own study. As Stuart Marriott and Barry Hake wrote in the preface to the published conference papers in this regard: "With the benefit of criticism and discussion generated at that meeting, the authors were subsequently able to reconsider their contributions, and the revised versions have been uniformly edited for publication in this volume" (Marriot & Hake 1994, p. v).

In my report on the Strobl seminar, I myself stated in this regard: "Without being able to go into detail here about the sixteen papers, most of them innovative in their research, which mainly dealt with questions of the dissemination of University Extension in the

European area, it should be emphasized on what a high methodological and content-related level the conflictual discussion took place, and how fruitful such seminars, which are intensively designed for discussion, can be for the evaluation of one's own work, which, however, presupposes that each participant has a precise knowledge of the contributions presented; a form of work that is hardly known in this country, where people still like to read off the page, and could well be more widespread" (Stifter, 1993, p. 4).

The impressions described here were repeated and strengthened in all further seminars in which I was fortunately able to participate. For example, at the fourth ESREA historical research seminar held in Salamanca in September 1994 under the general theme "University Extension and Popular Universities 1890-1939" (Hake & Steele, 1996).

The first pan-European ESREA conference, which took place in Strobl in 1995 under the general theme "Adult learning and Social Participation" and was co-organized by Gerhard Bisovsky, left me with a somewhat ambivalent impression. With more than 80 participants, the conference was clearly too large for the presentation arrangement — I myself was involved as convener of a historical working group — on the one hand, and on the other hand, the contributions differed considerably in terms of their quality.

The fifth ESREA historical research seminar, which I was involved in organizing, was held the following year at the Federal Institute for Adult Education and was dedicated to a central and at the same time complex question. It examined aspects of the "social organization" of early adult education in Europe between 1890 and 1930 (Hake & Steele, 1997).

45

Due to the intensive development of the Austrian Archives for Adult Education and the cooperative networking with institutions and colleagues, especially in the German-speaking world, as well as the taking on of larger research and publication projects, there was regrettably less and less time in the following years to participate in international conferences and seminars.

Nevertheless, the interest in the research activities of ESREA remained and the contact with Barry Hake never broke off. In 1999, when I co-organized the Rudolf Goldscheid Symposium, entitled "Das große Missverständnis: Science — Politics and the Public Sphere from Viennese Modernism to the Present" in cooperation with the University of Vienna, the Science Department of the City of Vienna, and the Austrian League for Human Rights (Stifter, 1999), it was a pleasure for me to secure Barry as one of the international speakers, who furthermore contributed an important introductory article to the anthology edited by Mitchell G. Ash and myself in 2002. (Hake, 2002).

It is gratifying that our paths have recently crossed again more closely, among other things in preparation for the next historic ESREA seminar — at the latest in July 2023 we will meet again at the Federal Institute for Adult Education in Strobl, which I am already very much looking forward to!

The experience of my first ESREA seminar has accompanied me throughout my professional life until today. Knowing the productive quality of open criticism based on collegial cooperation, this working principle guides me — sometimes probably to the chagrin of my colleagues — in all research-related work areas whenever possible.

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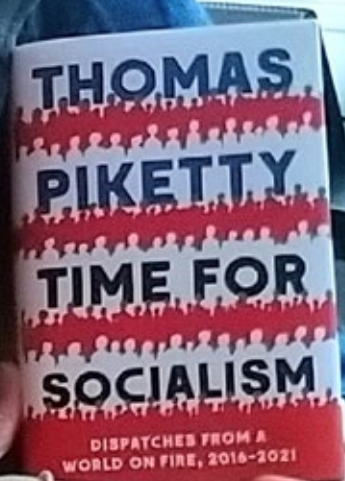
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47

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Richard Taylor

Christian Socialism and adult education: F.D. Maurice and the Working Men's College (London)

In most European societies there have been many Christians who have been, in some sense, socialists; equally, there have been socialist activists—from elected politicians to social movement protesters—who have held to some form of Christian belief. In Britain, especially in England, there has however been an identifiable, though loosely organised, Christian Socialist movement. Alan Wilkinson has traced this influential, morally inspired ideological tradition in his 1998 book, *Christian Socialism: Scott Holland to Tony Blair* (Wilkinson, 1998).

An important dimension of Christian Socialism has been its commitment to a particular form of adult and continuing education: broadly, to an emancipatory, idealistic tradition of liberal adult education. The Working Men's College (WMC) has been located since the beginning of the twentieth century in an architecturally distinctive building in Camden, North London. Founded in 1854, it is the oldest, continually running adult education institution in the UK, probably in Europe. The moving spirit in its foundation, and through its early decades, was F.D. Maurice.

49

This paper analyses Maurice's Christian Socialism and the distinctive ways in which the WMC has developed, adapted and survived successfully into the twenty-first century.

F.D. MAURICE

Maurice's Christian belief lay at the heart of his life, his philosophy and his educational endeavours. As Gibson has argued: 'Any view of Maurice that does not see him as primarily a theologian is...fundamentally faulty'. (Gibson, 1986, p.297) Vidler adds an important gloss on this, in the context of the development of the WMC. Maurice, he wrote, was 'a theologian, first, last, and all the time. But he was never a narrow theologian ...He was also a practical theologian, as was shown in his lifelong devotion to educational enterprises and in his participation in the Christian social movement'. (Vidler, 1961, p.89)

Maurice believed, centrally, in the importance of 'human fellowship': and this conception lay at the heart of his vision for the WMC. But this *a priori* belief was

defined in religious rather than social terms. Maurice did not see Christian religion 'as one way to secure human fellowship, but as the way; he was thus unhappy about the prospect of a purely secular education developing...'. (Gibson, 1986, p. 298)

Although he believed strongly that the Church must be a part of, and must intervene in, the wider secular society, Maurice did not advocate systemic change, nor even radical social reform. Rather, he believed 'that the Kingdom of Christ was already in existence, and not something for which a theoretical blueprint or an actual transformation of society was necessary'. (Norman, 1987, p.22) Maurice's aim was to inculcate this realisation - 'that the universal and spiritual Kingdom of Christ was already in existence' - into men's consciousness. Only in this way could men be truly free'.

As Norman has noted, it was this 'Platonic' form of reasoning, in addition to his denial of such central tenets of the established Church as the existence of 'eternal punishment' and his implicit avowal of 'universalism', rather than his Christian Socialism per se, which led to his dismissal from the Chair of Theology at King's College, University of London.

50 Maurice was strongly opposed to utilitarian ideas in general, and more particularly to the notion of competition as the primary motivating factor in human behaviour. (In a letter to Charles Kingsley in 1884, for example, Maurice wrote: 'Competition is put forth as the law of the universe. That is a lie. The time has come for us to declare that it is a lie by word and deed'. (Cited in Gibson, 1986, p.300) In sharp contrast to this, Maurice argued, as Vidler has put it, that 'men realize their true nature when they co-operate with one another as children of God and brothers in Christ'. (Vidler, cited in Gibson, 1986, p. 300)

'Co-operation', or as the Christian Socialists usually preferred to term it, 'Associationism', was the ideological keynote in the early years of the movement. Their Christian Socialism was as much a collection of (fairly) like-minded individuals as it was a formal, organisational movement.² In so far as it had an organisational beginning, it arose from a meeting at Maurice's house, immediately following the last great Chartist demonstration in London on 10 April 1848. (Present at this meeting, in addition to Maurice, were John Ludlow, Thomas Hughes and Charles Kingsley, all of whom were to play important roles in the WMC.)

F.D. MAURICE AND 'FELLOWSHIP'.

The important outcome, in the educational context, is that these early Christian Socialists believed that it was imperative to formulate a social movement, or rather a *cultural idea*, that would avoid two distinct but linked dangers inherent in contemporary society.

On the one hand, they believed there was a real danger of a violent (philistine) uprising. This eventuality had to be prevented at all costs.³ However, it was equally important to provide a well-founded opposition to the injustice and impoverishment resulting from

the emerging industrial society, which was based upon the false ethic of competition, buttressed by utilitarian political economy.

The overarching objective of the Christian Socialists was 'to shift the emphasis of Christianity from individual ordeal to social salvation'. (Hawkins, 2015, p. 228) Absolutely central to this was Maurice's conception of 'fellowship'. 'The working man's desire for fellowship...bore witness to a vital principle central to Christ's teaching, best realized through cooperation and profit sharing, rather than through collectivism under state ownership'. (Hawkins, 2015, p. 228)

This moral, *a priori* commitment to 'fellowship' is a consistent theme within the (largely secular) Labour Left of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Bruce Glasier, for example, writing in 1919, suggested that socialists should 'simply say with William Morris that Socialism is fellowship, and that fellowship is life, and the lack of fellowship is death. Fellowship is heaven and the lack of fellowship is hell'. (Glasier, 1919, pp. 229-30)

When Maurice turned his attention from the short-lived and unsuccessful experiments with co-operative endeavour⁴ to the founding of the WMC, this concept of 'fellowship', as noted, lay at its heart. In describing its importance in the development of the WMC, J.L. Davies wrote, in 1904, of Maurice's approach: 'The idea of fellowship was to run through all (the College's) work; every teacher was to assume that he might gain as well as impart, might learn as well as teach; every student was to be made to feel that in coming to the College he was entering a society in which he might hope to become more of a citizen and more of a man'. (Davies, 1904, pp. 10-11, cited in Gibson, 1986, p. 306)

51

As far as the WMC is concerned, however, this rather rosy portrayal of an implied egalitarian community of teachers and taught relating to each other symbiotically, has to be heavily qualified. For most of the twentieth century, indeed up to the 1990s, the relationship between teachers and adult students, whilst very often cordial and mutually appreciative, was explicitly that of educated, knowledgeable men passing on or transmitting their learning and intellectual insights to those who had had no opportunity to experience education, or cultural enlightenment, beyond the elementary level. The proclaimed purpose of most, if not all, of the tutors at the WMC was altruistic. It was in broad terms the same motivation as the exponents of University Extension had had in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Jepson, 1973): to bring to the great mass of undereducated men (and, in University Extension, middle-class women), an understanding and appreciation of at least some of the cultural and scientific achievements of Western civilisation; and, further, to instil in adult students the 'sheer joy of learning'.

It can also be argued, however, as various left-wing critics have done, that there has been a strong element of *social control* in such educational endeavours. (Fieldhouse, 1985 (a), 1985 (b), 1996; Taylor and Steele, 2011, pp. 9-22) Educational institutions are by their very nature supportive of the existing social order and its cultural, economic and moral assumptions.

In Western liberal democracies, this process has, arguably, been significantly mitigated by the reforms achieved by the labour movement and by the broadly counter cultural ideologies they have put forward; and by the critical, liberal ethos of at least a part of the institutional structure-including powerful elements in the educational system. This has applied with particular force in adult education: in the establishment, for example, of such bodies as Ruskin College and the WEA. (Field, 2000; Ward and Taylor, 1986, 2012; Fieldhouse, 1996)

There was undoubtedly an element of a 'social control' motivation in Maurice's educational philosophy (though he would no doubt have objected strongly to such terminology). But this was overlain by his commitment, in the context of the WMC, to 'fellowship', and this was complemented by his attachment to the idea of *collegiality*. This identity with the idea of a College derived in large part from Maurice's –and almost all of the other early Christian Socialists'–experience of undergraduate life at Oxford or Cambridge. There was something quasi-mystical, and certainly nostalgic and sentimental, about Maurice's idealisation of 'the College'.

52

Despite the clear hierarchy between teachers and taught, noted earlier, and the stark gulf in terms of social class and educational background, Maurice succeeded in instilling an ethos of collegiality at the WMC. Moreover, there is ample, if anecdotal, evidence that this notion of collegiality remains a distinctive and central aspect of the College in the contemporary world. This mix of motivations was certainly well in evidence in Maurice's approach to developing the WMC. At the most general level, Maurice's intention in founding and taking forward the WMC was to instil the 'interior dignity of men [and discover] the means by which the working classes could achieve some insight into the great truths of Christianity'. (Norman, 1987, p. 32) More specifically, Maurice, in his lectures on 'Learning and Working', given at the College in June and July 1854, argued that all men 'have a craving for "freedom and for order"'. Thus, "'all education is intended to excite these cravings, and to meet them'". (Gibson, 1986, p. 304) Maurice paid as much as attention to ensuring that men should subsume their individuality within (appropriate) 'ordering structures' as he did to encouraging the liberation, through education, of the human spirit in each person. Only in this constructive tension could a true sense of the nature of each individual soul be engendered.

Maurice's pedagogy was generally conventional. Whilst, as noted, he abhorred utilitarian approaches to education as to all else, he did believe that factual content in educational provision was an essential ingredient. However, his emphasis was consistently upon 'some higher concept of interpretation'; he was 'more concerned with concepts such as Truth', defined of course in his own 'enlightened' Christian way. (Gibson, 1986, pp. 306-7)

Maurice led the College in an idiosyncratic, and in effect autocratic, style. He detested bureaucracy: he had what he termed 'systemphobia'. Moreover, he regarded 'intellectual systems' as "'a miserable, partial, human substitute" for the divine order'. Such

structures were especially inappropriate, he believed, for the English, who were a nation “by constitution, politicians not systematizers” (Norman, 1987, p. 21, citing Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ* II, 1842)

Not surprisingly, given this perspective, Maurice was fiercely opposed to democracy *per se*. To the contemporary eye, such attitudes might seem to sit ill with the intrinsically liberal educational objectives of the WMC. And yet it must be emphasised that Maurice was not only a magnetic, energetic and committed leader: he was also admired and loved by many. Later Christian Socialists regarded him as their ‘greatest thinker’: they were inspired by his ‘moral seriousness’ and by his ‘vision of a humanity emancipated from the thrall of custom and the existing ties of social experience’. (Norman, 1987, p. 2)

Maurice clearly had what today would be termed ‘charisma’. ‘He elicited a remarkable personal loyalty for the purity, and, seemingly, sheer goodness of his character. One word that occurs frequently is “reverence”, as one reads accounts of his work at the college’. Ruskin remarked, in 1899, that “I loved Frederick Maurice, as every one did who came near him”. Many echoed the estimation of Julius Hare: “...he is incomparably the grandest example of human nature that it has ever been my happiness to know”. (Gibson, 1986, pp. 307-8, citing John Ruskin, *Praeterita* (autobiography), 1899; Higham, 1947)

53

KEY FIGURES IN THE EARLY WMC: IDEOLOGIES AND MOTIVATIONS.

Maurice was the key figure in the foundation and development of the WMC, but there were several others who were important in the early years of the WMC. Although they were a diverse group, they were united in their admiration and respect for Maurice. Whether they were practical, ‘common sense’ men, like Charles Kingsley, or more politically inclined Christians, like John Ludlow, they all saw the ‘Christianising of socialism’ and the ‘socialising of Christianity’ as the key motivating factor in their movement. Kingsley, for example, was enthused by Maurice’s *The Kingdom of Christ* and became a populariser of his work; and, for Ludlow, Maurice was simply ‘by far the greatest man I have ever known’. (JM Ludlow, 1981) Some, Kingsley and Thomas Hughes, for example, were ‘muscular Christians’, of a moral rather than intellectual disposition, and generally ‘broad Churchmen of liberal judgments’. (Norman, 1987, p. 37)

Although Kingsley was committed to Maurice’s WMC – ‘a noble plan’ – and gave some lectures there, he became more focused on his social activism on sanitation reform rather than education. Moreover, he soon became increasingly conservative in outlook (and there is clear evidence that he was an extreme racist).⁵ Thomas Hughes, in his ‘Prefatory Memoir’ to *Alton Locke* (1881), recalled Kingsley’s mounting dislike of those active in progressive causes: ‘restless and eccentric persons’, ‘bearded young men and vegetarians’. (Hughes, 1881, p. 23)

Thomas Hughes, in contrast, although generally agreed to be the least intellectually gifted of the original Christian Socialists, remained wholly committed throughout his life to the WMC and its ideas. An Oxford cricket blue, and a lifelong enthusiast for athleticism, Hughes was the archetypal 'muscular Christian', with an uncomplicated commitment 'to do something for humanity'. (Norman, 1987, p. 84) It was Hughes who organised boxing classes, early morning swimming sessions, and 'volunteer corps' at the WMC (much to the astonishment of Maurice). There are echoes of this 'healthy in mind, healthy in body' ethic in the WMC's culture well into the latter half of the twentieth century.

54

There were numerous other Christian Socialists of influence in the early years of the WMC, including John Ruskin.⁶ Ruskin, although only relatively briefly involved with the WMC, had considerable influence upon Maurice. Ruskin was important for the WMC in two respects: first, because of his eminence, he drew into involvement with the College several other prominent artists and writers; but secondly, and less obviously, he was passionately opposed to the increasing 'division of labour' under industrial capitalism. There are shades here of the early Marx's theory of alienation in Ruskin's radical observation about the prevailing 'incessant distinction between manual labour and intellect: "We are always in these days endeavouring to separate the two: we want one man to be always thinking, and another to be always working, and we call one a gentleman, and the other an operative; whereas the workman ought to be thinking, and the thinker often to be working, and both should be gentlemen, in the best sense"' (MacCarthy, 1994, p. 71, citing Ruskin, 1853)⁷ Whilst Maurice did not make explicit such beliefs, the spirit of such an approach clearly underlay his aspirations for the education of working men at the College. And, of course, this dovetailed too with his attraction to pre-industrial, quasi-medievalist culture and tradition.

The early Christian Socialists held divergent perspectives on the 'correct' version of Christianity, from 'high Church' Anglicanism to various forms of Nonconformist belief. (None was Roman Catholic, however.) Their commitment to 'socialism', however liberally defined, was in contrast debateable, to say the least. Maurice himself was not, in most senses, 'political' at all. He was certainly deeply suspicious if not hostile to those who argued for social or political transformation. As noted, he believed rather that the 'Kingdom of Christ' was already here; and that therefore the task was to engage people generally, and the working class in particular, with Christian enlightenment; and, in the case of the WMC, this would be articulated through education.

Although he opposed the capitalist ethic of competition, he did not oppose capitalism per se; indeed, he declared in 1848 that "'Property is holy, distinction of rank is holy"' (Norman, 1987, p. 17, citing Maurice, 1851, p. 65) Maurice was opposed not only to 'all systems', but also to trade unions, political parties and to collective, state intervention. He was also opposed strongly to majoritarian democracy: "'I do not mean to follow the will of a majority, I hope never to follow it, always to set it at naught". The popular choice...would always be "something low and swinish"' (Norman, 1987, citing Maurice, 1866, p. 203)

On the other hand, Maurice believed that *all* humankind could be rescued from their ungodly depravity: and he saw education as the key catalyst for this religious and thus social emancipation. In that context, he was implacably opposed to the Calvinist doctrine so prevalent in Evangelical circles, where 'true believers'-'the chosen ones'-would be 'saved', and the majority of human beings were pre-destined to damnation.

For Maurice, as for other Christian Socialists, the Church had to address the 'needs of society as a whole'; but, crucially, Christian Socialists rejected the secular argument of many progressives that 'only through the good office of a benign state can the good of all be achieved'. Such a formulation omitted 'the sense of individual responsibilities which is essential if society is to function at all'. (Wilkinson, 1998, p. x) Almost all the early Christian Socialists, including Maurice himself, were opposed to democracy, if that term is defined and understood generally in Western, twentieth and early twenty-first century terms.⁸ Contemporary notions of representative democracy, within a broadly liberal political structure and culture, are seen by most (though by no means all) people as, uncontentionally, the cornerstone of 'the good society'. However, this is a relatively new conception of democracy: until the late nineteenth century, democracy was construed negatively in the mainstream political culture of Western societies as 'mob rule', and thus as a harbinger of chaos and a sure route to a decline into ignorant philistinism.

55

It is in this context that the Christian Socialists' hostility to democracy should be seen. Maurice and his colleagues *did* believe that the 'working classes should be admitted to the Constitution, but only when they had been educated into the means of making proper choice'. (Norman, 1987, p. 23) Clearly, this lends weight to the contentions of those who see nineteenth century adult education (indeed, the expansion of the education system *per se*) as an important element in the attempt by the ruling order to impose 'social control', thereby, through inculcating bourgeois ideology, ensuring the continuity of the existing social order.

Whatever view is taken of this ideological analysis, it is the case that the Christian Socialists, as Norman has argued, were attracted, both in Maurice's time and later, to the latter's thought not by 'social or political principle but [by] his sympathy for humanity. They were attracted by his sense that all of mankind constitutes the living material of the spiritual and universal kingdom, and that social behaviour which recognized Christ in a brother creature was a form of reverence to God himself'. (Norman, 1987, p. 24)

In some ways, Christian Socialists, including Maurice, embodied, as noted earlier, the nostalgic regret at the passing of an idealised feudal, medieval society, so common amongst Tory radicals, most notably Disraeli and the 'Young England' group, in the mid-nineteenth century. (It was a characteristic view, also, amongst the pre-Raphaelites William Morris, Edward Burne-Jones *et al.* (MacCarthy, 1994; Thompson, 1955, 1977) However, Maurice and most Christian Socialists- had also a strong attachment to the central institutions of the existing social order. (For example, Maurice wrote in 1852 to

John Ludlow that he 'must have Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Socialism, or rather Humanity, recognised as necessary elements and conditions of an organic Christian society'.
(Maurice, cited in Gibson, 1986, p. 312)

There have been critics who have argued that Christian Socialism has had a negative, detrimental effect upon the labour movement and its objectives. They have argued, in effect, that whilst Christian Socialists may well have been imbued with genuinely Christian-and thus humane, caring and 'moral'-motivations, Christian Socialism was not in any meaningful sense socialist. Indeed, Christian Socialists were guilty, 'in objective terms, of prolonging and extending the poverty of the labouring millions'. (Saville, 1954, p.159)⁹

56 Saville, who in 1954 was an active member of the Communist Party, readily accepts that the Christian Socialists in general, and Maurice in particular, 'were wholly sincere in the tasks they set themselves...It is not their individual high purpose which is in doubt but the practical results of their teaching upon the working-class movement of their time'. The Christian Socialists, and especially Maurice, were deeply opposed to giving primacy to collective, political struggle, as advocated by radical Chartists and other socialists in the mid nineteenth century. In Christian Socialism the emphasis was rather, as argued above, 'upon spiritual regeneration before social improvement could be expected'. (Saville, 1954, p.158) For Christian Socialists there was, in accordance with Judeo-Christian beliefs, a central focus upon the individual, as opposed to the collective concept of the working class. Thus, for Christian Socialists, there was 'an insistence upon self-help as the only durable foundation for individual betterment'. (Saville, 1954, p.156)

Saville's critique has force. But it depends, of course, upon an assumed ideological framework, just as Maurice's does. For Saville, it was axiomatic that a collective, class perspective, and the political action that followed, was the only correct position. For Maurice, on the other hand, the reference point was (to an Anglican version of) Christian theology.

