

INTERNATIONAL HANDBOOK OF LIFELONG LEARNING

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Volume 6

International Handbook of Lifelong Learning

Edited by David Aspin, Judith Chapman, Michael Hatton and Yukiko Sawano

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International Handbook Of Lifelong Learning

Part One

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DEDICATION

To all those
Of every age, every country, and every creed
Committed to
Making Lifelong Learning
A Reality for All
In the confidence that
“this world one day will be
the type of world we all deserve”

(Nelson Mandela)

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Foreword

Lifelong Learning is a concept that is critically important to all educators, for it expresses the importance and relevance of learning at every stage of our development. The concept is equally relevant to members of our society at all stages of their life-span – as young children, maturing youth, adults and as older persons. Further, it affects national governments, industry, information agencies and nearly every kind of institution of learning.

So important is the concept, it should be seen by all of us as representing a new philosophy of education and training, one that aims to facilitate a coherent set of links and pathways between work, school and education, and recognise the necessity for government to give incentives to industry and their employees so they can truly “invest” in lifelong learning. It is also a concept that is premised on the understanding of a learning society in which everyone, independent of race, creed or gender, is entitled to quality learning that is truly excellent.

In search of this philosophy, new models of learning and knowledge transmission are clearly required. Educational inputs, the provision of well-resourced environments of study, and quality learning experiences, are all-important to the task of providing quality lifelong learning. To pursue the right emphasis, educational providers need to focus on learning rather than just teaching and provide an environment in which students learn rather than are instructed. Students should learn how to solve problems and to think critically; critical thinking skills are an essential education requirement.

Educators committed to lifelong learning will be concerned fundamentally about the degree to which their students learn with them, participate in that process together, and take responsibility for their learning. This necessarily involves an examination of what is the best organisation to recognise and manage joint responsibility for student learning and its success. The achievement of quality learning outcomes must be the criterion by which our efforts are measured. Yet there are definite structural and curriculum implications in pursuing that goal. For many, the pursuit may be elusive, and the goals may be difficult to achieve. Learners will need to discover and construct knowledge for themselves, become genuine members of “communities of learning”, and jointly participate in the act of discovery and the solution of specific problems.

The formation of communities of learning is important. At the core of a community of learning is the ability to enter into meaningful conversation; and this demands mutual listening. “Learning how to learn together” demands that lifelong learners become capable of interdependent learning as well as independent and autonomous learning. This process should be approached developmentally. A community of learning seems a particularly good metaphor for understanding how people, as a group or an organisation, adapt and change to meet emerging demands, or generate information, knowledge and wisdom that facilitate learning adaptation and growth. Members of such a community will work and learn together and in so doing, they will develop collaborative and interdependent models and processes that will enable them to cope adaptively with our turbulent and uncertain times.

Redesigning old structures (restructuring) or creating new ones can assist in “bringing people together” yet there is no guarantee that those within organisations of learning will “converse” or have the meaningful conversations that are required. Most organisations have numerous communication systems and processes in place, but it can be argued that people in many of them do not really talk to one another. Above all, we need to ensure that “conversations” really do occur.

Technology is with us and very definitely can assist in the achievement of all of these lifelong learning goals. It should, however, be harnessed to promote learning in the most positive kinds of ways. Quality learning demands constant evolution of suitable technologies to work better for student learning and success. Learning-providers need to utilise information technology much better by exploiting it to redefine learning practices. At the core of proper learning is the ability and willingness to question assumptions and certainties with a view to letting go of those that no longer help us – and society – understand, or respond to, current realities. Toward these ends, technology can assist us powerfully in so many ways

There are also many benefits to employers. People educated in these ways will serve the interests of their employers (including industry) far better than those instructed didactically. Employers will reap vastly richer rewards from people educated and trained in the ways that will enable them to adapt, generalise, analyse and respond to situations and problems others will find difficult to solve.

Finally, it is important to stress that learning opportunities have their certain parallel at all stages of life’s development. All those involved in education have a unique opportunity to create (and put into practice) models of learning that will vastly advantage our society. It is only with this kind of re-orientation that government, educational providers, employers and individuals – who must benefit from society’s investment in their learning – can be regarded as participants in the active shaping of life’s educational outcomes.

This book is a thorough-going, rigorous and scholarly work. I believe it has profound and wide-ranging implications for the future of educating institutions and agencies of all kinds in the conception, planning and delivery of lifelong learning initiatives. I commend it wholeheartedly to readers.

In the volume the editors and authors recognise the need for profound changes in education and they argue for the goals I think are critically important to education. They invite urgently readers to explore the challenges now facing society in the provision of lifelong learning. To those concerned about the future of our society, our economy and educational provision, this book provides a richly illuminating basis for powerful debate. Drawing extensively on policy analyses, conceptual thinking and informed practice, editors and authors focus our attention on the many issues and decisions that must be addressed if lifelong learning is to become a reality for us all.

Peter W Sheehan AO
Vice-Chancellor
Australian Catholic University

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VADE MECUM

γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος
I am growing old but still learning many things
(Solon c630 – c555 BC)

Introduction and Overview

DAVID ASPIN, JUDITH CHAPMAN, MICHAEL HATTON AND YUKIKO SAWANO

“Lifelong Learning” is a concept whose time has come. The notion that education and learning are activities and processes that do not begin and end with the commencement and closure of people’s attendance at formal institutions of schooling goes back in some cultural contexts as far as Plato and was given repeated expression in the writings of his successors – Augustine, Quintilian, Aquinas, Locke, Rousseau, Comenius, Kant and so on – finding its strongest emphasis in the twentieth century work of John Dewey. Different cultures have similar discourses on lifelong learning originating from their own thinkers or traditions such as Confucius. Such thinkers and writers were well aware that one of the chief characteristics by which human beings may be distinguished from other forms of organic entities and sentient creatures is their endless curiosity, their desire to have their questions answered, their awareness of the need to cope with and master change, and their propensity always to seek improvement in their situation. Human beings are endowed with these tendencies from the time of their birth and exercise them throughout their lives. For human beings, living and learning are nearly synonymous.

Of course there are times when that learning seems to be particularly rapid and pressing: the first five years of life are the times when the greatest cognitive gains are made, that equip individuals with the competencies, capacities and qualities that enable them to face and begin to master the enormous amounts of information and the complex kinds of skill which their living will require. Since the earliest times societies have determined this process should be carried out, at least initially and during these years of accelerating development in childhood, adolescence and youth, in institutions devoted to the purpose and under the direction and guidance of specially qualified and committed people serving the community’s interest in developing the learning of its coming generation.

It seems to have been and still is widely accepted that attendance at such institutions and for such purposes should be compulsory until such a time as a society’s young people may be deemed to have gained adequate information, mastered enough skills and developed into a state of sufficient maturity to be able to go on “under their own steam”, so to speak, and to make decisions as to their own continuing patterns and pathways of development. At that point – when individuals may be regarded as having attained a degree of autonomy – comes the end of most of the compulsion. Learning after that becomes a matter of self-selection, with varying degrees of external prescription. Both require individuals to be aware of facts and possibilities about their situation in the world, to weigh the necessities or desirability of further learning, and to have the informed judgment and the settled disposition to make choices for themselves. All these capacities will come about as a result of further learning.

There was never a time when this was not true and it is to their credit that educational thinkers and writers such as those named realised this from the first. There were others, of course, who confused “learning” with mere “maturation” and “education” with schooling. The “New Romantics” (D.H. Hargreaves 1972, 1975) for example claimed that “the first impulses of Nature are always right” and believed that individuals, if left to themselves and without the “official” interference of others, would tend to grow and learn “naturally” all those things that their existence required: learning would come about simply as an accretion of growth. Others – those “free thinkers”, who believed in the kind of education that befitted the free person, the free mind and the free spirit, – held that there was a paradox inherent in a situation in which individuals were required to attend a “teaching and learning” institution on a compulsory basis; in this way, some held, individuals were being subjected to the contradiction of being “forced to be free”; for them, schools were inimical to the real enterprise of “education” and were analogous to “prison houses” whose shades, descending upon growing young people, would actually produce the contrary of the outcomes at which societies aimed in setting them up in the first place.

One similarity between such groups of thinkers was often to be found in the view that there came a time when such processes were complete: when people’s natures had come to full fruition, when the education of people’s minds and spirits had brought them to full and final maturity. For such thinkers, any formal attempt at education after such a “terminus ad quem” had been reached was redundant and otiose: people had reached a point when all further educational work was unnecessary, superfluous, and fruitless. There might, of course, be some occasional need for supplementary training in the acquisition of further skills or additional instruction in the knowledge required for application in the workplace. But these needs were very much “ad hoc” and could readily be provided and acquired on a piece-meal “need to know” basis.

In recent times, however, such views have changed. A harbinger of the rapid changes such thinking was about to undergo was the appearance in 1972 of the Report to UNESCO of the Committee chaired by M. Edgar Fauré entitled *Learning To Be: The World of Education Today and Tomorrow*, the main point of which was, in the words of Wain’s summary (Wain 1993), as follows:-

“Lifelong education” stands for a program to reconceptualise education totally according to the principle that education is a lifelong process. ... for a complete overhaul of our way of thinking about education, for a new philosophy of education and ... for a *program of action*... as the “master concept” for all educational planning, policy-making, and practice ... The[ir] ambition was that the word education would eventually become synonymous with lifelong education in people's minds ... (today's) world ... requires a lifelong education which is a “constant reorganising or reconstructing of experience”.’

The Fauré Report was instrumental in creating a climate that was consonant with the times. Education and learning were becoming increasingly important throughout the lifespan as people were facing the increasing plethora of changes bearing in upon them as the twentieth century unfolded: change in the world of industry and commerce;

increasingly global patterns of economic development; the almost exponential increase in the growth and extension of knowledge; the revolutionary transformations of communication and interaction brought about by the revolution of information technology; the needs of indigenous peoples to experience culturally relevant lifelong learning. The Fauré report provided the site for a passionate argument that the only way that people could hope to face and deal with such changes was a state in which they would be involved in the activities of an “education permanente”.

These arguments began to be articulated with all the greater force as those changes and developments began to exert such force on countries and communities that all experienced a kind of all encompassing transformation – in economy, in culture and in identity. It is not too much to say that the changes in the world effected by these transformations over the last thirty years have been no less radical and fundamental as the changes that came about as the result of the invention of the wheel and of the printing press. We are now living in a new age in which the demands are so complex, so multifarious and so rapidly changing that the only way in which we shall be able to survive them is by committing to a process of individual, communal and global learning throughout the lifespan of all of us.

A number of international bodies and agencies have taken cognisance of these transformations and the demands they impose upon societies and communities of the twenty first century and have developed and articulated policies that will, it is hoped, bid fair to enable citizens of the world in the twenty first century to face these challenges. It is now a declared policy of international bodies, such as OECD, UNESCO and APEC, and national governments such as those of Australia, China, Finland, Japan, Korea, Norway, Sweden, Taiwan and the United Kingdom that education has to be a lifelong undertaking and an investment in the future that is not restricted merely to the domain of economic advancement.

As we approach the turn of the century, policy-makers and educationalists across the international arena are grappling with the need to move from systems that emphasise a “front end” approach to education and training to the radically more unworked construct of lifelong learning. At this point in our history, then, as editors we have thought it useful in this volume to examine, from the discourse already available, some examples of the different forms, focuses and nexuses of thinking on this topic and offer some suggestions as to a way forward.

THE CONCEPT

It will become clear in this volume that one approach to conceptualising lifelong learning holds that it is concerned primarily with the promotion of skills and competences necessary for the development of general capabilities and specific performance in roles, activities and tasks that relate primarily, or in some cases entirely, to economic development and performance. Skills and competencies developed through programs of lifelong learning, using this approach, will have a bearing on questions of how workers perform their job responsibilities, as well as how they can adapt general and particular knowledge and competences to new functions. Taking this view, a more

highly educated and skilled workforce will contribute to a more advanced and competitive economy.

This economic justification for lifelong learning is highly dependent upon two prior assumptions: one, that "lifelong education" is *instrumental for* and *anterior to* some more ultimate goal; and secondly, that the purpose of lifelong learning is highly job-related and economic-policy-dependent. This approach, as we have seen from discussions at OECD (1996), UNESCO (1996), the European Parliament (1995) and the Nordic Council of Ministers (1995), has now been rejected as presenting too narrow and limited an understanding of the nature, aims and purpose of "lifelong education".

A second perspective rests upon different assumptions. Instead of "lifelong learning" being seen as instrumental to the achievement of an extrinsic goal, "education" is seen equally as an intrinsically valuable activity, something that is good in and for itself. Incorporated in this perspective is the belief that those engaging in lifelong education do so, not so much to arrive at a new place but "to travel with a different view" (Peters, 1965) and in that way to travel with a qualitatively better, richer and more elevated perspective from which to view the world. There is wide acceptance of the view that people engaging in educational activities generally are enriched by having their view of the world and their capacity for rational choice continually expanded and transformed by having access to the increased ranges and varieties of experiences and cognitive achievements, that the lifelong learning experience offers. Importantly, the benefits accrue at the individual and societal levels. This second view has been adopted by a variety of community groups.

In addition to opportunities for lifelong learning through traditional institutions and agencies in the community, there is a growing trend for lifelong learning activities to be offered by and through a host of non-traditional community initiatives. For indigenous peoples and many members of developing economies, these non-traditional community initiatives may in fact represent a return to tradition, rather than the creation of a new paradigm. In these cases, the transformation may reflect a return to lifelong learning.

Lifelong learning conceived of and offered through these channels, new or traditional, often offers people the opportunity to bring up to date their knowledge and enjoyment of activities which they had either long since laid aside or always wanted to do but were previously unable to pursue; to try their hands at activities and pursuits that they had previously imagined were outside their available time or competence; or extend their intellectual horizons by seeking to understand and engage with some of the more significant cognitive advances of recent times.

This is not to suggest that lifelong learning is an activity restricted or even primarily directed towards those who have passed the age when education in formal or institutional settings may be largely complete. In fact cognitive and skill development begins early and can continue throughout one's life. This is an indispensable part of one's growth and development as a human being, as well as a foundation for social and economic participation more broadly in society. Individual and community welfare is protected and promoted when communities arrange for lifelong learning to be available to the widest range of constituencies, through as many channels as possible and in as many forms as are viable. Smethurst (1995) puts this well:

Is education a public or a private good? The answer is, neither: it is both. There is some education which is overwhelmingly a public good in that its benefits accrue very widely, to society at large as well as to the individual. Equally there is some education which, while benefiting society, confers overwhelming benefits on the individual learner. But much of education sits annoyingly between these two extremes, leading us, correctly, to want to influence the amount and type of it supplied and demanded, because society has an interest in the outcome, but also to note that it confers benefits on the individual above those societal benefits.

The argument that education is a public good supports the third version of lifelong learning, a notion held these days by an increasing number of institutions and organisations. It is widely agreed that the availability of educational opportunities over the whole of people's lifespans is a pre-requisite for informed and effective participation in society by all citizens (see Grace, 1994; McLaughlin, 1994; Smethurst, 1995). Similarly, such services as health, housing, welfare, and the legal system, along with education, constitute the infra-structure which people need in order to construct and realise a satisfying and fulfilling life in a society that is mutually supportive, inclusive and just.

For our part as educators, in conceptualising this volume, we have operated from the belief that there is a complex relationship between three major elements or outcomes of lifelong learning: education for a more highly skilled work force; personal development leading to a more rewarding life; and the creation of a stronger and more inclusive society. It is the interplay between these elements that differentiates and animates lifelong learning and this is in part why lifelong learning is a complex and multi-faceted process. The process itself begins in pre-school, continues through compulsory and post-compulsory periods of formal education and training, and is then carried on through the rest of the lifespan. It is actualised through provision of learning experiences and activities in the home, the work place, in universities and colleges, and in other educational, social and cultural agencies, institutions and settings – both formal and informal – within the community. This is the perspective that informs this publication.

THE POLICY CHALLENGE

The central elements in the triadic nature of lifelong learning, we believe, are inter-related and are fundamental pre-requisites for a wide range of benefits that governments and peoples widely across the international arena regard as important goals related to economic, personal and social policies. The adoption of policies for lifelong learning, we hope to show in this volume, will help achieve a variety of policy goals that include building a strong, adaptable and competitive economy, providing a fertile range of opportunities for personal growth and development, and developing a richer social fabric where principles and ideals of social inclusiveness, justice and equity are practised and promoted.

We need to point out, however, that, for the effective development of educational policies and lifelong learning practices widely across, in and through national and

international settings, agencies, institutions and milieux, the triadic emphasis that we place upon the idea of lifelong learning requires a coherent, consistent, coordinated and integrated, more multi-faceted approach to learning and to policy development. Realising a lifelong learning approach for economic progress and development, for personal development and fulfilment, and for social inclusiveness and democratic understanding and activity, will not be easily achieved.

To achieve these goals will require a substantial re-appraisal of the provision, resourcing and goals of education and training, and most importantly a major re-orientation towards the concept and value of the idea of “the learning society”. Herein lies the major challenge for governments, policy-makers and educators in countries around the world as they grapple with ways of conceptualising lifelong learning and realising the aim of “lifelong learning for all”.

In this volume, we suggest that lifelong learning policies currently introduced across the globe could be classified into four categories: (1) a compensatory education model, which aims at compensating for inequality in access to initial school education, and improving basic literacy and vocational skills, (2) a continuing vocational training model, which aims at coping with changes occurring in workplace and solving problems of unemployment, (3) a social innovation model, or civil society model, which aims at overcoming social estrangement and promoting socio-economic transition and democratization, (4) a leisure oriented model, which aims at enriching leisure time of individuals and personal fulfillment. Since the goals and target groups of lifelong learning policies are diversifying in every country with the changes in each society accelerated by globalization and IT revolution, several policy patterns may coexist in a country. In the new era of “Lifelong Learning for All”, it is desirable to accomplish all policy goals. However, it is still a great policy challenge in most countries. In this volume, distinguished specialists on lifelong learning policy studies analyze the current situation on lifelong learning policies in countries in Africa, Europe and the Asia-Pacific region. Although the number of countries covered in this volume is limited, one can find some common aspects and unique measures to promote lifelong learning which could lay the basis for further learning and policy development.

LIFELONG LEARNING PROVISION

The provision of lifelong learning implies that, while education may start in a formal and compulsory school setting, it will clearly extend far beyond it to a variety of settings, in a range of other institutions, and *via* a multiplicity of pathways. A host of agencies will offer lifelong learning opportunities formally, informally, traditionally and in new and innovative ways. In effect, lifelong learning subsumes the concept of co-investment.

A constructive lifelong learning system presupposes a series of connections between institutions that provide similar, different and overlapping educational opportunities. In fact there are at the present time a wide range of institutions, organisations and agencies providing many of these educational services and opportunities in countries widely across the world. Included are schools, universities, colleges, tertiary education

institutions, hospitals, neighbourhood houses, broadcasting corporations, private sector firms and industrial enterprises, trade unions, professional associations, local councils, councils of adult education, and open universities. Societies are now entering a stage where the separate but complementary and mutually supportive contributions of a range of providers of lifelong learning opportunities are at work in the community. The planning and development of productive forms of relationship between them is, however, a matter of pressing concern.

In these relationships there must be clearly defined and flexibly articulated pathways for effective interaction and connection. These will enable institutions and students to build networks of linkages and help avoid duplication in the same sector on the same level. What is needed are integrated offerings between different levels and sectors. A good model here is that of the complex articulations of the climbing-frame, in which people do not simply get to the top by one particular route in one single linear and uninterrupted progression. Instead they may choose to move across, backwards and down before proceeding along and upwards towards their goal. People wanting to use lifelong learning educational services will need advice and assistance to move to and through different stages.

To ensure that lifelong learning opportunities are presented through a complex web or a multiplicity of pathways, various institutions need to offer a wide range of inter-related routes and pathways for learners. These must provide for individuality and comprehensive coverage. This implies coherence and complementarity among and between providers and must certainly be based on consultation and interactivity. This will require coordination and synergy. Such provision, and a wide awareness of both its availability and the ways in which it can be accessed, will enable people to connect with others who have related, even if not necessarily the same, learning needs. There will emerge a community of learners rather than, as is the case at present, pockets of separate interests and needs.

There is a need, therefore, to dismantle existing obstructions that prevent closer relationships between educating institutions. This is necessary for the successful co-ordination of efforts and resources among the community's educating agencies, so students can move easily from one to the other and so accelerate their progress in learning. There will be a need for some nurturing in the early stages of collaboration if all of the many possibilities among schools and other learning providers are to be realised and capitalised upon. In fostering the ideal of lifelong learning for all, schools, universities, community institutions, government agencies and private sector organisations will find their missions enhanced by espousing and implementing a cooperative approach when providing opportunities for learners, as well as in the establishment of various pathways and channels of cooperation. In this volume the various ways of implementing lifelong learning in structures, programs and practices are explored.

PROBLEMS, ISSUES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

For many people in numerous countries throughout the world, lifelong learning as portrayed by many western theorists is problematic at best and terribly inappropriate at

worst. For many indigenous peoples lifelong learning was in fact their tradition fully imbued within their cultural context before western notions of schooling divorced education from learning and segregated it primarily to formative years and economic purposes. As a number of authors in this volume highlight, those of us in education must be very careful when we embrace the notion that solutions for all peoples lie within our own vision of the learning agenda. The retort from many parts of world might be that lifelong learning is a luxury enjoyed by rich countries and paid for, in part, by the poor and oppressed. Or, for indigenous peoples, lifelong learning is what was endemic, but it was taken from them only to be replaced by a culturally insensitive, institutional approach to education.

The achievement of lifelong learning for all in many countries is replete with difficulties. Many countries are stretched to the limit simply making payments to cover overdrafts for international loans. Further investments in broad-based learning opportunities are impossible. In other cases, many cultures are trying desperately to rediscover their roots and lifelong learning heritage, in most cases with little assistance, and in other cases against strong opposition. Appropriate lifelong learning for all, as per the model most often documented in journals, reports and the international press, is either extremely difficult or even impossible to achieve owing to the lack of social and educational infrastructure, resources and commitment. Even in the best of circumstances, the harsh realities of environmental degradation, of life threatening diseases and of a globalisation process, in which economic issues reign supreme, will prevent many from accessing opportunities that the peoples in the richer nations of the world have come to expect.

These insights are not new. At least some of these insights were already present in the report of the United Nations Commission chaired by Herr Willy Brandt in 1980. The inequalities and the potential disequilibrium of which his report spoke – the large-scale gaps between the powers and resources of the richer countries of the northern and the poorer southern hemispheres – have not been eradicated since that time. Indeed, many would say that the adverse conditions experienced by many countries and peoples living in the southern half of the world have grown disproportionately greater. The inequities have increased as wealth has been concentrated into fewer and fewer hands: the resources of Microsoft are now greater than the GNPs of some countries; of the one hundred richest economies in the world at the present time, fifty-two are great multi-national corporations.

It is to the credit of many of the international agencies – UNESCO, and APEC among them – that they have seen how this disequilibrium, and the inequities caused by it – shows signs of affecting the developed and developing worlds in the twenty first century. They have seen that a commitment to lifelong learning should include the realisation that the world must not be divided on the basis of peoples' access to programs of learning and education. The remedy for all the dysfunctional conditions referred to above clearly requires an emphasis upon the need for what the present Prime Minister of the United Kingdom proposed as his government's major policy priority: "Education, Education, Education". But to bring that to bear in some countries will require efforts greater than those of which they themselves have the resources to support. Richer nations are already realising that it is incumbent upon

them through their education and aid policies to offer to countries where the need for learning is so obvious and so desperate.

Yet many countries still have some way to go in this direction: Foreign Aid is a shamefully small single-figure percentage proportion of the annual budgets of some economies. A recent report in *The Economist* suggests that some of the richer countries in the world spend as little as US\$5 for each of their inhabitants on aid to the poorest countries in the world. If the presently widening gap of disadvantage and inequity between richer and poorer countries is even to begin to be closed, this is a situation that educators, policy-makers and international agencies must work to reverse.

It is clear to us that a commitment to lifelong learning carries with it an ethical imperative: to do all we can to extend to all the benefits of learning across the lifespan, in such a way that the benefits are open to and capable of being realised by all. It is to that commitment which this publication is dedicated.

AN OVERVIEW OF CONTENTS

We hope that we have addressed some, if not all of the problems, topics, issues and responsibilities pertaining to lifelong learning in the various chapters constituting this publication. We have certainly attempted to draw upon the widest range of ability, insight and experience in putting the various elements in it together.

The publication is divided into four Sections. The first of these, Section One, is devoted to *Conceptual, Philosophical and Values Issues*.

In the opening chapter (“*Towards a Philosophy of Lifelong Learning*”) *David Aspin and Judith Chapman* seek to show that attention to the philosophical questions about lifelong learning is an indispensable element of theories of lifelong learning programs. Conclusions reached via philosophical enquiries they argue, have *practical* implications for developing programs, curricula and activities of lifelong learning. Productive work in the philosophy of lifelong learning depends upon the nature of the problems being looked into, the intellectual histories and interests of those tackling them, the outcomes at which they aim, the considerations that make their selection of particular categories, concepts and criteria significant, and the reflections that make certain moves in their arguments and theorising decisive. Such analysis is also important in the attempt to develop a theory or set of theories and to construct a theoretical framework against which programs and activities of lifelong learning might be tested to see whether the practice matches the principles.

The purpose of this kind of investigation is to consider the theories with which people active in the field are working and to engage in the task of theory examination, theory comparison, and theory criticism, correction or even replacement. Philosophy viewed in this way, the authors argue, is not merely an exercise of analysis for the purposes of clarification but an undertaking of theory criticism and construction to ensure that lifelong learning undertakings are based upon sound principles, such as those of economy, simplicity, coherence, consistency, fecundity and capacity for successful prediction. The chapter reviews a number of versions of Lifelong Learning and criticises most such definitions for their underlying essentialism and empiricism,

proposing a more acceptable alternative. This consists in the application of a post-empiricist, pragmatic and problem-solving approach. This points to the triadic nature of lifelong learning endeavours – for economic growth and advancement, for social inclusion and democratic empowerment, and for personal growth and the increase of autonomy. It is suggested that these aims must be addressed by making learning across the lifespan available for all people.

In the second chapter by *Richard Bagnall* (“*Locating Lifelong Learning and Education in Contemporary Currents of Thought and Culture*”) three progressive sentiments informing lifelong learning advocacy and ideology are here drawn out – the individual, the democratic and the adaptive. Each is seen as expressing a central programmatic purpose for educational reform, and as capturing its ethical thrust. They are variously combined in ideological positions on lifelong learning. The contemporary cultural context is seen as generating a necessary commitment to lifelong learning. However, the discourse that is formed by that commitment is largely incidental to lifelong learning ideology and theory informed by the progressive sentiments. Within it, each of the sentiments is marginalised, to be considered only after more central economic agendas have been addressed, except to the extent that their advocacy of particular features is supportive of those agendas. Nevertheless, because of the traditional identification of lifelong education with these progressive sentiments, the contemporary trend to lifelong learning carries with it their aura of progressive commitment to individual development, social justice and cultural change.

In the third chapter (“*Lifelong Learning and Personal Fulfilment*”) *Robin Barrow* and *Patrick Keeney* remind us that the idea of lifelong learning has a long and venerable provenance, extending back at least as far as the Greeks. The current emphasis on lifelong learning is to be welcomed, provided we understand by that term something more than either an industry and government-driven rhetoric, which equates lifelong learning with nothing more than skills training and further credentialling; or the simple accumulation of new information. In this chapter the authors argue that lifelong learning needs to be interpreted in a manner which accentuates the educational values associated with that phrase, in particular the personal satisfaction which derives from the development of mind. They further maintain that, while the link between lifelong learning and personal fulfilment is admittedly a contingent one, it is nevertheless reasonable to think that, provided we understand lifelong learning as a phrase which betokens a commitment to the intrinsic value of education, we are likely to engender a society which affords opportunities for greater and more prolonged fulfilment for the individual.

In the fourth chapter (“*Political Inclusion, Democratic Empowerment and Lifelong Learning*”) *Penny Enslin*, *Shirley Pendlebury* and *Mary Tjattas* explore the role of lifelong learning in providing the conditions and capacities for genuine inclusion, particularly under conditions of diversity and inequality and where democratic traditions, institutions and procedures are nascent. The authors pose a number of questions. What are the educational demands of each model of deliberation? What conception of lifelong learning might best meet these demands? And can the provision of lifelong learning and its associated costs, material and other, be justified with respect to promoting the goods of democratic empowerment and political inclusion? The authors

examine three conceptions of deliberative democracy: reason (as exemplified by John Rawls), discursive democracy (as exemplified by Seyla Benhabib) and communicative democracy (as exemplified by Iris Young). In the case of each of the three models, they scrutinise their conceptions of and implications for inclusion and empowerment, going on to consider the demands and promises of deliberative democracy and answer some common objections to it. Finally conclusions are drawn about the educational prerequisites of deliberative democracy and its possible educational consequences, with particular reference to lifelong learning.

In the fifth chapter ("*Lifelong Learning and the Contribution of Informal Learning*") Paul Hager sees lifelong learning as an inclusive concept that encompasses learning in all types of settings. He argues that a major obstacle to the valuation of learning in all types of settings comes from the hegemony exerted by the formal education system in deciding what learning is to be valued and how it is to be assessed and accredited, illustrated by the way the non-formal educational sector is defined by what it is perceived to lack in relation to the formal sector, ie. formal assessment of learning and/or the awarding of formal credentials; informal learning lacks the kinds of characteristics that are valued in the formal education system. Hager argues that a closer examination of informal learning has the potential to enrich our understanding of learning in all settings. The lifelong learning concept provides an opportunity to move beyond narrow understandings of learning that have flourished in formal educational systems. Because informal learning covers such a huge diversity of settings Hager focuses on informal learning at work, criticising major assumptions about learning that appear to weaken the claim of informal learning at work to be a main part of lifelong learning. These include traditional understandings of the nature of knowledge, and the requirement for learning to be able to be made explicit. Hager outlines a series of developments in relation to informal learning at work that have the potential to provide some new insights about learning. Insights derived from these developments point to the concept of lifelong learning incorporating a richer notion of learning than the one that has hitherto dominated educational thought. This chapter argues that bridging the formal learning/informal learning dichotomy will help us to achieve a richer notion of lifelong learning.

In the sixth chapter ("*Lifelong Learning, Changing Economies and the World of Work*") John Halliday questions how lifelong learning, globalisation and economic advancement might be related. He is critical of the argument that there is now an increasingly homogenous global economy that is knowledge based and that unambiguously requires a high level of cognitive skills in its workers. He contends that changing economies are likely to remain diverse and that the familiar distinction between low and high skill routes to economic success is misleading. This distinction serves to entrench an unhelpful separation of mental from manual skills and a mistaken conception of learning as something anterior to and distinct from work. He maintains that economic considerations can never be the sole determinant of lifelong learning opportunities that ought to be provided. Nor ought such considerations to be the main determinants as if life, work and education could be considered in isolation from one another. Equally deficient however are strategies for lifelong learning that neglect the fact that certain opportunities are more expensive to provide than others and that the

ability to take up any opportunity requires some degree of economic success. Ultimately the ways in which people, communities and governments balance competing claims for resources will be one of the principal concerns of policies to encourage lifelong learning in the future. The chapter ends with some positive practical proposals and an outline of a conception of lifelong learning that could underpin them.

In the seventh chapter (“*From Adult Education to Lifelong Learning*”) *Mal Leicester and Stella Parker* claim that the current policy emphasis on lifelong learning is influencing conceptions of adult education. In this chapter the contemporary policy context in the United Kingdom is explored, covering influential Government Reports on developing the post-school education sector and the arrangements for assurance about teaching quality through the establishment of the Quality Assurance Agency (QAA). Within this context “lifelong learning” is shown to be a slippery concept – sometimes equivalent to “adult education”, and sometimes to “education across the lifespan”. There is also an interrelation of vocational, liberal and social education. The authors explore the normative dimension of “lifelong learning” (arguing that there is a blurring here of the concepts of “learning” and of “education”) and end with the question of how far government policies on lifelong learning will generate fruitful changes, such as wider education participation across the lifespan by currently excluded social groups.

In the eighth chapter (“*Caring for the Adult Self*”) *James Marshall* concentrates on the notion of the development of the self as a goal of lifelong learning. The “self” concerned here is the adult self, particularly the adult who seeks further education in a context of what is now known as postmodernity, in which there has been a decentering of knowledge and a decentering of the self, as well as a playing down of traditional forms of knowledge, Kantian subject centred reason, and the foundations of knowledge. Instead an emphasis instead on learning by experience has come to the fore. But new forms of experience, where the distinction between reality and image has become blurred, have proliferated. Nor do they seem to be the experiences of a stable and unified Kantian self. Marshall argues for a position that the self is not an individuated substance or thing, that it can change; yet it can still be cared for. In arguing for this view Marshall follows the position on the self taken by Michel Foucault (Foucault, 1984). According to Foucault the self is not an individuated substance (eg, a Kantian, unified, coherent and sovereign self) but a self that is historically constituted, which can change, and which ethically must be cared for. Caring for the self rules out *ethically* certain possible notions of the self. Finally caring for the self must be learned in a non manipulative pedagogy in which caring for the self also becomes caring for Others.

In the ninth chapter (“*Lifelong Learning for a Learning Democracy*”) *Stewart Ranson, Glenn Rikowski and Michael Strain* see that the challenge to create a learning society is considerable. If nations are to flourish in a globalised knowledge economy, adults as well as young people will need to be highly qualified and skilled. Those without the appropriate cultural capital risk social exclusion as society becomes increasingly divided between the information rich and poor. Yet the levels of participation in continuing education and the extent of underachievement remain in a deep concern. The authors argue that public policy on life-long learning over the past fifteen years has been dominated by one distinctive perspective: a model of human capital oriented to preparing people with flexible, transferable skills, and with the will to

continue to develop them throughout their lives in order that they may continue to succeed in the labour market. In these authors' eyes this model is unduly restrictive. A different concept of the learning age is needed even for an agenda of economic regeneration. Underlying such an analysis lies a different vision of life-long learning as an unfolding education for citizenship, the condition for which lies in the creation of learning communities. These encourage all to participate in learning, to support others in learning and to participate in creating the personal and collective conditions for learning. Such conditions are the institutional forms and processes of a participatory democracy, which involves all in a reflexive dialogue to learn how to define and sustain the potential of each citizen as well as the value each can offer in creating the public good.

In the tenth chapter ("*Lifelong Education: Some Deweyan Themes*") Ivan Snook explores four major themes, each implicit in Dewey's philosophy of education, and their implications for lifelong learning. He argues that the centrality of "education", as distinct (but not separate) from "training", suggests that we need to turn away from current preoccupations with skills and competencies in a strictly vocationally oriented form of job training. Education needs to be restructured towards providing basic understandings required to continue learning throughout life and the motivation to go on learning; encouraging an educational approach where knowledge is coherently integrated into the life of the learner; and ensuring that the computer is seen as a tool for the promotion of certain ends in education. The dichotomy between liberal and vocational education is to be rejected in the move to help a person's direction of their life activities renders them significant to that person because of the consequences they accomplish. Good vocational studies are liberal in the sense that they free people from blind conformity and rigid habits and release people to be agents of their own lives. The importance of the changing social situation means that education takes place in a wider social setting. Education should be viewed as a means of transformation: its aims and its related activities must be flexible and tentative: aims must liberate activities. Education must involve the continual reconstruction of experience – a lifelong process. Central in education is critical thinking: the major aim of lifelong education is to promote the autonomy of the individual and their readiness at all times to be involved in critical thinking and liberating action. This is not a skill but an attitude of mind: a disposition not to take statements for granted, not to accept dogmatic beliefs, not to go along with the dominant majority. It is this attitude which should be encouraged in life-long learning. The most successful form of such an education is that which involves *praxis*.

In the eleventh chapter ("*Lifelong Learning in the Postmodern*") Robin Usher discusses lifelong learning in relation to the postmodern condition. The contemporary role of education is examined within the context of globalisation, risk, uncertainty, reflexivity and the foregrounding of diversity and difference that characterises that condition. Postmodernity, Usher argues, has, on the one hand, contributed to erosion of the 'liberal' curriculum and an emphasis on performativity, on learning opportunities that optimise the efficiency of the economic and social condition. On the other hand, the postmodernist decentring of knowledge has resulted in a valuing of different sources and forms of knowledge (including knowledge that would not

have traditionally been considered worthwhile) and a corresponding devaluing of specialist discipline-based knowledge. It is argued that changing conceptions of knowledge and the need to understand knowledge in terms of its performative and signifying location in different social practices of the contemporary implies that the meaning and significance of 'lifelong learning' cannot be fully subsumed in current educational economic and political discourses.

In the final chapter of this Section ("*Lifelong Learning: Small Adjustment or Paradigm Shift?*") *Kenneth Wain* examines the fortunes of the lifelong education movement of the 1960s and 1970s with its home in UNESCO. This movement set out to reconceptualise education as a lifelong process. Central to its discourse was the notion of the learning society; its program could be described as maximalist to distinguish it from different 'lifelong education' programs that were going about at the time under different names. It is important to note that the maximalist program of the movement was inspired by a philosophy of education that the writers of the movement referred to as 'scientific humanistic'. *Wain* outlines the causes of the decline of that program and indeed of the term 'lifelong education' itself in the popular usage, and the reasons for its replacement by the normatively innocent 'lifelong learning', arguing that this development is itself far from innocent. Meanwhile the notion of the 'learning society', which was also central to the maximalist discourse of the 1960s and 1970s, suffered a different fate; virtually abandoned for years it resurfaced again in the 1990s with different agendas. In Japan it arose in the early years of the decade to describe a dynamic interaction between government-led initiatives and popular non-formal initiatives, that already had their roots in Japanese culture. In Europe, however, the story was different; the agenda were originally set by business and employers under the neo-liberal government that governed Europe in the first half of the decade, but were changed by the social democrats when they came into power in the middle and late part. The social democrats, like the Japanese governments, pledged strong support for lifelong learning policies and for the learning society. Comparing these new models of the 1990s with the maximalist is, the author suggests, both interesting and instructive, even if the chapter does not pronounce itself in favour of any one of them in particular – a good note of philosophic *aporia* on which to end the whole Section.

Section Two, edited by Yukiko Sawano, deals with the *Policy Challenge on Lifelong Learning*, and shows different dimensions of lifelong learning policies in different parts of the world.

In the first chapter ("*Lifelong Learning Policies in Low Development Contexts: An African Perspective*") *David Atchoarena* and *Steven Hite* discuss the economic, educational, employment, social, and political conditions impacting the individual and collective pursuit of lifelong learning in sub-Saharan Africa. The first part of this chapter provides an overview of the socio-economic and educational context in which the policy debate on lifelong education takes place in sub-Saharan Africa. The second part analyses contemporary trends in the region that are reshaping education systems and transforming both formal and non-formal education. This chapter attempts to examine the impact of those reforms on educational progress and to reflect on the policy mix likely to promote lifelong education pathways in low development contexts. Programs and policies in specific African nations are provided to illuminate

the challenges and successes being encountered in this diverse region of the world. The authors argue that, while making lifelong learning a reality for all is fast becoming an attainable goal in the most advanced societies, it still represents a formidable challenge for African countries, most of which are still struggling with basic development issues. The events and conditions of the last thirty years have clearly demonstrated that there is an unavoidable connection between the general economic conditions of the nations of Africa, their educational systems, and the contexts of work and employment into which the graduates of the educational systems emerge. A successful approach to lifelong learning will, of necessity, need to account for the trends and conditions in all three of these arenas. In the African context future success in facilitating lifelong learning will be based primarily upon basic educational attainment and connection to the economic and employment imperatives of the particular regional, national and local setting.

In the second chapter ("*Lifelong Learning and Developing Society*") *Ramon Flecha and Lidia Puigvert* describe how Spain has become a lifelong learning society. A review of the latest developments in lifelong learning policies is presented as well as those directions and changes that are taking place currently in Spain. In the first part of the chapter, a brief outline of Spanish society is given, with reference to its integration into the European Union and its becoming a multicultural society. In the middle part of the chapter, an account is given of the ways in which the transition to a lifelong learning society has been conceived, arranged and delivered, from its early beginnings to the latest educational systems reforms, as well as an adumbration of the consequences that have been observed. In the final part of the chapter, these latest transformations are presented by means of a delineation of the development of vocational training policies.

In the third chapter ("*Lifelong Learning Policies in Transition Countries*") *Zoran Jelenc* notes that specific societal circumstances exerted a crucial influence on the development and possibilities of lifelong learning in the most part of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and Baltic region (CEEB countries), countries which are in the period of transition from former socialist order with the central state and one party reigning to the parliamentary and multi-party democracy. The situation can be generally designated as a deep crisis. There is in general rather weak or no societal support to adult education in spite of a huge need for knowledge and innovations. Consequently there is not any state policy for creating and fostering neither lifelong learning principles nor strategy or practice. This could only be found in those countries which became independent after the break down of the socialist rule as well as in countries which are developing intensive international contacts and co-operation, such as Baltic countries, Hungary and Slovenia which are described in detail.

In the fourth chapter ("*Trends in and Objectives of Adult Higher Education in China*") *Atsushi Makino* shows that, as a result of promoting the "Open Door" policy in China, adult education seems to have occupied a more important position in China's educational reform than ever before, largely due to its aim to educate and train thousands of skilled workers to propel the economic development. The direction of the development in adult education can be characterised as becoming a main part of a lifelong education system; modernisation; socialisation; individualisation; and becoming a self-dependence learning activity. Recently the part of lifelong learning that has been

politically regarded as important is adult higher education. The new trend of adult higher education in China is demonstrated in the rapid development of private sector, mainly the emergence of so called private universities. This trend has a very strong connection with the National Examination for the University Diploma. Almost all of those private universities have no official right to give any credit or diploma, and are only the private tutorial and preparing schools for the National Examination. However, presently in China, according to the statistics of National Education Committees there are 1218 private universities and over 1,200,000 students are studying there. The private universities have been laying important roles to promote adult higher education. Yet they also contribute some elements that prevent a healthy development of adult higher education in China. To control these private universities and to lead them to the way to a healthier development of adult higher education, the National Education Committee have launched the new examination system which is able to co-existent with the National Examination System of the University Diploma, the National Examination System for the Official Recognition of the Level of Private Universities. Nevertheless, this new system has brought other contradictions into the adult education system in China as well.

In chapter five (*"Lifelong Learning and the Leisure-Oriented Society: The Development and Challenges in the Far East"*) Kaoru Okamoto maintains that an interesting example of the relationship between lifelong learning and the leisure-oriented society is found in Japan. As some general characteristics of the lifelong learning movement there, one can find firstly, a non-economic image of the concept of lifelong learning among the general public, secondly, a much wider range of activities covered by lifelong learning including a number of leisure-oriented activities, and thirdly, a unique attitude toward "education" of the people, which is more oriented toward the "spiritual" aspect of "being" rather than the acquisition of knowledge and skills. Although the lifelong learning movement was started in Japan by the government's initiatives to overcome the "diploma-oriented society"; to provide learning opportunities to cope with the growing demand for leisure-oriented activities caused by the "maturing" of society; and to continue learning to cope with social, economic and technological changes the author argues that, the second reason has received most attention from governments to date. However, he believes one can find some gradual change in the above situation, which have been caused mainly by recent economic problems. An increasing number of people are becoming interested in more vocational/professional-oriented learning, and the need to address: a) the appropriate range of learning opportunities to be provided directly by public resources; b) the appropriate range of learning opportunities to be promoted by the public authorities; and c) the appropriateness for the public authorities to touch the area of leisure-oriented activities in any way. These movements in Japan seem to have general implication in terms of the meaning, possibilities, appropriate range and means, of lifelong learning "policies".

In chapter six (*"The Swedish Adult Education Initiative: From Recurrent Education to Lifelong Learning"*) Kjell Rubenson notes that the recent *Adult Education Initiative* (AEI) in Sweden has brought adult education to the fore of the public policy debate in Sweden. The purpose of this chapter is to briefly present the background to the AEI, the policy strategy and provide some critical reflections on some of the successes and

unresolved issues. As a background a brief description is provided of the reform strategies in Sweden since the 1960s. The Adult Education Initiative (AEI) is a five-year program for adult education established in 1997 in which all municipalities participate. The target group is in the first instance adults who are unemployed and who either completely or partially lack 3-year upper secondary school competencies. However AEI also focuses on the needs of employees with a low level of education. AEI is informed by a conviction that adult education is an instrument for providing better opportunities to get and/ or change work and is seen as a vehicle for reforming adult education. There is overwhelming evidence that AEI has been very successful in reintroducing adult education as an area of public policy. The evaluations have shown that despite some general talk there are few examples of pedagogical renewal. Special targeted initiatives are needed in this area. The special state funding is a key to the success of AEI and the experiment has shown the need for a centralised cohesive effort. It has become evident that in order to recruit those groups not interested in a formal adult education more use needs to be made of the popular adult education system in ways similar to the 1970s. The recommendations presented by the Commission in its final report are being discussed. The Commission's recommendations bring up crucial issues surrounding the relationship between the state and its citizens and raises questions about what understanding of democracy should inform state intervention into adult education and training.