There is here, therefore, an element of 'ships that pass in the night'. As with all 'grand narratives'-in this instance, Marxism and Christianity-once the overarching framework of analysis is accepted, the conclusions follow. It is thus not a question of whether or not Saville is 'correct' : rather, it is to acknowledge that this is a perspective to take into account in an analysis of Christian Socialism.

Even if-and it is a big 'if'-Saville's and other similar left-wing critiques are accepted, there is no doubt whatever that, in the *educational* context, Maurice and his Christian Socialist colleagues made a significant and positive impact, in particular through the development of the Working Men's College.

The Christian Socialist focus, educationally, was fundamentally liberal, eclectic and empathetic. Maurice's success at the WMC – and an undoubted success it was – lay in his profound 'moral seriousness', and his spiritual engagement with, and commitment to, both the adult students and his colleagues at the College.

THE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF THE WMC IN THE MODERN ERA.

How far, if at all, do Maurice's Christian Socialist views and overall ideological perspective continue to characterise the WMC and its work in recent decades-the 1950s to the 2020s?

Perhaps the most important and influential figure in this debate-from the liberal side of the argument- has been RH Tawney, in the context of education in general and adult education in particular. (Goldman, 2013; see also Goldman, 1995; Taylor and Steele, 2011)¹⁰ Tawney can be described, in broad terms, as a Christian Socialist (or perhaps more accurately a 'socialist Christian'); there is thus a continuity between Maurice and the early Christian Socialists, and those committed to progressive educational philosophy as articulated by Tawney in the first half of the twentieth century. Prominent Labour figures proclaiming the key influence of Tawney, both personally and ideologically, included Hugh Gaitskell, Aneurin Bevan, Stafford Cripps, Michael Foot, and Tony Blair. (Taylor and Steele, 2013, p. 27ff)

57

At the heart of Tawney's political ideology was his commitment to ethical socialism, itself founded upon his unwavering (Protestant, Church of England) Christianity. For Tawney, conventional, even conservative, though his theological beliefs were, it was the socially radical message of the 'Sermon on the Mount' that lay at the centre of his educational philosophy. 'Social' his Christianity may have been: but, like Maurice, it was not collectivist. Tawney's ethical socialism gave priority to the individual, and his or her enlightenment, and commitment to the ideal of community service. Tawney rejected absolutely the incipient determinism of both Marxist-Leninist communism and many other variants of socialist belief. 'Personal moral choice, dictated by individual conscience, was always the crux of the matter; and it was the creation of the best possible environment for making this choice which was the main justification for democratic socialist politics'. (Taylor and Steele, 2011, p. 24.)

As with Maurice (and William Morris), the notion of 'fellowship' was central to Tawney's educational philosophy. Indeed, the ethic of fellowship remained central also to the ideology of the Labour Party. Clement Attlee, for example, repeatedly returned to William Morris and his conception of socialist values in general, and the notion of fellowship in particular. In his first television interview, with Kenneth Harris in 1954, Attlee stated that: '...there's nothing better than the motto that we have here in this Borough, by our most famous citizen, William Morris- "Fellowship is Life"-we believe in the kind of society where we've fellowship for all'. (Harris, cited in MacCarthy, 1994, p. xviii)

The theme of 'fellowship' was writ large too in the development of radical adult education in the twentieth century. EP Thompson emphasised that, in adult education, in contrast to the increasingly utilitarian and business-orientated practices of the mainstream academy, there was a genuine symbiosis between tutor and students. Whereas 'the university makes its provision on its own terms, according to its self-generated presuppositions, set standards and so on', there was in liberal, academic adult education, a 'dialectical interplay of academic knowledge and the lived experience of the people and the communities of the world...'. (Taylor and Steele, 2011, p. 158; see also Thompson, 1968)

58 For Tawney, this was clearly to be a fellowship of autonomous, free individuals, living in a fully democratic society. Linked to this, was his commitment to equality (the title of one of his most famous books, strikingly relevant to the contemporary world of the early twenty-first century. (Tawney, 1931)) Tawney construed equality not so much in terms of wholesale common ownership, but as social justice entailing a much greater equalisation of wealth and income (to be achieved largely through redistributive taxation). He was a genuinely radical figure: significantly, for example, he vehemently opposed the rather comfortable adherence of many in the mainstream, right of centre, labour movement, who put at the centre of social policy the objective of 'equality of opportunity'. 'Nothing could be more remote from Socialist ideas than the competitive scramble of a society which pays lip-service to equality, but too often means by it merely equal opportunities of becoming unequal'. On the contrary, socialists should aim to 'effect a complete divorce between differences of pecuniary income and differences in respect of health, security, amenity of environment, culture, social status and esteem'. (Tawney, 1952, pp. 178-9) This contrasts sharply with Tony Blair's conception of egalitarian educational policies: Blair emphasised explicitly 'equality of opportunity', rather than the more radical goal of social equality *per se*, as a key policy objective.

There was thus, in the 'climate of the times', a strong connection between the ethical Christian Socialism of the founders of the WMC in the mid-nineteenth century, and the prevailing ideas of the progressive Left, a century and more later. Indeed, Tawney, quite explicitly, declared himself to be a 'Maurician Christian socialist'. (Taylor and Steele, 2011, p. 26)

In the more secular contemporary world, however, the moral imperatives driving the continuing educational radicalism of the WMC can no longer be characterised as, in any direct sense, 'Christian'. Nevertheless, caveats must be made to this assertion. The first is that Britain remains- for good or ill-a society deeply imbued with Christian *culture*, as opposed to theology. At its most tangible, this can be seen in the continuing moral authority of the leaders of the Established Church (and, to an extent, too of the leaders of the Roman Catholic and Non-Conformist churches) and their representation, as of right, in institutions such as the House of Lords. Less obviously, but even more importantly, the moral precepts of Christianity permeate our *political* culture (and indeed our literary heritage). Secondly, it is something of a paradox that, as the majority Christian influence

declines, the prominence in British society of other world religions-notably, the Moslem and Hindu faiths-has increased with successive waves of immigration into the UK. This is clearly of importance in the context of the WMC student body, given Camden's ethnically diverse community.

F.D. MAURICE AND TODAY'S WMC.

Under the Conservative Governments of the 1980s, led by Margaret Thatcher, which were characterised by a radical, neo-liberal ideology, adult education in general, and radical, social purpose adult education in particular, declined significantly. This negative period resulted in the shrinking of the WMC's programme and, culturally, the development of a more inward-looking, self-referential mood. The College became, in many ways, more of 'a Club' than an adult education institution serving its local community. According to one senior College figure, who held an influential position at the WMC in the early years of the twenty-first century, the 'whole curriculum needed restructuring in order to make it relevant to the needs of the local community and to modernise it in line with contemporary thinking and current standards'.

Such a radical perspective was widely accepted by senior figures in the College, particularly following the damning FEFC Inspection Report of 1995-96. Whilst the Report was especially critical of management practices in general and the failures of Governance in particular, the Report found fault more generally with the College's provision and its lack of linkage to the local community.

59

The clear necessity for radical restructuring of the College's curriculum offer and its governance and QA processes was recognised by an enlightened and energetic group of senior governors in the College. With the appointment of a new Principal and Management Team in the ensuing decade, the College was 'turned round', and indeed achieved an 'Outstanding' inspection grade in the early twenty-first century. However, with the important exception of the creative arts provision, there is little that could be construed as in any sense liberal, critical educational provision. The central objectives of provision were summarised as follows: ICT skills; and 'a mixture of courses that allow students to combine "vocational" and "non-vocational" elements'. On the other hand, attention is drawn to the liberal ethos of the College: 'equality of opportunity, openness, freedom of expression and social responsibility', which are seen as central to the College's identity. Similarly, there is a commitment to involving 'learners and staff in the decision-making processes of the College', and to developing 'a multi-ethnic multi-skilled staff team.'. (WMC, April 2006 p. 4)

The aims of forging a spirit of 'fellowship' and of 'collegiality' were achieved by Maurice and his colleagues, albeit in class-defined, paternalistic ways which jar with modern sensibilities. And these attributes of the College have survived and prospered into the present era.

It is true that adult education has always to respond to the expressed needs of the community or communities it serves: and the hard fact is that, very often, these expressed needs are largely vocational. Adult education has also to be ultra-sensitive to the funding and policy environments in which it operates. Does such largely vocational provision preclude the liberal approach that has characterised the WMC's rhetorical aims and objectives, and which have inspired successive generations with the ethos of 'fellowship' and 'collegiality'? Perhaps the traditional dichotomy of 'vocational' and 'non-vocational', which has pervaded much of the discussion in the adult education world, is not the most appropriate analytical frame of reference, at least in the contemporary, early twenty-first century, context. These are important and contested questions of both principle and practice: but there is no doubt that the WMC is well-placed to cope successfully with the challenges that undoubtedly lie ahead.

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- 1 Gendered language is used here deliberately. In common with most, though not all, Victorian theologians and social critics, Maurice and other Christian Socialists saw the social world in these gendered terms.
 - 2 Edward Norman has delineated the significant differences of approach between the leading proponents of the mid-nineteenth century Christian Socialist movement; and Alan Wilkinson has performed a similar task for the later exponents of this perspective. (see References).
 - 3 Memories of the French Revolution and the dangers of a similar reign of terror and the subsequent descent into chaos and barbarism-as it was commonly seen in England-was still fresh in the minds of the middle and upper classes.
 - 4 Co-operation, for Maurice and his colleagues, had little to do with consumers' co-operation or co-operative shops. Rather, co-operation for them was 'a grand principle upon which the whole of society was to be reformed; it was essentially a moral Christian principle, the very antithesis of competition, selfishness, and greed, which were the hallmarks of contemporary society'. (Harrison, 1954, p. 12.)
 - 5 Kingsley became a notable member of the British Establishment: he was appointed Chaplain to Queen Victoria in 1859 and in 1860 he took up the Regius Chair of Modern History at Cambridge University. Even by the very different standards of the day, he was an extreme racist. He wrote that 'the welfare of the Teutonic race is the welfare of the world'; and that degenerate races, including the American 'Indians', were better dead: 'One tribe exterminated, if need be, to save a whole continent. Sacrifice of human life? Prove that it is human life. It is beast-life'. He also had a particular antipathy to the Irish. On a visit to Sligo, in 1860, he wrote: 'I am haunted by the human chimpanzees I saw along that hundred miles of horrible country...To see white chimpanzees is dreadful; if they had been black, one would not feel it so much.' (Fryer, 2018 edition, p. 185, citing Kingsley to JM Ludlow, 1849, in (ed.) Frances Kingsley, Charles Kingsley: his letters and memories of his life (London: Henry S. King and Co, 1877), Vol.1, pp. 222-3; and Kingsley to his wife, 4 July 1860, in *ibid.*, Vol.2, p.107.)
 - 6 Ruskin, who taught Art classes, 'not unsuccessfully' to groups of skilled workers at the WMC, had, according to Norman, 'almost no historical sense', and had little or no influence on Christian Socialism, withdrawing from both the movement and the WMC in the later 1850s. (Norman, 1987. p. 124.)
 - 7 This strong, moral and political, opposition to the increasing division of labour under capitalism, was also characteristic of William Morris from the 1870s. (see MacCarthy, 1994, p. 356)
 - 8 'Democracy' is both an old and a contentious term. Raymond Williams traces this history, in all its complexity, in his classic work, *Keywords*. (Williams, revised edition, 1983, pp. 93-8.)
 - 9 John Saville was a notably stringent critic of Christian Socialism (Saville, 1954) in general and of its ideology of 'associationism' (that is, producer cooperatives) in particular. For Saville, it was only the political perspective of the radical Chartist that held out any hope in the late nineteenth century for the amelioration of the appalling conditions of poverty, exploitation and degradation which faced the mass of working-class people. He was an active and committed member of the CP until 1956, the year of the Hungarian uprising (and remained a Marxist for the rest of his life.) With EP Thompson, he produced *The Reasoner* and, after resigning from the CP, he and Thompson became leading figures in the 'first' New Left, and editors of *The New Reasoner*, which merged with *Universities and Left Review* in 1960, to create *New Left Review*.
 - 10 Tawney was an internationally distinguished social and economic historian. However, his connection with and commitment to liberal, social purpose adult education was lifelong. Moreover, in addition to his academic work and publications, and his adult education teaching, he was an indefatigable and effective member of numerous Government committees and Commissions. He thus had a significant influence on educational policy over many decades. (Goldman, 2013; Taylor and Steele, 2011.)





Part II – Analysing éducation permanente, lifelong education and learning and adult education policy



Gerhard Bisovsky

Continuities in Austrian Adult Education Policy

Austria is a small country that provides some noteworthy examples of good practice in the history and present of adult education. Measures in the field of quality assurance, professionalisation, access to adult education for disadvantaged groups, basic education and the second-chance education system are the subjects of numerous study visits. Furthermore, Austria is known for a popular education movement with a pronounced academic orientation, which reached its peak in the Viennese Adult Education Centres of the First Republic (1918-1934). Furthermore, a model of democratic education was successfully practised within the working groups (Filla 2001).

In Austria, several conferences of ESREA networks have taken place (for example: History Network, Biographical Network, Migration) and the first pan-European conference of ESREA met in 1995 at the Federal Institute for Adult Education in St. Wolfgang (formerly: Strobl). During this time, the author had a very positive and mutually respectful collaboration with Barry Hake, the long-time Secretary General of ESREA. I am pleased to be able to congratulate Barry on his 80th birthday with this essay. In a narrative,¹ I will deal with the Austrian state adult education policy, which has set numerous education policy initiatives from the 1970s onwards;; these are characterised by a high degree of continuity. However, I will also address discontinuities that have occurred, especially in the recent past.

69

REMARKS ON AUSTRIAN ADULT EDUCATION

Compared to Germany, Sweden and Finland, Austria has a relatively large sector of so-called general adult education, as the Adult Education Survey shows. Another feature is the high importance of the Public Employment Service, which contracts organisations to improve employability and upskilling and is considered the largest provider of adult vocational education. (Cf. Vogtenhuber et. al. 2021). Otherwise, characteristics such as pronounced fragmentation can also be found in the Austrian adult education landscape. This was particularly noticeable during the Covid 19 pandemic, as there were many different authorities at the state level, which led to emerging differences in the respective programme areas. A broad range of adult

¹ This contribution is a heavily abridged and revised version of Bisovsky 2021.

education programmes that attract people in different phases and situations of life do not yet have the appropriate governance structures. These are necessary in light of the fact that adult education comprises the longest educational stage in the course of life.

At the core of Austrian adult education are non-profit institutions operating within an association system, which is still very pronounced in some organisations. The Austria-wide institutions are united by the working platform of the Conference of Adult Education (KEBÖ), which continues to play a role in the policy-making process that should not be underestimated.

ADULT EDUCATION POLICY IN THE REAR-VIEW MIRROR

Increased state involvement is characteristic of contemporary Austrian adult education policy.² This has undoubtedly led to an increase in the importance of adult education and an improvement in the linkages between adult education and the education system. The impulses and initiatives for these measures came from different actors, and in many cases actors from adult education were active here and drove developments. State actors then followed suit or took up the issues and, in some cases, took over a formative role.

70 This has not always been the case in the history of adult education policy; many initiatives came from state agencies, especially in the 1970s (Bisovsky 1991).

Some of the initiatives that are highly visible and implemented nationwide today include: Second Chance Education, the Adult Education Initiative, the quality label AT-Cert and the Continuing Education Academy, as well as the Educational Guidance Initiative. In addition, the conversion of the annual funding of the federal associations of non-profit adult education to three-year performance agreements should be mentioned. Today, in retrospect, these measures can be seen as part of a longer-term development that began in the education expansion and implementation phase at the beginning of the 1970s.

A particular milestone was the Adult Education Funding Law of 1973, which legitimised the promotion of adult education at the federal level. The Act formulates a broad and holistic understanding of adult education and at the same time underlines the special nature of adult education, namely its autonomy and independence. In § 6, the “independence of the funding recipients” is explicitly mentioned; independence which includes the “programme and curriculum design”, the “pedagogical methods” and the “selection of staff”.

With the “Development Planning for a Cooperative System of Adult Education in Austria” (Dillinger and Dvořák 2002), which began in 1981, a number of projects were initiated to improve the coverage and professionalism of Austrian adult education. The following types of projects were created: Curricular and didactic planning to explore, prepare and test new

2 I refer explicitly to the adult education policy of the Ministry of Education. The labour market policy, which is very important for the entire adult education sector, is not addressed or is only touched upon.

content and subject areas; staff training and further training with a focus on pedagogical qualifications; organisational development to improve the achievement of objectives; regional development to improve the infrastructure; and target group-oriented planning with special consideration of educational abstinence and the elaboration of suitable models (Dillinger 1986). The projects were accompanied by an advisory board consisting of representatives from the Ministry of Education and adult education associations (two general and two vocational). Within the framework of this cooperative approach, several projects were developed that are still functioning and relevant today. (Cf. Bisovsky 1991, 214-226).

With the introduction of development planning, “systematic project work conceived with focal points” began in Austrian adult education (ibid., 225), although from today’s perspective development planning’s significance goes far beyond this. Important foundations for further development were laid through projects that focused on organisational development, second-chance education and training with a pedagogical focus. The professionalisation of adult education was advanced and the position of adult education strengthened in the education system.

SECOND-CHANCE EDUCATION: IMPROVING PERMEABILITY AND IMPLEMENTING BASIC EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

The “Jobless Teachers in Adult Education” campaign, which started in 1983 and was financed by the Ministry of Education, brought about an important professionalisation push in adult education to establish full-time structures. This also had a concrete effect on the second chance pathway, in the form of financing for coordinators and counsellors. This laid an important foundation for the subsequent expansion of the second chance education system. The Federal Act on the *Berufsreifeprüfung* (Higher Education Entrance Examination), passed in 1997 on the basis of a parliamentary initiative of the social partners, made open access to higher education more attractive by recognising competences acquired in vocational practice. As early as the beginning of the 2000s, digitally-supported preparatory courses for the *Berufsreifeprüfung* were developed at the Vienna Adult Education Centre Meidling under the direction of the author (Bisovsky et al. 2006), an initiative which was received with scepticism by the federal education authority responsible. Preparation for the *Berufsreifeprüfung* with examination authorisation by an adult education proctor was only legally possible within the framework of a course with up to 30 percent or 50 percent distance learning. The Corona crisis, however, showed that even longer distance learning periods than those provided for by law could be recognised.

At the end of the 1980s, the issue of functional illiteracy was taken up. The pedagogical advisor in the Association of Viennese Adult Education Centres, Elisabeth Brugger, among others, brought theoretical approaches and concrete models of successful literacy from the USA to Austria (cf. Cennamo et al. 2018). One of the first pilot projects was implemented

at the Vienna Adult Education Centre Floridsdorf and funded by the Ministry of Education (Brugger et al., 1997; Brugger 2021).

With the first EU programmes, literacy and basic education projects were developed and implemented in Austria. There were increasing demands on the part of the adult education organisations that implemented the projects to transform the projects into programmes, in order to enable sustainable implementation. The good experiences had with the first EU programmes and the pressure from adult education, the support from the social partners (especially the Chamber of Labour), but also the European agenda, which included the improvement of basic education for adults, as well as the acceptance of the topic by the Ministry of Education finally led to a joint implementation of the “Adult Education Initiative” with the federal provinces, namely within the framework of a pact legislation between the federal government and the provinces, which the federal constitution provides for.

72 The “Adult Education Initiative” was launched in 2012; it is financed by funds from the federal government and the federal provinces, and for some years it has also been supplemented with the help of EU structural funds. The “Adult Education Initiative” with its two programme strands of basic education and a compulsory school-leaving certificate, which can be taken free of charge, undoubtedly represents an important milestone in Austrian education policy. The results of the PIAAC study, which was published in 2013 and revealed around one million people with insufficient reading skills, had a supportive effect on the further expansion of the initiative. Finally, the Act for an Adult Compulsory School Certificate (2012) succeeded in finding a format that incorporates the experiences and competences of adults and thus created an independent formal educational qualification for adults. This was exemplified by the conception of the Berufsreifeprüfung.

PROFESSIONALISATION: DEVELOPMENT PLANNING - PEDAGOGICAL STAFF - CONTINUING EDUCATION ACADEMY

Within the framework of development planning, projects focusing on professionalisation were conceived and implemented. The aforementioned project “Jobless teachers in adult education”, through which around 250 people became full-time employees in pedagogical work or educational management, continued with the project “Qualified pedagogical staff in adult education”, which was launched in 1990 (cf. Filla 2013, 6).

Only a few years later, work began on the “Continuing Education Academy” (Gruber 2018). In a broad cooperation among the non-profit adult education organisations represented in the Conference of Adult Education Austria (KEBÖ), the Federal Institute for Adult Education and the University of Klagenfurt, a new model for the recognition of qualifications of adult educators was developed under the leadership of the Adult Education Centres. It focused on the four fields of activity: teaching, counselling, and education management as well as information management and librarianship. A transition to the tertiary system would

also be created. Practice in adult education was and is the prerequisite for the validation process by the Academy of Continuing Education. What is remarkable about the Academy of Continuing Education, which is supported by the “Cooperative System of Austrian Adult Education”,³ is that in it, adult education has given itself the qualification profiles for the validation of competences and qualifications. Since the purpose of the Academy is to validate the competences of adult educators, it does not offer any training events itself.

A qualification from the Academy is based on voluntariness, but at the same time it is recognised for the state-funded programmes within the framework of the Adult Education Initiative and for the Austria-wide quality seal Ö-Cert. There is also at least partial recognition for the trainer qualifications of the Public Employment Service. Thus, the Academy of Continuing Education is also effective at the system level, and it is therefore not surprising that the majority of its qualifications are already in demand from educational institutions and education departments that are not classically considered to be part of adult education.

On a related note, a separate qualification profile for teachers in basic education was recently developed.

73

QUALITY ASSURANCE

Quality assurance and quality development were discussed and implemented from different perspectives in the 1990s. For a while, a lot of attention was paid to discussion of which quality management system was the most suitable for AE institutions. This process was supported by the Ministry of Education through projects that finally led to the implementation of quality management systems not only in VET institutions but also in general adult education institutions. The model of Learner-Oriented Quality Testing in Continuing Education (LQW)⁴ was introduced in the Adult Education Centres and in other institutions.

In addition to the discussion of quality management systems, a second strand developed in conjunction with the introduction of individual funding in the Austrian provinces. In the province of Upper Austria, the Upper Austrian education account with an education voucher was already introduced preceding Austria’s accession to the EU, inspired by examples from European countries. The education voucher could only be used in those institutions that were accredited with the Upper Austrian quality label. After similar models subsequently spread to all other provinces and the organisations had to be accredited to handle the demand, a situation arose in which an educational institution had to be accredited in several provinces and had to meet the respective standards, some

3 The cooperative system consists of the non-profit federal associations in KEBÖ and the Federal Institute for Adult Education.

4 www.qualitaets-portal.de/lqw-international

of which were also different, so that its course offerings could be attended by those with education vouchers.

Against this background, the Ministry of Education initiated the development of an Austria-wide quality framework, which was finally implemented as AT-Cert in the form of a pact legislation between the federal government and the provinces (Gruber and Schlögl 2011). The AT-Cert guideline formulates an understanding of education that defines adult education in relation to therapy, leisure, health, and esotericism. Rational debate and critical awareness are defined as central attitudes. Education is understood as “thinking and acting on one’s own responsibility towards oneself, nature and society”. It goes on to say: “Education is therefore not compatible with the uncritical imparting of ideologies, supposedly unquestionable secret knowledge or belief systems.” (Ö-Cert 2021, 13).⁵

EDUCATIONAL GUIDANCE INITIATIVE

74

The Adult Education Funding Law 1973 lists in § 2, para. 1 “educational information, educational guidance and educational advertising” as being among several tasks of the federal government worthy of funding. Soon afterwards, on the initiative of the Ministry of Education, an Austria-wide conference was held on the topic of “Problems in educational information and guidance”, and subsequently a first pilot model was developed in Styria. General educational guidance in adult education could not yet be implemented, but guidance work in adult education was upgraded (cf. Bisovsky 1991, 199-202).

From the end of the 1980s onwards, provider-neutral educational guidance services emerged in some provinces, such as the BiBer educational guidance service in Salzburg. This was followed by other provider-independent educational guidance centres in other provinces (cf. BMBWK 2001, 31).

With the network “Educational Guidance in Vienna” (Bisovsky 2011), which was launched in 2008, several Viennese adult education institutions, which were in competition with each other, succeeded in uniting on one platform and realising agency-independent educational guidance for adults through cooperation agreements. The French model of the “Cité des Métiers” and the “Lernläden” (learning shops) that were established in Berlin at that time provided inspiration for this, which subsequently led to cooperation between those responsible for educational guidance in Berlin and Vienna (Zauner and Barth 2016).

In 2011, the “Initiative for Educational Guidance” was established as a nationwide, regional and target group-specific educational guidance system, which is characterised by methodologically diverse guidance formats as well as outreach activities (cf. Götz et al. 2014, 34-41).

5 <https://oe-cert.at/media/leitfaden.pdf?m=1655709879&>

STATE ADULT EDUCATION POLICY IN AUSTRIA - A SUCCESS STORY?

Many successful state measures were developed jointly by politics, administration, adult education, science and the social partnership. Such a cooperative policy-making process ensures the subsequent practical implementation of the measures developed.

The development of these measures was also favoured by the fact that a small country like Austria looks to other countries, and the Adult Education Centres in particular are internationally active and well networked.

Non-governmental actors are of great importance in adult education. They are often driving forces and non-profit institutions in particular are active in three major areas: Literacy and basic education, vocational training and civic education, and education for social cohesion. These actors have a high level of content-related competence, expertise, and pedagogical know-how. Furthermore, they have a lot of experience and represent a wealth of knowledge, which is also constantly renewed through discussion, the exchange of experiences and democratic processes.

However, it should also be pointed out that many private and profit-oriented organisations and companies are active in the education market and are favoured by tenders that focus more on costs than on quality. Increasingly, non-governmental organisations are consulted less often, at least in the field of adult education policy. Policy practice tends to have a more top down approach. Adult education stakeholders and practitioners are increasingly less involved in decision-making processes. However, after massive protests in the course of the introduction of a new curriculum for basic education, practitioners were involved in the creation of the job description for the new basic educator. This shows us that adult education and its actors have a voice that should not be underestimated and that its civil society roots are still effective. It can be deduced that, now more than ever, adult education policy needs to be shaped along with with non-state actors.

75

In its Global Education Monitoring 2021/2 (UNESCO 2021), UNESCO makes five recommendations for quality education for all, as called for in the Sustainable Development Goals of the United Nations. Those particularly relevant for adult education include: promoting innovation for the common good and networking among stakeholders; working in partnership; evaluating good practice [which would especially make sense given the many projects being implemented in adult education]; and providing resources for practitioners to share experiences in order to test and disseminate good ideas. Finally, it calls for protecting education from vested interests, in order to support the most disadvantaged learners.

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Paula Guimarães

Meanings to the idea that one learns throughout life: the case of UNESCO policy discourses

This brief chapter is focusing on the role of international governmental organizations in adult education. It is the outcome of readings and writings on the topic, but it has been much influenced by Barry J. Hake's research on 'éducation permanente', lifelong education and lifelong learning, namely on his argument that adults can learn throughout life in quite diverse settings and that this learning is central for education as a collective process and should be essential to national public policies.

In the aftermath of World War II, international governmental organizations assumed an important role on the political scene in education. These institutions disseminated guidelines, implemented programs and projects with different impacts on national public policies. Rubenson (2015) claims that these organizations helped to undermine methodological nationalism (Desjardins, 2009, 2018). Since then, albeit in different ways and to varying degrees, they have influenced national policies. Nowadays, these organizations have a significant impact on building a common direction in public policies, such as is the case of lifelong learning. They establish agendas that are taken as norms by many political actors; they contribute, by such means, to the reform of national education and training systems geared towards specific purposes, namely those of an economic nature (Rubenson, 2015).

79

In the specific scope of adult education, UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) has been instrumental in disseminating and defining the idea that education and learning are lifelong. Given the importance that this organization still has, many authors draw attention to the fact that this expression has become a fad which, however, seems to have come to stay (Field, 2006). It is also a policy innovation gear (Lee & Friedrich, 2011). Additionally, the adoption of this idea is coupled with the decreased importance attributed to adult education, as a semantic expression and as a field that has been influenced over the last century by various political, social and economic contributions (Lima & Guimarães, 2018).

UNESCO, established in 1946, took adult education as a priority and played a decisive role in disseminating the idea that lifelong learning occurs through the organization of international conferences, the staging of meetings of various natures and the production of guidance documents. Due to its mission, this entity has defended a more egalitarian and socially fair global development.

Along the way, it has sought to resist, sometimes more successfully than others, to capital rules and has somehow opposed the conception of education as the private good proposed by neoliberalism (Milana & Nesbit, 2015). It has also fought to preserve its organizational legitimacy through, for example, its commitment to education for all and for the common good (Milana, 2018), as well as guidelines framed by social-democratic policies in which the State has played an important role (Griffin, 1999a, 1999b; Field, 2000; Lee & Friedrich, 2011).

80 Like the Council of Europe, in the early 1970s UNESCO first used the term permanent education/lifelong education. The Faure Report (Faure, Herrera, Kaddoura, Lopes, Petrovski, Rahnema & Ward, 1981) was pinpointed as a fundamental document in the definition of this concept and a turning point in the discourses on adult education (Field, 2001). The report included a strong criticism of education, namely formal education. The school was accused of causing profound imbalances in terms of expanding its provision in several countries. In terms of curriculum and organization, it was deemed unable to keep up with the changes that the world was then facing (Canário, 1999; Tuijnman & Boström, 2002; Centeno, 2011; Špolar & Holford, 2014). In the report in question, the school was described as a rigid, bureaucratic and discriminatory entity, calling for reconceptualization. As stated by Borg and Mayo (2005), the quantitative expansion of education, the democratization of teaching, the structural diversification of educational systems, as well as the modernization of contents and pedagogical methods emerged as challenges that required new responses. It was thus defended that the purpose of education was to learn to be. Therefore, the proposed direction for permanent education broadened the scope of education, beyond formal processes, focusing on the importance of non-formal and informal education (Canário, 1999).

The *Recommendation on the Development of Adult Education* (UNESCO, 1976) included a widely accepted definition of adult education, frequently referring to the expression *permanent education*. It was stated in this text that adults' access to education, in the context of permanent education, was fundamental and fostered participation in political, cultural, artistic and scientific domains (UNESCO, 1976, p. 1). It was also stated that *permanent education* referred to a global project that aimed to restructure the educational system and to develop all educational possibilities outside the formal system (UNESCO, 1976, p. 2).

While considered by some as a maximalist concept (Aspin & Chapman, 2007), permanent education was also referred to by others as being over-optimistic, since it was proposed by governmental organizations with little influence on national political decisions, such as the Council of Europe and UNESCO (Field, 2001). Additionally, throughout the last decades of the last century, permanent education received criticism from various angles, including the accusation of favoring an inconclusive theoretical and political debate and impractical intervention proposals (Morgan-Klein & Osborne, 2007), among other,; of promoting the formalization of educational practices, based on the school model (Finger & Asún, 2001); and of fostering a conservative idea of education (Lee & Friedrich, 2011), viewed from

the perspective of criticism within the scope of significant political struggles in the social context of the West in the late 1960s.

Such criticism was accompanied by concerns about the economy and the market throughout the 1970s and 1980s, due to economic and social problems, such as the economic crisis and unemployment, for which the education of adults could do little to solve (Field, 2001; Aspin & Chapman, 2007). The Delors Report (Delors, Mufti, Amagi, Carneiro, Chung, Geremek, Gorham, Kornhauser, Manley, Quero, Savané, Singh, Stavenhagen, Suhr, Myong, & Nanzhao, 1996) was based on the assumption that the world had become more complex, as a result of various factors, such as globalization. This is a phenomenon that is not exclusively economic, but also technological, scientific, etc. Coupled with globalization were risks, uncertainty, insecurity in relation to work and employment, considered to be threats to democracy. In a world marked by strong social inequalities, education did not appear to be an effective strategy for promoting equality. It was against this complex backdrop that the Report critiqued State intervention, namely the welfare state education policies (Crowther, 2006; Lima & Guimarães, 2018). Indeed, in this Report, it was argued that education was anchored on four pillars: learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together and learning to be. These pillars promoted the appraisal of other spaces and times (other than those of the school) and of new learning, namely related to work. It was considered that the traditional distinctions between basic education and continuing education, youth education and adult education made no sense and that it was important to consider an educational continuum, co-extensive with life and the dimensions of society (Delors et al, 1996, p. 90).

81

This Report referred to lifelong learning as a strategy for promoting equal opportunities and democracy. However, it emphasized the need for reforms in education and training systems, as well as in the State itself, with particular emphasis on partnerships between public organizations and non-governmental and for-profit entities. It was not the role of the State to maintain a monopoly over education. Partnerships with private and civil society organizations were highlighted as “new energies for education” (Delors et al, 1996, p. 151), among these those related to work.

Other research (Bélanger & Federighi, 2001; Desjardins, Rubenson & Milana, 2006) has shown the importance of continuing professional training in national public policies. This situation led Field (2000) to argue that much of what was promised in the public domain by UNESCO, through the concepts of permanent education and lifelong learning, were not brought to fruition, since it was at the private level, as a result of the choices of the subjects themselves and of the work organizations that more expressive results regarding access and participation in adult education (namely in professional training) were observed. To some extent, the Delors Report expressed disillusionment with the promises made in the 1960s and 1970s by education regarding upward social mobility, fairness and social cohesion. Designated by Griffin (1999a) out of disenchantment with progress, as a result of the social and economic crisis and of the welfare state itself, evident

from the 1980s onwards, the progressive and continued erosion of the initial references of permanent education was seen (Canário, 1999). According to Field (2001), a social and economic context of crisis gave a nostalgic tone to the expression (lifelong learning) and promoted the idea that it was particularly important for economic development. Moreover, this expression replaced permanent education, and lifelong education has since appeared in documents produced by international governmental organizations such as UNESCO.

The International Conference of Education of Adults of Hamburg (1997) and of Belém (2009) contributed to a clearer definition of the concept of adult education, referred to since then as adult learning and education; it also referred to adult learning and education within lifelong learning. Permanent education as an expression progressively disappeared from UNESCO's official documents. Elfert (2019) goes even further when stating that, in more recent times, the term adult education has even disappeared from the UNESCO agenda. The document *Recommendation on Adult Learning and Education* (UNESCO, 2015) is illustrative of this situation. Returning to the comprehensive meaning of adult education (in the context of permanent education, as of 1976), in the opening pages of this document, three domains of learning and competences are highlighted: literacy and basic competences; ongoing training and technical and professional skills; and community, popular and liberal education and citizenship skills. However, the concept of adult education disappeared from the rest of the document. The competences stressed fall under lifelong learning and include Objective 4 of Sustainable Development, Quality of Education – Ensuring inclusive and equitable education and promoting lifelong learning opportunities for all (with an explicit reference to adults in points 4.3 , 4.4, 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7 of that objective) (UNESCO, 2020). Elfert (2019) appears to be right when stating that the egalitarian and democratic spirit in the idea of education as a social right has reached its maximum potential in the Faure Report (Faure et al., 1981) and to some extent in the Delors Report (Delors et al., 1996).

In fact, the most recent documents denote a change in the (lesser) emphasis placed on adult education, a devaluation of non-formal and informal education, as well as a reinforcement of the economist idea that one learns throughout life for work and economic purposes (Orlovic Lovren & Popovic, 2018). Therefore, in the last 40 years, in UNESCO texts, an important change has been noted in the meanings attributed to the idea that one learns throughout life. This change is evident in the expressions used, from permanent education to lifelong learning. The meaning attributed to adult education is equally clear. It has varied and is far less important or almost non-existent today, according to Orlovic Lovren and Popovic (2018) and Elfert (2019) in more recently published texts. Moreover, an attentive reading of the document entitled *Rethinking Education: Towards a Global Common Good?* (UNESCO, 2015) shows that the reference to adult education occurs twice and, in the case of the expression lifelong learning, over 17 times. In this text, lifelong learning emerges as an organizing principle of education and training systems. It is based on an approach that is still clearly humanistic, defending education and knowledge as global common goods. It also lies within the scope of sustainable development, within the framework of policies that should coordinate local and global levels in a world increasingly marked by complexity.

FINAL NOTES

Since its establishment, UNESCO has defended more humanistic conceptions of adult education, as expressed in the expression *permanent education* (Finger & Asún, 2001; Lee & Friedrich, 2011). More recently, in the UNESCO documents under study, the concepts of competence and skills that have gained importance, especially in the framework of policies aimed at developing the labor market and increasing productivity in the workplace. This idea has accentuated the prominence given to learning and a progressive devaluation of education. The importance that lifelong learning and competence have in political discourses nowadays occurs against a background of strong criticism of the ineffective old ways of acting in school and in formal education. Thus, it is interesting to note that the emergence of this idea is also associated with the weakening of the nation-state, in particular the welfare state in education, and the view of individual learning as a reforming principle of education and training systems (Biesta, 2006; Lima & Guimarães, 2018).

The expression lifelong learning also emerged alongside the need to consider new values, educational purposes and supranational and national political intervention strategies (Field, 2001; Lima & Guimarães, 2018). Despite its fluid character (Lee, Thayer & Madyun, 2008), ambiguous but simultaneously consensual (Milana & Holford, 2014), lifelong learning has overridden adult education in political discourses. It has assigned new purposes and structure to the aforementioned field of policies and practices and has begun to include the knowledge and skills acquired at very different points in the lives of learners, in contexts with different degrees of formalization of the democratic and personal function of (adult) education (Biesta, 2006) and of the shift from an emancipatory and democratic logic of adult education (Lima & Guimarães, 2018).

83

The use of lifelong learning could suggest a broader understanding of adult education, within the scope of a global and comprehensive education concept, as was the case with permanent education. However, the stress on economic development has been largely emphasized by neoliberal policies. In addition to economist meanings (education), training and learning have to be useful mainly in work contexts and need to increase productivity and competitiveness (Biesta, 2006). Lifelong learning also favors discourses on more individualized possibilities for learners to participate in social life, as well as on the withdrawal of the State in the field of education and training (Lima & Guimarães, 2018). The economic purposes that gained prominence in the political discourses (Rasmussen, 2014; Milana & Holford, 2014; Špolar & Holford, 2014; Hake, 2005) express the changes in balance in favor of capitalist reproduction but against emancipation, as well as an emphasis on economic development and the devaluation of personal and social development. This change is a major concern for those involved in adult education as a field of policies, practices and research.

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Françoise F. Laot

Oral History of “Éducation Permanente”: my encounter with Bertrand Schwartz through three research interviews*

Contemporary history sometimes offers researchers a complementary method to the study of archives, which consists of collecting the memory of living actors and witnesses, their own understanding of the phenomena under study, their interpretation of situations and contexts, and their representation of the role they played in them. Of course, this memory, which is essentially subjective, is not intended to be taken as ‘evidence’. However, it inevitably provides keys to understanding archives, what they talk about and what they do not say, and often opens avenues for further research, also providing access to a sensitive history. In this way, oral history enriches our perception and knowledge of the recent past.

87

For all these reasons, I chose to interview Bertrand Schwartz, who was heavily involved in the development of the *éducation permanente* project in France between 1950 and 1970. He was one of its main promoters through the institutions he created and headed, the actions he implemented or encouraged, as well as through various writings that contributed to giving consistency and social relevance to the idea of *éducation permanente*.

I first met Bertrand Schwartz on 30 November 1994. I had asked him for an interview as part of an exploratory study that was to lead me to decide whether or not a history of the *Institut national de la formation des adultes* (National Institute for Adult Education, INFA), created in 1963, would be feasible and interesting for a thesis. The INFA was completely unknown to me. The acronym did not ring a bell, I thought I had never heard of it. So, there was a gap to be filled and I was just about to embark on a doctorate under the direction of Jacky Beillerot, who had whispered this topic in my ear.

* This paper was translated and somewhat adapted from a French publication : Françoise F. Laot (2019), “Ma rencontre avec Bertrand Schwartz à travers trois entretiens” in Pour une éducation permanente, 100e anniversaire de la naissance de Bertrand Schwartz, Hors-série, Hommage, *Éducation permanente*, 27-34.

HOW A THESIS OBJECT PROGRESSIVELY TAKES SHAPE

My first step was to go through the first issues of the journal *Éducation permanente*, created in 1969 within the framework of the INFA. I also made an inventory of the documents produced by, and about the INFA. I then requested an interview with its three successive directors: Bertrand Schwartz, its founder and director until 1968, Marcel Lesne and Robert Cuq who succeeded him for short periods until 1972, the year of its dismantling. The three interviews took place over a period of two months. Bertrand Schwartz and Marcel Lesne had quite the same definitive opinion: “there is nothing interesting to research on the INFA, you are going to waste your time”. Although Robert Cuq seemed to be more interested, the content of the interview did not suggest any fruitful leads. For Lesne, there was a lack of “data” and for Schwartz, it was simply useless. I was particularly struck, when I came to interview the founder of an institution that had been presented to me as a major institution in the history of adult education, to hear him tell me that the INFA had almost never existed, that it was “stillborn”, that it had not produced what it had been created for. Instead, he thought, the Centre universitaire de coopération économique et sociale (CUCES)¹ would be much more interesting to study. My disappointment was immense. I was obviously on the verge of taking the wrong road. I had to look for another thesis topic... or maybe not? Finally, this gap in perception suddenly gave the INFA a mysterious dimension that excited my curiosity. Would widening the research theme to include the history of CUCES allow me to understand this enigma? The shift in my exploratory investigation in this direction finally confirmed this second choice.

88

It was only a year later, almost to the day, and after a series of 20 other interviews with INFA's and CUCES's former employees and a few personalities from the field of adult learning, that I requested and obtained a second interview with Bertrand Schwartz². Unlike the first one, it was recorded. I had already made good progress in my knowledge of the two institutions, thanks to the documents that Bertrand Schwartz had lent me so that I could make photocopies. My research in various archive centres had also borne fruit, and I had notably found an unexpected collection on CUCES in the archives of the Saint-Gobain company in Blois, which complemented those consulted in the Meurthe et Moselle archives. I came with documents that I asked him to comment on, specifically the two founding texts of the new CUCES project, those of March 1960³ and September 1961⁴. He had not kept any copies of them, nor did he have a precise memory of how they were drawn up, he said he was very happy to see them again:

“You find things that people are desperately looking for around me! (...) you bring back memories, there!”

1 CUCES and ACUCES (association of CUCES) together with INFA formed the “Complexe de Nancy”, a melting pot for *éducation permanente*.

2 Interview with Bertrand Schwartz, 22 November 1995.

3 Le Centre universitaire de coopération économique et sociale, CUCES, March 1960, 19 roneo pages.

4 Département Éducation permanente, CUCES, September 1961, 35 roneo pages.

The interview had also made it possible to explore several biographical dimensions, including the ordeals experienced during the war and his six-month captivity in Spain, his experience as a professor, deputy director and then director at the École des Mines of Nancy, his stay in the USA in 1961, of which - to my great disappointment - he no longer remembered very well the conditions of decision and organisation... But he later provided me with a 30-page document produced in 1961 on his return from his trip⁵. The interview also allowed us to discuss many other subjects, his relationship with money, public service, his links with certain institutions and the relations he had with various personalities such as Marcel David, Joffre Dumazedier, Gaston Berger, Edgar Faure, Raymond Vadier, Pierre Laurent, Olivier Guichard and Marcel Demonques to name a few. I would add that the telephone had rung three times during the interview, making me fear each time that the thread of the speech would be lost, but in the end the interview had only been slightly disrupted. Even at 76 years old, the age he was at the time, he was still a very committed man who was in demand from all sides. He asked me not to blame him if he 'mixed everything up a bit':

"I've done a lot of things since then, I'm on my fifteenth experiment".

89

TRACKING IDEAS BACK TO THEIR SOURCE: A PLOY?

On re-reading my notes, a few striking features appeared to me, such as the insistence that 'dumb as a post' or 'ultra-simple' solutions can be found to the most seemingly intractable problems, provided that one accepts to shake up one's way of seeing things, to refuse the 'one-track thinking', and this without necessarily going to established theories or currents of thought:

"Many of my reforms have been based on small, practical bullshit."

Like those who had preceded me, who worked on objects next to mine and who had also interviewed him a short time before: Françoise Birck, on the reform of the École des Mines, Lucie Tanguy, on the collective actions of Briey, and Gérard Mlékuz, on popular education in the North; I tried to go back to the sources to identify the springs, the supports and the references, or the influences that could have guided the implementation of the educational innovations that flourished in Nancy around Bertrand Schwartz. It was a waste of time. This was extremely frustrating for the novice researcher that I was. But I also understood it as a refusal on his part, that his thoughts and actions could be labelled by others.

If he himself was unable to define the political, social or philosophical basis of his choices, these three dimensions were present in his discourse, as was the influence of certain personalities without whom, according to him, nothing would have been possible:

5 Séjour USA – mars-avril 1961, Bertrand Schwartz, CUCES, 30 roneo pages.

“You should go and see Michel Deshons and compare with what he says, because to a certain extent he is more reliable than I am.”

Michel Deshons⁶, “the soul of it all”, who was “on equal terms with me”. Was this an authorial coquetry? I don’t think so, because on several occasions I was able to see how much Deshons could be a recourse when information or the memory of an event was missing. Many years later, when I met him again in other circumstances and he had missed the memory of a detail, he phoned Deshons in front of me to find out⁷. The two other personalities he refers to several times during this interview are Jean-Joseph Scheffnecht⁸ and Guy Lajoinie⁹. Both of them, on whom he was already relying in the reform of the École des Mines, made him think. They made him aware of the “incredible naivety” of some of his postulates, such as the idea that workers might want to be trained by engineers from their company...