In chapter seven ("*Towards New Lifelong Learning Contracts in Sweden*") *Kenneth Abrahamsson* reflects on the history of ideas, current policies and future directions of lifelong learning in Sweden. The metaphor of *new lifelong learning contracts* is used to relate to an ongoing institutional shift in the educational system towards decentralisation, privatisation and the increasing use of market incentives in a context of a rapid development of new information technology. In a historical sense, the author argues that the lifelong learning contracts reflect the division of power and influence between popular movement, state and market. Compulsory school attendance in Sweden comprises nine years formally, but twelve years in reality, while new learning contracts should cover the whole life span. Furthermore, the new contract incorporates a new deal between legislators and public providers of education, corporate initiatives of workplace learning and the individual's own responsibility. The new learning contract is also illustrated at three levels, i.e. a recent governmental policy on individual learning accounts to be used in a lifelong learning context, various examples of competence negotiations at corporate level and, the experience of regional growth agreements. Finally, the author tries to reassess policies on access and equity with reference to the emerging digital divide and the uneven distribution of learning options in the information society.

In chapter eight ("*How to Make Lifelong Learning a Reality*") *Phillip McKenzie* identifies the major elements of a lifelong learning framework, and the policy priorities it implies. It draws on Australian research to argue that the two highest priorities are reducing early school leaving, and providing learning opportunities for adults with low levels of education. The costs of achieving these objectives are likely to be substantial and beyond the public sector acting alone. The chapter concludes by outlining the ways that

public authorities can help to create an environment in which individuals and enterprises have more incentives for on-going investment in learning.

In chapter nine ("*Lifelong Learning: a Monitoring Framework and Trends in Participation*") *Abrar Hasan* points out that lifelong learning has been widely accepted as a goal by OECD countries. But there is a need to give this concept operational meaning – a way of translating it into concrete policy – and to develop a framework against which progress towards lifelong learning can be monitored. This chapter identifies a number of ways in which lifelong learning can be operationalised by placing new and distinctive requirements on education systems. It widens the scope of learning activity to which policy should be directed, to include study at every stage of life and in a wide variety of settings. Further, it places the individual at the centre of learning, by giving greater emphasis to demand and by aiming to build a capacity for self-directed learning. These principles have an important bearing on the structure of learning provision, on its content, on resource provision and on roles and responsibilities within the education system. Member countries are converging in their interpretation of lifelong learning. Although strategies in various countries put different emphasis on various sectors of education, training and informal learning, countries share objectives spanning these sectors, such as diversifying learning options supported by quality standards and robust qualification frameworks. The author proposes a framework for monitoring progress towards lifelong learning. Indicators, it is suggested, should address the scope and coverage of learning, the perspectives of different interests, the resources and inputs into education, learning processes, their outcomes and the context in which learning takes place. Present monitoring tools measure insufficiently the scope of activity and the range of outcomes. So such tools need to be improved. In the meantime, however, there is already considerable hard evidence to indicate the degree to which people are participating in learning over the course of their lives. Participation in learning programs is high through the early part of people's lives, but not in some countries in the early childhood or in the later teenage years, and patterns of participation in adult education and training differ more markedly among countries.

Section Three, edited by Judith Chapman, deals with the ways in which learning institutions have responded to the policy challenge raised by the idea of Lifelong learning, and the ways in which different countries and governments widely across the international arena have dealt with those challenges in their educational structures and programs.

In the first chapter ("*Schools and the Learning Community: Laying the Basis for Learning across the Lifespan*") *Judith Chapman and David Aspin* examine international reform efforts in the provision of lifelong learning through schooling. It attempts to analyse a range of principles, practices and problems relevant to the creation of learning communities and to schools' efforts to realise the goal of making lifelong learning a reality for all. Data for the examination of these concerns have been drawn from analyses of documents from international inter-governmental agencies and a research program devoted to the study of international best practice in schooling, with special reference to schools in Australia, Europe, North America and the United Kingdom. From an analysis of policy documents, a study of the application of new thinking in social and political theory to education, a synthesis of important

developments and perceived trends in the field of educational reform and lifelong learning, and an examination of research data, the authors put forward recommendations for ways in which schools may become learning communities and best provide a basis for helping young people get a “right start” on learning across their lifespan.

In the second chapter (*“Integrity, Completeness and Comprehensiveness of the Learning Environment: Meeting the Basic Learning Needs of All Throughout Life”*) Jan Visser addresses three key issues in a worldwide perspective on lifelong learning. Basic learning is explored in the broader context of lifelong learning, for which it is an essential precondition. This notion is grounded in the idea that any human being has a right to acquire the necessary skills for survival and growth within the environment of which he or she is part. Increasingly, those skills include the capacity to engage in continuous learning throughout life. Initial learning, facilitated in most societies primarily through school systems, should put great emphasis on developing this capacity. Yet preparatory learning is in urgent need of revision, a crucial task in today’s world, characterised by exploding change and increasing complexity. Learning is not restricted to the acquisition of skills but equally – and essentially – related also to becoming part of learning communities. The notion of learning environment the author argues, appears frequently in recent literature to denote restricted sets of conditions and tools that facilitate learning. In this restricted sense, the classroom may be seen as a learning environment, provided it be conceived in ways different from traditional school-based educational practice. However, for learning communities to emerge and evolve, and members of learning communities to participate in a flexible manner in and move between them, we need to conceive of more holistic contexts of which learning environments in the restricted sense are part. The argument presented in this chapter focuses on the notion of nested frameworks with different levels of organisational complexity. The practical implications and requirements of the idea of an integrated learning environment are explored and reference is made to some current developments, encouraging signs of and promising opportunities in moving towards a more comprehensive and flexible environment to accommodate the basic learning needs of humankind.

In the third chapter (*“Innovative Teachers Promoting Lifelong Learning for All”*) Chris Day draws on a range of international research and development work to discuss the complexities of becoming and remaining an effective teacher in changing times, the links between continuing professional development and teaching standards and the limitations of competency-based approaches to promoting lifelong learning. He suggests that understanding the effects of teachers’ lives and careers in planning and targeting professional development activities which focus upon cognitive and emotional growth and the moral purposes of teachers in addition to their knowledge and skills needs is of prime importance. Day examines the ways in which personal and professional contexts promote or inhibit improvements in teaching; the effects of different kinds of school leadership and culture; the place of appraisal and personal development records in teacher and school development; reflective practice; partnerships between schools and universities; and networks for improvement. Finally, he argues that, without investment in career long learning and development, teachers cannot be expected to provide the best learning opportunities for their students.

In the fourth chapter (“*Lifelong Learning and Tertiary Education: The Learning University Revisited*”) *Chris Duke* begins his examination of lifelong learning and tertiary education by reviewing the publication *The Learning University* published in 1992 by The Open University Press, a work written mainly from the experience of the British ‘old universities’ and their adult/continuing education traditions. This publication predated the European Year of Lifelong Learning, 1996, UNESCO’s 1996 Delors Report, also UNESCO’s 1997 and 1998 World Conferences on Adult and on Higher Education. During the period following the publication of *The Learning University* and marked in part by these events, use of the rhetoric of lifelong learning has been dramatically extended. Understanding of this and related concepts, *Duke* argues, has also matured to some extent, though much of the rhetoric of the learning organisation and learning society, as of lifelong education itself, remains empty. Meanwhile higher education systems, despite a persisting sense of crisis and changed bases of funding are moving rapidly beyond the transition from elite to mass systems and towards ‘universal’ higher or tertiary education. The boundaries, and the language itself, are mobile. Despite rapid popularisation of the language and some of the concepts, underpinned by more systematic investigation as through the UK ESRC’s *Learning Society* project, there remains confusion about what lifelong learning means for universities and for tertiary education systems – if indeed *system* is an appropriate description. There is also little understanding of what is required to nurture into existence and sustain a learning university able to enter partnerships and provide service to a *learning region*. The chapter employs an Australian ‘new university’ lens to explore what it might take practically speaking to transform the received model of a university into a learning organisation embedded in a learning community.

In the fifth chapter (“*Universities as Centres for Lifelong Learning: Opportunities and Threats at the Institutional Level*”) *Ruth Dunkin and Alan Lindsay* re-iterate that the changing nature of employment and careers is causing governments, enterprises, educational providers and individuals to take seriously the concept of lifelong learning. Those institutions that are successful in providing their graduates with a lifelong learning capacity will gain a significant competitive edge in the marketplace. The authors show how two tertiary institutions in Australia are implementing learning and teaching plans that place lifelong learning at their centre. In their quest to foster lifelong learning, they are adopting a learner-centred approach to teaching and learning and looking to the new interactive communication technologies to assist in providing education where and when the learning wants it. However, the need to contain the costs associated with new teaching developments that respond to learners’ needs are driving institutions to adopt new forms of collaborative activity between institutions, which change yet again the environment in which institutions operate. Where once they responded to deregulation and declining student funding from governments by highly competitive and individual behaviour, they now seek strategic collaboration and alliances with a mixture of other educational institutions and private sector organisations. The authors highlight that the realisation of the goals of these strategies is not without difficulties. There are some real barriers to the development of lifelong learning, both for individual learners and within institutions. Existing mindsets within institutions about what the main focus of the institution’s business is and who are its client groups

can undermine the development of the new structures and processes needed to support lifelong learning. The new forms of marketplace, including purchaser and supplier arrangements are yet to evolve. Through consideration of the experiences of two institutions, the authors canvas the changes required to implement effective lifelong learning strategies.

In the sixth chapter ("*Islands and Bridges: Lifelong Learning and Complex Systems of Higher Education in Canada*") *Glen Jones* focuses on three broad areas of intersection between lifelong learning and Canadian higher education systems: the delivery of post-secondary programs; transfer and articulation; and extension and continuing education activities. Canadian higher education systems have tended to respond to pressures for lifelong learning by focusing on increasing access to formal, credentialled programs and building bridges between programmatic islands. Redefining these educational systems so that they place greater emphasis on less-formal approaches to learning requires dramatic changes in the way governments coordinate, fund, and regulate higher education. Those developing strategies for lifelong learning, the author argues, should understand the limitations of the higher education system, and its tendency to view learning as synonymous with formal, credentialled education.

In chapter seven ("*The Impact of the Dearing Report on U.K. Higher Education*") *Michael Shattock* reviews the impact of the recommendations of the Report of the National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education. He argues that the Committee should have been established in 1988, before the rapid expansion of student numbers began rather than after the expansion had taken place. As it was, the establishment of the Committee was provoked by the funding crisis that resulted from the expansion and the Report's impact must be judged on the extent to which its recommendations resolved the crisis. A secondary element of the Committee's work was to offer a framework within which the enlarged higher education system could be run. Shattock argues that, while the Report provided an effective analysis of the financial needs of higher education, its recommendations have in fact been only partially implemented by the Government. He suggests that higher education must now adjust itself to this level of funding which reflects the transition from elite to mass higher education. The author concludes that the Report's vision of the Learning Society, however imprecisely expressed, may be its most lasting contribution.

In chapter eight ("*Lifelong Learning and Technical and Further Education*") *Nic Gara* describes how increasing international competition, constant economic, work place and social change have placed new demands on individuals in society which have lead to a re-evaluation of traditional educational policies and processes. These demands have called into question the effectiveness of existing traditional 'front-end' teaching and learning patterns. A lifelong approach to education is now considered essential for survival in the rapidly changing environment: the challenge now is to decide how best to achieve the desired economic objectives, while still developing and safeguarding existing democratic principles, social cohesiveness and maximising the opportunity for individuals to achieve their full potential. Gara outlines growing international concern in these areas, highlights the drives for change, identifies those conditions considered essential to produce lifelong learners and refers to the necessary funding infrastructure systems to facilitate ongoing opportunity. These principles are

then considered in light of the existing frameworks, where the challenge lies in striking an effective balance between individual needs, those of enterprise and community, and government economic imperatives. Within this context, note is also taken of equity, access and social justice objectives in an environment of growing economic rationalism that uses a demand driven, industry lead model, utilising market principles. The chapter concludes with a series of policy propositions and proposals for practice considered necessary for the effective implementation of any lifelong learning system. A number of themes emerge, which relate to the implementation of an effective curriculum framework, the need to produce self directed independent learners, the necessary funding framework, and finally the role that technical and further education can play in the mosaic of educational providers.

In chapter nine ("*Learning Communities for a Learning Century*") *Norman Longworth* writes about the recent massive growth of 'Learning Cities, towns and regions' throughout Europe and the world, as providing the sites of action for lifelong learning in each nation, and ultimately in the hearts and minds of their citizens. He defines a Learning City as one which goes far beyond its statutory duty to provide education and training for those who need it and creates a vibrant, participative, culturally aware and economically buoyant human environment through the provision, justification and active promotion of learning opportunities to enhance the potential of all its citizens. Such a definition has huge implications – for the administrators, professionals, public servants and teachers who will have to implement Lifelong Learning strategies, structures and ideas, and for the citizens themselves. Universities, schools, companies, professional associations, special interest groups and, above all, individual citizens will accept new roles and responsibilities. In this context cities, towns and regions offer both a central framework and a localised opportunity for educating citizens into a new lifelong learning mind-set. It is here that hearts and minds can be won over and the benefits demonstrated at a practical level. This chapter focuses on different aspects of the idea of the Learning City and examines them for differences from current models. It delineates the new roles of city agencies and sectors and the ways in which new partnerships can forge new perceptions and new actions. It examines the nature of contribution and participation to ignite the culture of learning, and the ways in which learning providers will need to behave in order to cope with the new demands of learners. It explores the significant implications of technology and the wired city for creating new learning opportunities and focusing on the needs of each learner. It investigates methods of auditing learning requirements for all citizens and ways of satisfying them. It studies the new processes of information giving and the more dispersed management and leadership systems that give ownership of learning to the learner. Lifelong Learning is a concept for our time, Longworth argues, and it is in the cities, towns, regions and villages that it will be promoted, publicised, experimented with and carried out.

In chapter ten ("*Lifelong Learning and the Learning Organisation*") *James Walker* contends that any account of lifelong learning needs to consider the contexts in which people learn, and the purposes people pursue in this contexts. People today live large proportions of their lives, working, studying and seeking recreation, in organisations, from educational institutions at all levels and of all kinds, through churches, private

companies, public utilities, government departments, charitable institutions and more. A learning organisation is generally understood to promote, enhance and sustain its own learning (the idea that organisations learn is described by the concept of “organisational learning”) as well as that of its individual members. The concept of a learning organisation is generally presented as an ideal. For the ideal to be realised, the learning organisation must be dedicated to openness and inquiry, its organisational goals geared to the realisation of the potential of its members. This entails that the strategic thinking of a learning organisation must address the challenges of lifelong learning. As yet, this is not widely recognised in the literature or in practice.

Critics of the notion of the learning organisation acknowledge that some of its proponents often make significant contributions, offering prescriptions useful as guides to the kinds of organisational structures, processes and conditions that may function as enablers of productive organisational learning. On the other hand, learning organisation theorists are often uncritical, treating the beneficence of the learning organisation and organisational learning as an axiom. The issue can be resolved only by experiment and experience with organisational designs. Here there is a largely untapped opportunity to draw upon our developing understanding of lifelong learning in the very project of building organisations to promote lifelong learning. In this final chapter of the Section, various possible starting points in the literature for further work in this vital area are explored.

The final section, Section Four, edited by Michael Hatton – deals with lifelong learning in practice – and seeks to inform readers about formal, informal, alternative and other initiatives in learning across the lifespan.

In chapter one (“*Community Colleges and Lifelong Learning: Canadian Experiences*”) *Paul Gallagher and Bill Day* comment that the central purpose of almost all publicly supported community colleges in Canada, most of them founded between 1965 and 1975, was to train young adults for employment and, in some cases, to provide university-equivalent educational opportunities for those who wished to pursue further academic or professional studies. While there were also more mature learners, and continuing education departments offering a wide range of learning opportunities, these students and activities were essentially on the margins of these institutions. Except for the original colleges in Saskatchewan, the northern territories, and some individual colleges in other provinces, Canada’s community college systems did not embrace in practice the OECD/UNESCO notions of universal community-based lifelong and life-wide learning. This chapter identifies why most community colleges did not become comprehensive centres for universal lifelong learning. On the other hand, it observes that almost all of these institutions have played leadership roles within larger lifelong learning networks in their communities. It emphasises that it is not necessary to have lifelong learning centres in order to have lifelong learning, and concludes with the observation that Canada’s community colleges are playing a leading role in the development of Canada as a more complete lifelong learning society with a firmly established learning culture.

In chapter two (“*From Literacy to Lifelong Learning in Tanzania*”) *Alix Yule* argues that the colonisation of what was to become Tanzania brought with it a rudimentary formal education system targeted to specific areas within the country and designed to

train low-level administrative staff in support of the colonial government and trade. Over time, the traditional system of community-based learning eroded, while, at the same time, the new system failed to benefit all but a small minority. In 1961, following independence, Tanzania implemented a program of educational reform, stressing education for self-reliance, and with a particular focus on literacy. Literacy rates rose dramatically from 1967 through 1986; however, in the 1990s, the rate began to fall, and participation rates at the primary school level also decreased. Most recently, an integrated approach to community-based adult education has been implemented, one where literacy is part of an overall lifelong learning strategy rather than a program unto itself and independent of life skills, needs and interests. This approach, combined with a variety of programming from other initiatives, including the work of various NGOs, has delivered some impressive results.

In chapter three (“*Lifelong Learning and the Private Sector*”) *William Hanna and Pierre Haillet* note that traditional universities and colleges are presented with a significant challenge to their centuries old dominance of the educational market. Information technology is creating a paradigm shift in both the nature and means of teaching. As flexibility, relevance and ease of access become more and more the determining factors in student selection of educational and training opportunities, those institutions that most effectively address these factors will thrive. The new technology wave has yet to crest, and there will be ongoing and highly significant advances in multimedia interconnectivity. When this technology is mature, individuals will have seamless access not only to a multitude of knowledge bases, but also diverse interactive training opportunities. Geography will no longer be relevant, in turn challenging traditional universities and colleges with their reliance on geographically based campuses. As education and training options expand, more and more lifelong learners will choose those educational pathways that are student focused. Universities and colleges will have to start thinking in terms of addressing the educational and training needs of students, and, perhaps, even particular student segments within the educational market. Expanded corporate training and on-line universities have both shown how lucrative this market can be, and explosive growth can be expected in this area. The decisions that universities and colleges make now, and how quickly they are able to respond to new demands, will shape the map of education in the twenty first century.

In chapter four (“*Recent Trends in the Practice of Lifelong Learning and Adult Education in Russia*”) *Joseph Zajda* examines the impact of social change, transformation and globalisation on adult education and lifelong learning in post-communist Russia. Current issues and trends in adult education are discussed and a new post-hegemonic paradigm is proposed in affecting the struggle for a participatory and culturally pluralistic democracy. The chapter also reviews the extent and adequacy of official policy aimed at educating and retraining the early school-leavers and adults suffering social and economic dislocation due to these changes. An analysis of ministerial education policy and curriculum changes reveals the way these policies reflect neo-liberal and neo-conservative paradigms in the post-communist economy and education. On a practical level, this chapter examines the new Education Centres, which operate as a vast umbrella framework for a variety of adult education and lifelong learning initiatives aimed at the provision of social justice by means of compensatory education and

social rehabilitation for individuals dislocated by economic restructuring. The role of these Centres in helping to develop an awareness of democratic rights and create active citizenship in a participatory and pluralistic democracy is also evaluated.

In chapter five ("*Community Empowerment through Lifelong Community Learning in Developing Countries*") *Sharmala Naidoo* argues that community participation and empowerment are critical to sustainable and democratic development in developing countries. One way of empowering marginalised communities is to promote lifelong learning. She argues that lifelong learning builds the skills and capacity of individuals, and can also be used for community mobilisation and development. Participatory popular education methodologies that focus on learning, education and training are excellent tools for facilitating lifelong learning. These are community centred, enable people to reflect critically upon development challenges, and situate the development process at the local level. They are of particular relevance in many developing countries where poverty, marginalisation and oppression result in apathy and loss of faith in the development process. This chapter explores the use of participatory approaches for promoting lifelong learning and community empowerment. Three practical participatory approaches for promoting lifelong learning are examined: community publishing, rural libraries and study circles, as well as three case studies from Zimbabwe.

In the sixth chapter ("*Lifelong Learning, the Individual and Community Self-Help*") *John Wilson* notes that UNESCO, and its Asia-Pacific Centre of Educational Innovation for Development (ACEID), subscribe to the view that lifelong learning should aim to promote human development over the life-span in the context of social justice and a culture of peace. Individual and community self-help based on these criteria depends on the realisation of conditions that will motivate individuals to act on their own behalf. The conditions include opportunities for individuals and communities to express their 'felt' needs in a meaningful way, and structures and resources to assist them to realise these, and other needs identified by government and other agencies. This chapter describes individual and community self-help in rural Thailand, with special reference to the situation of women. Lifelong learning is a centrepiece of current reforms in initial education. With regard to adult education, the Government has promoted local ownership of the community development process by means of administrative decentralisation to the sub-district level. Through the internationally recognised work of its Department of Non-Formal Education, and in partnership with other agencies and individuals, the Ministry of Education has provided material and human resources to Community Learning Centres to further individual and community development. It has facilitated courses for 'second chance' learning, and vocational training to promote acquisition of skills which have potential for income generation, especially for girls and women, some of whom are at risk of sexual exploitation.

In chapter seven ("*New Lives for Old: Lifelong Learning Among the Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan and Canada*") *Akiyo Pahalaan* and *John Steckley* maintain that the indigenous peoples of Canada and Taiwan, as First Nations in countries dominated by later immigrant peoples, have much in common that has affected and will continue to affect their lifelong learning. Recently, a memorandum of understanding was signed between these two countries that commits to increased cooperation in affairs related to indigenous peoples. The results of this program will almost certainly strengthen the

cultural identity of these groups, which in turn is the bedrock on which their lifelong learning is built. In this chapter, the authors focus on a critical element of lifelong learning and cultural identity-building that is currently being explored in both countries: contemporary indigenous song and dance complexes. They point out the lifelong learning benefits associated with these complexes, and in particular stress the view that these complexes ground indigenous peoples in their cultures, following which they are able to use lifelong learning opportunities to reclaim, grow and develop in all aspects of traditional culture. In effect, traditional culture for indigenous peoples has always been dependent on lifelong learning. The authors conclude by suggesting that there is a need for greater support and recognition from formal educational institutions specifically with respect to song and dance complexes, or else the divide between “tradition” and “today” will never be bridged.

In chapter eight (“*Promoting Lifelong Learning in Developing Countries: the Institutional Environment*”) Ravi Palepu shows how institutions in developing countries are being overwhelmed by the globalisation of the world economy, as well as by challenges in their own domestic environment. These include a weak or non-existent infrastructure, increasing poverty and unemployment, escalating HIV/AIDS cases, famine and on-going conflict. This chapter explores the promotion of the principles and practices of lifelong learning and related activities as tools for strengthening institutions and individuals in developing countries. This chapter also discusses how the adaptation of western organisational and western management methods must acknowledge and address the growing conflicts between modern and traditional value and knowledge systems in developing countries. It is critical to have practical tools for promoting lifelong institutional education and learning as a means of strengthening institutional and individual effectiveness in developing countries, both in urban and rural settings. The chapter includes a case study describing how lifelong learning can be fundamental to a change paradigm affecting some of the most marginalised communities in a developing country context.