As he says, referring to the very small initial group,

“we had no idea how to proceed, we were not at all competent [...] we trained ourselves each over”.

90 Another idea that emerges from this interview is the importance for Schwartz of autonomy based on listening. The experience of war is said to be the source of this:

“I realised to what extent, for the officer that I was [in the Leclerc Division] and who had 10 seconds to make decisions on anything, extremely serious, I had to listen”.

Here he talks about listening to his driver or telephonist at the time. But this autonomy in decision-making also seems to be accompanied by a great deal of solitude. Surrounding himself with others, relying on them and trusting them completely (as almost all the CUCES formers in the first circle confirmed to me) is undoubtedly the way he found to fill the void or to alleviate his anxiety about the consequences of decisions. The pairing of autonomy and loneliness often comes up during the interview. He particularly insists on it

6 Michel Deshons (1928-2015) was recruited to the CUCES in March 1955. With the help of a secretary - they were the only permanent staff members until 1960 - he started the training of engineers and managers and then set up social promotion. When Schwartz arrived at CUCES in 1960, he continued to carry out the coordination functions. He left the CUCES (more exactly the CUCES association) in 1973 shortly after the departure of Bertrand Schwartz.

7 Interview with Bertrand Schwartz, 22 November 2006.

8 Jean-Joseph Scheffknecht (1932-2012) taught English at the Faculty of Arts in Nancy and at the Ecole des Mines where he used active methods. At the same time, he was involved in theatre, mime, and puppetry. He joined the CUCES in 1960 to develop the “permanent education” project. He launched the first in-company experiment at the Société des automobiles Peugeot in December 1961. He left the CUCES in 1971.

9 Guy Lajoinie (1923-2009) never ‘joined’ the CUCES but was a consultant. He worked with Friedmann, Touraine and Raynaud. He was active in the Communist Party and the CGT. He introduced industrial sociology and the theme of conflict resolution in the Ecole des Mines. Schwartz asked him to prepare the engineering students at the École des mines for the “workers’ internship”. At CUCES, he negotiated with Schwartz and the unions and mayors of the Brie region to set up collective training actions.

when he talks about his three-to-four-week trip in 1961 to the USA. It was necessary to go there, as he recalls, to see that 25 million people attended evening classes there at the time:

“I did this trip alone, but alone. Alone means in a state of complete isolation because I was not helped by anyone, I was not well received (since then, God knows I was received formidably well in the United States, but because they invited me), I was a gentleman all alone.

He returned to this later:

“I was quite unhappy there, because you have to be introduced, I was really alone in the wilderness.

It is likely that his already high profile in 1961, due in particular to the major national and international communication surrounding the reform of the École des Mines, had made him somewhat unaccustomed to this type of anonymous reception. Loneliness can also set in with the distance or jealousy that a certain success can eventually provoke in relationships with others.

Finally, the question of the authorship of ideas also arises in the interview, obviously that of *éducation permanente*:

91

“Jacques Delors has always said it, and it’s not inaccurate, but it’s actually me who has developed this story a lot.

Having developed the notion of *éducation permanente* in the workplace and not on the leisure side (as proposed by Joffre Dumazedier) would have earned him the animosity of the “popular education”, which would have been “very angry” with him. He makes its representatives talk about himself at the beginning of this extract:

““he steals what we have done since we have done the *éducation permanente* and now, he wants to do it, he who is brand new... and at the same time, he transforms it” [...] I used what they had done, because it was published, it was public, and it was interesting for professional training”.

This *éducation permanente* “throughout life” that he advocated was also opposed to the ‘recurrent education’ that was developing in parallel at the time, according to which “you come back to school from time to time”, which implicitly meant that learning took place at school. However, according to Schwartz, it was this recurrent education, which he opposed, that finally prevailed with the 1971 act¹⁰.

¹⁰ Loi sur la Formation professionnelle continue (vocational and continuing education act).

Much later, I relied heavily on this interview to write a biographical note for the *Encyclopédie de la formation*¹¹, which he validated before its publication.

THE PAST LASTS A LONG TIME

Six months after this, and a series of other interviews with different people, I returned for a third interview¹². My research had made a lot of progress, but I was still struggling to understand the last period, that of the dismantling of the Nancy Complex. The interview therefore essentially dealt with this point as well as a few biographical details, such as the choice to become a professor after having studied at the École des Mines or the relations with Michel Debré and Jacques Decoust.

The first part of the interview deals with the years 1968-1972, i.e. dark years for the Nancy Complex. Schwartz approaches this subject in a more circumspect manner:

“I’ll be more careful, and we’ll see together if you write things, you’ll have to show them to me because it seriously calls people into question. So, I’ll talk but...”.

92 I don’t remember ever showing my writings to Schwartz before publication, except for the biographical note about him. I was perfectly aware of the difficulty of writing a history of the present time under the eyes of its actors, with all the constraints and caution that this imposed. However, although I have obviously not used everything that the interviewees told me, I have not censored myself in the reconstruction of the complicated history of the Nancy Complex. This is largely due to the status I gave to the interviews. They were only conducted with the aim of enlightening my understanding of the archival documents already found and, if possible, to recover others. The history of the CUCES-INFA was largely written on the basis of the personal documents entrusted to me by the interviewees after each interview. However, my understanding of the events was also based on the emotions perceived, on the way in which the actors of this history described - or forgot - certain facts that had left traces within the archives. Most of them had lived through this experience in their youth and had therefore been deeply affected by it. It was necessary and precious for me to listen to their way of reconstructing this history after all this time, their surprises, their wonder, as well as their annoyances, their friendships and their hatred, their anger sometimes, or their regrets. I needed life to cover the austerity of yellowed papers.

This third interview helped me to grasp the way in which Schwartz experienced this period: as an institutional violence of unprecedented force that was unleashed on the

11 Bertrand Schwartz (p. 864-866), in J.-M. Barbier, E. Bourgeois, G. Chapelle & J.-C. Ruano-Borbalan (dir.), *Encyclopédie de la formation*, PUF, 2009. This book also contains three other entries that I had written mainly on the basis of interviews conducted at the same time, on Joffre Dumazedier (pp. 130-132), Jacques Delors (pp. 160-162) and Raymond Vatié (pp. 978-979).

12 Interview of 23 May 1996 (45 min).

Nancy Complex in the wake of May 1968. He speaks of it in bellicose terms: “it was in ‘68 that the war was unleashed”. The dismantling of a library into three parts is a painful emblem of this dismantling, which infiltrates the smallest organisational details. Audits by the *Cour des Comptes* (Court of Auditors) in each institution, investigations in the classrooms, downward revision of subsidies, suspicions about the content of training etc, all these events which target the organisations touch at the same time the most intimate part of the people working in them, their image, their projects, and their freedom of action. The intertwining of the personal and the institutional is total. After having tried to resist to prevent “everything being destroyed”, Schwartz told me,

“I left the CUCES out of obligation, out of compulsion”.

There is still a lot of suffering and little appeasement in the face of misunderstandings about this painful episode.

Of course, Schwartz gives a situated reading of the events, and of course, it cannot be otherwise. But in this particular case, recourse to the archives does not solve everything. There is evidence of various administrative harassments, audit reports, and even letters of defiance, but nowhere is there any trace of a deliberately given objective of destruction. We can only speculate based on clues and cross-referencing. But after all, whether the will to destroy was real or not, whether it was political, financial in the name of public service or personal vengeance, or all of these at the same time, it must be noted that the result is the same. It says nothing about what would have happened if things had gone differently. Would we have had AUREFAs¹³ instead of the 1971 Act, for example? Nothing is less certain. After all, the CUCES-INFA action was only one experiment among others, and I cannot help thinking that part of its aura - for the actors who played a role in it - is due to its abrupt end. That’s why I was so interested in this one.

93

A CONSTANT TRUST AND INTEREST IN MY RESEARCH

In the end, Bertrand Schwartz placed his trust in me, as he had in his former “lieutenants”, (a few formers of the CUCES-INFA) and always gave me his help. Schwartz was present at the 6th seminar of the Groupe d’étude - Histoire de la formation des adultes (Gehfa) on 27 April 1998, devoted to “Le Complexe de Nancy, 1954-1973”¹⁴. It was, three months before its defence, a public presentation of my thesis. Several formers of Nancy’s institutions had also attended and were able to react to the presentation. Many of them, and Bertrand

¹³ Associations universitaires régionales d’éducation et de formation des adultes (Regional University Associations for Adult Education and Training). AUREFAs were a Schwartz’s project for developing permanent education everywhere in France.

¹⁴ It is this paper that was taken up and updated many years later for publication in the History and Memory section of the journal *Éducation permanente* : Laot F. F. (2014). “Le CUCES-INFA ou le “Complexe de Nancy”, creuset d’innovations pour l’éducation permanente (1954-1973)”, *Éducation permanente*, n° 198, p. 199-215.

Schwartz again, were also present on 9 July 1998 at my thesis defence¹⁵. That this story was told at that time was therefore important for them, for him. Like the vast majority of the people I interviewed - I had conducted a total of 48 interviews - Bertrand Schwartz gave himself up in complete confidence. Eleven years later, when I asked him again for a fourth interview, this time about the film *Retour à l'école?* (Back to School?)¹⁶, which, to my great displeasure, he no longer remembered at all, he friendly welcomed me once more, though he had become a very old man. I am extremely grateful to him for this, and I realise that I am really lucky to have crossed his path.

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94

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¹⁵ Fréchet-Laot F., 1998, *Contribution à l'histoire des institutions d'éducation des adultes, le Complexe de Nancy (CUCES/ACUCES-INFRA), 1954-1973*. Thesis in educational sciences, University of Paris X-Nanterre, published the following year under the title *La formation des adultes. Histoire d'une utopie en acte*. Le Complexe de Nancy, Paris, l'Harmattan, 1999.

¹⁶ Shot in the CUCES in 1966. Cf. Laot F. F. *Un film comme source pour la formation des adultes hommes... et femmes*, PUN, 2014.

Licínio C. Lima

Paulo Freire: A subversive pedagogue?¹

Can Freire be studied as a controversial pedagogue or, more than that, as a subversive pedagogue?

Three months after the coup d'état that deposed the government of President João Goulart and instituted in Brazil an authoritarian regime, Ivan Illich, in a letter dated June 6, 1964, introduced Freire to G. Schuster, assistant to the rector of the University of Notre Dame, in Indiana (USA), asking him to convince Freire to accept “joining the college for a year” and to propose him “for a high position at UNESCO” (A.M.A Freire, 2006, p.168). In that text, Illich describes Freire as politically controversial, competent in the field of adult education, an experienced educational administrator:

“He is controversial (not leftist enough for the far left; too imaginative and successful as a revolutionary for the current Brazilian government which stripped him of his position, livelihood and influence; a Christian, but strictly neutral in his public service and therefore not accepted even by some leaders of Catholic social thought), competent (two or three of his writings are the best I know of in the field of adult education originating in Latin America) experienced (he managed the most successful large-scale educational plan adapted to the circumstances of Latin America that I know and the revolution could not have happened with so little opposition in Brazil if he had stayed in office for 18 months)” (Ibidem).

95

Before the years of lead and torture, which Elio Gaspari (2002) called “open dictatorship”, Freire and his educational ideas were seen as oscillating between the insufficiently leftist and the revolutionary. But according to Illich with a potential for political change that, perhaps, in another year and a half could have made the difference in terms of opposition to an undemocratic revolution. Especially when it was predicted that by 1965 five million Brazilians could become literate, having the capacity to vote. Less doubts about the subversive character of the pedagogue had the political authorities. In less than fifteen days, the National Literacy Programme, which Freire coordinated and which had been legally instituted in January 1964, was revoked, and the pedagogical materials used by Freire were withdrawn. The press gave voice to influential actors, such as the Bishop of Nova Friburgo (State

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of Rio de Janeiro) who, a few days after the coup, concluded “Paulo Freire’s primer was subversive” and “a dangerous instrument for disseminating the red creed” (*O Estado de S. Paulo*, 10, 4.19.64, in A.M.A. Freire, 2006, pp. 159-160), referring to the second reading book for adults, and not to a primer, a resource that had always been rejected by Freire. However, the motto was set for the accusations that would follow and that can be found in the documents collected on Freire by the National Information Service / Rio de Janeiro .²

Through a copy of the Information Service (SNI/ARJ – No. 16972/73), Freire is defined as “Author of a primer on Literacy [...] (considered subversive)”, and that “he had been communising the Northeast through its method” (Fl. 1), called in the documents “Paulo Freire System” (Fl. 3, Ref. ACE no. 2564, of 15.7.64). The official conclusions contradicted Freire’s positions, expressed in the inquiries to which he was subject to determine-responsibilities “for committing crimes against the State or its patrimony and the political and social order or acts of revolutionary war” (Fl. 8), who would be invoked for his dismissal, positions that the documents reproduce but not accept:

96

“Although in his testimony he stated and reaffirmed that conscientisation and politicisation were not synonymous and that, if the application of his System resulted in politicisation, the distortion would be reprehensible [...the authorities] concluded based on the analysis of the documents seized in the files SEC [Cultural Extension Service of the University of Recife] that the politicisation and consequent promotion of the struggle between the classes has always been the objective of the conscientisation carried out through the Adult Literacy System structured by Professor Paulo Freire” (Fl. 4, Rel. de Enc IPM, of September 30, 64 - SAS No. 3014, of 11.18.64)³.

The point was educational mobilisation through round tables, university radio, adult literacy, which would aim at “politicisation”, understood by the inquirers “in the subversive sense of the Communist Party”, to which Freire had never belonged. In any case, he was considered an “active subversive”, with “subversive work” (Fl. 9, Information no. 77/SNI/ARE – SC1/ST.19.2/48, of Jan 27, 67-ACE 1241, of 1.2.67). Even after his departure from

Brazil, he continued to be observed and the subject of a detailed record of his movements, whether in Chile, Switzerland, or from that country⁴.

2 Thanks to Prof. Evson Santos, from the Federal University of Pernambuco, for generously providing me with access to this documentation.

3 That system, continued the document resulting from the Military Police Inquiry of September 30, 1964, in Rio de Janeiro, “really aimed not only at adult literacy, but rather at its politicisation, all of this within a communist orientation, aiming in ultimately influence the federal electoral process” (Fl. 7).

4 Regarding the year 1968, for example, “The Brazilian asylum seeker based in SANTIAGO DO CHILE, prepared a primer for literacy similar to the one that had been printed in Brazil shortly before the 1964 Revolution, that is, using literacy as a vehicle for Marxist indoctrination. The primer in question has been published by the Department of Extraordinary Plans for Adult Education, an agency of the Ministry of Education of CHILE” (Fl. 11 – ACE No. 7106, of Apr 17, 1968).

On April 27, 1964, by determination of the new holders of power, the University Council of the University of Recife, chaired by the rector João Alfredo Lima, a friend of Freire and about whose university administration he had written the report entitled “A Propósito de uma Administração” (Freire, 1961), is forced, by order of the Supreme Command of the Revolution and the Institutional Act, to set up a commission of teachers with the aim of ascertaining responsibilities for crimes against the State. Freire presented on May 25, 1964, a document with answers to the questions addressed to him by that commission of inquiry. In that text Freire clarified his work as director of the Cultural Extension Service of the University of Recife and as coordinator of “an adult education program and not simply literacy”, for which he had been appointed by the Minister of Education Paulo de Tarso, referring to authorities, managers of the Catholic Church, foreign entities, politically unsuspected of subversion and who, however, had endorsed and praised his action (see the defence text reproduced in A.M.A. Freire, 2006, pp. 172-181).

Freire was cautious without being overly defensive, showing courage and clarity about his convictions. His line of argument was the refusal of the subversive nature of his action, something that, if admitted, would imply acceptance of the prosecution’s thesis, which was based on the association between conscientisation and politicisation, and between politicisation, communisation and subversion. A careful reading of Freire’s discourse, along the lines of what he would produce in the police-military inquiry of July 1, 1964 at the headquarters of the Second Company of Guards in Recife, allows the conclusion that, paradoxically, the efforts undertaken to reject the connections mentioned above, as well as the accusation of “brainwashing in the style of the communists”, were made through the assumption of educational, philosophical and political conceptions that could only expose positions contrary to non-democratic and authoritarian powers, leading the author to incur the risks of assuming himself as radically democratic. In an autocratic context that invoked the exclusivity of democracy, it could be concluded that the new regime was dealing with someone “subversively” democratic, which meant, in its own terms, “non-democratic” or, as also appears in the case file, “counter-revolutionary” (by reference to the so-called “Revolution of 1964”).

97

As much as Freire intended to escape the epithet of subversive, his arguments were interpreted in the opposite direction. For example, when referring to the anthropological dimensions of his work, in an attempt to overcome the “predominantly ‘magical’ consciousness towards a predominantly critical consciousness”, in such a way that each adult could “[...] discover himself [sic] as a Subject in the world [...] as a creator and recreator being, capable of capturing the objective data of his reality and the ties that bind one data to another data” (*Ibidem*). But soon would be Freire accused of deifying the human being as a “creator”. Or when, to counter the accusations of “brainwashing”, he stated that he had always been a defender of “a liberating education, never massifying” and that he had always fought “the ‘sloganisation’, as minimisation and deformation of man” (*Ibidem*, p. 175), later paraphrasing Dewey in his “Democracy and Education”, from 1916 (Dewey, 2007), stating: “It is necessary, in fact, to insist a lot on a truism: democracy, before being a form of government, is a form of life” (*Ibidem*, p. 180).

Freire's criticism of authoritarianism in Brazil, assistencialism, passivity and the logic of "donation", although under an optimistic background regarding the articulations between industrial development, democratization and participation (discussed in Brazil under the so-called developmental-nationalism), already came from the end of the 1950s (Freire, 2001). Freire always rejected education as a process of ideological inculcation and also its neutrality, due to the impossibility of not affirming values, which he would express through the concept of "politicity" of education (e.g. Freire, 1996).

98

According to Celso Beisiegel's study, "the method was not conceived with 'revolutionary' purposes, it did not result from the intention of making popular education become an instrument of a 'revolutionary' transformation of Brazilian society" (Beisiegel, 1992, p. 194). Between 1959 and 1964 there were expressions of nonconformity, contestation, commitment to the peaceful transformation of society. Education as a contribution to awareness tended to be perceived by the right as "subversive indoctrination", although for the left it was a "reformist path" (Beisiegel, 1992, p. 203). In a way, the relationship between education and subversion refers to an instrumentally subversive conception of pedagogy, based on the search for mobilization, the means, the vote, or, on the contrary, to a substantively subversive conception of pedagogy, more concerned with values, ends and objectives, critical thinking and liberation. The latter is the one that is typically present in Freire's work at that time. But the social and historical dynamics, and the evolution of Freire's thought, especially from the end of that decade, in exile, would raise another critical power in his thought, not forgetting that already in Brazil the links between education and popular culture had caused participation to explode. As observed by Paulo Rosas (2001, p. LXXIII), "The old order rightly felt threatened". And Beisiegel (1992, p. 192) wrote in this regard that "the mobilization was particularly pronounced", comprising "men and women in age groups potentially mobilized in the short term for political activity".

During the 1964 inquiry, Freire was subject to an examination of educational theories and literacy methods, apparently with the aim of confusing him and, above all, of discrediting him as a pedagogue. He was asked in detail about Dalton, Montessori, Decroly, Kilpatrick, Cousinet and many others, similarities and differences among them, as well as about unknown Brazilian literacy teachers, such as "Mrs. Alfredina" and "Mrs. Vespertina". As Beisiegel (1992, p. 258) observed, "The questions really fluctuated between open hostility and mockery."

Once again questioned due to "his subversive activities before and during the April 1st movement of the current year and his connections with people or groups of national or international agitators" (in A.M.A. Freire, 2006, p. 182), Freire will be urged to comment on his "educational method", having stated that "The method would be that of dialogue, which is loving, humble, reflective, hopeful, communicative and which is opposed to the anti-dialogical, unloving, without humility, hopeless, anti-communicating" (Ibidem, p. 186).

Then, he talked about the role of culture, about the rejection of a literacy primer, about the generative words, vocabulary surveys. The inquiry continued, with Freire stating that he refused that the literacy he promoted could be considered “Marxist indoctrination” (*Ibidem*, p. 189). After various theoretical considerations, the records registered:

“The deponent never defended politicisation, because he understands that nobody politicises anyone and when you try to do it or do it, you are no longer educating, you start indoctrinating, disrespecting the human person” (*Ibidem*).

These considerations, which were theoretically based on the distinction between “politicity” and “politicisation”, as well as between politicisation as advocacy of democratic values, in free dialogue and debate, and politicisation as indoctrination and ideological inculcation, were, however, too theoretical. for the inquirer. And so, the Marxist politicisation of the masses was the thesis of the accusation, something that would have been carried out with governmental resources, making “the betrayal he committed to the Fatherland more serious” (*Ibidem*, p. 199). Nevertheless, Freire’s conception of education had always highlighted the autonomy of human beings as creators of culture, speaking out against assistencialism, paternalism and authoritarianism, domestication and passivity, propaganda, slogans, and vanguardism.

99

It was, for all those reasons, a potentially subversive conception of education in relation to the establishment. That democratic and participatory conception, radically non-elitist and non-oligarchic, already emerged in “Education as the Practice of Freedom”, opposing liberation to domestication and recalling how the forces interested in maintaining alienation would be “against any attempt to clarify consciences, always seen as a serious threat to their privileges” (Freire, 1967, p. 36). In that authoritarian context, democratising was understood as subverting. Keeping society out of democracy and freedom was after all “one of the great subversions of the Brazilian military coup” according to Freire. From which it can be concluded that there are several non-democratic senses of subversion: subversion by the establishment in the elitist, non-democratic sense of ensuring its privileges; and even the subversion by the “emergent”, which stems from a naive position, in search of privileges, instead of committing itself to social change of an unjust order (*Ibidem*, p. 56).

It will be from “Pedagogy of the Oppressed” that Freire will assume in a denser form the political character of education. According to Beisiegel (1992, p. 270), “The change was flagrant, the educator started to move in a very different theoretical universe”. By introducing the complex relationships between oppressor and oppressed, Freire draws attention to the fact that, from the point of view of the former, it is always the other who is subversive: “the evil and dangerous subversive”, including a reference to his own experience with the “brutal and offensive questioner” (Freire, 1997, p. 33). He concluded that “If the humanisation of the oppressed is subversion, so is their freedom” (Freire, 1999, p. 46). Hence, it can be admitted that his proposals for an education as a practice of freedom and for a pedagogy of the oppressed, refer generically to a pedagogy of

subversion in contexts of oppression. A consequence of critical education, as observed by Wolfgang Leo Maar (2000, p. 27): “Critical education tends to be subversive”. In the same sense, Walter Kohan (2020, p. 131) included Freire in the group of “disturbers of the social order, subversive characters of socially considered ‘good’ practices”.