In the concluding chapter of this Section and indeed of the whole work (“*Learning in the Third Age*”) Leslie Dale reminds us that “Third Agers” are a new voice in society. Their numbers are growing. Many are looking for opportunities to continue to be physically and mentally active. In response to the demand, Third Age learning organisations have developed throughout the world, though Third Age learners have not been well researched. Their motivations for learning are different from those of adults taking traditional courses. Third Age learning has been demonstrated to lead to improved quality of life and a possible link with improved health has attracted interest. Non-formal, low-cost programs are popular but difficulties in offering such programs are limiting the numbers able to participate. The concept of lifelong learning has been well accepted in many countries but has not been extended in practice to the provision of learning opportunities for Third Agers. This is a worldwide problem despite the demonstrated benefits that can accrue to both individuals and the societies in which they live.

CONCLUDING COMMENT

We hope that, in assembling the various sections and chapters in this volume, we have shown that Lifelong Learning means what it says. Our emphasis is on the learning that

takes place in human beings over their whole lifespan, from emergence out of the womb to the end of all experience. We know that many governments, thinking only of immediate economic gains, concentrate mainly on adult education and continuing professional development under the framework of lifelong learning policies to the exclusion of younger age groups and third age citizens. But it is in playgroups, kindergartens and schools that attitudes, values, perceptions and beliefs about the value of learning are generated. Preparation for lifelong learning thinking and application in the early years can avoid massive and costly remedial actions later. At the other end of the lifespan, through lifelong learning provision, in later years citizens will learn how to take advantage of the numerous and disparate opportunities offered them for increasing their repertoires of knowledge, skills and activities that will help them generate a new sort of wealth for themselves, beyond that of acting as an agent of a nation's, a region's or a firm's need for economic advancement.

The point to be made is that lifelong learning presupposes an integrated, holistic and seamless approach to the whole of education. 'Lifelong Learning' implies the acquisition of knowledge, skills, values and understanding different to that with which people's experience of education and schooling heretofore has made them familiar. The future for learners is not teaching or training, nor is it, in a sense, education as we have known it. It is what good teachers have been doing for centuries – putting the focus on facilitating the goal of learning how to learn, including instilling a love for learning and command over it.

We hope that in this volume we have helped our readers to make a start and to carry forward some of the thinking necessary for facing the challenge of making lifelong learning a reality. In this work we have tried to set out some of the main ideas of leading thinkers in the conceptualisation of lifelong learning over recent years; we have detailed some of the policies articulated and implemented by governments, agencies and instrumentalities of all kinds, widely across the international arena; we have pointed to examples of activities and experiences that have been planned, developed and put into place in a range of institutions and environments, where leading policy makers have demonstrated concern for creating learning opportunities across the lifespan; and we have delineated some of the projects that have both preceded and arisen from the many current lifelong learning initiatives, endeavours and enterprises. A conspectus of these matters presented in the chapters which follow may suggest and illustrate some of the ways in which people may respond to the challenges of change posed by the new demands of the knowledge economy and the learning society of the twenty first century.

Above all, we have, throughout the work, concentrated on showing how different theories, accounts and versions of lifelong learning may be related to successful practice. We believe that concerned readers will find plenty of both in this volume but we have been especially concerned to show that the theories adumbrated in it are not mere flights of fancy, of intellectual *jeux d'esprit* exploring the realms of possibility. Throughout we have been determined to point to successful examples of lifelong learning in practical implementation and we have been concerned also to underline specific suggestions for policy and action that can be put into place as a result of reading about what other people have been doing.

The conception that has been animating much of the work in this volume might be thought to resemble what some have described as “maximalist” – the transformation of existing models and practice of education and training deriving from twentieth and even nineteenth century antecedents, into a new agenda and set of approaches that will enable people to define, structure and realise their need for learning throughout the lifespan. As one of our authors has pointed out, this conception has enormous implications – for the administrators, professionals, public servants and teachers who will have to implement lifelong learning strategies, structures and ideas, and for the citizens themselves universities, schools, companies, professional associations, special interest groups and, above all, individual citizens will assume new roles and responsibilities.

There will be those who will be dismayed by this realisation and who will consider such matters as the evident lack of resources available for the introduction of new patterns and models of learning in many countries across the world, and the well-known inertia of existing institutions and structures, as constituting factors that will constrain or militate against the introduction of the new policies of and approaches towards learning across the lifespan called for by the changes to be faced in the twenty first century. Such people may simply throw their hands in the air and, however reluctantly, give up in the attempt. Others will see the challenges of these changes as presenting an exciting opportunity for instituting a set of radical changes in our approaches towards education and training and teaching and learning. Infused with a sense of the excitement that the maximalist conception will give them, they will demand a major paradigm shift in our conception of learning and teaching, that will amount to nothing less than an educational and social revolution. The sad fact is, however, that history is not replete with successful examples of social innovation characterised by what some policy makers in the world have called “the earthquake approach”. Forcing changes in such a radical manner may end up by doing more harm than good.

For us the better wisdom is to follow the evolutionary rather than the revolutionary path. Starting from the maxim that we should “Do No Harm” we suggest that the best way to initiate the changes required to bring about the kind of transformation that may be hoped for and even envisaged, is a gradualist one. People need to start from where they are, with the tentative hypothesis, testing and adoption of a solution to a problem that they feel they can manage and that lies within their resources. In this way, by tackling one issue after another, policy makers, educators and practitioners will be able, with the benefit of hindsight, to see how much change they have actually achieved. By tackling one issue after another, we shall be able to look back and see how such an approach can turn out to have transformed the whole educational domain. Adopting the principle of “Sufficient unto the day is the problem thereof” we can attempt slowly but surely and step by step to introduce the changes necessary for bringing about a positive mindset towards the adoption of lifelong learning policies and practices, as, when and where they are needed.

Two principles in this Popperian methodology (Popper 1989) stand out. The first is the democratic one: in proffering solutions to immediately pressing problems, we need to expose them to the widest possible range of attempts at critical review and refutation. This highlights the need for the process to be all-inclusive, for in the critical enterprise

no one is immune from scrutiny and no one is exempt from the responsibility to contribute to a solution for problems affecting us. In an open society, there is no class distinction; everyone has a part to play in social construction and reconstruction, from the richest, oldest and most powerful, to the poorest, youngest and most vulnerable. This clearly has implications for the aims that we should set for ourselves in discussing, developing and implementing lifelong learning schemes.

The second principle arising from the adoption of this perspective is that all can and indeed must be called up to participate cooperatively in the process of reconstruction. No one is exempt from that responsibility; all must be included within it. This refers to communities of all kinds and at all levels – the local, the national and the international. The corollary of this is that people must be assisted to accept that responsibility: just as we assist those people who, in educating institutions of all kinds, are not, for various reasons, starting so far on as the rest of us or making progress quite so quickly, so at the national and international levels are we under the epistemic and ethical obligation to ensure that *all people* have the resources, means, access and right to participate in the process as all the rest of us. We cannot plan for facing the challenge of change in the twenty first century with only “half our future”. The imperative now is to realise the aspiration of *making lifelong learning a reality for all people*.

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SECTION 1

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Mal Leicester is Professor of Adult Learning, in the School of Continuing Education, University of Nottingham, England. Previously she was Reader in the Department of

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Stella Parker was brought up in East Africa and then studied Biological Sciences at Imperial College in London. She started her academic career in Colleges of Further and Higher Education in London, where she taught Life Sciences to a wide range of students and eventually became involved in the professional development of postgraduate scientists and engineers who were training to lecture in the post compulsory sector. After this, she worked at the City University London in the Department of Continuing Education and became Head of the Department and Pro-Vice-Chancellor. She was appointed to the Robert Peers Chair in the University of Nottingham on 1 January 1997 in the Department of Adult Education and is now Head of the School of Continuing Education. At the start of her career, Professor Parker's research interests were in Parasitology, but she changed later to the field on Continuing Education. Her publications cover topics in educational policy and associated curriculum issues for adult students, access and continuing professional development.

James Marshall is Professor of Education and formerly Dean of the Faculty of Education in the University of Auckland, New Zealand. His interests are in educational philosophy and French post-structuralism, especially Michel Foucault. He is the author and editor of a number of books and monographs, including recently: *Michel Foucault: Personal Autonomy and Education*; *Wittgenstein: Philosophy, Postmodernism, Pedagogy*, and *Education Policy* (the last two with Michael Peters). In addition, he has contributed to a number of edited collections and has published widely in international journals in educational philosophy, education, social theory and policy. A co-edited book on Nietzsche is to be published in the year 2000.

Stewart Ranson is a Professor of Education in the School of Education in the University of Birmingham. His research has examined the changing governance and management of education. Since the mid-1980s the focus of his work has been on analysing the value, purposes and conditions of a democratic learning society. His publications include *Inside the Learning Society* (1998) and a framework for evaluating *Learning Communities: Assessing the value they add* (1998).

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1 Contributors

SECTION 2

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David Atchoarena is Programme Specialist at the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP), UNESCO, Paris. An economist, he has written mainly about technical and vocation education and training and about lifelong learning. Dr. Atchoarena recently conducted a research programme on education and training for disadvantaged groups in Africa.

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Dr Ramón Flecha is Professor of Sociology at the Universitat de Barcelona and Director of CREA, Center for Social and Educational Research, Universitat de Barcelona, Spain. He is a member of ESREA's (European Society for Research on the Education of Adults) and ERDI's (European Development Institute) Steering Committee. He has served as Director of research projects on adult education, including *Participation and Non-participation in Adult Education* (UNESCO), *Communicative Abilities and Social Development* (Spanish General Direction of Scientific and Technical Research), *Learning Communities* (Basque Dept. of Education). Additionally, he has been called as assessor in policy-making processes for different governments. He has published 14 books and over 200 articles, including *Critical Education in the New Information Age* (with M. Castells, P. Freire, D. Macedo, H. Giroux and P. Willis: Rowman & Littlefield 1999), *Modern & Postmodern Racism: Dialogic Approach and Anti-racist Pedagogies* published in the *Harvard Educational Review*, and *Sharing Words* (Rowman & Littlefield 2000).

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Zoran Jelenc, was the first director of the Slovene Adult Education Institute (since 1991) and before retirement (1999) Head of its research centre. He continues as Associate Professor of Andragogy at the Faculty of Arts, University Ljubljana. He is a member of the European Society for Research on Education of Adults (ESREA) and former a member of its Executive Committee. He is also a member of the International Society for Comparative Adult Education (ISCAE) and a former president of the Slovene Association for Adult Education and Secretary General of Yugoslavian Society of Adult Education Associations.

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Kaoru Okamoto is Director of the Educational Media and Information Division of the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture. He was a staff member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in Paris twice: in its Science and Technology Policy Division (1981-1982); and Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI) (1987-1990). He has published a number of books such as "*Lifelong Learning Movement in Japan*", "*Education of the Rising Sun*", "*Foreign Students in OECD Countries*" and "*Introduction to Lifelong Learning Policy-making*".

Kjell Rubenson is a Professor of Adult Education at the University of British Columbia. He held a chair in adult education at the University of Kinkoping, where he presently is an adjunct professor, before coming to Canada in 1986. He is the long-term director of UBC's Centre for Policy Studies in Higher Education and Training. His main academic interests and publications concern the relationship between education,

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Dr Kenneth Abrahamsson is working as Programme Director for Labour Market Studies at the Swedish Council for Work Life Research. He is also Associate Professor in Education at the Faculty of Social Science, University of Stockholm. He lives in Hägersten/Mälärhöjden, which is a local district of the city of Stockholm. His major fields of expertise at the Research Council are labour market development, regulation and skill formation, job creation, entrepreneurship and business development and policies promoting work place diversity. He has specialised in issues regarding access and rights to various forms of post-compulsory education. His professional writings comprise adult literacy and education gaps in society, information and counselling needs of adults, the role of popular adult education as well as studies on vocational education and also adult students in higher education. He has also written books and articles on the contacts between citizens and public authorities. Two studies of relevance are a book on *Europaskolan* (*“Euroschools”* in Sweden) which compares Swedish Education and education in the new Europe (with Erland Ringborg, Ingemar Fägerlind and Torsten Husén, published September 1995 and *Vocational Education and Training in Sweden* for CEDEFOP, 1998).

Phillip McKenzie is Deputy Head of the Policy Research Division at the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER), and a Director of the Monash University-ACER Centre for the Economics of Education and Training (CEET). His research focuses on the economics and financing of education and training. He has published widely in Australia and overseas. His main responsibility at ACER is the coordination of the Longitudinal Surveys of Australian Youth (LSAY) program. LSAY is a substantial research program built around following nationally representative cohorts of Year 9 students as they move through post-compulsory schooling, tertiary education and the labour market. Between 1996 and mid-1998 he was seconded to the OECD in Paris, where he helped plan and conduct a comparative analysis of young people's transition from initial education to work in 14 Member countries.

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SECTION 3

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Jan Visser is President and founder of the Learning Development Institute, the establishment of which followed his six-year long involvement in creating and directing UNESCO's Learning Without Frontiers program. He is an accomplished scientist with an eclectic academic background and broad professional experience, notably in theoretical physics and in the conceptualization of learning environments and the design of learning systems. His achievements in international development are well recognized around the globe and specifically in the many countries where he has lived and worked. He has an established record of generating innovative practice and new ways of thinking about learning. In addition he has worked as documentary filmmaker, is a prolific writer in a multiplicity of fields, and frequent keynote speaker.

Christopher Day is Professor of Education and Co-director of the Centre for Teacher and School Development at the University of Nottingham in the United Kingdom. He has worked as a schoolteacher, teacher, educator and local authority adviser. He has extensive research and consultancy experience in England, Europe, Australia, South East Asia, and North America in the fields of teachers' continuing professional development, action research, leadership and change. He is editor of '*Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*', co-editor of '*Educational Action Research*' and the '*Journal of In-Service Education*'. Professor Day is a member of PACT (Professional Actions and Cultures of Teaching), an international group committed to building knowledge about teacher and

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SECTION 4

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John Wilson is Director of Dewar Wilson & Associates International. Until June 2000 he was Professor in the School of Education, Victoria University of Technology, Melbourne, Australia, coordinating the School's research students. Between 1993 and 1998 he was Director of Language Australia's Adult Literacy Research Network Node for Victoria. He was formerly Principal Lecturer in Education, Moray House College of Education, Edinburgh. His publications include *Degrees of Excellence* (1977) with NJ Entwistle, *Student Learning in Higher Education* (1981), and *Appraising Teaching Quality* (1988). He was senior editor of *Assessment for Teacher Development* (1989) which reports research on teacher selection and appraisal. His consultancy experience is as an evaluator, curriculum developer and trainer of teachers and trainers in Bangladesh, Botswana, Sri Lanka and Thailand. He edited *Evaluation Journal of Australasia* between 1997 and 1999. He is a member of ACEID, the Asia-Pacific Centre of Educational Innovation for Development, UNESCO, Bangkok.

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John Steckley has been teaching at Humber College (Canada) since 1983. Prior to Humber, he taught Anthropology at Memorial University of Newfoundland in eastern Canada, and Native Studies at Laurentian University in Ontario, Canada. He has published more than 150 articles in the academic and popular press, with recent titles including *Beyond Their Years: Five Native Women's Stories* (1999) and *Full Circle: Canada's Native People* (2000), the latter being co-authored with Bryan Cummins. His next book will focus on Native policing in Canada. John's areas of specialization include Native languages (primarily Huron, but also including some work in Mohawk and Ojibwe) and Native history. He holds an M.A. in anthropology from Memorial University of Newfoundland, and is completing a doctorate at the University of Toronto. He was adopted into the Wyandot tribe of Kansas in 1999, and given the name *Tehaondechoren*.

Ravi Palepu has worked in southern African for the past 4 years in the development and information technology (IT) sectors. He is currently employed by Cyberplex Africa, a leading web solution firm in Zimbabwe, whose clients include the UN Economic Commission for Africa, the Kellogg Foundation, and Deloitte and Touche Global. Ravi first came to Zimbabwe on assignment to Zimbabwe's Ministry of Higher Education and Technology where his key responsibility was the development of a computer science department at a technical college. During that time he worked with more than 100 regional NGOs in the field of information technology, with a specific focus on IT impact as it relates to organizational form and structure.

Leslie Dale is a Third Age learner, teacher, administrator and writer. He is currently teaching programs at Manningham University of the Third Age, Australia, and assisting in the organization of the U3A Network, Victoria. Prior to his Third Age career, Dr. Dale was a teacher of mathematics and science, a curriculum developer (Australian Science Education Project), a research, a teacher educator, and an education administrator.

Section 1

Lifelong Learning: Conceptual, Philosophical and Values Issues

DAVID ASPIN – SECTION EDITOR

Chapter 1: Towards a Philosophy of Lifelong Learning

DAVID ASPIN and JUDITH CHAPMAN

THE CONCEPT OF LIFELONG LEARNING FOR ALL

INTRODUCTION

In the daily life of those working in all kinds of educating institutions these days there is always so much to do connected with the realities of the financing, staffing, delivering and evaluating educational programs that there seems little time to concentrate on anything else. It is not surprising therefore to find that questions of a more profound kind are generally put to one side, either to await those rare opportunities when there will be an opportunity for more serious reflection or to consign such matters to the advice of “experts” or “theorists” whose time can be given over to such matters, separate and aside from the “real” problems. This is particularly so with philosophical questions. In this chapter we hope to show that attention to the philosophical questions that are part and parcel of thinking about lifelong learning is not only a crucial and indispensable element of the framework within which lifelong learning programs and activities are conceived and articulated, but also that the conclusions that are reached as a result of philosophical enquiries have *practical* implications for developing programs, curricula and activities of a lifelong learning character.

Philosophy is often thought of as “urbane and cultivated sermonizing” (O’Connor 1963) about the nature of reality and the place of human beings in relation to it, much in the sense that people speak of their “philosophy of life”. This implies a set of beliefs, values and attitudes to what are seen as the weighty questions of life and death and/or the principles to be followed in our relations with other people. A similar sense of “philosophy” is found in uses where people talk of ideologies such as Marxism or economic rationalism, codes for living such as Bushido, or religious systems such as those of Islam, Judaism or Christianity. Such approaches to philosophy are widely known and much practised, but we think they have little to offer us here. However, neither do we feel that we ought to fly to the other extreme and apotheosize the model of philosophy associated with exponents of it such as Ayer (1936) and Austin (1962), which involves a highly technical and rigorous exercise in the analysis and clarification of the meanings of words.

As we see it, the adoption of an appropriate philosophical approach to enquiries about lifelong learning will depend, as much as anything else, upon the nature of the problem being looked into, the intellectual histories and interests of those tackling it,

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the outcomes at which they are aiming, the considerations that make their selection of particular categories, concepts, criteria and procedures significant or determinative in the framing of questions, the conduct of enquiries and the judgment of what shall count as valid answers or good theories, and the reflections that make certain moves in their arguments and theorising decisive.

Thus, in attempting to put into play our own version of philosophy, we need to be clear about the questions that we believe will loom large in our consideration of life-long learning and the things that we hope will emerge from philosophical enquiries into it. Our own work in this area leads us to think that there is a number of topics, issues and problems that ought to be looked into and that these are concerned, among other things, with the planning, provision and assessment of activities in educating institutions concerned to promote and expand opportunities for lifelong learning experiences for all.

The first of these questions concerns the ways in which lifelong learning might be defined, characterised and understood; the second concerns how lifelong learning might be brought about; the third concerns the kinds of knowledge, understanding and skill that people might want or need to acquire and what the status of their claims to have acquired such knowledge might amount to; the fourth draws attention to the ways in which people will be able to learn, understand and make progress in their lifelong learning endeavours; and the fifth concerns the grounds on which lifelong learning programmes can be justified. Any or all of these will also therefore probably make some demand on a wider framework of philosophical, methodological, epistemological, pedagogical and ethical concerns within which lifelong learning undertakings are more generally to be understood and the ways in which substantive theories about them may be appraised, compared, criticized and, if necessary, improved or corrected.

In attempting to show how one might go about framing answers to such questions we shall need to draw upon the insights offered by a range of philosophical approaches. For example, the deeply held beliefs, values and attitudes, to which everyone is committed, are often hidden and only become explicit or “public” through the expression of our preferences, ambitions, political, economic or moral decisions, and through our observable involvement in a particular pattern or certain “form of life”. It is, however, those hidden, underlying assumptions and preconceptions that are crucial in determining the influence of our theories not only upon our undertakings in promoting lifelong learning but also upon the aims and content of the kinds of programmes and activities we believe should be offered under the heading, in the name and for the purpose of preparing, promoting and providing opportunities for learning across the lifespan.

One element in our approach, therefore, will be some attempt to identify and throw light on some of the presuppositions that underpin and serve to define the ‘form of life’ within which we believe that lifelong learning enterprises are most appropriately located and take place. Such analysis is not undertaken simply for its own sake, however, but for particular reasons. It is undertaken, for one thing, in an attempt to promote clarity and soundness in our theoretical understanding. This is a task which we regard as being of vital importance, for it is obvious that one cannot promote clarity of thought, soundness of argument and rational decision-making among purveyors of and participants in lifelong learning programmes if we as policy-makers and educators

are unaware of or unclear about those elements, principles and criteria which lay the basis for decision-making about our own work, especially when these may not be self-evident but require public expression and justification.

Such analysis is also undertaken in the attempt to provide us with the second element in this study, which is devoted to the endeavour of developing a theory or set of theories and constructing a theoretical framework against which present day programmes and activities of lifelong learning could be tested to see whether the practice matches the principles. In this way we should be able to discover where there are weaknesses, deficiencies, omissions or errors and thus be able to determine what amendments, refinements or even wholesale restructuring might be needed in order to bring about a close “fit”. The purpose of this kind of investigation, then, is to consider the theories with which we or other people active in the field are working and to engage in the crucial task of theory examination, theory comparison, and theory criticism, correction or even replacement. Philosophy viewed in this way becomes not merely an exercise of analysis for the purposes of clarification but an undertaking of theory criticism and construction in order that the undertakings themselves shall be based upon sound principles, such as those of economy, simplicity, coherence, consistency, fecundity and capacity for successful prediction (see Lycan 1988).

We see, then, two main characteristics in the version of philosophy with which we shall be working in this chapter. First, we see a need for a rigorous analysis and elucidation of those concepts, criteria and categories that are embedded and embodied in any lifelong learning undertaking, together with an examination of the presuppositions underlying them (the kind of activity described by Strawson (1958) as ‘descriptive metaphysics’; see also Trigg 1973). Secondly, however, we are inclined to believe that there is a practical “pay-off” or creative element, which is concerned to point to the implications of such analysis – to settle what ought logically to follow from it with respect to putting on programmes of lifelong learning. And this will mean ensuring that the theory/ies embodied in those programmes will be the temporary best theory that fits the phenomena and helps us to answer the problems at the time when we look at them. In this respect our approach has much in common with the notion of philosophy as a process of tackling and attempting to solve problems (Popper 1972).