If there is no place for utopia, there is no place for decision and then “There is no place for education. Just for drilling” (Freire, 1997, p. 92). It is understandable why conscientisation was the object of particular attention on the part of Freire’s inquirers as early as 1964, since, as he clarified later,

“[...] achieving a more critical understanding of the situation of oppression does not yet liberate the oppressed. By unveiling it, however, they take a step towards overcoming it as long as they engage in the political struggle for the transformation of the concrete conditions in which oppression takes place” (Freire, 1997, p. 32).

100 There are reasons to explore the hypothesis that Freire’s thought and work constitute a pedagogy of subversion or, as João Neto (2018, p. 5) wrote, as a “radical questioning [...] of the most distinct forms of oppression perpetrated against subaltern classes and groups”, referring to transgression, insurgent utopias and resistance, associated with a decolonial pedagogy that “requires subversives, in the sense of a subversion teleologically linked to a project of reconstruction of society” (Ibidem, p. 7). The relations between oppression and colonisation, cultural resistance and the decolonisation of knowledge are expressed when Freire dialogues with Frantz Fanon, for whom “the colonised ‘thing’ becomes a man [sic] in the very process by which it frees itself” and also relatively to cultural domination as “cultural obliteration” (Fanon, pp. 40, 242), a concept related to Freire’s “cultural invasion”. Or when he interacts with the work of Amílcar Cabral (see Romão and Gadotti, 2012) around the “decolonisation of minds”, the importance of cultural education and “cultural resistance” as factors of transformation (Cabral, 1974a, pp. 187-217), and of the relations between liberation and culture, or “act of culture” (Cabral, 1974b, p. 31).

Freire’s pedagogy is far from being reducible to any literacy method, dialogue or promotion of critical thinking. Even when it has already been appropriated according to technical and instrumental rationales that are opposite to the epistemological foundations of Freire’s political (and eventually subversive) pedagogy.

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Lifelong learning in times of social, economic, environmental and democratic crises

This brief chapter is written in recognition of Barry's lifelong concern over inequalities and the conditions under which adult education can be an instrument in the creation of a more just society.

102

The 2019 Human Development Report (HDR) (UNDP, 2019) forcefully argues that inequalities in human development have been increasing and are most likely to further worsen. The report reminds us that economic growth should be seen as a means to achieve human development, not as an end in itself. Moreover, what is being missed in the development discourse is how the fruits of economic growth can be more equitably shared (Stilwell, 2016, p. 30). In light of long standing social, ecological and economic challenges the 2020 HDR raises grave concerns about our ability to successfully address sustainability. The report delivers three key conclusions. First, planetary and social imbalances interact and reinforce each other. Second, a broadened agenda on equity is laid out that directly links social justice with the stewardship of nature. Third, in accordance with the capability approach (Sen, 1999), learning and education is promoted as a way to expand an individual's agency, capabilities and participation in democratic dialogue. Further, it is implied that the realization of a specific SDG will be closely intertwined with the realization of the other SDGs, and ultimately be dependent on the success in addressing prevailing democratic deficits and inequities. The message is that human development requires "democratic deliberation" (UNDP, 2020, p. 113) and emphasizes the role of learning and education in empowering people and unleashing transformation.

In stressing the crucial role of learning in meeting the global challenges the HDR aligns itself with a long-held position, repeatedly proclaimed by the UNESCO. Most recently in its promotion of lifelong learning as the guiding principle of a new education agenda aimed at the fulfillment of the United Nations' 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and its 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). A vibrant system of lifelong learning is expected to have a crucial role to play, not only in reaching the education goal (SDG4), but also a range of other goals, including those on climate change, poverty, health and wellbeing, gender equality, decent work and economic growth, and sustainable cities and communities (UIL, 2019; 2022).

Rather than uncritically accept the claims of the liberating potential of lifelong learning, as suggested by various supranational organizations, it would be pertinent to examine

the broader conditions necessary to fulfill the aspirations as well as the readiness and preparedness of adult education scholars to conduct such analyses. Further, one also has to scrutinize the supranational organizations' readiness to adopt their paradigm of lifelong learning as well as winning broad acceptance of the moderated model.

Ever since the idea of lifelong learning was launched it became something of a growth industry among adult education scholars to critique the political project of lifelong learning. Most commonly there has been a strong resentment against what is seen as a colonization of adult education and its humanistic and liberatory traditions by an 'economistic' agenda, resulting in a drastic change in the conditions under which adult education operates. A second line of criticism, although less frequent, is that the lifelong learning models, especially the humanistic paradigm put forward by the UNESCO are too utopian lacking political viability (Elfert, 2018). Third, tracing the underlying shifts in the political economy, the policy direction of lifelong learning is being criticized for its reliance on a neo-liberal value system (Elfert, 2019). While all these points are valid, the literature does not offer a more in-depth analysis of the broader changes that need to take place. Moreover, the ability to fruitfully problematize the futures of adult education has been weakened by the growing acceptance of an *overly "globalised" view* (Rees, 2013, p. 202). This position uncritically accepts that economic political and social convergence is an unavoidable consequence of globalisation. Influential ideas that are in vogue today includes "multistakeholderism" or "global citizenship", which tend to see the centrality of the nation-states as being more or less insignificant and replaced by new structures of global governance" (see e.g., Gleckman, 2018; UIL, 2022). However, as documented by scholars working within traditions like, "the varieties of capitalism" or "welfare state regimes", there has been a continuing diversity of national economies and their associated policy regimes. What is needed is for adult education scholars to begin building on the vibrant literature addressing inequalities in the economic and political science literature. I would particularly like to point to the writing of Thomas Piketty analysis of levels of inequality over the last two hundred years that provides an insight to the present challenges (Piketty, 2022). Driven by social struggle the welfare state rose in power resulting in dramatic decreased inequalities during the period 1914-1980. Progressive taxation systems, in combination with generally increased taxes, provided the necessary funds to combat inequalities. However, driven by neo-liberal ideology encouraged by national and international economic interest groups, the emergence of international treaties intended to depoliticize the economy became prevalent and came to protect property and prevent redistribution, which have resulted in inequalities rising again. Piketty notes that to reverse the present trend we need to reinstate progressive taxation and to "stop the uncontrolled circulation of capital lacking either a social or environmental objective" (p.). Another scholar is Joseph Stiglitz who forcefully argues that the rampant inequalities in the USA are a result of the American political system that has allowed the wealthy to gain ample political influence that they have used to change laws to benefit themselves (Stiglitz, 2018). This has resulted in reduced equality of opportunity as the less well-off increasingly find it difficult to access social services, including adult learning and education. Perhaps the

fallout of the COVID pandemic, in combination with a growing understanding of ever-increasing danger of environmental disasters, rising democratic deficits and dangerous levels of inequality will persuade UNESCO and the OECD to incorporate these kinds of analyses into their lifelong learning paradigms, which raises the issue of present models of lifelong learning.

Critical analyses of supranational organizations' policies on adult education and lifelong learning have repeatedly found that the last forty years have left us with two competing paradigms of lifelong learning, the human capital model, launched by the OECD, and the "humanistic model", put forward by UNESCO (Regmi, 2015). Over time the latter has been pushed aside by its human capital rival. While the UNESCO paradigm is diffuse, it contains notions of a broadening of the democratic processes in society and argues that people should be "making themselves" rather than "being made". Further, recent UNESCO documents have stressed the importance of member states giving increased attention to popular adult education (UNESCO, 2016; UIL, 2022). These elements are basically lost in the OECD model that overwhelmingly focuses on the economy. Rather than seeing these models as totally distinct from each other, it may be advantageous to regard the paradigms as two halves of a Janus face that together express the ambiguous nature of lifelong learning. This raises two questions, first, what is the likelihood of blending the two competing discourses on lifelong learning to better reflect the two sides of the Janus face? Second, if the models are merged what is the likelihood that the organizations will win support for an augmented model?

104

Brown's concepts of pressure points and trade-offs (Brown, 2001) can shed some light on these questions. Discussing future skills formation policies, Brown notes that these will be driven by how countries address critical "pressure points", particularly globalization, skills upgrading, and social inclusion. The handling of these pressure points involves political struggle where the outcome will reflect the dominant political economy and the strength of the various interest groups. The assumption is that a supranational organizations' success in promoting its present, as well as, future lifelong learning framework is governed by the extent to which it is perceived by member countries to be a solution to the key pressure points they are facing. In addition to how well the organization's blended paradigm is seen to be responding to the pressure points, its ability to "sell" the new paradigm will depend on its success in driving the national agenda setting. In other words, the OECD's success in finding acceptance for its economic position on lifelong learning is a result of its capacity, in Gramscian terms (Adamson, 1980), to manufacture the "common sense" of society that becomes taken for granted and therefore comes to govern national policy actors' approach to educational reforms. Papadopoulos (1994) notes that the OECD's catalytic role starts with the identification of key emerging policy issues facing individual countries. Drawing on international experts, the OECD secretariat develops a position paper addressing how and why the challenges have arisen, their implications, and the need for further studies within the OECD. This form of policy research uniquely combines the collective policy experience of Member countries with insights from

academic research. A semi-autonomous think-tank capable of sophisticated long-term planning is also partly an international civil service and a shared state apparatus (Dostal 2004). This combination of characteristics has positioned the OECD to gain hegemony over the lifelong learning agenda. Thus, if UNESCO were to promote a blended model it would need to be able to get national governments to accept it as the proper policy response.

When looking closer at the likelihood of either organization being able to promote a blended paradigm it is informative to consider previous successes and failures the OECD and UNESCO have had in winning broad acceptance for their respective lifelong learning paradigm. While the present OECD paradigm has become the taken for granted position it is important to note that the first generation of OECD's I-I-I paradigm, recurrent education, is widely regarded as a major policy failure (Rubenson, 2008). This bold idea of education was never given serious consideration as it was not seen by member countries to be a realistic response to the major pressure points facing society, nor was it politically viable. This all changed with OECD's second generation of I-I-I that instead of radical restructuring of the educational system shifted the focus to the quality and nature of initial education and also expanded the understanding of education; *education is not simply synonymous* with schooling (OECD 1989, p. 38), a point also raised in the initial recurrent education debate. The paradigm was promoted as a way to meet a rapid and continuous transformation of working life (OECD 1989). Seen as a response to key emerging policy issues facing individual countries the paradigm was quickly embraced world-wide. The paradigm gained dominance through a process driven by OECD's knowledge management system (OECD's statistic and indicators program and country reviews) (Dunleavy, 1991), and an extensive interface between national bureaucracies and their counterparts at the OECD (Mahon and McBride (2008). The elaborate and on-going interactions between national civil servants and their counterparts at the OECD provide the former with a rich milieu for policy learning (Dostal 2004). Thus, OECD's capacity to authoritatively provide expert comparative knowledge has afforded the organization a discursive advantage. The factors explaining OECD's hegemony also shed light on UNESCO's difficulties in gaining acceptance for its I-I-I paradigm.

105

Elfert (2018; 2019) ascribes the limited policy impact of UNESCO's humanistic vision of lifelong learning to a series of factors and circumstances. First, having a very limited budget and being an intellectual organization, UNESCO presented its policy ideas in "flagship reports", which were overly philosophical and utopian, lacking clear operational direction. The latter was made particularly difficult by UNESCO's very heterogeneous membership. Second, the organization does not have the capability of the World Bank to apply policy pressure through financial means. Third, the organization's declining role in a time of global governance was also driven by its limited ability to contribute to evidence-based policy-making. Countries' single-mindedness on measurable outcomes means that informal and non-formal learning will remain undervalued and only "mentioned in passing, and largely invisible" (Benavot et al., 2022, p. 180). This further reduces the relevance of the UNESCO paradigm that strongly promotes these modes

of learning. In short, the UNESCO position does not adequately respond to dominant pressure points, particularly not to the economy. Further, UNESCO lacks the knowledge creating capacity of the OECD. Third, the interface between national civil servants and UNESCO is far less developed than what is the case with the OECD.

The discussion so far suggests that without drastic changes to UNESCO's structure and way to operate, the likelihood of a blended model being accepted mainly rests on the OECD. Thus, what elements of the UNESCO paradigm would the OECD need to incorporate in order to respond to the major challenges facing today's society? A first step would be to engage with the need to strengthen democracy, which has been a cornerstone of UNESCO's utopian position on lifelong learning. The OECD's economistic worldview will need to be supplemented, and a well-developed position on democracy built on active citizenship, where people not only adapt to different challenges, but strive to command their own life, added. It is not enough to just present a moral position, as has been the tradition of UNESCO, but the position will have to rest on what Rothstein, (1998, p. 6) calls a constructive political theory. This theory would rest on empirical and normative analyses that look at what the state should do, as well as could do (p. 90).

106

So far, the OECD model has privileged formal education and job training, as evident in the PIAAC data bank, while popular adult education is not directly addressed. The OECD should use its analytical capacity, just as it did with human capital in the 1960s and 1980s, to develop a better understanding of the role lifelong learning, particularly popular adult education, can play in the struggle to address the democratic deficit in today's society.

Another change to the OECD paradigm involves an adjustment of its skills agenda that looks at the impact of work on exclusion from adult and lifelong learning. As Roosmaa and Saar (2012) observe, work is both an enabler and barrier to learning. With work forecasted to undergo rapid changes leading to further polarization, individuals in low-skill jobs will face increased insecurity, while those in the high-skill area possessing an ability for further learning will be handsomely rewarded (OECD & ILO, 2018). Therefore, ILO's *Global Commission on the Future of Work* (ILO, 2019) stresses the importance of learning in combatting increasing inequality and demands a new social contract providing the right to skills and lifelong learning. However, as noted in GRALE 4 (UIL, 2019, pp. 162-163), the ILO Commission did not engage with the crucial issue of economic democracy which lies at the heart of the struggle for decent work for all. It should be noted that during the 1970s discussions of lifelong learning, economic democracy surfaced as a necessity for inclusive society. Following this perspective, it is not enough to focus narrowly on skills to do the job better but one would also have to consider the workforce ability to engage with work conditions and employee participation in co-determination. The explorations of these issues are centrally located in the general nexus of adult and lifelong learning, democracy and equality.

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Tom Schuller

Learning through longer lives¹

A festschrift provides the opportunity, and encouragement, to look back. This contribution revisits the work of the NIACE Inquiry into the Future of Lifelong Learning, conducted in 2007-2009. The late Sir David Watson chaired the inquiry, and I was its director. He and I were co-authors of its final report, *Learning Through Life*, and the analysis and recommendations from LTL are the focus of this paper. I also draw on the work of the cultural historian Raymond Williams.

The central focus is on lifelong learning: where we've got to, and what the prospects are. I'll do that directly by considering the LTL's work some 10 years after its publication. But I want to use the opportunity to give this a rather wider frame. The central link to adult learning is simply the connection between learning and control – the capacity to exercise some degree of individual control over one's own life, and the capacity to join with others in shaping decisions over our collective environment, in the broadest sense.

109

Time is central to this sense of control. I shall argue at the end that this extends to what can be seen as the ultimate decision, how and when we die – not just the moment of death, but the time leading up to it. My dangerous idea is that we can and must extend our capacities in that respect, through what I call a 'mortality curriculum', and have barely started to address the issues that it raises. But before I get to that, I shall focus on the changes that are happening in the world of work, and specifically on time at work.

WORKTIME AND LEARNING

There are three key relevant changes in how worktime patterns affect our lives. The first is the extension in the duration of working lives. Keynes' prediction that the working week would come down to 15 hours was made well before Williams was writing, but this was the general direction of thinking for most of the post-war decades. The thinking reflected norms which were strongly male, i.e. full-time work, and continuous employment. I've been arguing for some time, under the rubric of what I have called the Paula Principle (Schuller 2017), that this is a norm which still exercises an enormously strong grip on our attitudes and policies, to the detriment of the way we use our skills and competences – especially those of women. The Paula Principle says that most women work below their level of competence. I argue that the issues raised by it will be difficult to resolve unless more men choose not to work on a full-time continuous basis.

¹ This is a revised version 'Dangerous Times', the Raymond Williams Memorial Lecture I delivered in 2015.

The idea that the duration of working lives would continue to shrink was given an important, and often cruel, boost in the crisis of the 1980s. Traditional industry in the sense that Williams understood it was crumbling under the impact of technological change and economic mismanagement. Large numbers of people in their 50s – mainly men – were eased out or ejected from the labour market, made formally or informally redundant, with very varying compensatory packages (see Young & Schuller 1990). Their skills were often redundant with them. So for this generation working lives were becoming shorter, voluntarily or not.

We now have a reversal of this trend, though that has been somewhat disturbed by the recent pandemic and its consequences. For a variety of reasons people expect and are expected to work longer. Sometimes this is because they as individuals cannot afford to retire; and the state now pushes in that direction also by raising the state pension age – inevitably and correctly in my view. It is also because people want to carry on working, whether that is because they enjoy the social aspects of work, need the money or want to keep exercising their skills. But when it comes to acquiring new skills we still have to make the change of attitude which sees training as something that carries on throughout this extended working life. There is still a sharp drop-off in the mid-50s age range when it comes to access to training. It is the result of a mix of employer attitudes, and a form of self-censorship, as older people implicitly label themselves as old dogs.

110

The response should obviously be far greater effort to maintain learning opportunities throughout life, including learning at and for work. In LTL we argued for a new model which makes a decisive break with the traditional and now massively outdated division at 60/65.² Since we cannot do without categories, we suggested drawing the line instead at 50, and then again at 75. The first line marks a point at which people might start thinking about their careers in the Third Age: perhaps changing jobs, and/or moving to part-time and/or mixing paid and unpaid work in new quantities. We suggested that everyone reaching the age of 50 might get a learning voucher which would amongst other things encourage them to take stock on what they need to learn over the coming decade, for their work and more broadly for their personal development.

Drawing the upper line at 75 is more controversial. After all, very few people work through until that age, even on a very part-time basis. But our perspective was a long-term one. We chose 75 partly for shock value, to make people think harder about this process of the extended duration. But we chose it also because it ties in with the average age at which chronic illnesses set in. The combination of the two gives this a stronger justification than most, even though chronological age is always going to be a very crude way of defining our categories.

2 With deeply sad irony, David Watson was exactly 65 when he died.

The second key temporal dimension is one I have already touched on: whether the default assumption is that work will be ‘fulltime’. These are heavy quote marks: the binary distinction between full- and part-time is almost as outmoded as drawing the retirement age at 60/65. Millions of men, and many more millions of women, work part-time. It is one of the reasons why unemployment has not soared in the past few years, as all the economists predicted. People have preferred to keep some employment rather than lose it altogether, and employers have enabled or compelled them to do this.

The implications of this for our conception of work are potentially enormous. On the one hand, we can sustain the view that every effort should be made to regain the numbers of full-time jobs that existed a decade ago. There are many people who desperately need more work, especially because of miserable wage rates. Many of those working part-time want more hours. However, it would be tragic if we could not forge a more forward-looking line of argument which looked to higher-productivity work, with fewer hours yielding higher output and better hourly wages. Better learning opportunities have a major part to play; but if we focus only on the skills supply side, we cannot make the step change necessary. In other words, we should now be paying much more attention to the way skills are actually put to use at work. We need this to go much further. It presents a serious challenge to those of us whose primary concern is with education. For we are used to welcoming any statement – and there have been many over the years – which says that we need more and better skills. But more and better skills will only have an effect if they are put to use; and rewarded; and seen to be rewarded. It is the reason why women’s competences are so often under-recognised and under-rewarded (Schuller 2017, op cit) Those of us who deal in the supply side need to get stuck into the other side of the equation.

111

In *Culture and Society* Williams discusses at some length the classic C19 authors who wrote about the effects of capitalist industrialisation. Here is what he had to say about Ruskin’s indictment of the nature of work:

“ ‘A right understanding of labour’: this is the fundamental emphasis. Not labour for profit, or for production, or for the smooth functioning of the existing order; but ‘the right kind of labour’ – the ‘felicitous fulfilment of function in living things.’ “

A central concern for Williams was the quality of work, and respect for the skills involved, in manual labour as elsewhere. Our fifth recommendation in LTL was ‘improve the quality of work’, by which we meant a better utilisation of our skills and competences. This comes under the same rubric: the control of working time, and the relation of learning to that control. It is about the rhythms of work: how our daily, weekly, annual and life course patterns of work do or do not mesh with our own development and capabilities. The quality of work is intrinsically bound up with how good this fit is. EP Thompson was one of the first modern scholars to point this out in his classic work on industrial time (Thompson 1967).

I turn now, very briefly, to the third dimension, the trajectory of working careers, i.e., how people progress or not at work, over time. We can only judge how well learning and work are integrated when we look at people's careers over time. Weberian ideas of bureaucratic careers, and the steady upward progression which came to be associated with them, were always reserved to a minority. Now many highly qualified professionals face a very uncertain future. It's unclear how far the stability of continuous progression of this kind can return. But we need to consciously reappraise the notion of 'career' as something that involves vertical progression only, with upward steps reflected in increased pay. Once again, this is the male model, whose time is coming to an end. There are major stresses involved in the fragmentation of this model. But access to learning is a key means of alleviating those stresses, and of enabling people to think differently about what careers are open to them. Learning is also, in my optimistic view, a key part of how people will make judgements about the kinds of material and non-material rewards they can aspire to, and the balance between those different rewards.

LEARNING THROUGH LIFE: A STOCKTAKE

112

I turn now to the Inquiry which David Watson and I conducted into the future of lifelong learning for NIACE, over a decade ago. It was an ambitious affair, taking a couple of years and a large chunk of NIACE's reserves, and I want to pay tribute to NIACE and especially Sir Alan Tuckett, its then chief executive, for having the boldness to take such an initiative. We commissioned some 30 papers, on a variety of themes and issues, which are a valuable continuing resource. We drew the threads together in *Learning Through Life*, with 10 major recommendations. Some of these I have already touched on, explicitly or implicitly, but here is the list. The question is, what has happened since then?

LEARNING THROUGH LIFE: RECOMMENDATIONS

- Base lifelong learning policy on a new model of the educational life course, with four key stages (up to 25, 25-50, 50-75, 75+)
- Rebalance resources fairly and sensibly across the different life stages
- Build a set of learning entitlements
- Engineer flexibility: a system of credit and encouraging part-timers
- Improve the quality of work
- Construct a curriculum framework for citizens' capabilities
- Broaden and strengthen the capacity of the lifelong learning workforce
- Revive local responsibility....
- ...within national frameworks
- Make the system intelligent.

I am not going to go through the list item by item. The short answer is that progress has been minimal on most of them; and on some of them we have, unarguably, gone backwards.

I take first the question of balance of learning opportunities. Here we have two very clear trends. First, a shrinkage of adult learning opportunities generally, with cuts to FE provision and to adult/community learning. Participation has dropped by some 40% over the decade – a horrendous statistic. Secondly, there is a process of homogenisation in higher education, in the sense that the sector is defining its teaching more and more in terms of young full-time students. Part-time students are increasingly rare birds. So instead of a more diverse university student population we have an increasingly homogeneous one, at least as far as age and experience is concerned.