A Note of Caution

It is important to be clear about the nature and purposes of such a philosophical examination and indeed of the various approaches to these questions that follow. None of them purports to provide *the* answer to any of the questions raised therein; indeed this would not be a philosophical enterprise if that were to be the outcome aimed at. The analyses we engage in and offer, the elucidations of presuppositions, the comparison and criticism of competing theories presuppose canons of intelligibility and corrigibility that are not themselves immune from further criticism. Our willingness to put up hypotheses and conjectures that criticize or claim to refute the views of others is based upon the expectation that these will themselves be subjected in turn to rational criticism put forward by others. Any conclusions that we draw can only stand until such time as

they in turn are subjected to and refined or refuted by further rational and relevant argument. Such is the nature of this kind of activity.

However, just because such an activity is regarded therefore as only provisional in nature will not mean that it is pointless or unimportant. Any policy, undertaking or enterprise that attempts to influence the lives of other people for the better counts as, potentially at any rate, an intrusion into and an interference with these lives and as such it needs to be justified publicly if it is to be accorded any weight or acceptance, whilst the presuppositions on which such a policy is based ought also to be laid bare and rendered subject to scrutiny, rather than left hidden or unexamined. It is this public examination of such policies and the rigorous scrutiny of their implicit principles or explicit recommendations for action that we see as the prime responsibility of the philosopher.

In the language we have been employing, therefore, the questions about lifelong learning that we believe need to be tackled and, it is to be hoped, answered (even if only provisionally), may be categorised, at least initially, into the following:

- questions of meaning and definition
- questions of methodology
- questions of epistemology
- questions of the philosophical psychology of pedagogy/learning
- questions of ethics.

In the rest of this chapter we shall try to deal with the various issues arising in these areas of enquiry and to come to some tentative conclusions that might form a useful basis for theories of lifelong learning

THE PROBLEM OF MEANING AND DEFINITION

It is with the question of meaning that the problems of developing a philosophy of lifelong learning begin, for if we cannot easily understand or agree upon the terms being employed in our discourse in and about the topic, then we cannot proceed further to an examination of the validity of arguments employing or theories embodying them. Thus the analysis and clarification of terms becomes a prior stage in the conceptualization of lifelong learning matters, for it is upon them that all else that follows will depend.

Gelpi, one of the early writers on the topic of lifelong education (Gelpi, 1984), argued that there was a need for a clear definition of the term 'lifelong education'. The problem, he maintained, was that, while one could be reasonably clear about the meaning and applicability of such terms as "vocational education", "technical education" and "nurse education", no such clarity could be found in the case of terms with much less specific points of application, such as "lifelong education", particularly when a range of other apparently similar terms – "*education permanente*", "further education", "continuing education" and so on – were often used interchangeably with it and with each other.

Other writers on the topic have maintained that there is no point in trying to apply the term "lifelong education". They claim that such a term seeks to generalize the

reference of the notion of “education” to such a wide set of parameters as virtually to empty it of all meaning. Still others have acted as though the term “lifelong education” were simply another way of alluding to those educational endeavours and opportunities that were offered after the end of formal schooling and thus was interchangeable and synonymous with terms that had wider currency, such as “adult education”, “careers education” or “recurrent education” (Stock 1979). Yet another group have commented that, while there may have been enough examples around in the history of educational philosophy of such key ideas as “liberal education” or “moral education” to offer discussants a reasonably firm point of purchase, there is so little said about “lifelong education” that there is almost nothing on which we can get a grip in our attempts to give a clear account of those elements that we may discern as being cardinal to or indicative of its meaning and application.

There is an important point to be made when one is considering the positions that have been taken in the past in respect to the concept of lifelong education and the arguments that have been put forward by various proponents of these positions. For it seems to us that differences in and between various versions of “lifelong education” are functions, not only of particular educational, moral or political commitments, but also of a particular meta-theory at work in the philosophy of lifelong education.

In some versions of the term, and in various attempts to produce a clear account of it, we may discern the presence and operation of a particular preconception. In many writers’ work on lifelong education, for example, there is an implicit acceptance of the idea that (a) it is possible to arrive at some uniform descriptive account of the term “lifelong education”, which all could then accept and take as a kind of *primum datum*; and that (b) if there were not such a definition already available, then there ought to be. The common postulate shared by many writers – particularly the earlier ones – seems to be that unambiguous agreement on the meaning and applicability of the term “lifelong education” or “lifelong learning” is conceivable, possible and attainable. In our reading of the various books, chapters and papers on this topic we find plenty of evidence that many writers seem to share this assumption and operate according to the logic and dictates of an empiricist approach to concepts and meaning (see Dave, 1975; Cropley, 1979; Gelpi, 1985; Lengrand, 1975, 1986; and Richmond and Stock, 1979).

The main feature observable in the work of such writers is their holding of preconceptions about definition that may be described as “essentialist”. This is the notion that it is possible, and indeed philosophically proper, for participants in discussion about any term in educational discourse to employ the methods of etymological derivation, dictionary definition, or the sharp-cutting tools of conceptual analysis (looking for those cases that all can agree to be “central” or “peripheral” to allowable utterance employing the terms in question), in the endeavour to arrive at some kind of agreement about the separately “necessary” and conjointly “sufficient” conditions that will underpin and define the direction of discourse employing this term.

The notion that the quest for “essential” definitions was legitimate was held in an earlier era where students of education accepted the academic tenability and conformed to the dictates of the empiricist paradigm, tending only to engage in activities of conceptual analysis, pursuing philosophical enquiries and developing and applying research designs and instruments exclusively based upon it. This view – a

view also known as “positivism” – is still to be found at work in many departments and faculties of social sciences and education in many parts of the world. However, it has been subjected to the formidable *elenchus* of the criticisms advanced against it by such antilocutors as Popper (1943, 1949, 1960 and 1972), Wittgenstein (1953), Lakatos (1976, 1978) and Quine (1951, 1953, 1974, etc.) to say nothing of more modern writers such as Rorty (1979) or Bernstein (1983). That this presumption and *modus operandi* may be taken to encapsulate a mistaken view of meaning and intelligibility has been common coinage for some time now (see Aspin 1996a, 1996b).

As a result of this *critique* we may now accept that the older positivist/empiricist approach of seeking to achieve clarity about or understanding of the “essential”, “basic” or “central” meaning of such terms as “lifelong education” and “lifelong learning” rested upon and embodied a fallacy. This was the fallacy described by Quine (1951) as that of the two dogmas of empiricism. As Quine pointed out, these dogmas amounted to the prescription of the uncontested acceptance of the following claims: that (a) distinctions may be found and coercively employed between domains that were *sui generis* disciplinarily different (such as fact and value, science and religion, and so on) and that (b) in all modes of intellectual enquiry there are some absolute foundations of belief, fact, concept or category beyond which it was impossible to go and from which all further enquiry in that field must proceed (for the origin of this view see Plato *Phaedo* 101 D 5 ff., and *Republic* 510 D and 511 B ff).

For Quine, Popper and many others, by contrast, all language and all enquiries are inescapably and *ab initio* theory-laden, far from value-free, and a mixture of elements, such as description and evaluation, fact and theory, that had been previously regarded by empiricist thinkers as absolutely distinct. Such arguments are used powerfully by such post-empiricist thinkers in education as Evers and Lakatoski (1991) to develop a new approach to the elucidation of problems in educational discourse and policy. On this view our talk on these matters does not consist of an analysis of discourse and terms into separate categories of facts and values, meaning and meaninglessness, subjective and objective, and the like. Rather it has to be conceived of as being in itself a “theory” or set of theories. This, our overall “theory of the world”, embodies a complex “web of belief” (see Quine and Ullian, 1970), shot through differentially with descriptive and evaluative elements, according to the contexts and purposes of which our theories and discourses are brought to bear and applied in our world. This is what happens when we apply our thinking to the world of education, policy and administration, teaching and learning.

For such reasons it is now widely believed that there is a need, in philosophical activities devoted to a thorough-going and intellectually responsible enquiry into such matters as lifelong learning, to fuse description-evaluation, fact-value, quantitative-qualitative methods in new forms of enquiry, that are valuable both for the researcher and the policy-maker in educational matters. Such an approach would involve both groups in a common enterprise – what Lakatos (1976, 1982) might have called a “progressive research program” – of seeking to gain understanding and promote policy generation about lifelong learning. On this account future work in the philosophy of education would be well advised to consider the adoption of approaches of this kind (see e.g. Wain, 1985).

In this enterprise, we do not attempt to reduce everything to some absolute foundations of “fact” and “value”, “theory” and “practice”, or “policy” and “implementation”, in the (vain) attempt to educe some “analyses” of concepts and theories, that can be completely “correct” or “true”; or to produce some fundamental matters of indisputable research “findings”, about the objectivity and existence of which there can be no dispute. Against this notion we tentatively contend that a different approach is to be preferred. What is important, when we endeavour to identify the nature, aims and purposes of all kinds of educating institutions, activities and processes – formal and informal, fixed-term and life-long – and to promote excellence, effectiveness, and quality in them, particularly when we wish to get clear about the contribution of such activities to programs of lifelong learning, is, we believe, *to adopt some such pragmatic method as the following:*

- to seek to understand the questions, the problems, the categories and criteria with which researchers, policy makers and practitioners in the field of lifelong learning are currently concerned and are working
- to identify the theories with which researchers, policy makers and practitioners in the field are operating
- to seek to understand the causes of success or failure in the conception and application of such theories, policies and practices, as a necessary prelude to attenuating or eliminating dysfunctions and establishing or ameliorating structures and procedures that would conduce towards improvement.

It is by examining various attempts that have been made to give form, content and direction to the idea of “lifelong learning” that we may begin to develop and articulate a theory that will bear application to the problems that those who have been placing so strong an emphasis upon this idea are seeking to address and to solve. Of course, we cannot assume that all these problems are the same or even similar: different countries, different educational systems, different agencies of learning will be pre-occupied with some similar but many different concerns. Such differences will not be only those of degree of complexity or difficulty; the problems they address will also be different in kind. This is something of which anyone attempting to give some account of “lifelong learning” will rapidly become uncomfortably aware.

The reason for this is not far to seek. Like “Art”, “Religion”, and “Democracy”, “Education” (and *a fortiori* “lifelong education” and “lifelong learning”) is an example of what W.B. Gallie (1956, 1964) called an “essentially contested concept” (see Hartnett and Naish, 1976). To think that one can find an “essential”, “basic” or uncontested definition of “lifelong education” is to embark upon a search for a chimera. Thus, rather than engaging in a futile search for the real meaning or an uncontested definition of lifelong education and lifelong learning, we would suggest that the best one can do is to follow Wittgenstein’s advice (Wittgenstein 1953, 1958) and “look at the use” of these terms in the discourse of those who employ it. In the current educational climate this will make it impossible for us to avoid noting the increasing frequency and growing importance with which idea of “lifelong learning” is appearing in international discussions of educational policy, planning and administration at the present time, as did “lifelong education” in a slightly earlier age.

A Note on the use of the terms “Lifelong Education” and “Lifelong Learning”

In order to avoid confusion, it may be worthwhile pausing for a moment to try to chart some of the causes of and explanations that might be advanced to account for the gradual replacement of the former concept ‘lifelong education’ by the latter ‘lifelong learning’ in public discourse in this whole area.

There is some history to be commented upon here. By a number of authors and in the discussions of several international bodies concerned with these matters, it began to be noted that the emphasis on the idea of “lifelong education” placed great weight – perhaps too great – on teaching and learning transactions within the norms, conventions and boundaries of an institutional environment and within education seen in institutional terms. It was realised and argued that people interested in learning could and should be able to make cognitive progress in a number of environments, not all of which were institutional, and not all of which exemplified a didactic model and a “transmission” approach towards a student’s acquisition of knowledge and understanding typically found in institutional education settings. Educational institutions, it was pointed out, were only one among an array of milieux, sites and locations to which people seeking growth and advancement in their own knowledge, understanding and skills could turn. Increasingly individual people wanting further training or personal development could plan and make learning gains in areas of their own interests with a much greater degree of access, freedom and flexibility if they were to tailor their own learning needs to the resources offered by teaching and learning programmes of all kinds and found in all kinds of places – traditional and novel, formal and informal, conventional and alternative.

Not least of such sources providing impetus towards personal learning in recent years has been the almost exponential growth of opportunities for individualised learning afforded by developments in the world of information technology and communication. The IT revolution offered individual learners almost unlimited untold potential for the acquisition of new information, knowledge and insights by novel means, the running of thought experiments, the framing of hypotheses, the exploration of a myriad possibilities and the probing of connections and alternative pathways, many of which were not available in more traditional conceptions of the “appropriate” environment for learning. Nowadays learning through multi-media technology is not like that found in the more traditional school setting: in these days learning, acquiring knowledge and probing understanding through this technology can be regarded as play. No wonder that a growing number of students of all ages prefer to go about their learning with the aid of such assistance as is made accessible to them by PCs rather than having to be subjected to the constraints of the typical environment of many educational institutions and the stress they very often lay upon particular styles, modes and patterns of student learning and pupil progress. Learning with these new instruments of multi-media technology enables students to work and achieve positive learning gains according to their own pace and preferred styles.

Concentrating on individual learning styles and targets of interest in this way also laid to one side many of the problems associated with the idea of acquiring learning in educating institutions. Either the term “education” used there was vacuous – so wide

that it could cover any kind of use involving the notions of upbringing, training or change – or it was heavily loaded with a particular kind of curriculum and content value. “Science, mathematics, history, art, cooking and carpentry, feature on the curriculum [sc. of educating institutions], not bingo, bridge and billiards” was the view of Richard Peters (1966: 144), one of the world’s leaders in the philosophy of education at the time, and that a was view widely shared among those planning, funding and putting on the programmes of educating institutions in those days. Although there is much to be said for acquiring knowledge and skill in such subjects, it is not beyond the realms of possibility that people might also want to learn how to be better at activities and to know more about subjects that would be rather more similar to the latter class of activities than the former. “Learning” how to be good at bridge, for example, could be a *desideratum* for many older people freed from the tyranny of the workplace, while billiards, snooker or even darts could be a source of many good things for young and older people. In that respect the concept of “learning” is to be preferred over that of “education”: it is not only neutral with respect to questions of value but also in the matter of the construction of a programme of preferred activities it has much to commend it for individuals. It also emphasizes process – the ongoing nature of the activities – rather than product; learning is what Ryle called a “task” rather than an “achievement” word (Ryle 1949).

It is for these kinds of reasons that the term “lifelong learning” has now come into much greater prominence and use than “lifelong education”, which has been increasingly laid aside. In what follows, therefore, except where sense and intelligibility requires the use of both or one or the other, we shall also adopt this approach. For, as we pass the turn of the century, it is now becoming clear that policy-makers in countries, agencies and institutions widely across the international arena are devoting increasing attention to the notion that “lifelong learning” is an idea to be promoted in education policies for the next century. It is regarded as offering a necessary and a strong foundation to underpin education and training provision, for ends that have to do with matters of an economic, social and individual kind, upon which they wish to lay ethical importance and to base their education and training policies for the future.

QUESTIONS OF METHODOLOGY

The post-empiricist approach to attempting to understand and elucidate the various types and shades of meaning given to “lifelong education and “lifelong learning” in educationists’ talk appears to sit well, on the surface at least, with the view taken of lifelong education by Kenneth Wain, one of the most prolific writers on the philosophy of lifelong education in recent times (see Wain 1984, 1985, 1987, 1993a and 1993b). Wain’s preferred “progressive research program” of lifelong education is the “maximalist notion” incorporated in the UNESCO “Program”, as various proponents of this idea (see Dave, Cropley, Gelpi, Lengrand, Suchodolski) have delivered it. As Wain (1987) comments:

“lifelong education” stands for a program to reconceptualize education totally according to the principle that education is a lifelong process. ... for a complete

overhaul of our way of thinking about learning, for a new philosophy of education and ... for a *program of action* (Fauré, 1972; Lengrand, 1975; Dave, 1976; Cropley, 1975) ... as the “master concept” for all educational planning, policy-making, and practice ... Their ambition was that the word education would eventually become synonymous with lifelong education in people’s minds ... (today’s) world ... requires a lifelong education which is a “constant reorganizing or reconstructing of experience” ... (Dewey, 1966:76)

The emphasis of Dewey upon education as “a continuous process of ‘reorganization and readjustment’ of experience and the pragmatic concerns of lifelong education” may be claimed as the principal intellectual forebear of the maximalist position. The notions of *deliberate direction* and *conscious ordering* are crucial in the conception of education as consisting in working on the reconstruction and re-organization of experience. These are manifestations of a concern on the part of proponents of the maximalist position to show that educators are leaders of the “learning society”. The proponents of the maximalists’ position argue that lifelong education “... should be institutionalized in a “learning society”; this clearly shows that ... it wants to make education more central to society, not deprive people of the right to it.” (Wain, 1993: 67) A “maximalist” conception of this version of a “learning society” might thus be stated as follows:–

There is no “model” learning society, there are different forms a learning society could take, just as there are different forms the lifelong education program could take. What distinguishes one learning society from the other is precisely the kind of program it institutionalizes within its particular socio-cultural and political context. The political characteristics of the movement’s learning society are ... democratic ... a shared, pluralistic and participatory “form of life” in Dewey’s sense ...

This means reassessing the role of the school and of childhood education ... and prioritizing adult education on the same level. A fundamental strategy with regard to the latter is to sensitize social institutions, the family, the church, political party, trade union, place of employment, etc., to their educational potential ... with respect to their members. To encourage these institutions to regard themselves as potential educative agencies for their members and for the wider society. (Wain, 1993a:68)

[T]he learning society is one that is exceedingly self-conscious about education in its total sense; that is conscious of the educational relevance and potential of its own institutions and of the general social environment that is its way of life, and is determined to maximize its resources in these respects, to the maximum. (Wain, 1987:202–3)

Richard Bagnall (1990) attacks this version of “lifelong education” as “regressive” and “illiberal” He restates the four semantic interpretations of “lifelong education”. The first – “education as a preparation *for* the rest of a person’s life” – he says

may be identified with the traditional view of schooling ... as comprising ... an educational foundation for adult life (e.g., Peters, 1966; White, 1982:132) ... such a view of education is inadequate for adult participation in modern, technologically sophisticated, liberal democratic societies ... (see Evans, 1985; Long, 1983; Wedermeyer, 1981) ...

The second – “lifelong education as education to be distributed *throughout* the whole of the lifespan” – remarks Bagnall,

accords ... with the ... conception of lifelong education as “recurrent education” (Davis, Wood and Smith 1986; Kallen, 1979) and with the principles of “continuing education” (Titmus, 1985 and Za’rou, 1984) ... While further development of educational systems along the lines of “recurrent” education would clearly entail major changes in educational provision and participation, these changes at least would appear to be a constructive development of present educational provision and understanding.

The third – “lifelong education as education *from* the whole of life’s experiences” – reduces, in Bagnall’s view, to the fourth version of “lifelong education” – that

“All events in which one is consciously involved throughout one’s lifespan constitute education (as process) and contribute to and are part of one’s education (as outcome). Education is the process and the on-going education product of living”.

This view Bagnall rejects as failing to accord any intelligibility to the notion of formal and active engagement in educating activities as opposed to informal and unintentional education. For him *education proper* consists in making distinctions between knowledge and ideology, between educative learning and the simple accumulation of experience, between offering a contingent plurality of programmes and simply following one undifferentiated path of cognitive growth, between activities that conduce to worthwhile ends and experiences that are just simply “had”, between ends that may be cognitively difficult and challenging, but are morally defensible, laudable, and commendatory for all people, and outcomes which just simply come about after undifferentiated and unselected experiences and not as a result of informed and clearly differentiated choices of various kinds. Bagnall argues that: “There is a desperate need for concrete educational expression to be given to many of the liberal and humanitarian ideals of lifelong education theorists such as Gelpi (Ireland, 1978)”.

Charles Bailey would be in strong sympathy with such an approach. He stresses the importance of developing, maintaining and applying the powers of rational autonomy throughout the whole of people’s lives (Bailey, 1988), citing the work of Kant (1964), Hirst (1965) and Peters (1966) in support:

If ... Hirst claims that a genuinely liberal education must involve the development of rational mind ... then it is difficult to see why this should be a process that

terminates at 16 or 18 ... Hirst's well-known transcendental justificatory argument ... does bear on individuals asking questions like: How should I live? How ought I to develop myself? Persons asking these kinds of questions would clearly be adults rather than children ...

Similarly ... Peters' ... conception of education as involving worthwhile developments in knowledge and understanding is clearly not something that is in any essential way limited to schooling ... there is the clear implication that the rational person will have a duty, or at least might reasonably want, to continue their liberal education throughout life ...

Education should be seen on this account as a series of deliberate undertakings to introduce students to some activities rather than others and to make them available as programmes in educational settings. These undertakings will introduce students to a range of activities and experiences that will enable them to make informed judgments and judicious choices about the options open to them, to choose rationally between them, and consciously to accept the consequences and obligations that may arise from them. It is not the case that the undifferentiated flow of life itself will guide us to make such judgments and choices; the presuppositions of human autonomy and community render it a matter of necessity for the enterprise of education to be a conscious, deliberate and discriminating series of distinctions, values and decisions.

These considerations require that any form of *education proper* must be based on some more deliberate, objective and inter-personal ground than those accretions of experience that come about as mere increments of growth. That ground is provided, on these arguments, by the presupposition of individual autonomy and the moral obligations towards other autonomous agents constituting the human community and their welfare and progress, that arise from it (see Smith 1997).

The consequences of adopting such arguments of Wain or Bagnall and Bailey bear substantially on the approaches and strategies employed to bring about lifelong education and on the role of educators as leaders of a learning community. The implicative conclusions of those arguments require educators to commit themselves to the correlative educational imperative of planning and seeking educational opportunities, activities and experiences and making them available to ourselves and others throughout our lives. It would be a pity if we were distracted from taking the moral implications of such arguments for our educative endeavours (see Daveney 1973), by attaching excessive importance to such differences between protagonists of lifelong education. There are faults and virtues on both sides.

There is much that is noteworthy and commendable in the maximalist position. Wain's proposal for making "lifelong education" a "progressive research program", as Lakatos conceived it, is worthy of serious consideration. The centrality in this notion of the principle of inclusion and removal of barriers to participation in educational provision gives point and direction to the idea of a "learning society" (see Ranson 1994). The view that lifelong learning subsumes both formal and informal models of learning, and places the main burden of the control and direction of learning on the learners themselves, accords well with recent developments and advances in both

pedagogy and andragogy arising from research into meta-cognition and student-centered learning (Knowles *et al* 1984 and see below).

There are some problems with this position, of course: the notion of internal coherence as the sole criterion of progressiveness in a research program is open to all the criticisms which anti-relativists have deployed against it, while at the same time the appeal to “touchstone” as enabling inter-paradigm comparisons to be made suggests that such an account of account of theory competition presupposes the applicability of extra- or supra-paradigm criteria of intelligibility and corrigibility. One cannot have it both ways. Finally, one might have some reservations about the almost totalitarian character of the position envisaged by advocates of the maximalist program. Not only might some criticism be raised concerning the unitary character and personification of “society” found in the summary above – how can a learning society be “conscious of” and sensitive to the educational potential of all its institutions and individuals? – but one might also be justified in sensing in the views of the proponents of that idea a vision and a sense of mission that detractors might describe as utopian and Popperian critics might characterize as millenarian. These considerations should caution us against a too ready acceptance of maximalist rubrics for the idea of lifelong learning.

On the other side, it is right to note that education, however we conceive it, is not something to which artificial barriers can be drawn and that, properly conceived, it is an enterprise that lasts over the whole of a lifetime. Of course such a view gives undue prominence to the place of active discrimination in a formal institutional sense and too little to the idea and functioning of informal education. It tends to stress unduly a particular conception of liberal education in debates about the meaning and content of lifelong learning programmes. A great deal of criticism of that view and its justification has already been written (see Langford, 1973; Harris, 1979, and Evers and Walker, 1983). The possibility of such criticisms being deployed against a similar view of the concept of lifelong learning should perhaps caution us against too ready an acceptance of the rejection of arguments based on “relevance” and “coherence” and of any plea for lifelong learning to be seen as a species of liberal education generally. There is much more to it than that.

AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH: THE FOCUS ON PROBLEMS

For these reasons, we think there is much to be said for trying a different expedient. There is, we believe, little point in attempting to achieve some resolution between the different accounts of the term, especially when there can be as many different conceptions of the concept of lifelong learning as there are philosophers to put them forward and communities willing to put their own versions of lifelong learning programmes into effect. It might, in our view, be better to look, not so much at the various interpretations and accounts of lifelong learning, but rather more at the circumstances in which various theories and policies of lifelong learning have been articulated, developed and applied.

In other words, we are suggesting, an objective referent may be found in the *problems* to the settlement of which lifelong learning programmes are addressed. There is, we believe, more to be gained by looking at the difficulties, issues and predicaments, the attempted solution of which different policies of lifelong learning have been

conceived to tackle. In that way we might attempt to see how, why, and in response to what pressures and quandaries the various versions or theories of lifelong learning have been developed or are in play and can be seen to be at work in the attention education policy-makers devote to them, before attempting to assess how far those policies and practices have succeeded in finding answers for the problems that policy-makers are attempting to tackle.

One resolution that might be suggested, then, is to take a pragmatic look at the problems that policy-makers are addressing when urging that learning be lifelong and open to and engaged in by all people. This will help us accept that, just as there is a myriad of such problems, some of them unique to particular countries, education systems or institutions, some much more general and widespread, so there will be a large difference, not only in kind but also in degree of complexity and sophistication, in the type and scale of the solutions proffered to them. There will be small- and large-scale differences too in the particular terms of significance in those solutions, the tests for efficacy, the standards of success, and the criteria and arguments that make certain approaches more fruitful than others, for the particular times and circumstances in which they are brought to bear and applied.

Examples of such problems may be readily found, though our examination of them is likely to start closer to home than further away. Perhaps we may begin to make ground by examining some of the accounts of the needs of different people, different communities or different countries for undertaking education and learning across the lifespan, currently under consideration by governments and policy-makers around the world. These days the different versions of lifelong learning occurring widely across the international arena are associated with attempts to respond by educational means to problems of a very large scale and widespread international prominence. The recent policies of such international agencies as UNESCO, OECD and APEC, as well as the policy developments taking place in many national government departments and ministries of education relate to the following concerns, among others:

- the need for countries to have an economy sufficiently flexible, adaptable and forward-looking to enable it to feed its citizens and give them a reasonable quality of life
- the need for people to be made aware of the rights and duties open to them in the most widely preferred modern form of government – that of participative democracy, to be shown how to act in accordance with those rights and duties, and to become committed to the preservation and promotion of that particular form of political arrangement and its constitutive or associated set of political, social and community institutions
- the desirability of individuals having an informed awareness of a range of options of activities from which they can construct and continually re-construct satisfying and personally uplifting patterns of life for themselves.

If we examine this list of needs we shall find no shortage of problems, issues and questions which particular countries, systems, communities, institutions and individuals are currently addressing. Their concern in such undertakings involves the attempt to work

out what will best conduce to the individual, communal and national welfare of their people. This entails getting people in turn to take on some study for themselves. People need to look into such matters as how they should act towards themselves and their fellows; what choices they need to make in order to enjoy a satisfying and enriching life; in what directions they may try to shape their futures; for what roles and responsibilities as members of their various communities and the national polity should they prepare themselves. For all citizens in the modern democratic state these will be matters calling upon continuing educational endeavour and self-conscious, self-directed and deliberate concern. The need for them to face the kinds of problems instanced above will require them consciously and purposefully to undertake and engage in a set of learning activities, acquiring the knowledge and skills that will enable them to work out ways in which they may bring about an improvement in their own lives and that of all members of their community and hand it on to their successors in coming generations. And that, in the eyes of Mary Warnock (1978), is the end of all education.

EPISTEMOLOGICAL CONCERNS : KNOWLEDGE FOR LIFELONG LEARNING

It is here that we have to ask two questions. The first concerns those things that people will need to know and to learn, in order to perpetuate their lives as well-functioning and productive individuals in present and future economic conditions, to understand, grasp and seek to expand the opportunities offered them by the right of participating in the political institutions of the modern democratic state, and to judge intelligently and make well-informed choices from among a range of activities that will increase their independence, confirm their autonomy and extend their cultural horizons. This is the question of substance.

The second is perhaps philosophically more important: it concerns the nature and status of the knowledge that people will acquire in lifelong learning undertakings. In answering this question we are helped by recent work on the concept of knowledge and on theories about the ways in which people learn

More modern conceptions and accounts of the nature of knowledge require us to move away from ideas that were once held regarding the nature of knowledge, and the truth and objectivity of the knowledge claims that one could make. Previously knowledge was held to be certain or at least highly probable; truths were absolute, and data were based on facts that were regarded as "hard" and objective. The sense perceptions from which allowable knowledge claims emanated and were warranted, were uncontentious, theory- and value-free. Instead of this position there is now widespread acceptance of the view that, insofar as it is possible to speak of knowledge and truth at all, it is something that is highly provisional, constantly changing, and problematic (see Rorty 1979).

Thus, thinking that we are acquiring new knowledge or making a claim to have knowledge or understanding these days rests on no secure foundations. Rather, when we lay claim to or talk now about knowledge, truth and belief, we are aware that what

we say is perennially open to challenge and critical review. The knowledge claims that we make are corrigible and open to criticism. These days to claim to know or understand something is much less like standing on the building blocks of solid granite provided for us by teachers who were the authorities on it and much more like the experience of having to learn ourselves to get used to riding on wet slippery logs. The notion of secure foundations and unshakeable building blocks for knowledge has gone.

Further, we have to cope now with the additional realisation that knowledge, instead of being regarded as strictly divided into disciplines constituting the world of knowledge, and partitioned for curriculum purposes into diverse subjects or areas such as English and Mathematics and History and Geography and Science, is to be seen from a more integrative perspective. Our world of apprehension, cognition and comprehension is much more like a shifting set of webs of discourse, that embody the declensions, alterations, and expansions in the theories with which we try to make sense of the reality we share, and make it amenable to our understanding and control. For this reason knowledge has now become much more problem orientated. We address our cognitive efforts onto the study and tentative solution of the problems that beset us.

All this has immediate concerns for those educators concerned with leading the learning community and helping its members get started on learning throughout life. These are among the questions that we are called to face: what counts as knowledge and how may knowledge be secured, transmitted and developed in a society where knowledge is constantly changing throughout people's lives? If we are to have new conceptions of knowledge in our society, what kind of policies and programs shall we provide both inside our society's educating institutions and in more informal environments outside and beyond their walls? Most importantly: what implications do new conceptions of knowledge hold for the education of lifelong learners?

On the accounts with which our teachers and learners will be working today, the knowledge they work at imparting or acquiring may not have the status of certainty or even a high degree of probability. It must, however, be public, objective and testable. What matters now is much less the authority to be given to anyone's claim to knowledge but much more the kinds of evidence and of theoretic perspective and interests we have, in which we are willing to research, frame and plan our future thinking and acting. It is our inter-subjective agreements as to what shall count as evidence and the way in which it may be rendered objective that give us a warrant for the public acceptability of our claims to knowledge. Just as we are entitled to take it amiss if some-one promises but subsequently fails to fulfil that promise, so we are entitled to be deeply disappointed, even disillusioned, if some-one confers a right to know upon us, on grounds that we find subsequently to have been at worst mistaken, at best uncertain, shifting or illusory. For letting some one down in that way is actually to upset the whole set of presuppositions and legitimate expectations of which our inter-personal world of cognition and shared understanding is constituted. Just as, when some-one tells a lie, the whole structure of linguistic interchange is called into question; so when some-one turns out to have been less than secure in his/her claim to know something, our confidence in our own perception of reality is shaken.

So strong is the presupposition in favour of our acceptance of our own and other people's shared experience in matters of claims upon a common framework of

veridical perception, cognition and understanding, that it is generally only in the presence of the possibility of uncertainty, misunderstanding or mistake that we strongly assert our claim to know something – as Wittgenstein (1953) pointed out. We know we have to objectify our knowledge claims: public communication and the claims of intelligibility require it. But we also have to make it clear that our claims are liable to error, contestation or correction: and that is why, paradoxically, when we claim “to know” something, we are also thereby tacitly inviting our interlocutors to share *but yet to critically scrutinise and check what we say for possible error*. Knowledge is therefore public, yet also automatically open to checking, criticism, and possible falsification. A claim to knowledge on our part necessarily involves rendering ourselves subject to challenge, to being candidates for examination, possibly even targets of contestation or conflict.

The claims we make to having acquired rational beliefs, knowledge, or understanding, therefore, are, while acceptable as objective because of their inter-subjectivity, highly uncertain, highly unstable and liable to refutation. Any learning gain that we make, any knowledge claim we advance, however tentatively, wherever we came by it, in howsoever formal or informal the learning environment, has to be seen from a particular perspective. This refers *not* to facts, not to mathematical certainties, not to empirical verifiabilities; rather, it issues from, exposes and indeed draws attention to the theoretical frameworks within which our learning gains and knowledge-claims are framed and articulated. The climate in which our cognitive community operates subjects them to critical scrutiny, error elimination, and every possible attempt at disconfirmation (see Popper, 1949, 1972). It is only when such claims have successfully resisted all attempts at overthrow that they may be *provisionally* accepted for the time being as having “warranted assertability” (Dewey 1966: 162), and the theories within which they figure and from which they operate as being, *pro tempore*, the “best” theories for application to theoretical or practical problems that we face and the knowledge and skills we need to acquire and put into lay in our attempts to solve them.

Given the changing conditions of that cognitive world, the notion of knowledge being put forward here is one that is particularly suited to the character and activities of lifelong learning. The nature of lifelong learning, as we shall contend below, is that people approach and undertake the mastery of new knowledge, skills, very much on an individual “need or wish to know” basis. Indeed this enables us to signal our awareness of the distinction between Popper’s view of the permanent corrigibility of the world (which seems to imply a realist epistemology, in that it presumes the existence of some sort of reality out there, to which our theories make successive problem-solving approaches) and more radical rejections (such as that of Rorty 1979) of the notions of external reality or any sort of objective truth (and therefore any notion of comparability) altogether. It seems important that we note the force of the critique of Rorty and others as offering an alternative view of the vast “moorland” of possibilities for lifelong learners to explore their own needs and possible avenues of personal advancement, though we believe that the way in which this thesis is sometimes presented seems to leave the individual learner, at any level of education, adrift without an anchor in a sea of conflicting ideologies. For us the metaphor proposed by Quine following Neurath offers a more plausible account of the ways in which individuals, travelling among a

loose flotilla of fellow-learners, can choose to chart the ways that will best advance their vessels of theory construction, expansion and correction.

In our view lifelong learners acquire their beliefs, knowledge and understanding that they need, beyond the ones they already have, in all the highways and byways of the cognitive world. Just as claiming knowledge, on Popper's view, involves subjecting one's tentative solutions to problems to the test of criticism from wherever it may come, so learners gather together the resources they need in the attempt to put together those hypotheses and frame tentative solutions *from whatever quarter they can find them*, whether this should be from traditional or non-traditional, from authoritative or iconoclastic sources. For all of these, both within and well outside of conventional educating institutions, constitute Popper's "Third World" of knowledge.

The "Third World" of objective knowledge is not only stored in libraries and presided over by those regarded as "authorities" in formal institutional surroundings such as schools, colleges and universities. It is also to be found in all those places and on all those public occasions where people are thinking creatively and developing imaginative answers to questions and solutions to problems, that will then be proposed as hypotheses ready to be submitted to falsification in public discourse. This is not the world of institutional confines to learning but the world that offers opportunities for learning and tentatively putting up hypotheses, from a thousand different sources, in a thousand different places and a myriad different ways. That is the character of knowledge as we now regard it and it is one that is remarkably congruent with the cognitive operation that is lifelong learning.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL PSYCHOLOGY OF PEDAGOGY/LEARNING

New conceptions of knowledge are of major importance in setting the scene for advances in the philosophical psychology of pedagogy. New approaches to the concept of learning will inevitably play an important part in assisting educational policy-makers and planners to develop and articulate policies and programmes of activities and experiences appropriate to each of the phases and the various different goals of lifelong learning. Equally important in such planning, however, will be reference to new modes and styles of learning, that have been developed as a result of work in learning theory, cognitive development theory and meta-cognition, that has been advancing in recent years.

The former adherence to a uniform mode of knowledge transmission, in which a "generic" student was simply viewed as a receptacle, somewhat like a jug, into which teachers didactically poured knowledge, contents and facts until the jug's allocated portion was filled, has now been long rendered inoperable by recent advances in cognitive psychology and meta-cognition in more up-to-date thinking about learning. Now it is widely accepted that, in order for learning to be effectively secured and integrated into the pattern of the understandings that we already have, learning must be self-directed, self-internalised, and self monitored. Instead of more traditional conceptions of teaching-learning, in which learning progress was largely teacher-centred, instructive in mode, linear in progression, and didactic in character, there is now a realisation

that the progress of learning is *not* ‘roughly the same’ for all learners in a particular age group and certainly not for learners in different age groups; nor does learning necessarily proceed in a linear fashion.

It is now coming to be widely accepted that the best and the most secure learning occurs when students are centrally involved in controlling, directing and monitoring their own learning progress, in ways and according to particular modes of proceeding that they select for themselves, in accordance with their own characteristic mode of cognitive operation and their awareness of how best to proceed in mastering new concepts, information and skills. On this hypothesis, learning is not teacher-given but student-centred; and to promote effective student learning now, teachers need to be aware, not merely of the different stages of cognitive development of which Piaget told us, but also of the existence of many different forms of intelligence identified by cognitive psychology (see Gardner, 1985), and the very many different styles of cognitive operation with which people of all ages and at different stages operate when they have some new concept, piece of information or skill to master.

This means, for the individual, that learning has much less to do with the mere acquisition of bodies of content for replication later, and much more to do with their becoming active in acquiring and then operating the skilled techniques, rules and procedures by means of which knowledge can be acquired and one’s own circle of understanding expanded. From this it follows that among the prime pre-requisites in any approach to learning for individual students will be the skills of research, enquiry, and self-starting curiosity, that is constantly seeking answers to questions posed to them by others or by their own situations in life, their problems and predicaments. These skills will enable students to expand the concepts and categories they already have, linking them together so that they become *meaningful* (i.e., that they make sense for the individual *from the inside*) and then exercising, applying, monitoring, checking, correcting and extending them further, in the actual situations in which the various skills and learnings are called for. The motto we may most appropriately employ for this endeavour is that of “learning to learn”.

Now, therefore, instead of being a passive recipient of recipe knowledge, the student stands at the centre of the learning situation. Whenever and wherever they are engaged, learners are their own best initiators, arrangers and guarantors of the successful integration of new knowledge and understandings into their existing structures and patterns of understandings. Learners now look for personal relevance and applicability in what they are required to assimilate or in what they realise they lack. They tackle the tasks of the acquisition and mastery of new material or skills in ways that give each of them the greatest sense of fit with the contexts in which they will want, need or be required to deploy and apply it. Students now know they learn best when they monitor their own learning progress and learning gains, constantly checking and evaluating, criticising, correcting and extending as they go along. They can put things to one side for a while and come back later; they can go over the same point again and again; they can try to make progress by a different route, with different instruments, in different surroundings – even if these be in the workplace, the home, the club, the church or the community centre in the evenings. The work of learning can be activated and engaged

in at any time, on this thesis – the thesis that underpins the whole notion of lifelong learning.

On this model the learnings and understandings that we newly acquire are hooked onto our existing pattern of understandings and built into extended networks of concepts and categories and criteria that we already possess for their intelligibility, utility, and significance to us and to those with whom we have to communicate about it.

We may but very often we do not do this on our own. For, on this account, coming to know things is a social activity and common growth process. It is people's intersubjective agreements that constitute the tenability, reality and objectivity of the knowledge claims that we advance. We expand and extend our knowledge and understanding of the world on a collaborative basis: it is now coming to be widely appreciated that a co-operative, rather than a competitive approach to learning is of immense help to groups of students in facilitating rapid gains in the acquisition of their learning and mastering difficult, complex and heterogeneous forms of knowledge and skill (OECD, 1991).

Thus our learning is social and collaborative: as learners we work best in teams, not fighting to work against each other but the more easily acquiring our learning because we do it best in the company of our peers, cooperating with each other in a collaboration that is positive, supportive and in an environment where the principal motive for progress is *not* that of the threat of "defeat" or the thrill of "victory" in some kind of "competition" for ascendancy over other learners but that of mutual benefit.

Indeed we have now begun to appreciate that the competitive approach to knowledge is not merely educationally and ethically dubious: it is also psychologically grossly inefficient and can be socially gravely disharmonious and even disruptive. It is also, for good Popperian reasons, epistemically misconceived: we can make best learning gains and cognitive progress with our problem-solving when we do it in the company and with the assistance of all those who can join in a common enterprise of theory construction, criticism and correction. Research now tells us that the best way of doing this is in company with other people of like minds, at about similar kinds of cognitive development and capable of similar rates of progress. – but not necessarily of similar chronological ages – forming a self-conscious critical mass of a group involved in problem-solving work in a research enterprise in which there are no subordinates or super-ordinates and to which all can make equally critical or creative contributions.

There is the final point that this kind of learning is best and most effective if it addresses problems that are relevant to the students themselves, whenever and wherever they encounter them during their lives and in the pursuit of their own interests and all their main concerns, whether as private individuals or members of the community.

New Technologies of Learning

The possibilities of this kind of learning are enhanced by the revolutionary changes that have taken place in the storing, retrieval and communication of information. As a result of the globalisation of information and knowledge advance brought about by the

information technology revolution, the concept of learning and a learning institution has been transformed. Educationally speaking, we now inhabit a public realm constituted by all the libraries, archives, data banks, information stores and records, to which, with the appropriate technical devices, we may now have access any time we need to from anywhere we want.

Moreover, this world is not now open only for a few hours each day in term time: learning by means of the sophisticated modern learning technologies is always available – twenty-four hours a day in all days of the year. The instruments of modern learning technologies are unfailingly patient and never get emotional or angry with learners. They are infinitely hardworking and long-suffering and almost infinitely resourceful: they never run out of steam. They will repeat instruction, checking, and corrections; they enable us to make repeated attempts at success as often as we wish and can replicate hypotheses and thought-experiments as many times as we like. They encourage great stress on accuracy and precision in a completely non-threatening way. They can deliver their resources of information, knowledge and understanding to the workplace, the home, the youth club, the crèche, the community centre or the Cyber-Café – indeed, to any place that might be convenient to our purposes and not within the artificial constraints of a place up until now specifically set aside and specially programmed and staffed for learning.

The Information Technology revolution and the powers made available by interactive multimedia have had an enormous impact on the ways in which schools and educational institutions of all kinds work. Similarly various forms of interactive communication have made enormous differences to the world of work and will clearly go on influencing the ways in which work is organised in a very large part of industry, business and commerce in the future. Education programming is central to this type of activity. Technology will enable the development of communities of interest, interactivity and mutual benefit.

This means that learning institutions of all kinds have to re-appraise and re-organise the ways in which worthwhile knowledge is conceived and presented, how curricula are categorised and delivered, and how learning is arranged and promoted. Schools have to find ways in which they can help people to develop the now vital skills of learning how to learn: pushing their cognitive progress forward themselves, directing and controlling their own intellectual growth, learning how to be curious and how to do research, being imaginative and creative, self-monitoring, self-critical, self-correcting, pacing their own learning, as well as ways to provide multiple pathways and openings for people in which they can work at their own pace. Information technology can help in all this.

The vision of a networked society with equal access to knowledge and information, made up of communities and individuals, themselves in charge of their own learning environments, and governments, educators and the private sector working in partnership, is fundamental to the evolution and achievement of the goal of a democratic, free, economically stable and just society in the twenty-first century. But realisation of this vision will require a close examination of the content, style, structure and organisation of modern methods and technologies of learning, particularly in respect of the new possibilities offered by the emphasis upon student-centred and self-directed modes of

progression, together with an examination of the purpose and function of educational institutions and their use of electronic technologies to meet new educational needs. In setting the agenda for education in the twenty-first century policy-makers and educators will clearly need to direct their attention to an exploration of the ways in which the availability of modern information technology devices and new modes of student progress will make possible, effect and shape frameworks for curriculum content and styles of assessment in learning institutions, in ways that will both transform learning institutions and environments generally and contribute to the realisation of broader social goals.

At the present time, unfortunately, many schools and centres of learning are either not teaching all members of the community how to live with and exploit the opportunities offered by information technology or are inhibited by constraints of various kinds from doing so as thoroughly and as extensively as they might wish. Clearly this should change: there is now so much information available and means of handling it that the hardware, software, and the other resources need to be made widely available, and the skills involved need to be taught – on a lifelong basis. Schools and other education institutions have an important role in this and a vital part to play in helping people to manage information and to prepare themselves for the immense opportunities it offers, in increasing vocational preparedness, personal growth, social inclusion and democratic participation.

Before showing members of the community how to use modern technologies of learning, therefore, teachers in schools and other learning centres, and educators generally, need themselves to be shown the many advantages offered by them. They need to help students be clear about the purpose and benefits offered by this form of communication. One of the main advantages of modern information technology is that students will be much more empowered to select and travel along learning pathways that they can construct for themselves and use for their own personal growth. These are among the many reasons why in the future students will be logging into learning centres around the world from their schools, their homes and their workplaces. The range of information channels and learning pathways available will be immeasurably enhanced. In the future modern information technology, including audio-visual channels, will facilitate communication between communities of interest.