Secondly, we called for greater flexibility in the system, especially through a system of credit accumulation and transfer. There has been very little progress here, though if the proposed Lifelong Learning Entitlements come into play this might help.

Thirdly, we were very keen to see much stronger local strategizing in respect of lifelong learning. Here the picture, in England at least, is one of the emasculations of local governments. They are struggling to even to meet their statutory obligations, with the result that anything else is almost automatically downgraded.

113

I want to come back now to our first recommendation, for a different approach to thinking about the life course, and link it to our sixth, which was for experimentation around a citizens curriculum.

A MORTALITY CURRICULUM

There is increasing awareness of demographic change, and the ageing of society (e.g. Cavendish 2021, Gratton & Scott 2016). But this has largely been couched in terms of the need for more health and social care – and how the NHS can provide for older people. This is a dangerously one-sided approach to the issue. We need crucially to take a longer run at the issue; to start earlier, and to enable people to do more in the way of managing their own third and fourth ages. So let's do this by considering how the four capabilities which we proposed for a citizens curriculum – digital, health, financial and civic – might apply, not aiming to cover all the third and fourth stages, but talking directly, and dangerously, about the process of dying.

In my conception, we should be talking not just about death as the final event of our lives but about the process of dying in extenso. When does this start? Impossible to define, but we need to start thinking about this earlier than most of us do – and to do it as a

community, not just as individuals. We might call this a curriculum for mortality – or, perhaps, the ‘facts of death’ as a counterpart to the facts of life.

So, to the four capabilities. We know that digital exclusion is an issue for older people. But the potential here is huge, especially as current generations bring their greater digital capability into their later stages of life. Digital capability can enhance people’s ability to manage the other dimensions – health, finance, civic participation, and to access expertise on this. It can also help them to explore and discuss issues relating to ageing and dying: how it affects them and their families, what their plans are to deal with it and so on.

Understanding the health aspects of ageing and dying is essential. The debate is still framed very much in terms of health and care professionals delivering a quality service. Far less attention is paid to how we might enable people to look after themselves (and others) better, to prepare for their fourth age and for a good death. I think particularly of the mental health challenge, ahead of the final moments of our lives. We need health literacy to enable greater co-production of services, with much stronger consumer involvement. We need it particularly to enhance our capacity to choose when we are to die: to avoid undue prolongation of biological life (or some approximation to it), and to deal with the personal issues that this throws up.

114

Financial capability came third. In LTL we stressed that we meant not only the banal though important issues around managing personal finance. We pointed also to the capacity to have some understanding of broader economic issues, since these dominate our lives so much: how is financial capital accumulated, distributed and used? I’m not proposing that every citizen should have some equivalent of Economics 101; but an understanding of the magnitudes is pretty basic to citizenship. How, for example, do we grasp the notion of intergenerational equity, which is creeping up the political agenda? And to take an even more topical example, what are the sums involved in tax avoidance, set against welfare fraud?

This obviously overlaps with the final capability – civic. I will only mention here the importance of legacy: what kind of legacy are we handing on to future generations? This question stretches across all levels of human activity, from the very local to the planetary. The learning challenge, it seems to me, is to enable each of us to know that we have done what we could do to make that legacy a good one. When we enter the later stages of life, that challenge is at least as salient as it has ever been.

I have here to introduce a further possible capability, not mentioned in our report. You could call this the philosophical, or perhaps even the spiritual. How do we reconcile ourselves to dying? This is surely an area where there will be a huge diversity of response, and I have no intention of prescribing a way forward. But for those who do not rely on established religions to give them the answer, there is a lack of procedures, institutions,

traditions and services to help us; and this is in an era when we know that many of us could have a long fourth age ahead.

The issue is, above all, one of boundaries. Where do we draw the lines, between the different stages of life and, especially, between life and death? This final boundary is becoming increasingly blurred, as medical techniques for prolonging life become more and more sophisticated. It is a huge challenge to us to learn how to respond to this: for ourselves as individual mortals; as members of families; and as citizens who should play a part in creating new rules, new capabilities and new ethics so that we can manage these developments. Managing this shifting boundary is the task of what might perhaps be called a mortality curriculum.

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115

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Part III – Interpreting places, times, ways of doing and thinking about adult education



Simon Broek

The ‘good life’: reconciling individual agency and social determinism

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, or decades, an emerging use of terms is recorded that relate to self-directed learning: autonomous learners and agency. This is often considered linked to the neo-liberal paradigm in which individuals must assume responsibility for their learning and working careers (Boeren et al., 2012; Field & Lynch, 2015). In this article, I would like to argue that agency in adult learning is important, but not for shifting responsibility and accountability of individual success and failure in learning (as neoliberalism seems to suggest), but for making all individuals part of pursuing a ‘good life’. The objective of this exposé is to briefly discuss agency concepts, two millennia of philosophical thinking on free-will, determinism and self-fulfilment, and end with the work and life of Barry Hake.

121

AGENCY AND SELF-DIRECTEDNESS: IS THERE ANYTHING VALUABLE FOR LIFELONG LEARNING SYSTEMS?

The concept of ‘agency’ is not clear and has seen quite some debate over the last two decades. It has been defined as a ‘slippery concept’ (Hitlin & Elder, 2007), and even ‘frustratingly elusive to pin down’ (Campbell, 2009), and has seen many different definitions and approaches. So why start discussing this ‘slippery’ concept anyway? This is because ‘agency’, or ‘self-directedness’ form the key assumptions underlying many lifelong learning policies in recent years. Examples concern the Dutch lifelong learning policies since 2018 (calling explicitly for self-directedness (Ministerie van Sociale Zaken, 2018)) culminating in the recently introduced new training allowance scheme Stimulerend Arbeidsmarktpositie (STAP) providing a training voucher exclusively for adults having a high level of self-directedness in navigating the administrative hurdles to access the training vouchers (on a first come-first serve basis). At European level, despite statements of adult learning being a social right (European Commission, 2017), the policy intentions are directed at those adults having the ability to organise their own learning supported by a bit of additional financial support (European Commission, 2021). Hence, if ‘agency’ and ‘self-directedness’ are so important, what can be found within these concepts that is more constructive for building lifelong learning systems than narrow neo-liberal conceptualisations towards individualism, egocentrism, and responsibility for own success and failure.

From a sociological perspective, bounded-agency models (Evans, 2007), see agency as socially situated (influenced, but not determined by the environment). Rubenson and Desjardins attempted to expand the individual perspective on dispositional, situational and institutional barriers to participation inherent in earlier classifications (Cross, 1981) to take into account the broader structural conditions and policies, and study the relation between these and the individual. In this approach, persons with similar barriers can be more or less affected by them, even controlled for the same education policy and situation. The specific welfare regime does not only shape social structure, not only the adult learning system, but also a person's capability to participate. Building on Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 2008) as a "system of dispositions that governs how a person acts, thinks, and orients himself or herself in the social world" (Rubenson & Desjardins, 2009, p. 196), the welfare state regime determines the individual dispositions towards learning. In Karin Evans concept of bounded-agency, the agency is not specifically bounded by welfare-states, but it sees actors having a past and imagined future possibilities, "which guide and shape actions in the present, together with subjective perceptions of the structures they have to negotiate, the social landscapes that affect how they act. Bounded agency is socially situated agency, influenced but not determined by environments and emphasizing internalized frames of reference as well as external actions" (Evans, 2007, p. 93). Agencies can differ in their power to act, and this is also influenced by the environment the agent is in, in fact, "Agency in adult life operates through engagements in and through the social world; it is exercised through the environments and institutional practices of everyday life in changing social, landscapes" (Biasin & Evans, 2019, p. 49). With the concept of bounded-agency, Evans and Rubenson and Desjardins are close to wider agency-accounts, 'bounding' agency through a life course perspective (Biesta & Tedder, 2007; Emirbayer & Mische, 1998). The bounded-agency model points to the idea that agency is not absolute: it is bounded by welfare state regimes, agencies past and imaginary futures, social environment, and the accompanying options on which an individual could act.

From a socio-psychological and socio-cognitive perspective, the Self-Determination Theory identified the three basic psychological needs that are pre-requisites to well-being: autonomy, competence, and relatedness (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Furthermore, Bandura defined human agency as "a combination of human capacity and potential that assists a person to exercise some control over the nature and quality of his or her own life, including aspects such as forethought; self-regulation of motivation; affect; and action through self-influence, self-awareness, meaning, and purpose in life. Although these agentic variables interact and interplay as a whole, they shape one's direction in life and its associated course of action" (Bandura, 2001; Chen, 2006, p. 131). The core belief in one's own self-efficacy is the foundation of human motivation, performance accomplishments, and emotional well-being (Bandura, 2010).

All in all, despite a lack of clarity on the concept, agency, human agency in all these agency theories is seen as a causal relationship between an aspiration, a will on the one hand, and

some form of action, or effect on the other. Within the sociological and socio-psychological theories, agency is first and foremost perceived as something that can act, something that is able to set things in motion, that moves something else. Related to participation in adult learning, the agency is applied to the person him/herself: is the individual able to direct him or herself to learn. From this conceptualisation of agency, it is not difficult to see the neo-liberal tendency concerning own responsibility for success and failure: if you are an agent, you yourself is to blame if you do not make use of opportunities provided.

On the other hand, agency is in most theories linked to a wider social context. The wider context can refer to 'relatedness' (Ryan & Deci, 2000); 'boundedness' (Boeren, 2017; Evans, 2007; Rubenson & Desjardins, 2009); communion (Ibrahim & Alkire, 2007). But to what extent does this social context, this boundedness 'determine' the individual actions? To what extent is the agent actually free to aspire what it chooses? In other words: if societal context plays such a determining role, can 'agency', 'autonomy', and self-directedness be used as basic assumptions for adult learning policies?

A TELEOLOGICAL APPROACH: SELF-FULFILMENT AS FINAL CAUSE

This topic is closely linked to traditional philosophical debates concerning freedom of the will and determinism: do individuals have the freedom to aspire what they want or are they in some form determined by factors external to the individual will? Philosophers across centuries, or even millennia, dealt differently with this question (See for a concise overview: O'Connor & Franklin, 2022). As it goes too far to solve the problem of free will and determinism, in this article I would like to explore one perspective on agency and social determination, namely that we probably think about agency and the influence of the wider social context in slightly wrong terms. Maybe we need to revisit our implicit idea of causality, taking inspiration from good old Aristotle.

123

From an Aristotelean perspective, what causes a thing to exist or an event to happen is not related to one (efficient) cause, or an antecedent event only. Aristoteles distinguishes in its *Physics* and *Metaphysics* four causes. The first is the material cause and concerns the matter the thing is made of. The second is the formal cause, referring to the form of the thing in which the matter is shaped. The third is the efficient cause, meaning what made the thing existing. In the example of a painting, it is the painter that puts the paint on canvas. The efficient cause is what is nowadays generally considered a 'cause'. The fourth is the final cause, referring to the sake of which something is done, just like a seed has a full plant as its end. Aristotle applied the four causes to explain nature and the existence of natural things and artifacts. Applying the four causes to human behaviour and psychology is more challenging, but also rewarding as it sheds light on what causes our own behaviour (Álvarez, 2009; Killeen, 2001).

In modern physics, and with that in modern thinking, teleology as cause has been forgotten or discredited. Nobody thinks that an arrow flies to its target because it desires to arrive there. In modern thinking, it is often only the efficient cause that is considered a 'real' cause. The concept of 'agent' as elaborated on in the above, is also conceptually determined as efficient cause. The agent is the one that is able to put itself or something else in motion. It is capable to start adult learning for instance. Also, the social determination is thought of in these terms. The individual agent is not a 'first cause' (unmoved mover: *primum movens*), but its actions are causally determined by prior causes that lie in the wider context (society, economy, history etc.).

For Aristotle, the teleological cause is more important than the efficient cause. The final cause is closely linked with the nature of a thing. For a natural thing, for instance a beechnut, the final cause is to grow into a beech. For an artifact, for instance a dinner table, the final cause is to allow dinners to take place. Similarly, for a human being, the final cause is to reach full potential (philosophers operationalised this differently). When avoiding the theological accounts of human fulfilment, there is a tendency among philosophers to relate human fulfilment to societal and economic purposes. Self-realisation is positioned within social relations and work-relations. For many moral and political philosophers, self-realisation should also contribute to the common good. Even those philosophers that are positioned as hedonists (Epicurus, Bentham, Mills), maintain positions in which the individual well-being is closely linked to the well-being of the wider society. For instance, for Epicurus, the ultimate goal is to get rid of all unnecessary desires and reach a state of inner tranquillity (*ataraxia*), being content with simple things, and enjoying philosophical conversations with friends. Friendship and society are for Epicurus essential aspects of self-fulfilment. For Bentham and Mills, assuring the most happiness for as many people is considered a higher order happiness than egoistic happiness.

124

TELEOLOGY FOR THE INDIVIDUAL AND ADULT LEARNING POLICIES

It is here that our questions related to agency and social determination can find an answer. An individual, as agent, makes choices, but the choice-options are provided by the wider context (society, history, etc). When making a choice, the individual implicitly expresses what it considers the good life, both for him/herself and for society as a whole. (NB: here Kant's categorical imperative echoes as well: "Act only according to that maxim whereby you can, at the same time, will that it should become a universal law" (Kant et al., 1993)). In policy making as well, there is always some teleology involved. The cause for having a social policy or policy initiative is the objective that that policy would for instance support a more inclusive or equitable society. Both for the individual and for society, actions are caused by the final cause of what is in the end considered 'good' or a 'good life'.

The 'good life' as objective of adult learning or lifelong learning policies is in modern thinking also conceptualised as opposed to 'the requirements of a competitive economy'

(Glastra et al., 2004). Pursuing the good life, both at individual and societal level is a far more awarding objective than fulfilling the requirements for the competitive economy, as it sees learning as an end in itself and not a commodity for competitiveness. At this point, individual choices and societal objectives coincide: If both, individuals and the society as a whole, pursue the good life, this directs as final cause the individual choices towards learning and the societal demand on individuals to learn for a better life.

THE GOOD LIFE: WHAT IS IT?

So, problem solved. I indicated that I would discuss the importance of emphasising agency in adult learning, not for shifting responsibility and accountability of individual success and failure in learning (as neoliberalism seems to suggest), but for making all individuals part of pursuing a 'good life'. Agency and self-directedness can be maintained as important concepts underlying adult learning policies only if we are able to secure that individuals and policy makers are striving to secure a good life.

But then, what is a good life? While individual responses might vary widely, there is actually only one person that can answer this question: Barry Hake. Given his experience with life in general and understanding of the importance of learning for self-fulfilment and societal embedding, he is the best to answer this question. Maybe during a philosophical debate with friends, enjoying the good life, somewhere in France. Just a thought...

125

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Michał Bron Jr

Allotment Gardens as Learning Sites. The Case of Poland

“Learning” is understood here in terms of the social organization of deliberate, systematic, and sustained learning activities, in which learners are organized by others or organize themselves for the purposes of communicating and acquiring knowledge, skills, and sensitivities (Hake 2017:26).

Early 2017 – an e-mail, with an attachment, dropped in my e-mail box. Nothing unusual. The sender was Barry Hake, and the attachment consisted of one of his publications. Nothing unusual in that, either. What was new to me was the topic – allotment gardening. I knew that Barry was, and is, a passionate gardener. But I did not know that he conducts research into gardening. My astonishment rapidly vanished once I read the title of the publication – this text is not about gardening but about gardens conceived as “learning spaces”. I felt on home ground. Even more so considering that the title of my first published text dealing with adult education was “Allotment gardens and education” (Bron 1972).

129

I found it somewhat amusing and achieved a sense of satisfaction that we share more interests than I realised. Several years passed till Barry decided to turn eighty, and his friends acknowledged that this occasion should be commemorated with an anniversary book.

INTRODUCTION

Allotment gardens went a very long way – from a piece of land “allocated to poor urban dwellers, residing usually in multi-family houses”, to “an effective greenery system in the structure of urban fabric” (Kacprzak, Maćkiewicz & Szczepańska 2020:197). From an intensive production of vegetables and fruit, and even rearing small animals, to cultivating chiefly flowerbeds and lawns. Nineteenth-century workers’ allotments became family allotments in the twentieth century and then twenty-first-century urban food gardens. Notwithstanding their name, allotments “constitute spaces where a great deal of learning takes place among those engaged in gardening activities” (Hake 2017:26).

IMPOVERISHED/DESTITUTE CITY DWELLERS

Initially, allotment gardens were established in rapidly evolving industrial towns so as to enable low-income persons to produce their own food as well as to improve living conditions in polluted urban centres. For many years allotments were assigned (allotted) to factory workers and miners. The development of allotments in Europe was disparate in time and space. Their actual progress began in nineteenth-century England,¹ Germany, Poland, and France. The circumstances of their establishment were, however, similar – “unemployment, cramped conditions, lack of access to clean air and sunlight in living quarters, disastrous sanitary conditions, dirt, dust, and smoke... Allotments were supposed to act as a remedy against those deprivations and pathologies” (Szczęblewska 2016:107). In time, after a decrease of the working day, allotment gardening also became a way of spending leisure time. During World War I the establishment of vegetable gardens predominated (e.g. *victory gardens* in the United Kingdom).

The interwar period (particularly at the time of the world economic crisis) and the immediate aftermath of the Second World War witnessed the setting up of allotments in numerous countries. On the other hand, in Portugal they were not created on a larger scale until after the crisis of 2008 (see Keshavarz & Bell, 2016).

- 130 In Polish territories the emergence of allotments is associated with two names – Moritz Schreber, the German orthopaedist and lecturer at the University of Leipzig, founder of the so-called “Schrebergarten”, and Henryk Jordan, the Polish professor of gynaecology and obstetrics, founder of the so-called “Ogródki Jordanowskie” (“Jordan’s Gardens/Playgrounds”). Both shared an awareness of the need to create places intended not solely for food production but also for active leisure. First allotments were set up in terrains governed by Prussia – Grudziądz (1897) and then in Poznań and the industrial towns of Upper Silesia. They were, in fact, absent in the Russian partition with the exception of Warsaw (1902),² “as the Russian authorities had little time for any social initiatives whatever originating among the Poles. Thus, this partitioned part of Poland had just a single patch of allotments” (Czerny & Starzec 2021:64).

The development of Polish allotment gardens did not take place until after Poland regained independence, and in particular during the 1930s as a consequence of the economic crisis. In 1928 there were 51 allotments in Poland (6 344 plots) – an area of not quite 240 ha, but ten years later “there were some 606 such allotment complexes in Polish cities, covering a total of 6455 ha and with an overall number of individual plots reaching about 50,000” (Czerny & Starzec 2021:64).

1 For a discussion in the House of Commons stipulating The Allotments Act of 1887 see <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/acts/allotments-act-1887>.

2 Today, this garden, known as the “Peace Defenders” Family Allotment Garden, is situated more or less in the centre of a city of over a million.

After World War II, and despite the nationalisation of the economy, communist authorities were interested in the retention and further progress of allotments, as testified by successive legal regulations and, frequently, outright parliamentary bills. The Decree on Allotment Gardens (1946, No. 34, item 208) granted allotment gardens the status of public utility institutions and rendered them an element of urban green spaces. The introduction of Stalinism resulted in renaming garden plots “workers’ allotments” (Act of 9 March 1949, on Workers’ Allotments); now, decisions granting the right to utilise an allotment were to be made predominantly by trade union committees (Czerny & Starzec 2021:66). A successive significant bill was passed in 1981 (Act of 6 May 1981, on Workers’ Allotments), stipulating the establishment of a *quasi*-NGO – the Polish Union of Allotment-Holders (Polski Związek Działkowców) – as the sole representation of all plot-holders. The catastrophic economic situation during the 1980s as well as the existential consequences of the martial law period unexpectedly bolstered this NGO “licensed” by the communist authorities.

The currently binding Family Allotment Gardens Act of 13 December 2013 was amended in February 2020. Despite the passage of time and the changed conditions and role played by allotment gardens the fundamental purposes of a family allotment according to the Act (article 3) still include:

- meeting the leisure and recreational needs of society by facilitating horticulture,
- improvement of social conditions for members of local communities,
- help for families and individuals in difficult situations, ensuring equal opportunities,
- integration of the multigenerational family, raising children in healthy conditions and the maintenance of pensioners’ activity and health,
- social integration of pensioners and the disabled,
- restoring degraded areas to society and the natural environment,
- environmental protection and nature conservation,
- improvement of ecological conditions in municipalities,
- creation of conditions to provide green areas for local communities
- formation of the healthy environment for people (Ustawa 2013).

PUBLIC BENEFITS AND PERSONAL GAINS

Although allotment gardens were created predominantly for economic purposes, their extra-economic values were soon noticed. Neighbourly ties between allotment gardeners, created upon the basis of joint interests and pursuits, resulted in the emergence of communities. Yet another benefit was noticed – time spent jointly in fresh air exerted a positive impact upon family ties (Bron 1972, Hake 2017, Czerny & Starzec 2021).

“Plot holders themselves see allotment gardening as a hobby with benefits” (Poniży *et al.* 2021:2) enjoyed by the general public and valuable to the surrounding environment.

By way of example, in many towns an allotment complex constitutes for the municipal authorities the most inexpensive green space. Here, numerous allotment holders as well as their families and acquaintances spend their free time. Many allotments organise open days intended for children, senior citizens, and other adult members of the public. Moreover, studies have shown that “one hectare of allotment gardens releases in photosynthesis about 25 tons of oxygen – the equivalent of the respiratory needs of a hundred persons” (Gorczyca 2013:83). “The great variety of plant species and the bio-diversity of allotment gardens improve the quality of air due to the ability of absorbing a large amount of toxic gases (sulphur oxides, hydrogen sulphide, carbon dioxide), while rows of tall trees and strips and clumps of shrubbery considerably reduce the volume of urban noise and protect against wind” (Pawlikowska-Piechotka 2019:72).

Personal gains, parallel to the above-listed public benefits, are also worthy of mention. For instance, when gardeners’ efforts “imbue a feeling of accomplishment, building in them a love for worthwhile work and a sense of respect for their own property and that of others” (Czerny & Starzec 2021:63, see also Bron 1972).

Unexpectedly, allotment gardens became additionally valuable during the pandemic. The users “could appreciate their value during the COVID-19 lockdown in 2020. For many of them, an allotment plot was the only safe outdoor area to visit, and gardening became an important instrument for contrasting the negative psychopathological consequences of measures such as isolation and home confinement” (Poniży *et al.* 2021:2; see also Szkup 2020). This is a confirmation of previous observations, namely, that work performed on allotments could possess therapeutic and rehabilitating merits (hortitherapy) (Bron 1972).

AND MARKET VALUE, TOO

The development of towns signified that allotments once located along city outskirts now found themselves in almost central districts. In other words – on sites extremely attractive for residential and service construction, a source of financial benefits for self-governments. Naturally, this posed a threat for the further existence of garden allotments. Supporters of eliminating the latter even resorted to extra-economic, albeit highly cynical, arguments. Alarmed, they drew attention to the outcome of the growing pollution of the natural environment (caused by car traffic and urbanisation), and the ensuing risk of polluting allotment produce by assorted chemicals, with all potential negative consequences for the health of allotment holders (Malinowska and Szumacher, 2008). In other words: Close down allotment gardens for the sake of their users!

Nevertheless, allotment gardens often deserve to be criticised. Two grave and justified charges dominate. The first involves banned access to numerous allotments: “Not only are residents unable to benefit from allotment green space, but they are compelled to come into contact with the hostile curtain separating privileged allotment gardeners from

residents compelled to make use of public green spaces” (Biegański 2015:11). The second universal accusation involves the dubious aesthetics of many gardens, their “garrison-like” entrance gates, rusty padlocks, and damaged information boards. Furthermore, “in order to cut costs allotment areas are badly lit, especially during the winter months... such enclaves of darkness adversely affect the image of the town and create a menacing atmosphere – that of hostile and unappealing sites” (Biegański 2015:11).

All this led to a situation in which allotment gardens became a contested area bringing “gardeners into conflict with other stakeholders, such as local authorities, land-owners, property developers, and indeed other inhabitants” (Hake 2017:33).

A LEARNING SITE

If allotment gardens are truly learning sites, then what sort of learning takes place there? Who learns? What is learned? Wherever learning takes place then, as a rule, so does teaching. If this is the case, then who educates and what, and where, does s/he teach?

In fact, allotments were from their very beginning learning sites – space where the acquisition of necessary knowledge takes place as formal, nonformal or informal learning (Hake 2017:26).

133

Learning and passing on one’s knowledge to others take place upon at least three levels:

- the allotment gardener learns or supplements his knowledge required to cultivate the plot. S/he does so by participating in suitable courses or by means of self-education
- allotment holders share experiences, jointly experiment, and assist each other
- young family members learn from older and more experienced ones *via* imitation or in a more structured form. By way of example, when an older allotment gardener wishes to go on vacation or stay at a sanatorium, he entrusts someone younger with taking care of the allotment.³ This is what Hake (2017) calls intergenerational learning.

Allotment gardens are a learning site of a vast variety of learning/teaching forms and a great diversity of topics. Research studies, press articles or presentations by allotment holders make it possible to become acquainted with assorted forms of learning and/or transmitting knowledge. The process of learning/teaching can assume an organised form, be it scheduled or spontaneous. The most universal (not in any specific order) are lectures and presentations, workshops intended for allotment gardeners, special theme days dealing with a given topic, anniversary or thematic festivals, competitions, public debates and information meetings, workshops intended for specified groups (e.g. senior citizens, teachers, municipal civil servants), management of websites or information boards,

3 As in my case in 1971.

lessons addressed to kindergarten pupils or school children, open or closed meetings with experts, open or closed meetings with NGOs (e.g. ecological), "media" workshops, "summer holidays for senior citizens", and cooperation with local social organisations (e.g. involving retirees, the disabled).

The themes of such meetings are just as differentiated. They thus include shows (flowers, vegetables, fruit,) special topic days (e.g. dealing with water – promotion of collecting rainwater), the significance and construction of "hotels" for insects, setting up beehives on allotments, presentations of plants resistant to urban pollution, select expert themes (water, artificial fertilisers), preparing for participation in competitions (how to attain the best/most attractive results), how to inform about one's activity, how to talk to journalists, (co)organisation of events for the neighbourhood or broader public, "meetings with tradition", e.g. flower arrangements, fruit and vegetables in kitchens of the past or on the festive table, how to organise physical fitness on the allotment (rehabilitation) and horticultural therapy, how to hold special days, for instance, "we bring generations together" or "the healthy and the ill". Such topics appear, in fact, in all countries with allotment gardens.

134

Informal learning decidedly prevails among three fundamental types of learning. According to a comprehensive European research project it includes such varieties as "learning by doing", "intergenerational learning", and transfer of knowledge and self-learning: "Gardeners were asked how they acquired knowledge about plants and cultivation methods. In Warsaw, Salzburg and Scotland, the majority of respondents indicated 'learning by doing', and thus plots served for many of them as places of 'green education'. In Lisbon, Paide and Poznań, most of the plot holders interviewed gained their knowledge from other family members. Knowledge and experience shared with other plot users was the source of 'gardening know-how' for most of the respondents from Kassel, Grand Nancy and Marseille. This way of gaining knowledge about gardening was also popular in Salzburg, Lisbon, Nantes and the Scottish towns. Many plot users from the French and Polish cities indicated books, the press and media as an important didactic source" (Poniży *et al.* 2021:12). Interestingly, basically only the French and Poles made use of professional literature.

Allotment gardens were and are a domain of learning beyond gardening. Already their establishment was inspired by a "community spirit". Alongside production and leisure, emphasis was placed also on shaping social stands and the ability to cooperate (Bron 1972, Szczepilewska 2016). Today, numerous towns need to learn the basics of a joint protection of allotments. "Learning in urban gardens is not limited, however, to the techniques of tilling the soil, sowing of seeds, tending plants, and harvesting the crops" (Hake 2017:34). Due to criticisms and the contestation of their existence, gardeners must absorb new knowledge and skills. Acquiring the skill of negotiating with other plot holders, municipal civil servants, the media, and residents of local housing estates is becoming an outright necessity. In a situation of a threat, it is essential to learn techniques of mobilising

and shaping public opinion, but also of becoming ready to face “changes aimed at the reorganisation and modernisation of the gardens” (Biegański 2015:17). “Allotment movements throughout Europe have been important propagators of self-organization and ‘the practice of democracy’. In this respect, allotments can also be significant urban spaces for the development of citizenship” (Hake 2017:28). Gardening associations certainly possess a “democratic” potential. However, whether they use, ignore or abuse it depends on divergent associations, countries, and periods.

FUTURE

Do allotment gardens, with their new roles and changed forms, have a future? The answer to this question is unambiguously affirmative. Despite assorted changes, the prime positive features of allotments remain unaltered: “Possessing an allotment facilitates family contacts, reinforces multi-generation ties, contributes to establishing and preserving contacts – because an allotment garden is a great attraction. Fruit and flowers cultivated by allotment holders possess exceptional significance – they serve the family and are an excellent gift. Such crops are appreciated as tastier and healthiest. Moreover, family allotments are an integral element of urban green space, and by significantly raising the ecological standards of the residential environment they exert a favourable impact upon the urban microclimate” (Pawlikowska-Piechotka 2019:76). Wherever they are established (or maintained) garden allotments require small financial means whilst park promenades and green squares laid out by the city call for continuous and significant inputs. Garden allotments are the least expensive urban green spaces. If these spaces survive assaults by developers allied with city planners, they will continue to play an important role in meeting dangers posed by climate changes. It is not daring observation that an increasing number of city dwellers and local municipalities have become more aware of mitigation effects that allotment gardens, parks and green spaces in general can have for urban living. There are numerous municipalities in Europe that encourage the creation of gardens in residential areas, be they vegetable gardens, orchards, herb gardens or flower gardens, often with specific plants that encourage insect diversity. In the Netherlands, for example, the term “edible city” has become commonplace for this form of neighbourhood gardening.

135

Furthermore, despite the changing significance and role played by allotments and the social composition of their users, garden allotments continue to remain an interesting and variegated sphere of learning, one that constantly witnesses “skill-building and knowledge enhancement” (Poniży *et al.* 2021:8).

A long journey indeed. The following was written in 2020: “They fulfil various cultural-recreational and economic functions for urban residents: social, ecological, environmental and educational, and provide their users with agricultural produce” (Kacprzak, Maćkiewicz & Szczepańska 2020:198). Modern language aside, this fragment mirrors a text from 1927:

"The foundation of creating garden allotments were gains obtained from plant cultivation as well as social, health, moral-upbringing, material and aesthetic benefits" (Wilczyński 1927:11). Allotment gardens played and continue to play important roles, and apparently will do so in the future. An educational role as well as a multitude of others.

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Rudolf Tippelt

“Older generation“ in lifelong learning

WHAT ARE THE DEMOGRAPHIC FACTS ABOUT THE OLDER GENERATION?¹

If taken into consideration that, at the end of the 19th century, average life expectancy at birth in many countries of the global North was still less than 50 years, whereas today average life expectancy for women is well over 80 years and for men around 80 years, it becomes clear that these years of life gained nowadays, must also be shaped. Normal biographies have changed and there are good chances to lead a life oriented to one's own needs and preferences after retirement (Kruse, 2007). This stands in significant contrast to many countries in the global South, where average life expectancy is often 20 to 30 years shorter due to wars, climate change, drought, and disease. From an international perspective, it should be recognized that China (with a population of 1.4 billion people) and India (with almost 1.4 billion) are by far the most populous countries in this global society (8 billion), and that the countries with the currently lowest life expectancies are located in Central Africa and West Africa (mens' just under 60 years, womens' around 60 years). In many industrialized nations, rather low or declining birth rates can be distinguished, e.g. in Japan, Spain, Italy, Germany, Poland and Russia, although the birth rate in France and the USA, for example, is notably higher (at around 2.0 children per woman). In numerous countries of the global south, birth rates may be weakening, however more than 5 children in one family, with many teenage pregnancies and high infant mortality are the reality. The attempt to understand particular problems in each of these regions of the world is a serious challenge for international policy – as well as international education policy (UNESCO, 2016).

139

By 2050, population statistics predict a further increase in life expectancy, of about eight years in Germany for example, although shrinking younger cohorts cannot be compensated even by controlled immigration. This presents a burden on social systems on the one hand and, on the other, a great opportunity for intergenerational living, working, and learning. In this context, new challenges also arise for the mutual adoption of perspectives between generations and cohorts. Due to the aforementioned changes in population statistics, shifts in demand within

1 With special thanks to Isabel Nickel for the English translation

and between the various educational sectors can be assumed. For continuing and adult education, for example, this means that they will have to adjust to changes in the age composition of the target groups in demand. The declining number of adults under the age of 50 is being offset by a sharp increase in the number of people aged 50 to 64 and 65 to 90.

Demographic change is certainly a tough challenge for intergenerational learning worldwide since it is also a matter of understanding the other generations and their patterns of interpretation; a hierarchizing relationship between the generations is increasingly obsolete. To shape generative dialogue, it is surely necessary to take on perspectives and mutual empathy. Generations are here defined as people in the same age-group, always growing up under specific historical, sociocultural, and political influence (Mannheim, 1928).

WHAT IS TYPICAL FOR OLDER PEOPLE'S LEARNING?

140

Older peoples' learning has been discussed for half a century, although the occasions for this changed over time. While in the 1960s the focus was still on the possibilities of slowing down a general age-related cognitive decline, the underlying deficit hypothesis of old age was later increasingly called into doubt and in the end, empirically invalidated. There are clear educational effects that come from the participation in further education, even cohort effects are discernible. However, the continuing education of older people is rising significantly in quantitative terms (cf. Tippelt et al., 2009).

Didactically, there is a special communication of knowledge with older people in adult education: Through stimulation, the learners' cognitive system can be supported; through optimization, learners can update their already existing knowledge; through compensation, knowledge and areas of competence that were previously left unconsidered or unknown can be integrated into one's own individual cognitive system (Baltes & Baltes, 1990). An institutional adoption of perspectives can lead to a stronger orientation of the offer structures towards the new target groups. It can be assumed that in the demographic change older adults have high resources, professional and life experience as well as crystalline intelligence, which is of great importance in professional as well as in cultural and political fields of action. Nevertheless, cognitive, social, and motor activities must be stimulated and supported through education and learning to integrate these special abilities of older people into their personal life plans and also into their living environments in a meaningful way. It should be noted that almost 80% of adults in the second half of life would like to have mixed-age learning groups (cf. Tippelt et al., 2009).

The foundation for healthy aging and an autonomous lifestyle up until old age is already laid in earlier phases of life, which is why even the school and vocational education sector, but especially educational participation in working age and in the early post-acquisition phase, can make a decisive contribution to the prevention of old-age morbidity and,

at the same time, to social engagement. Against this background, especially voluntary engagement in the post-professional phase has been studied more frequently in recent years; also scientifically, since voluntary activities rely on the high experience potential of older people and the preservation of competencies is promoted (cf. Friebe et al., 2014). Older adults also attach great relevance to continuing education and, according to a European study, the idea of lifelong learning has been very popular in recent decades, and not only among the young (cf. Chisholm/Larson/Mossoux 2005).

WHAT DOES DIFFERENTIATED EQUALITY OF THE OLDER GENERATION MEAN?

Since the 1990s at the latest, the cause for the sometimes declining participation of older people in continuing education has not been sought solely among the learners themselves. An insufficient didactic orientation of educational offers to the interests and motives of older learners is discussed, as are age-discriminating structures in company personnel development and work structures that are not very conducive to learning (cf. Hübner/Kühl/Putzing, 2003). But also, the self-image of older adults themselves as well as the absence of regional offer structures must be analyzed further. The “EdAge Study” (cf. Tippelt et al. 2009, 174ff), which is representative of the 45-80 age group, reveals some of the subjective reasons that motivate older people to take part in continuing education or that discourage them from doing so, as it reveals clear differences in older people’s understanding of education and their interests in it. In the EdAge study, explorative in-depth interviews (n=66) were also conducted through mixed methods and on this basis a formation of types was established: The social emotional type, the utilitarian type, the self-absorptive-contemplative type and the common good-oriented solidaric type.

141

The *social-emotional type* is characterized by the fact that education is attributed intrinsic value and an end in itself, and that education is associated with positive emotions. An important goal is to establish social closeness to others. The learners of this type have high educational aspirations since their school days, as their own parents were supportive. Successful educational paths predominate, and learners have acquired good educational qualifications in the past.

The *utilitarian type* only devotes itself to “educational measures” if a certain individual goal is attainable, for example, through educational certificates. Utilitarians participate in continuing education only when the knowledge gained is directly applicable. Educational aspirations are low, partly because their parents gave little support to education. School failures did not change until their vocational training, which many describe quite positively due to its clear exploitation reference of the learned content. Further education is hardly ever privately but mostly professionally motivated.

The *self-absorbing-contemplative type* wants to accumulate and deepen knowledge through education. Personal advancement and the own development, as well as career goals are the main focus. This type of learner has very high social aspirations and usually

a very successful educational path behind them; high educational and university degrees predominate. Education is seen as a central means of individual personality development.

The *common good-oriented solidaric type* primarily sees the integrative and community-promoting potential of educational activities. Further education serves to pass acquired knowledge on to the next generation and the community. Mutual exchange is emphasized. Educational attainment is both high and elementary, but the tendency toward positively experienced school years and involvement in a public community often determines this type's adolescence. Education is intended to contribute to the "community." Volunteering and civic engagement are (necessarily) part of a fulfilling life.

This typology is not only phenomenologically interesting, it is clear that the different understandings of education express a differentiated equality of the elderly. Regardless of the social theoretical perspective from which one addresses the situation of the older generations, professionally working educators must be able to think their way into other life situations and life-worlds, must act in a way that is appropriate to interests, needs and knowledge, if they want to intelligently construct and practically design educational processes across the lifespan.

- 142 Another approach to differentiating older learners leads to lifeworld milieu research, because it too goes beyond describing socioeconomic and sociodemographic differences and additionally takes horizontal differentiations of social groups into account, according to basic attitudes, values, and lifestyles. Milieu research also focuses on the lifeworlds of older generations. The concept of a living environment follows the phenomenology of E. Husserl (1986) and is closely related to the concept of "everyday consciousness" (Schütz, 1974). Adult education connects to the knowledge and specific everyday worlds of current and potential participants, since it is an indispensable prerequisite for micro- and macrodidactic event planning of nonformal adult education.

Accordingly, social milieus are groups of people who develop similar preferences and attitudes towards central areas of life on the basis of a corresponding habitus. A social milieu can be assigned analogous values and basic standpoints, from which similar attitudes toward social relationships in the family environment and among acquaintances as well as in the context of work and generally toward education can be derived for the people living in it (Bremer, 2010). With the social milieus, the older generation can also be differentiated into a lower middle class/lower class, a middle middle class and an upper middle class/upper class and, in the sense of horizontal differentiation, split into the basic orientations of tradition, modernization/individualization and reorientation, resulting in allocations to ten milieus. These range from the "traditional milieu" to the "middle class" to the "expeditive milieu". The older generation cannot be assigned to any single milieu, although the elderly are more often committed to "preserving and holding on to" traditional values and norms; modern, individualizing ("having and enjoying") and pragmatic basic attitudes in the sense of "doing and experiencing" as well as explorative attitudes such as "overcoming boundaries" can also be found (Barz & Tippelt, 2004).

As a result of the very different life worlds, the access to education and learning by the older generation are also influenced. Differentiated educational motives or learning barriers have an effect on the way knowledge is acquired, and lifeworld attitudes significantly determine the relationship to lifelong learning and educational processes over the life span (cf. Bremer, 2010).

In summary, among the upper milieus, self-realization and the search for identity can be identified as central basic patterns of educational motivation, as well as social and cultural hegemony as a decisive strategy. The middle milieus see the aspect of benefit in education and seek recognition and (higher) status as well as (more) autonomy through it. Underprivileged milieus tend to emphasize necessity, keeping pace, and the avoidance of exclusion as a fundamental educational interest can be distinguished.

It can only be noted at this point that there are milieu-specific images of old age that can be positive - for example, when reference is made to the experience, wisdom, or composure of older people. However, negative images of age also exist, where the image of older people is still associated with illness, slowness, or stubbornness. Negative images of age are problematic when they form as stereotypes, which have the effect that "certain characteristics, behavioral and role expectations are attributed to people on the basis of their age, without looking at the persons concerned more closely in terms of their perceptions, evaluations and concrete behaviors" (Backes/Clemens 2013, p. 59).

143

The age-image of others but also the age-self-image are influenced by various factors, such as the current life situation, one's own education and contact with other generations (cf. Schmidt-Hertha/Mühlbauer 2012, p. 118). Since images of age thus represent a means of constructing reality and also influence interpersonal interaction in the context of educational events, the positive influence of intergenerational exchange or learning environments in which the generations can learn from each other, with each other, but also about each other must be taken into account.

WHAT IS TYPICAL FOR ACADEMIC LEARNING BY ELDERS?

Academic learning takes place primarily at colleges and universities, with some models of senior study deliberately following the university extension tradition of the 19th and early 20th centuries. The (University Extension) movement, which originated in England, served primarily to popularize scientific knowledge as well as to recruit students on a much broader social basis. In terms of content, it initially focused on scientific findings and their technical consequences, the popularization of medical knowledge and, to a somewhat lesser extent, the offering of socio-historical, economic, philosophical, and legal topics. Today's senior studies programs, for example at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (LMU), continue this tradition and cooperate in special event cycles with the Munich Volkshochschule, among others, to achieve the intention of disseminating scientific knowledge in different age cohorts and social milieus better.

Scientific knowledge is available worldwide and is based on systematic research. The system of science and the logic of its competing justifications are not timeless, because our knowledge is subject to permanent fruitful criticism and the objects to be studied are also constantly changing in some areas. In this respect, scientifically tested knowledge is clearly distinguished from equally important everyday knowledge and is decisively set apart from purely subjective assumptions or even normative ideologies. Scientific communication must be characterized by clarity and comprehensibility. The strongly developed cognitive ability due to previous experience and the broad cognitive interest of older students - in the sense of crystalline intelligence - shapes the communication about the available and offered knowledge from the most diverse domains and subject areas. In the sense of a “Universitas Litterarum”, central scientific fields have their say on a topic - natural science, humanities, cultural science, social science. This is especially compelling because the listeners can question scientific knowledge from very different perspectives due to their strong professional and age-related heterogeneity – and this in analog learning groups as well as in online settings (Lörcher/Tippelt/Weiss, 2022).

144

In science-based learning, senior students also recognize the phases of research processes: the *discovery context* of research becomes visible because the generating of important research questions is addressed; the *justification context* of scientific research makes the theoretical and methodological approaches to knowledge transparent, which in turn shapes the *interpretation context*, because the difference between factual and rational knowledge versus mere rhetoric or even ideology becomes apparent; finally, the *transfer context* reflects on the possibilities and limits of the practical application of the knowledge acquired in the various disciplines.

Through scientific thinking and the possibilities of scientific dialogue, i.a. through questions, through contradiction, argumentative agreement, or reasoned debate, autonomous thinking personalities are fostered who want to and are able to participate in a highly complex society in a culturally and also politically reflected manner.

CONCLUSION: SOCIAL ADOPTION OF PERSPECTIVES AND EMPATHY ARE NECESSARY

The educational processes of elders and intergenerational exchange processes are essentially based on the perspective-taking and empathy of the interactants. The concepts were coined by pragmatism (Mead, 1934) and are theoretically located today in symbolic interactionism. The question Mead pursued was how individual actions become group activity via reciprocal behavioral expectations and ultimately the formulation of human societies. “The cognitive performance of role-taking ability helps the individual to align his own behavior with the behavior of the other. Since this ability takes place reciprocally, it makes joint or collective action possible” (cf. Joas, 1992, p. 251). Older generations are characterized by high diversity of values and norms, and this heterogeneity increases considerably today.

In pragmatism, Mead, in his work "The philosophy of the present" (2002), gives a place to emotions in addition to social cognitive perspective taking (ibid., p. 91). In the context of emotions, empathy has a special function alongside the ability of role-taking. Empathy not only enables cognitive reflection and comprehension of one's own position and situation, but also relates to the position of the other and allows one to comprehend the resulting different objectives, motivations for action, and evaluations. If a generalized point of view is adopted in the sense of role-taking and empathy, individuals can detach themselves from their entrenched positions and are able to embrace the universal objectives of a community (cf. Tippelt, 1986, p. 64; Dewey, 1916). Mutual understanding through comprehension of individual intentions, through knowledge of common rules, are especially important in intergenerational work today.

Lifeworld and milieu research is helpful to grasp the social construction and individual life interpretation of reality. Institutionally, educational processes across the lifespan are ultimately about participants understanding each other more precisely and about promoting rational dialogue within and between age groups.

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146

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Jumbo Klercq

The learning journey – the treasure within

Travel to go is staying here. I was working as international project developer at an ambitious Dutch former folk high school called Driekant education & consultancy. There I started with participating in an adult education trip to the UK. A mixed Dutch-German group of educators left with Barry for an orientation trip to ‘his’ England. We were introduced to the typical individual character of different colleges for further education. FE colleges which were also a large service provider for apprenticeships where most of the training takes place at the apprentices’ workplace, supplemented with day release into college. We also visited and several adult residential colleges. These organisations were specialized in short-stay residential adult education courses for the general public, often ran by local authorities, whilst others were operated by charitable trusts. Each college published its own programme of weekend, midweek and day courses, summer schools and courses leading to recognized qualifications.