For this reason educators will need to re-examine their reliance on linear models of cognitive growth and communication, since one of the essential components of the new technologies is that random access is possible, that navigation through different informational elements is almost boundless, and that the linear structures institutions are applying to their current course and programme design are not necessarily the appropriate ones for learning. Video on demand allows students to feed their own non-formal, non-traditional and non-linear requests for information and other questions into the system and get responses that suit them. This means that education audiences are no longer passive; this in turn raises massive questions for those providing access to education services through modern technology media. Programme designers in schools and other educating institutions will have to establish how they develop programs and design messages that cater for the needs of the active individual learner.

The challenge for educators and service providers is to design an educational product and process that makes this possible.

QUESTIONS OF ETHICS : THE DEMAND FOR JUSTIFICATION

The OECD *Jobs Study* (1994) has highlighted the need for a lifelong learning approach on the following grounds:

- The relationship that is held to subsist between skills, competences and aggregate economic performance
- Educational attainment and the labour market performance of individuals:
 - low earnings for the least qualified
 - high risk of unemployment for the least qualified
 - growing disadvantage for the less educated
 - the widening of the skills gap: opportunities for overcoming low educational attainment
- Education, skills and competences and their relationship to enterprise performance and improved productivity
- The relationship between national, individual and enterprise performance.

As is clear from the above, major analyses of the current climate of change in economic and social matters have provided a powerful rationale and justification for the realisation of the idea of lifelong learning for all. Perhaps the most powerful of these analyses, the OECD *Jobs Study* concentrates heavily on the link between the economic policies and performances of countries and the concomitant need for the continuing availability of a high quality, skilled and knowledgeable workforce.

This is, however, only one of the goals of many countries' education policies. The others – democratic engagement and personal fulfilment – are now held to be quite as important as economic goals, if the aims of social inclusiveness and personal development are to be achieved. Although the OECD *Jobs Study* makes reference to the importance of these other goals for countries' education policies, they are given nothing like the attention that economic factors and arguments receive.

Given many governments' concerns for the multi-faceted character of lifelong learning and its relationship to a broader and more diverse set of goals, it may well be that, in setting the agenda for education for the next century, a more comprehensive analysis of all the various dimensions and features of the nature, aims and purposes of policies for "realizing lifelong learning for all" will have to be tackled, and a more wide-ranging set of justifications addressing the differences in those aims and purposes more clearly articulated and provided. In this way policies pertaining to lifelong learning endeavours are more likely to be developed and articulated, not merely with respect to providing arguments to vindicate a country's concern for its economic self-sufficiency, but also to re-inforce its appreciation of the need for a multiplicity of initiatives that will conduce to the wider goals of lifelong learning. These may be seen, *inter alia*, as: *increasing the emancipation of, access to, participation in and benefit or*

success experienced by all citizens in its various political, social and cultural institutions, and opening further avenues of personal advancement to them.

We are aware, of course, that such goals are open to criticism from many quarters. Not all will necessarily agree that the ends aimed at by lifelong learning policies are so wide-ranging. It is here where questions of values come in.

One of the most compelling problems in the field of lifelong learning activities and their provision is that of the choice between deliberate intervention or simple *laissez-faire*. This causes problems of normative ethics on two levels – the general and the particular. In the first case this involves asking whether, as a matter of policy, we ought to attempt to influence or alter people's behaviour and attitudes towards learning beyond the school *at all*, rather than allowing people to make their own choices and cope with the outcomes in their own way. It might be claimed, for instance, that any sort of intrusion, prescription or even encouragement takes away people's autonomy and influences them to follow heteronomously prescribed choices rather than their own. For to decide to try to get people deliberately engaged in lifelong learning activities at all presupposes that we think they ought to and that entails being prepared to justify the intervention implicit in such prescriptions or public policies.

Having once decided that, however, we arrive at the second level of problem in the normative realm: what particular policies or strategies of prescription or commendation ought we adopt and adhere to, not only in general but in particular cases too? Is it sufficient, for example, simply to provide the information and the opportunities and then leave people to make up their own minds? Is it justifiable deliberately to try to influence attitudes and behaviour so that people will start taking up the opportunities and engaging in further learning activities and generally come to act in accordance with what we believe to be "good" or "in their interests" on the basis of arguments which *we* accept? And what if the outcome of people's engaging in such activities is different from that we expected or hoped for? In such cases are our policies or prescriptions to be judged on the basis of the legislators', policy-makers' and providers' good intentions, or on the actual outcome of those policies? And in the case of the latter, what will count as a success: is it the "nearly one hundred per cent success" that will count or the "nearly one per cent failure" that will give us cause for concern?

Our awareness of what we are about when we pose such questions of justification clearly rests upon and presupposes a complex network of preconceptions, theories and value judgments about what it is to be a human being, what it is to look forward to and prepare for a full life in which choices are maximised, what it is to live as a member of the community. To draw out what might be the major elements in such theories and judgments is not easy, for they are often unstated or unexamined. Further, to conclude that people's values should be added to, expanded or even altered is a notion that is likely to meet with some resistance, particularly in cases where refinement, expansion or alteration may be likely to affect a person's whole outlook on their work, their leisure time and even their domestic circumstances. Much of such resistance could be justified on moral grounds.

For some people, to be exposed to the kinds of requirements or recommendations that some employers, educators in institutions or politicians might urge with respect to the importance of people's taking up learning beyond formal settings would be

unacceptable. They might see it as being subjected to forms of control, intrusion or even persuasion that they would find going beyond such groups' authority or abhorrent on other grounds. Such differences of opinion issue not only from such people's beliefs about what constitutes a morally acceptable basis for relationships between employers, other institutions or the state, but also, in turn, from the metaphysical basis of such beliefs about the nature of human beings and of the principles obtaining in relations between them.

For example, if, say, some people take the view that human beings only differ from animals in degree of sophistication and that their patterns of behaviour, or the products of their work may be exploited or simply seen as commodities in the market place, and that talk of freedom, independence and human dignity is merely another form of commodity, then the kind of recipes they put forward for the need to learn throughout people's lives will probably be different from those policies and prescriptions for action that would follow from subscribing to the Kantian principle of not treating persons as means to ends of any kind, whether economic, social or political, but always only as ends in themselves. In the latter view individual people are seen as autonomous agents, with complete freedom of judgment and choice in working out what they believe they ought to do in making decisions as to how to face the problems they encounter throughout their lives and how best to spend their time and resources in them.

In this way it seems to us that approaches to the question of putting forward policies and programmes of lifelong learning exemplify the philosophical problems of human nature *and* moral values. For there will be considerable differences between the kinds of programmes and range of activities devised in the attempt to make possible and encourage the development and expansion of the limits of people's autonomy, and those in which it is thought to be a matter of simply inculcating the right attitudes in people or of getting people to respond to the right stimuli. There will be considerable difference between the evaluation of those lifelong learning programmes and activities proffered by those who believe absolutely in the right of individuals to make choices (on an informed basis) for themselves, and those put forward by such groups as see people simply as economic functionaries, agents of production, customers or consumers, whose needs can be shaped and whose final choices can be predicted, and among whom some "casualties", "failures" or "recalcitrants" will merely be seen as temporary distractions or nuisances to be put up with in pursuit of the greater economic or social interest.

In practice, does this mean that any policy or programme of lifelong learning proposed by or arising from the interests of such different groups can be accepted? For some philosophers such fundamental disagreements in matters of moral standpoint are to be taken as a matter of course. One described the logic of moral judgments in this way: "Take any position and its opposite can be maintained without logical error or factual mistake" (Atkinson 1965). Certainly some would contend (see Hare 1952) that it would be perfectly possible for two different sides in any moral controversy to follow the "rules" of moral deliberation and both be right in their judgments, even though they came to mutually contradictory conclusions. Others would quickly rebut such a notion:

How 'X is good' can be a well-founded moral judgment when 'X is bad' can be equally well-founded it is not easy to see ... How can questions such as 'What does it matter?' 'What harm does it do?' ... and 'Why is it important?' be set aside here? (Foot 1958)

On such a view it is simply not the case that in moral matters anything goes. In the human situation, we have to accept that there are some incontrovertible 'facts of life' that have to be taken account of in discussions about moral matters (see also Geoffrey Warnock 1967). For example, no one would disagree that to lose a limb would be a horror to be avoided if at all possible; or that we ought to do everything we can to maximise people's welfare and minimise the possibilities of their falling into harm; or that a life of quality, in which human beings could be seen to be 'flourishing' and not suffering, is an end to be desired, promoted and worked for by people individually and collectively over the course of their lives.

It is this last position that underpins the selection of values we set out above as justifying programmes of lifelong learning. It seems to us that human beings' functional efficiency and benefit will be promoted by their continually acquiring the resources they need to tackle the problems they face, whether these consist in adopting a regimen of behaviours that will enable them to protract their existence until normal term, or working out for themselves a pattern of activities and choosing a range of options that, on reflection, they believe will improve the quality of their lives. This means the need to continue to learn until the ends of their lives. For there will always be circumstances, challenges and changes in those lives that will require a changed attitude, an altered set of beliefs, a different kind of value. Examples of cases which call for such changes are too numerous to mention, though all are important, such as, for example, the movement among Australians for altered constitutional arrangements, or the need among South Africans for reconciliation and the reconstruction of their society. In such cases the need for new learning is paramount.

It is for these reasons that we suggest that the pragmatic, problem-based approach will be most suitable to the conception, articulation and elaboration of theories, tentative hypotheses and trial solutions meet to tackle the questions with which national governments, national and international agencies, communities and groups of people are currently pre-occupied and to increase their effectiveness and functional utility. This is our answer to the demand for the justification of lifelong learning.

CONCLUSION

We believe one should go on from here and identify the problems, topics and issues to which proposals for lifelong learning may be deemed to provide solutions. It is clear that both international education agencies and governments in many countries, concerned to increase their economic potential, to make their political arrangements more equitable, just and inclusive, and to offer a greater range of avenues for self-improvement and personal development to all their citizens, see answers to all these

questions in the promotion of lifelong learning as an educational ideal and in the provision and encouragement of lifelong learning programmes as a means to its achievement.

We realize, of course, that none of these aims and undertakings for lifelong learning can really be separated from the other: all three elements interact and cross-fertilize each other. A more competent and highly-skilled agent in the work-force has more of an interest in and responsibility for contributing to the improvement of institutions and their point in a set of democratic political arrangements; both are in turn enhanced by the affective satisfaction experienced and achieved by those who have expanded their life-horizons in cognitive content and skills in complex forms of intellectual operation or cultural activity in which, upon reflection, they now prefer to spend their time.

There is a complex inter-play between all three, that makes education for a more highly-skilled work-force *at the same time* an education for better democracy *and* a more rewarding life. That is why the whole notion and value of “lifelong learning for all” might be usefully seen as a complex and multi-faceted process, that begins in pre-school, is carried on through compulsory and post-compulsory periods of formal education and training, and is then continued throughout life, through provision of such learning experiences, activities and enjoyment in the home, in the work-place, in universities and colleges, and in other educational, social and cultural agencies, institutions and settings – both formal and informal – within the community.

The central elements in what we have described (Chapman & Aspin 1997) as the “triadic” nature of lifelong learning –

- For economic progress and development
- For personal development and fulfilment
- For social inclusiveness and democratic understanding and activity

– are now seen as fundamental to bringing about a more democratic polity and set of social institutions, in which the principles and ideals of social inclusiveness, justice and equity are present, practised and promoted; an economy which is strong, adaptable and competitive; and a richer range of provision of those activities on which individual members of society are able to choose to spend their time and energy, for the personal rewards and satisfactions that they confer.

This approach, however, requires a far greater, more coherent and consistent, better co-ordinated and integrated, more multi-faceted approach to education and to realizing a “lifelong learning” approach *for all* than has hitherto been the case. To bring this about – to move towards the achievement of a “learning society” – will require nothing less than a substantial re-appraisal of the provision, resourcing and goals of education and training, and a major re-orientation of its direction towards the availability and the value of opportunities for all to secure access to “learning throughout life”.

Therein lies the major challenge for governments, policy-makers and educators as they grapple with ways of conceptualizing lifelong learning and realizing the aim of “lifelong learning for all”.

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This chapter draws substantially on the book by Chapman, J.D. and Aspin, D.N., *The School, the Community and Lifelong Learning* London: Cassell 1998. Readers are encouraged to consult that publication for a more extensive discussion of conceptual issues raised above.

Chapter 2: Locating Lifelong Learning and Education in Contemporary Currents of Thought and Culture

RICHARD BAGNALL

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a picture of the ways and extent to which lifelong learning discourse is dependent on the broader cultural contexts of which it is a part. This is done by firstly articulating three progressive sentiments that may be seen as informing lifelong learning ideology, theory and advocacy. Against that more traditional background is then examined the sort of educational discourse that is generated in the contemporary cultural context, and which therefore prevails in contemporary lifelong learning policy and practice. It is argued that, although this context valorizes lifelong learning, the progressive sentiments are largely and substantively incidental to prevailing lifelong learning discourse, although they do give that discourse its aura of symbolic value. In so arguing, this work builds upon such recent critiques of contemporary lifelong learning discourse as those of Baptiste (1999), Boshier (1998), Collins (1998), C. Falk (1998), Rubenson (1996) and Wilson (1999).

THREE PROGRESSIVE SENTIMENTS

Lifelong learning ideology, theory and advocacy over the last four decades may be seen as informed, very largely, by three progressive sentiments: the individual, the democratic and the adaptive. The notion of an informing progressive sentiment is that of a stream, current or strand of commitment to cultural reform – one that is defined by a central programmatic purpose for reform of the cultural institutions affected (the educational institution in our case). That purpose, then, constitutes an organizing ideal to which advocacy is directed, around which theory is constructed, and in support of which evidence is gathered. It captures the ethical meaning and import of the educational ideal. The three progressive sentiments here recognized are seen as capturing the dominant currents of thought that have shaped our contemporary understanding of lifelong learning. However, their recognition and presentation here involves some degree of distillation from the cultural contexts in which they are embedded, and of separation from each other, for in educational theory and practice they are interrelated, being neither isolated from each other nor discrete in themselves. They combine in different ways and with different emphases to form the more conventionally recognized philosophical traditions in education: progressive, humanist, democratic socialist, liberal,

and so on. They importantly cut across or transcend epistemology, although they are differently expressed within different epistemologies. They emerge, then, in the ideological commitments of philosophical traditions (and are expressed in particular educational ideologies) informing lifelong learning advocacy. Each does so in what may be termed its progressive, authentic or genuine form: that form which is directed to the achievement of human liberation, emancipation, progress and development, through the central programmatic purpose of the sentiment. Those ideologies, and their supporting theories of learning and education, therefore give expression to the progressive sentiments in various hybrid forms. The references here to exemplifying sources in each case must, accordingly, be seen as indicative only, and not as identifying evidence of any unalloyed sentiment.

The Individual Progressive Sentiment

The individual progressive sentiment is defined by its programmatic commitment to individual growth and development. It seeks liberation from ignorance (through individual enlightenment), from dependence (through individual empowerment), from constraint (through the individual transformation of perspectives), or from inadequacy (through individual development). Lifelong learning works that are strongly grounded in this sentiment include those of Brocket and Hiemstra (1991), Longworth and Davies (1996), Overly (1979), Taylor (1998) and Wain (1987).

The focus of its educational advocacy depends on the ideological emphasis given to each of the above-mentioned liberatory commitments. An emphasis on liberation from ignorance gives a focus on cognitive or intellectual development and understanding, commonly (but not necessarily) through the academic disciplines (Lawson 1979, Paterson 1979, Taylor 1998). An emphasis on liberation from dependence gives a focus on the development of skills and on socialization into social conventions and practices (Knowles 1980, Overly 1979). An emphasis on liberation from constraint gives a focus on the transformation and transcendence of frameworks of individual understanding and capability, particularly those acquired through passive acculturation (Barnett 1994, Collins 1991, Mezirow 1991). An emphasis on liberation from inadequacy gives a focus on individual growth and development (Dewey 1961, Houle 1980, Wain 1987).

Its case for lifelong learning is based, variously, on the vast breadth and depth, and the constant progressive advance, of human knowledge with which to come to grips (Paterson 1979, Taylor 1998), on the changing developmental needs of different life tasks at different periods or phases of individual development (Allman 1982, Havighurst 1972, Heymans 1992), on the continuing need for educational transformation in the vast expanse of human conformism (Barnett 1994, Brookfield 1984), and on the endless journey of individual growth in an evolving social context (Houle 1980, Wain 1987).

Although this sentiment focuses on individual development, it nevertheless tends to frame a perception of public benefit from education. This benefit is seen as being through the development of individuals who are more functionally independent, culturally informed and publicly aware (Houle 1980, Olafson 1973, Paterson 1979). The actions of such persons are seen as being more likely to be characterized by individual

responsibility and capability, an ethical orientation, and a sensitivity and responsiveness to others and to the public welfare. A society of such persons, then, is seen as being more likely to be one in which the monitoring and moderation of human action is largely individualized and collective – requiring only minimal state investment in surveillance, policing and administration of justice. Accordingly, this progressive sentiment tends to be associated with a perception of the public value of (lifelong) education as being high. Correspondingly, there tends to be the advocacy of state support (including financial support) for lifelong education and learning, for all citizens, to the limit of their ability to benefit from it, including that for adults, but particularly those who have been unable to capitalize on earlier educational opportunities (Commission on Social Justice 1994, Lawson 1982, Paterson 1979).

Through this sentiment, the educational institution tends to be seen as both important and importantly distinct from other social institutions. Individual development through education calls both for specialist educational expertise on the part of teachers and for specialist organizations through which it is undertaken. The nature of that expertise and the sorts of organizations, however, vary somewhat with the ideological emphasis: an emphasis on cognitive development commonly giving a commitment to teachers schooled in the academic disciplines, and to organizations reflective of academic values; an emphasis on liberation from dependence sees a focus on the formation of teacher capabilities in facilitating the development of autonomous, self-directed learners; an emphasis on transformation is more likely to see a commitment to teacher expertise in the management of learning situations and to similarly structured organizations; whereas an emphasis on individual growth is more associated with the development of interpersonal understanding, empathy and interpersonal skills in teachers (Barnett 1994, Cropley 1977, Goad 1984).

The Democratic Progressive Sentiment

The democratic progressive sentiment is defined by its programmatic commitment to social justice, equity and social development through participative democratic involvement. It seeks liberation from inherited authority of all forms, whether autocratic, oligarchic, theocratic, or whatever, and from oppression, servitude and poverty, in the creation of a truly civil society (Fauré *et al.* 1972, Gutmann 1987, Illich 1973, Walker 1992, White 1983). Education, then, is to serve and mirror those ends (Aronowitz & Giroux 1991, Freire 1972, Gelpi 1985).

The focus of its educational advocacy is on cultural reform through education – cultural reform in the directions noted above and through broadening access to any or all of the liberating learnings of the individual progressive sentiment (Gelpi 1984, Schuller 1979, Walker 1992). The purpose of education is to inform social action for the development of a more humane, tolerant, just and egalitarian society of liberated, empowered individuals, acting collegially in the public good. Education is seen as informing both social action itself and the reflective and discursive evaluation of that action: an on-going process of action and reflection, together commonly labeled ‘praxis’ (Freire 1972). It is seen as being directed particularly to the liberation of

oppressed, marginalized and exploited sectors of society. Education is therefore to be directed to achieving cultural change for the good of humanity as a whole.

Its case for lifelong learning is essentially that human liberation from oppression and exploitation calls for continuing vigilance and action as new forms of oppression are instituted or old ones revived in new forms (Fragniere 1976, Gelpi 1984, Illich & Verne 1976).

Lifelong education, accordingly, is seen as being, first and foremost, a public good. It is from the public good that the private, individual benefit flows (Fauré *et al.* 1972, M. Peters & Marshall 1996). The provision of education, correspondingly, is a state responsibility, calling for relatively high levels of state support, including financial support, for educational engagement by all citizens (Fauré *et al.* 1972, Fragniere 1976, Illich 1970).

Educational ideology that is strongly informed by this sentiment calls for teachers to be relatively well educated themselves, to be actively involved in cultural reform, to be committed to the democratic sentiment, and to be skilled in their role as teachers (Hatcher 1998). The important reflective and culturally critical aspects of educational change call for a degree of institutional autonomy in educational organizations, but one which, nevertheless, is engaged with broader social issues and public policy (Aronowitz & Giroux 1991, Walker 1992).

The Adaptative Progressive Sentiment

The adaptive progressive sentiment is defined by its programmatic responsiveness to cultural change. It seeks liberation from deprivation, poverty and dependence, through adaptive learning. Such development may be at any level of social organization – individual, organizational, national, global, or whatever, depending upon the learning need (Jessup 1969, Knapper & Cropley 1985, Kofman & Senge 1995, Kozlowski 1995, Longworth 1995).

The focus of educational advocacy, then, is on the creation of educational systems and policies that make it possible for individuals, organizations, etc. to keep pace with cultural change and to advance themselves in the changing cultural context (Evans 1985, Hiemstra 1976, McClusky 1974). Individuals are thereby enabled either to maintain themselves as contributing members of society, avoiding an otherwise inevitable slide into anachronistic irrelevance and dependence on welfare or others, or to develop themselves as contributing members of society, if they are already or are still dependent (Cropley 1977, Knapper & Cropley 1985). Organizations are enabled to maintain themselves as viable, thriving entities, in an increasingly competitive and global marketplace (Kofman & Senge 1995, Kozlowski 1995). And nations are enabled to provide a fiscal, political and social context that facilitates the development of their citizens and their interests, while providing welfare support for those who are deemed to need and deserve it (Carnevale 1991, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 1996). Its progressive thrust is grounded in the freedom, particularly the negative freedom (i.e., freedom *from* restraint and constraint) to enjoy the good life, to contribute constructively to society, and to pursue one's interests.

Its case for lifelong learning is based on the impact of accelerating cultural change on the learning needs of individuals, organizations and nations. That impact is on adults as much as it is on children, and on the elderly as much as on those in middle age (Chapman & Aspin 1997, Cropley 1977, Evans 1985). Changing modes of work and employment, production and consumption, communication, exchange, and signification all impact on individuals throughout their lives, albeit in different ways. Through lifelong learning, then, education is seen as being directed to a process of lifelong adaptation to the changing cultural context (Hiemstra 1976, Jessup 1969). That context calls also, though, for education to be directed to the development of metacognitive skills, to allow learners to manage their own actions as lifelong learners (Knapper & Cropley 1985, Smith 1992).

Educational benefit through this sentiment has both public and private aspects, depending principally on the balance of perceived benefit. It tends to be focused, though, more strongly on the private, particularly in the post-compulsory sectors of education (Marginson 1993). Through education at that level, individuals or organizations are seen as the primary beneficiaries – through their enhanced or maintained capacity to profit within the changing cultural context. Public benefit tends, then, to be seen as secondary – as a consequence of private gains. From enhanced private security and advantage can flow generosity, altruism, beneficence and an active concern for the public good. State support for education thus tends to be seen as ideally limited to areas of welfare support, basic skills development, socialization, rehabilitation, and public education – areas, nonetheless, which constitute a large and important slice of educational activity (Jessup 1969). The state's role in other areas of educational reform is seen as being more that of regulation, of standard-setting and of establishing and maintaining frameworks for the recognition and transfer of adaptive learning (Melody 1997).