147

We also visited a quaint pub in Nottingham, where the ales tasted good, and the walls were papered with banknotes from all over the world. Education on the market, education for sale. Lively discussions. During that trip, I got to know not only Barry and Angelica, but also Johan Theessen, who would become a very good partner in European adult education alliances. Together we celebrated a Labour Party election party in the night. That trip is also reminiscent of a beautiful children’s book I received from another participant: “Einer”, by Austrian author Christine Nöstlinger with illustrations by another writer/drawer Janosch. Once upon a time there was a man who had no one and nothing. He didn’t even have a name. A poetic, melancholic story about love, about someone who cannot stay, who is always longing to go out into the world, and about the love of a woman. If you want to resist, you first have to leave.

Life is a journey, so is learning too. That is why we speak of lifelong learning. As Delors stated: “The treasure within: learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together and learning to be”. However, learning is not only a pleasure, but it can also and must sometimes be painful as well. Once back, a period began that I travelled regularly for work. I found myself soon back in Nottingham, this time with a colleague who was tasked with organising educational trips to Maastricht. “Driekant” had – keeping in mind the idea of a journey – by now changed into “Odyssee” a Dutch adult residential college. It was mainly based at Vaeshartelt,

a former royal castle. The Greek poet Konstantínos Kaváfis refers to Odysseus taking 10 years to return home from the island of Ithaca after the Trojan War. He writes: wish that the road may be long. You will have adventures there and they are experiences no one will take away from you. So do not hurry. Along the way, you need not fear monsters; you will encounter them only if you already carry them in your own mind.

The learning journey is an excellent metaphor for learning. The final destination is less interesting (because known) than the roads leading to it. However, we met David Bodger from the University of Nottingham and talked with him about leisure education and educational travel. The latter was defined as a program in which participants travel to a location as a group with the primary purpose of engaging in a learning experience directly related to the location. Back home we developed a special three-week course for USA seniors in the frame of the American Elder Hostel programme “All along the Rhine”, starting in Köln, passing Nijmegen and ending at Rotterdam. The learning journey did not mainly concern educational travel. In fact, this was only a small exotic and exclusive part of our work.



Most of our work involved multi-day courses for healthcare workers, work council members, managers of farmers' organisations, pre-retirement courses, many emancipation-oriented activities for women, seniors, and migrants, etc. All these courses were built on a certain fixed pattern: getting to know each other, exchange of experiences, reflection and orientation (where are we now) and creating new perspectives. A standstill, a pause, stepping out of the journey of everyday reality for a while and letting imagination do its work. However, the global classroom was never far away. An international orientation was and still is important.

I established the E.E.N. network as outcome of a German-Dutch conference. It was a network to promote education for older adults to be integrated into adult education within Europe (1993, the European Year of Older people and Solidarity between Generations). From there I became together with Johan Theessen active in EAEA, the European Association of Adult Education. At the same time Barry was one of the convenors of a kind of sister organisation, ESREA. This forum aimed to support the advancement of high-quality research on the education and learning of adults in Europe. Our mutual connection was Vida Špolar, director of SIAE, the Slovenian Institute for Adult Education. She was member of the Steering Committee of ESREA from 1997 to 1999 and board member of EAEA from 1998-2004. In 2003 we launched the EAEA Grundtvig Award in order to recognise and celebrate excellence in adult education. The Grundtvig Award calls yearly attention to initiatives that realise new and innovative ideas, establish new partnerships. In those days of being active in European adult education we visited various projects in different countries all over the world. So, being active at European level was also an enriching learning journey.

149

Just a couple of years ago, through another common acquaintance, Bert-Jan Buiskool, we met again for an inspiring conversation at the well-known Hotel Wientjes in Zwolle, while enjoying a good drink. Again, a moment of reflection during several trips. Learning is travelling through time and space. We talked about the past and the future. Our orientation is collective self-direction. The journey is still going on. Keep on talking together. Learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together, and learning to be or not to be. This is the treasure within.

Jumbo Klercq started in 1978 as trainer at Volkshogeschool Ons Erf, worked afterwards as project developer and innovation officer for several training centres such Driekant, Odyssee and Stavoor; was several years board member of Learn for Life and vice-president of EAEA 2002-2008, started his own agency The Elephant Learning in Diversity and is EPALE ambassador.

Hooghoudt Proefl



George K. Zarifis

Historicity of skills and skill development for AE professionals

Adult educators literature from Grundtvig to the present stresses teaching and schooling rather than learning, sharing, growing, knowledge management, or knowledge generation as part of a highly valued education process. The purpose of this self-reflective paper is to look at some historical and present initiatives to allocate abilities and competences to adult educators in this setting. It indicates that AE professionals perform better if they understand the substance and procedures of their work and have a separate code of conduct that reflects moral ideals. A high-quality discipline necessitates adult educator training and development programs that address learning ethics. As things are today, top-down policies in many European nations, as well as the pervasiveness of ICT, hamper professionalism. Adult educators can find a balance between independence and public control by using a systematic strategy that encourages professional autonomy, self-regulation, and responsibility.

151

FROM GRUNDTVIG'S "LIVING WORLD" TO DIGITAL IDEALISM AND LEARNING ETHICS

Grundtvig's 1832 prologue to Nordens mytologi (Nordic mythology) foreshadows the future Danish folk high school: The common core of the institution will gather and combine society's efforts in all practical sectors (Lawson, 1989). The notion means that state civil servants who do not require scholarships but rather life, insight, and practical ability, as well as those who wish to be educated, should have the best opportunity to grow and get to know one another. It also foreshadows Grundtvig's emphasis on oral communication in education, since it contrasts the "*spiritless and lifeless learning of the Romano-Italian*" with the rich oral traditions of Greek and Nordic mythology. "The voice of the people" was Grundtvig's cure! Furthermore, Grundtvig defined mutual teaching as transforming a headmaster into a "steward." (Broadbridge et al. 2011).

At the folk high school, students and professors exchanged personal experiences. Thus, there are several common threads in Grundtvig's educational thought: the importance of the "living word," the emphasis on common humanity, even though understanding one's own culture is necessary before understanding that of others, and the community of teachers and students who live together, work together,

learn from one another, and share in the running of the school. Even today, these essential transversal competencies form the foundation of every collection of abilities that we investigate as adult educators.

The folk high school and Grundtvig's principles were extinguished in the twentieth century. Denmark had just fifty-four high schools by 1940. However, in the 1980s, urban jobless and immigrants were involved in the folk high school movement. This is most likely due to the fact that Grundtvig's educational approach, like John Dewey's, promotes physical interface (Stabler, 1983). Grundtvig valued teacher-student, past-present, earth-heaven, soul-body, and hand-mouth interactions. Individualization and the school's emphasis on self-awareness necessitate a shift in social education (Broadbridge et al. 2011). Education must play a larger role in bridging the gap between society and the individual. According to Grundtvig, *"the development of education is the most essential concern of the state, because the welfare of the state now and in the future depends on it."* (Lawson, 1989). The fundamental quandary for us, as AE professionals, is how to develop communal relationships while education encourages individualization and self-awareness.

152

Today, education is gradually being diluted as a critical component in policy discussions and international organization orientations toward human development, thanks in great part to information and communication technology. The majority of our daily activities include the use of technology. The affordances of technological tools stimulate some behaviours while discouraging others whether working, studying, or socializing. The ethical implications of technology have lately been examined, however they have mostly focused on user safety (Maier-Gutheil & Hof, 2011). However, virtue ethics, as well as the concepts of "practice" and "practical knowledge," provide new approaches to utilizing technology's collateral ethical advantages. During the COVID epidemic, this trend accelerated. Technology, its users (including ourselves and our kids), and their interactions may be viewed as a system in which consumers do the majority of their everyday chores. However, to what degree can this practice help users acquire ethical awareness, sensitivity, and reasoning? The ethical idealism approach to technology ethics may empower (some) users by viewing technology as a means of gaining practical knowledge, as defined by virtue ethics. However, we are not yet there.

According to virtue ethics theories, experience and common sense are required to comprehend, act on, and live by a set of virtues, principles, or values in order to live a good life. According to this point of view, we must first make it a habit to engage in activities that allow us to live a happy life on a regular and purposeful basis (Nuissl & Lattke, 2008). Unlike practicing specialized talents such as programming, painting, or cooking, where there is usually a clear and defined area and context in which they can be learned, practicing living well (the "living world," as Grundtvig would call it) occurs nearly continuously in every act, choice, behaviour, and encounter we have throughout the day. To that purpose, many adult educators employ a variety of teaching and learning approaches, such as direct physical activity, verbal discourse, and, of course, internet

access. It is not an exaggeration to say that an increasing proportion of our daily activities take place in digital settings and are aided by technological tools such as internet-based platforms for asynchronous learning, mobile devices for searching and retrieving information, online education platforms for teaching, and digital social networks for socializing. The activities that can be performed in real and virtual locations change as they evolve. Interactions with and inside locales alter as technology surroundings advance. How does this new situation affect the requirement for skills and competencies in our field?

As artificial intelligence (AI) methodologies automate essential decision-making procedures, new technologies become more complicated, autonomous, and far-reaching. The gradual but rising digitization of virtually every area of society implies that almost every aspect of our daily lives is mediated, controlled, and accessed by technology instruments and has its own digital domain (Zarifis, 2012). These applications and interactions frequently generate ethical concerns. Simply said, we need to replace the question “How should I act?” with “How should I live?” by defining a set of virtues, principles, or values that should guide our activities and be sought and practiced throughout our lives (Zarifis & Papadimitriou, 2014). When “courage” (a severely underappreciated transversal ability) is lacking, fear may prevent practically any choice from being taken, yet when it is excessive, it can lead to reckless action and erroneous conclusions. Thus, the objective is to combine such traits with our practical knowledge (from the Greek word *phrónesis*, commonly rendered as “prudence” or “prudential reason”) that is learned by practice and experience, rather than to blindly follow the virtues for every decision (Lawson, 1989). As a result, rather than the assorted categories of skills and competences that are so emphatically mentioned in various academic and policy papers, we must prioritize the need for virtues; virtues that are not “destinations” or “complete” precepts, but beacons to strive for over a lifetime of cultivating one’s practical wisdom while acknowledging that they are not categorical norms where one could permanently establish the justification behind their ethically relevant choices (Nussli & Lattke, 2008).

153

THE EVER-CHANGING LANDSCAPE OF SKILL DEVELOPMENT FOR AE PROFESSIONALS: SOME CONSIDERATIONS

The socio-economic realities and priorities have changed since Grundtvig’s era, but some issues remain significant today. According to the very few pertinent studies in our field (Research voor Beleid, 2008; Buiskool, et al. 2010), AE professionals build competence in four major job domains. These include vocational education and training (initial or basic, continuing, in-service, on-the-job); second-chance education (basic adult education, literacy); social cohesion (education for immigrants, the unemployed, those in need or socially deprived); and liberal education (open access education for all, culture and the arts, education for personal development, education for empowerment, etc.). Adult educators may confront distinct work domain issues based on their customers’ demands

(with adult learners). Along these lines, one can easily argue that adult educators' tasks and duties when working with older adults in continuing vocational training for example are fundamentally different from those when working with older adults with physical disabilities in social cohesion, older adults in liberal education, or older immigrants in social cohesion (Zarifis, 2009). This requires an approach that does not list adult educators' professional competences in a labelled list, however exhaustive (i.e., being reflective, knowledgeable, assessing needs, having teaching skills, gaining trust and commitment, managing crises, etc.), but rather understands contextual changes that affect their competences. Adult educators need context-specific professional competences. However, articulating these competencies is difficult due to their comparability throughout Europe. Instead of arbitrarily picking similar capabilities based just on the job or work domain setting, we should also evaluate broad capacity development sectors that need skills and competences. Capacity building helps adult educators achieve verifiable and sustained outcomes (Zarifis & Papadimitriou, 2014).

154

Adult educators, both current and future, must prioritise knowledge and learning, but initiative, responsibility, teamwork, and adaptability are equally important. What should be addressed in our profession is the lack of a comprehensive taxonomy of adult learning expert roles (Maier-Gutheil & Hof, 2011). Adult education professionals encounter numerous problems as a result of the market's intricacies and individuals' diverse learning contexts. Teaching, colleague management, course material development, and other adult education positions necessitate the knowledge, abilities, and attitudes needed to integrate theory and practice in adult lifetime learning and development (methodology) (Nuissl & Lattke, 2008). AE professionals should also have career and life experience that is subject-specific, pertinent, and relevant (expertise). Unfortunately, the diversity of adult learning prevents a general agreement on fundamental skills. Throughout Europe, there are numerous professional competence profiles and standards for adult education. European experts and stakeholders have established their own competency models to assess and improve the competences and abilities of adult educators, primarily as part of EU-funded studies and projects.

For example, DIE in the GRETA project established four core roles and sixteen criteria for adult educators in 2006. These professionals work as "teachers," "guides," "facilitators," and "trainers" in adult education programmes. There are two groups of 16 requirements: Personal (ethical) and intellectual (professional) development are both addressed. Along the same lines, the global effort VINEPAC in 2008 developed an adult and continuing education instructor evaluation tool that distinguishes five knowledge categories. The ALPINE study (2008) and the study on "Key Competencies for Adult Learning Professionals" (Buiskool, et al. 2010) created a comparable but more sophisticated adult educator competence framework. In addition to other intrinsic characteristics, this framework was created using advertising, job descriptions, competency profiles, and training course assessments. A modelling technique produced the framework's seven broad and twelve narrow competencies. Adult educators must have the seven broad skill

sets, while the twelve micro skill sets address institution-specific needs. Only a few of the transversal skills and competencies that illustrate the necessity of specialised abilities for AE professionals include the ability to adapt to others' learning styles, familiarity with and appreciation for new technologies, and awareness of and expertise in assessing future prospects (Buiskool, et al. 2010). What such "technical" and policy-relevant approaches fail to recognise is that AE employees differ greatly in terms of their social standing, roles, priorities, working circumstances, targeting learners/outreach, motivation, and, of course, ethnic and cultural background (Zarifis & Papadimitriou, 2014). This diversity can also be seen in the different adult learning target groups, subjects covered by adult learning courses, but also in the professional pathways to becoming an adult educator, the employment situation of adult learning professionals, and the competencies required for working in this sector. However, this variability makes it difficult to promote the sector throughout Europe as a whole, and especially as a committed profession. To overcome the 'hampering diversity,' it is necessary to identify common components in the work of adult educators as well as key competencies associated with carrying out their tasks (Zarifis, 2012). Competences should be considered as a complex collection of information, skills, abilities/attitudes required to carry out a certain activity that results in results when producing professional adult educators. By abstracting from the specific context in which these professionals work, any set of competencies can thus be suitable for adult educators working in the field. This means that not only teaching activities, but also other activities (for example, management and programme development activities) must be supported by a specific set of competences; however, if a set of competences is to be valuable, it must also contribute to capacity building for adult AE professionals. This means that we must not only identify required competencies based on their employment premises, but we must also identify competencies based on understanding the barriers that prevent a large number of adult educators from achieving their professional goals, while focusing on enhancing the abilities that will allow them to achieve sustainable results in their domains of work (Zarifis & Papadimitriou, 2014).

155

In this sense establishing professional skills for AE employees cannot just relate to identifying tasks in specific work domains, but it must also relate these activities to "capacity building areas". To be sustainable, such an approach requires a community of practice that emerges spontaneously from its members' shared interest in acquiring and developing new knowledge in the field of adult education and learning. Members will learn from one another and have the opportunity to build their shared skills personally and professionally through the process of exchanging values, information, and experiences with the group.

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Jacques Zeelen

Crossing borders and finding common ground

‘From a colleague far away to a close neighbour’ would be a good description of my connection to Barry Hake, stretching over more than four decades. Since the end of the seventies we have been members of the same *andragogy* academic community in the Netherlands. Barry at the University of Leiden and I myself at the University of Groningen.

Barry, as a graduate of Political Sciences coming from the UK, concentrated on policy developments, adult education, historical and comparative education, as elaborated more in the other chapters in this book. I, as a clinical psychologist returning from studies in Germany, focused in the first half of my academic career on mental health. In our research programme, by using action research, my team developed together with a diverse group of stakeholders, innovative rehabilitation programmes for people suffering from psychiatric problems.

157

Both crossing country borders and working in different fields, however, we could identify, I assume, with the key value of *andragogy*, as the late Max van der Kamp, Professor of Adult Education at the University of Groningen, formulated in 1994:

“What is worthwhile about *andragogy* is that it has never been accommodated by the Ivory Tower of the Academia, but instead embarks upon undeveloped fields and isn’t above getting involved with the socially excluded, or those who don’t live in harmony with their environment.” (Zeelen, van Beilen and Slagter, 2008: 7).

During the eighties and nineties, we never met in person, and I heard Barry’s name only via my colleagues Max van der Kamp and Meindert Slagter. Together they were engaged with Barry in comparative and European policy research in higher education, adult education and lifelong learning (see among others Hake, van der Kamp and Slagter, 1994). Finding common ground was still hanging in the air of a general but important point of reference: combatting social exclusion.

Important turning point was my border(s) crossing to South Africa which started in 1997. Max van der Kamp asked me to become part of the international collaboration with the University of the North to support them to develop a new department of adult education and lifelong learning. I crossed the border to a country far

away, but maybe even more importantly I left, slowly but surely, my field of mental health research and entered more explicitly the field of adult education, lifelong learning and development cooperation. In 1998 I was appointed professor of adult education at that South African university, later called the University of Limpopo. Combatting social exclusion was still a central point of reference but now together with my South African colleagues we focused more on issues of young unemployed adults, teenage pregnancy, illiteracy in rural areas and community engagement of the university. We used literature from the global South, such as from Paulo Freire, Amartya Sen, Shirley Walters, and Frank Youngman. In addition, of course, we made use of the international literature in adult education from the global North, with authors, among others, as Peter Jarvis, Albert Tuijnman, Jacques Delors, Danny Wildemeersch, and of course Max van der Kamp himself. Finally, I became part of the international adult education and lifelong learning community, where Barry was a long-term and very active participant.

By the end of 2004 I returned to the University of Groningen and continued with my teaching and research activities in lifelong learning, now focussed on youth, education and work. At the same time, I sustained my participation in the Youth, Education and Work (YEW) network in South Africa and other Sub-Saharan African countries, such as Uganda.

158

During those years Max van der Kamp introduced Barry to me personally. We started friendly small conversations though without sharing deeply our research activities. I learned that he was travelling a lot between Leiden and Nieuwe Schans at the German border of the province of Groningen. A place well known to me because the mother of my life partner Julia grew up in that border village. There Barry lived, at least during the weekends I assumed, together with his life partner Angelica. The andragogy community members of many decades and their life partners were getting closer in time and space!

In the last ten years we met often on the streets of Groningen, and I was happy at one time that Barry accepted my request to give a guest lecture to my university students. We experienced a very engaged and instructive teacher with a whole library in his head about policy developments and the history of *éducation permanente*. It went at least back to the statement of Nicolas de Condorcet at the Assemblée National in 1792 in Paris who emphasised the responsibility of the French state for organising ‘popular instruction’ to all its citizens, including adults. My students were delighted and impressed. Their own professor had never given them these important historical insights! An added value was as well that Barry handed over to our department a rich collection of his adult education and lifelong learning books, which were used intensively in the writing of the master dissertations of students.

Later I met for the first time Angelica because together they were attending my inaugural address about lifelong learning in the North and the South (Zeelen, 2015). I learned that they moved from the German border right into Julia’s and my neighbourhood close to

the Nieuwe Kerk in Groningen! Common ground in material sense became reality, but also content wise things came together because Julia and Angelica are both passionate andragogy professionals as well! Many close and pleasant encounters and joined meals between the four of us followed. Barry and I got the idea to spend a bit of time to further intellectual sharing of ideas and experiences.

Recently, after my reading of his most recent article (Hake, 2022), we ended up in a nice bar in Groningen. We discussed the need for *border crossing* between adult education, vocational education and the labour market, and the dangers of the neo-liberal (individualised) employability concept of lifelong learning, as analysed in his article.

I shared my experiences in Sub-Saharan Africa with him and shared the observation that the domain name 'Adult education' still locks this discipline up in a box perceived by many "as something only for old illiterate people, mostly women". Peter Jarvis (2007) already warned for a separation of adult education and vocational education and proposed the term *adult learning* for those reasons. And Jarvis saw, though very critical on the neo-liberal interpretation of lifelong learning, the advantage of using the term lifelong learning to make border-crossing, multi-disciplinarity and social change much more visible. Words and concepts do matter! Sad to say that indeed many countries in the South, by neglecting this type of analysis, had to suffer for the last two decades from a very marginal position of "adult education" in policy developments, resources and infrastructure.

159

During our pub conversations we found common ground both as well on the insight that the Dutch extensive agenda for lifelong learning hardly turned into reality in the twenty years following the UNESCO report of Jacques Delors from 1996. Its broad approach to lifelong learning, building on the concept of *éducation permanente*, entails that the central pillar of education for the 21st century should be learning to live together. The other pillars such as learning to know, learning to act and learning to be should always support this overarching common goal. Max van der Kamp, already lamented on the brink of the new millennium that Delors' broad agenda had been narrowed to a paternalistic appeal to people to invest in their own employability. The neoliberal agenda with the holy cow of the market logic conquered the stage. 'Lower' educated people, people with special needs and early school leavers were left in limbo and continued to be socially excluded. This happened in the global North and even more in the global South.

During our conversation we agreed, honouring Jacques Delors, that 'Learning to live together', should get much more priority in these fragile times, to create multi-dimensional learning opportunities for the socially excluded in the global South and the global North.

All in all we could find common ground, though the nice drinks could have helped a little bit as well! Fortunately, still more to discuss and discover!

To end my small contribution, I need to say that looking at Barry's reference list in his most recent article, I was very impressed how productive Barry was in the last ten years! There is still some hope for younger lifelong learners in the third half of their life.

All the best Barry in the coming years and I am looking forward to further pleasant and inspirational neighbour ship in Groningen!

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Tabula gratulatoria – Barry J. Hake 80!

Congratulations to 50 years of cross-cultural academic work and teaching and learning for a good life. We wish you all the best for many more years of an active, healthy, and happy life.

Alain Gras, Paris

Anne + David Joffrion, Narbonne

António Carlos Pestana Fragoso de Almeida, Faro

Bernd Käßlinger, Berlin

Bernhard Schmidt-Hertha, München

Bert-Jan Buiskool, Utrecht

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From one of his earliest publications “Does education have a future?” (1975, together with Jarl Bengtsson, Alain Gras et al.) to the most recent one “Re-reading the 1972 Faure report as a policy repertoire: Advocacy of lifelong education as recurrent education with neoliberal tendencies” (May 2023), Barry Hake’s writing is driven by profound knowledge on history of education and educational policies in Europe. As *an ancien joueur de rugby*, even at the age of 80, he still keeps the ball going as a highly critical spirit, reflecting the here and now of education and social movements on the background of the past.

Seventeen colleagues from all over Europe contributed to this book, giving insights from their own work and their co-operation with Barry. It will convince the reader that learning for self-fulfillment and sharing your knowledge in a continuous discourse with others is the base for a good life and societal development.

The good life

Barry J. Hake on a high learning curve