Educational ideology that is strongly informed by this sentiment calls for educational provision and engagement to be contextualized, to be optimally embedded in the adaptive life tasks to which the learning is directed (Gustavsson 1997, Kozlowski 1995). It calls for the cost of education to be privatized to the individuals, collectivities or organizations to the extent that those entities are seen as being its most direct and immediate beneficiaries (Marginson 1993). Correspondingly, good teachers are seen as those who bring relevant (particularly recent) life task experience and expertise to their teaching role, who have an appropriately responsive and open-minded attitude to change, and who have the requisite skills for effectively and efficiently transferring their relevant learning to others (Cropley 1977, Cropley & Dave 1978). Educational ideology and policy tend to have a strong element of enculturation into the ever-changing realities of lived experience, and of coping with the demands of those realities (Gee & Lankshear 1995, Ohliger 1974).

THE CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL CONTEXT

The foregoing three progressive sentiments may be seen as the dominant currents of reformist thought in recent decades of lifelong education and learning advocacy and

theorization. As such, they are grounded in cultural traditions of modern enlightenment, emancipation and progressivism. The contemporary cultural context, though, may be seen as one which foregrounds a rather particular and importantly different set of cultural qualities. That context is both increasingly international or global and increasingly free and independent of traditional ideological commitments (Castells 1997, Hutcheon 1988, Ward 1996). In form it may be seen as a sort of generalized capitalism – of capitalist values applied to all cultural domains, including those of education, knowledge and learning (Habermas 1987, Hall & Jacques 1989, Harvey 1990, Lash & Urry 1987). That generalized and global capitalism, though, is not so much a product of capitalist ideology, as it is a cultural condition arising from the general and global *disillusionment* with all ideological positions (Alexander 1995, Bauman 1992, Lyotard 1984, Taylor 1997). The contemporary cultural context of advanced capitalism is to this extent more of a cultural bottom line or default option, than it is a triumph of neo-liberalism or similar ideology. Correspondingly, it lacks the progressive thrust of liberal ideology, just as it lacks the progressive thrusts of competing ideological positions, although on the surface it may appear to be more compatible with some than with others.

Contemporary culture may be seen also as being characterized by a technologically-induced globalization of power, wealth and information. In that process of globalization, the traditional sources of legitimating authority – the institutions of the state, business organizations, the media and the church – have lost their power to control the formation of cultural reality and individual identity. Power, capital and information are seen now as being diffused through shifting global networks of strategic economic activity governed by the play of rational expectations through competitive markets (Castells, 1997, Vattimo 1992).

In its ideological disillusionment, contemporary culture is inevitably more focused on the contexts of human engagement, than it is on the traditions, conventions and institutions historically seen as informing human action. The value of past practice in informing present action is diminished, as is the value of de-contextualized forms of knowledge (the academic disciplines in particular) and that of trans-contextual social institutions (such as education, work and leisure). There is therefore a discounting of history, and of disciplinary knowledge and learning, together with a general de-differentiation of cultural institutions and distinctions of all sorts (Castells 1997, Lash 1990, Vattimo 1998). The future is also discounted – as being relatively unknowable beyond the immediate short term, within a rapidly and radically changing cultural context. Planning, correspondingly, tends to be in response to immediately present problems and issues, rather than from concern for the longer term. Indeed, time itself may be seen as having been transcended or annihilated (Bauman 1998a, Castells 1996).

Valued knowledge in such a cultural context is necessarily that which is effective in particular situations. It is that which works; that which Lyotard (1984) has termed 'performative' knowledge. It is that knowledge which allows people to do things – socially, communicatively, interpersonally, in work, or in recreation. It is, in other words, instrumental or technical knowledge (Haines 1981, Scott 1988).

Ideological disillusionment in advanced capitalism leaves human beings as relatively isolated individuals: cultural producers and consumers who craft their own

cultural realities through their own choice of cultural contexts, or who drift among the ever-changing array of contexts that are created to tempt them (Boshier 1998, Edwards 1993, I. Falk 1997). Since they are the units of cultural consumption and production, it is their interests, their desires, which come to define the agenda for, indeed, the nature of, cultural reform and progress (Bauman 1992, Featherstone 1992, Usher & Edwards 1994). Individual interests come to define the good society, albeit a defining that is amply massaged by the mass media (Kerckhove 1995, Press 1995, Rosen 1990). Culture as a whole thus becomes focused on the individual – individualized (Boshier, Wilson & Qayyum 1999, Taylor 1997, Tobias 1999). It becomes a culture of narcissistic self-absorption. However, with the individualization of freedom in this way, there necessarily follows the individualization – the privatization – of responsibility (Hillman 1998, Toulmin 1990, Wellmer 1991). That privatization applies not only to morality, but also to the burden of supporting the cost of one's cultural and personal improvement (Bagnall 1998, Bauman 1993). Education (as well as health and other social institutions) thus come to be seen more as private than as public responsibilities (Bauman 1992, Chapman 1996, Melody 1997). State responsibility in all social institutions is diminished to a concentration on the provision of basic, minimal 'safety net' services and to the setting and policing of regulatory frameworks (Bauman 1998b, Melody 1997). These latter are necessary in order to limit the damage to others from private excess and to facilitate market flexibility and growth through the minimal standards of attainment and comparability that are integral to such frameworks.

A cultural context of advanced capitalism in which social agendas are defined by the interests of individuals through their choices as consumers and producers, results in the dominance of economic considerations in all cultural realms (Boshier 1998, Carnevale 1991, Mort 1989). Advancing and maintaining the 'health' of the economy thus becomes the primary concern of all informed political and social agendas. There is generated a premium on productivity, and on the efficiency with which outcomes are achieved or produced (Guinsburg 1996, Hartley 1995, Ritzer 1996). A healthy (a productive and efficient) economy maximizes the opportunity for individual responsibility and action, to the end of individual benefit. Individual benefit both defines public good (in its aggregate) and allows individuals (and organizations, etc.) to more explicitly contribute to the public good (through charitable work and donations, for example). There is necessarily a pre-occupation with knowledge that is not just instrumental, but more explicitly *vocational*, in that it contributes to the economic potential of individuals – to the potential for individuals to contribute through work to the economy (Baptiste 1999, Hart 1992, Tuijnman 1992, Welton 1997). The major part of such knowledge, inevitably, is conceptualized as that of *skills*. Vocational skills are therefore elevated to become the most valued form of knowledge (Kincheloe 1995, Usher, Bryant & Johnston 1997).

CONTEMPORARY LIFELONG LEARNING DISCOURSE

Culture of that sort must inevitably place a high premium on learning (Boshier 1998, Candy, Crebert & O'Leary 1994, Giere 1997). As a cultural context in which

political and social agendas are set through the exercise and manipulation of aggregate individual interests, it is characterized by instability, unpredictability and changeability, in all cultural domains, but particularly those which are central or defining: the formation of individual identity (with its influence on individual interests, and hence on consumption and production); individual well-being (as the focal point of individual desire); communications (as the means and the media through which individual identity and interests are moulded); and work (as the means through which individuals produce and acquire the capacity to consume) (Bagnall 1999a, Bauman 1992, Castells 1997, Hartley 1995). Constant change, the threat of impending change, and the pressure for ever-greater efficiency and productivity in the production of goods and services, demand of individuals that they be constantly engaged in the learning of new work skills, new communicative capabilities, new ways to acquire wealth, new ways of seeing and presenting themselves (new identities), new pleasures, and new experiences (Butler 1998, Longworth 1995, Tobias 1999).

Organizations through which cultural production, consumption and exchange occur, in all cultural realms (business, industry, recreation, health, education, and so on), are no less affected (Drucker 1993, Kofman & Senge 1995, Lessem 1993). Organizations must effectively become 'learning organizations' if they are to remain viable in a cultural context of the sort outlined above. They must be constantly adapting and responding to the shifting cultural context, to be 'working smarter', to be flexible, efficient and outcomes-oriented. The same applies no less to nations (Fauré *et al.* 1972, Ranson 1998).

The cultural context, in other words, demands of individuals, organizations and nations that they be constantly engaged in learned change – in lifelong learning. To the extent that they are not so, they will be at risk of becoming or remaining dysfunctional, marginal and impoverished. Contemporary society is thus necessarily (in an empirical sense) a learning society. Only successful individuals, organizations and nations figure or count in such a culture, and to be successful requires a commitment to lifelong learning (Ball 1991, Carnevale 1991).

Contemporary educational discourse, correspondingly, gives expression to this view of contemporary society as one that is characterized by its commitment to lifelong learning; to the learning of skills, especially vocational skills; to the contextualization of educational curricula and engagements; to the privatization of educational benefit and responsibility; to the commodification of education; to its marketization; to enhancing its responsiveness to consumer interests; to its grounding in individual experience; and hence to its fragmentation (Edwards 1995, Giere 1997, Hartley 1995, Ritzer 1996, Tuijnman 1992). Lifelong learning has become a defining attribute of a 'modern' society, and of any individual element within it. It is valorized in its service to the maintenance of that society, acquiring symbolic value that requires, though, the constant recognition and reinforcement of learning and educational hierarchies (Marginson 1997, Scott 1997). Such, increasingly, is the nature of contemporary educational discourse (Marginson 1997, Peters 1995). And such, it is here argued, is *necessarily* its nature in the contemporary cultural context.

EVALUATING CONTEMPORARY LIFELONG LEARNING DISCOURSE

How, then, does that discourse look from the perspectives of the three progressive sentiments that were identified and outlined earlier as informing lifelong learning ideology, theory and advocacy?

From a perspective of the *individual* progressive sentiment, contemporary lifelong learning discourse looks like barren ground. Lifelong learning for enlightenment is very largely reduced to the experience of different learning engagements. With the de-differentiation of education and entertainment, the value of education for enlightenment becomes substantially that of experiencing different perspectives, realities and meanings (Edwards 1994, Rorty 1986). Conceptions of lifelong learning as being a progressive engagement in increasing the depth and breadth of one's understanding, through the study of cultural traditions, the academic disciplines and ways of life, are reduced to a relatively directionless and superficial sampling of different experiences. All of life's engagements are potentially educative, presenting an endless array of possible learning engagements (Baptiste 1999, Peña-Borrero 1984, Wain 1987). Learning for empowerment is much more strongly featured in contemporary lifelong learning discourse. It is, though, focused on the development of basic and minimal skills, particularly those required by business and industry (Candy & Crebert 1991). This is arguably more of a de-skilling and a disempowerment, than it is an empowering education (Gee & Lankshear 1995, Gorz, 1989, Hampson, Ewer & Smith 1994). Transformative learning in this discourse, correspondingly, tends to be focused on and limited to the accommodative transformation of learners to better fit them to the realities of the brave new world that is defined by the economic cultural agenda (Butler 1998, Gee & Lankshear 1995, Hart 1992). It is focused also, though, on the management of organizational change, where it is directed towards the ideological interests and values of the organization that is being served (Jones 1995, Marquardt 1995). Learning for individual development, similarly, tends to be focused on the development of individual capacities, particularly skills, in coping with the increasingly alienating cultural context and in shouldering the responsibility for one's own welfare within it (Baptiste 1999, Hart 1992). Individual development comes to be defined truly as growth in individual independence. In all of this, contemporary lifelong learning discourse is dominated overwhelmingly by the limiting vision and the limiting thinking of instrumental rationality: simple means-ends, input-output, cost-benefit, planning, management and evaluation, in which instrumental productivity and efficiency are far and away the primary determining values of educational realities (Hart 1992, Ritzer 1996). Contemporary lifelong learning discourse focuses strongly on the private benefit of education, with state involvement being reduced, ideally, to that of regulation, moderation, basic skills development and safety-net welfare support (Marginson 1997, Tobias 1999, Tuijnman 1992). Education tends to be reduced to basic training and to be contextualized in other cultural institutions which it is seen as serving (Briton 1996, Longworth & Davies 1996). And the teachers or trainers who are idealized in it, are selected more for the recency of their engagement in those other cultural institutions and for their fittedness to the prevailing cultural orthodoxy of lifelong learning, than they are for their substantive educational knowledge and professional development as educators (Borgir & Peltzer 1999).

In all of these respects, contemporary lifelong learning discourse fails to capture the progressive values and commitments of the individual progressive sentiment. Insofar as that sentiment is evident at all, it may be seen as having been captured, domesticated, exploited, reduced and bleached until it is no longer a reflection or an expression of progressive features of the sentiment. The claims by apologists of the prevailing cultural orthodoxy – to the effect that this orthodoxy is liberating through its enlightenment, empowerment and transformation of individuals and society – emerge, then, as a sham. They are at best a misunderstanding of the progressive nature of those qualities. At worst they are a deliberate distortion and misrepresentation of them.

Contemporary lifelong learning discourse may be seen as even further removed from the *democratic* informing sentiment. That sentiment calls for education critical of social injustice and exploitation, directed at informing and evaluating social action that is itself directed against any such injustice and exploitation, and that informs participative, democratic involvement in cultural affairs of all types (Guarasci, Cornwall & Associates 1997, Suchodolski 1979, Walker 1992). Education of this sort would be directed not only to the transformation of individual understanding and cultural effectiveness and to redressing the cultural imbalances of power, privilege and wealth that underpin injustice, but also to empowering all persons to engage actively in democratic governance and involvement (Aronowitz & Giroux 1991, Baptiste 1999). It would be available to all members of society in state-supported provision. It calls, therefore, for recognition of the public value of education and for the funding of lifelong learning provision by the state, with particular attention to ensuring provision for engagement by citizens who are traditionally marginalized or disadvantaged by society.

Contemporary lifelong learning discourse is not strongly characterized by any of these educational features. Its vocationalization and contextualization of learning are strongly counter-critical. State support for lifelong learning is directed increasingly at influential power groups (e.g., through subsidizing private schooling via state grants and tax concessions) and that which remains in the public sector tends increasingly to be devoted to the development of basic life and work skills. Critical education is hardly a commodity that can be marketed on a mass scale at cost or for profit. Private educational provision is marketable according to the publicly perceived market value of the credentials to which it leads. That which the market values is that which works in the market: enterprise, charisma, power, contacts, self-interest and the knowledge informing such attributes (Edwards 1995, Hartley 1995, Marginson 1997, Scott 1997). In the contemporary lifelong learning discourse, education that is congruent with the democratic sentiment will, correspondingly, be quite exceptional, since responsibility for it is not accepted by the state and it is contrary to the interests of private enterprise. Workers' union movements, being greatly weakened and fragmented by the prevailing cultural orthodoxy, cannot be in a strong position to support education on a significant scale, even in adult education for their members (Castells 1997, Holford 1994, Taylor 1997). Their discourse is also subject to the prevailing cultural orthodoxy itself, meaning that what education they do offer is as likely to be conservative and oppressive as it is radical and liberating (Taylor 1997). Contemporary education that is directed to marginalized and exploited sectors of society must become increasingly concerned with just the development of basic skills, especially

vocational skills. International funding agencies for the socially critical educational work of organizations such as the International Council for Adult Education, cannot but be expected to dry up under the influence of the prevailing cultural orthodoxy of economic determinism. These qualities of contemporary lifelong learning discourse running counter to the progressive elements of the democratic sentiment are reinforced by its contextualization of education in the institutions valorized by the prevailing cultural orthodoxy. The contextualization of education – its de-differentiation from other cultural realms – enhances its identification with, service to and dependence on those realms (Bagnall 1999a, Bauman 1998a). Education and learning lose distance from their objects of study, and thereby lose the capacity to create opportunities for critical reflection on those objects. The favouring of teachers who are resigned, if not committed, to the prevailing cultural orthodoxy ensures their complicity in its perpetuation and further consolidation (Hartley 1995). In these ways, critics of contemporary lifelong learning discourse who are arguing from the perspective of the democratic sentiment, see that discourse as being hegemonic, in the sense that it forms cultural identities supportive of and dependent on the dominant and unequal relations of power (Cruikshank 1995, Wilson 1999). It is seen therein as contributing to, enhancing, social inequality and its associated evils such as poverty, unemployment and exploitation, and as being essentially counter-ethical to the extent that it does so (Bagnall 1999b, Baptiste 1999, Edwards 1995).

Arguments by apologists of the contemporary lifelong learning orthodoxy, to the effect that it is democratic in spirit and form – through such features as its massification of education, its creation of a learning society and learning organizations, its learner-centred nature, its recognition of prior learning, and so on – are thus patently false. They can be seen as true, only if the deeper, progressive meaning of the democratic sentiment is ignored, and attention is focused just on the comforting surface appearances. In short, the progressiveness of the democratic sentiment may be seen as vigorously marginalized by that discourse.

From the perspective of the *adaptive* progressive sentiment, however, contemporary lifelong learning discourse may appear to be much more appropriate. A case for lifelong learning that is grounded in this sentiment would focus on the imperative for individuals, organizations, etc. to learn to adapt to cultural change as a condition of a healthy society. Contemporary lifelong learning discourse, being overwhelmingly framed by economic considerations, is apparently paradigmatically of this sort. The individualization and commodification of persons, and the creation of a mind-set of ephemerality, changeability and fragmentation, serve to direct learners into a new world of egocentric responsiveness to whatever contingent learning opportunities are seen as most accessible and potentially productive. That world is framed by the privatization and vocationalization of learning opportunities, informed by human capital and similar theory. The need for competitive efficiency, outcomes-driven educational provision and private investment in education and learning, serve to maximize the focus on essential, adaptive learning. The reduction of education to training, the emphasis on generic social and vocational skills, and the accreditation and transfer of prior learning, ensure that attention to other, more marginal learning interests is minimized. The contextualization and fragmentation of education and learning, together

with the contraction of historical and future-directed educational perspectives to the immediate present, ensure an optimal focus on the adaptive learning needs of the moment. The emphasis in this discourse on the primacy of the private value of education, with public value being largely basic or secondary and consequential, would also seem to be entirely in accord with the adaptive sentiment. Correspondingly, there is evident congruence in the role of the state being primarily one of regulation, moderation and support of basic skills development and safety net educational provision. The contextualization of education and of teaching expertise and expectations, and the privatization of those contexts, would seem to be no less congruent.

However, even from the perspective of this progressive sentiment, contemporary lifelong learning discourse may be seen, rather, as a poor representation of what is intended. The progressive thrust of that sentiment has itself been seen and presented as strongly liberatory, in the way in which education constructed according to its advocacy contributes to individual freedom, self-actualization, social integration and the potential to contribute to civil society (Chapman & Aspin 1997, Evans 1985, Hiemstra 1976, Jessup 1969). That liberatory emphasis is evidenced in contemporary lifelong learning discourse only for the culturally privileged – those who are in leadership positions or streams, or who have the independence of means to move beyond adaptively basic learning (Butler 1998, Edwards 1993). The argument above for congruence between the adaptive sentiment and contemporary educational discourse only applies in general if, again, the progressive, ethical, liberatory intent of the sentiment is overlooked, and the superficial appearances are attended to. Adaptive education may be seen as truly progressive, ethical and liberatory through this sentiment, but that progressiveness is largely lost in contemporary educational discourse. For the majority of persons, lifelong learning is becoming truly a process of being fitted into the contemporary cultural realities and the ideologies informing those realities. It is not directed to helping individuals transcend the limitations of those ideologies and the cultural realities that they generate.

LIFELONG LEARNING: A STOCKTAKING

In general, then, from the perspective of those progressive sentiments, contemporary lifelong learning discourse is largely, substantively, *incidental* to the progressive sentiments. It is largely ignorant of those sentiments and non-reflective of them. Contemporary lifelong learning discourse – in all of its magnificence – is grounded firmly in the contemporary tide of cultural change, and that tide of cultural change does not markedly evidence a responsiveness to the progressive sentiments informing lifelong learning ideology. It is certainly an adaptive responsiveness, but it fails to capture the liberatory features of the adaptive sentiment. It constructs learning entirely in the service of its contribution to the consumerist, economically centred culture of advanced capitalist production, consumption and exchange. Learning and education have become commodified, as have learners themselves (and ourselves).

Lifelong learning and education may be seen as having risen to great heights of contemporary cultural relevance, precisely because they are now put to such effective

service in the individualization of persons within the corporatized world of advanced capitalism. That service focuses most strongly on the on-going re-formation of individuals, as compliant consumers in an endless quest for new experiences to alleviate their constantly shifting and learned inadequacies – a process of individuation to which lifelong learning contributes so much, and in response to which it offers so much more. Contemporary lifelong learning discourse, in other words, not only makes us feel the need for constant engagement as lifelong learners, but it makes it possible to give expression to that need in learning engagements which serve to ensure its own perpetuation.

None or very little of this activity may be very liberating in the senses articulated in the progressive sentiments of lifelong learning ideology, theory and advocacy. The progressive sentiments do, though, persist in educational scholarship (such as that represented by the contributions to this handbook), and they are certainly used *symbolically* in contemporary educational discourse. But their impact on the nature of that discourse in policy and practice would seem to be at best secondary. In other words, they are admitted only after more central – economic – agendas have been satisfied. But the economic agendas of advanced capitalism are inexhaustible and endless. What space, then, is left for the progressive agendas of lifelong learning reform?

Nevertheless, contemporary lifelong learning discourse carries with it the aura of progressive commitment to individual development, social justice and cultural change: an aura which is associated with and derived from ideology and theory informed by the progressive sentiments. That aura is undoubtedly strengthened by the congruence between many of the particular features of the contemporary discourse and those argued for in advocacy and theory informed by the progressive sentiments: features of the discourse such as its commitment to the contextualization of learning, its de-differentiation of education and learning, its erosion of the distinction between education and training, its emphasis on learning rather than education, and its focus on individual interests and responsibilities.

It is probably true to say that this aura is now popularly associated – not only by educational policy makers, planners and managers, but also by educationists more particularly – with any and all expressions of the lifelong learning concept. Lifelong learning has become a general and a universal signifier of cultural goodness. The standing of any program of social or individual reform can be enhanced by association with it. And the overwhelming evidence is clearly that smart social reformers – no matter how self-interested or anti-social their motives and their actions – are wise to this power.

In the light of the argument developed in this chapter, that aura is misplaced. As advocates and theorizers of lifelong learning, we may like to imagine that we have been influential in the contemporary efflorescence of lifelong learning discourse. That view may, though, be little more than a grand self-delusion, since the efflorescence and the form that contemporary lifelong learning discourse is taking may be substantially incidental to both our theory and our advocacy. We face today a very different challenge to that identified by Cropley (1979) and his co-contributors to an evaluation of lifelong education over twenty years ago, and from which the heading for this final section of the chapter has been adapted. Instead of celebrating and embracing the brave new

world of lifelong learning, with its lifelong learners, learning organizations and learning societies, perhaps educationists, and academics more generally, should be looking more critically at what is actually being lost and gained with its formation. This is a task, I am pleased to say, that is taken up (albeit somewhat more soberly and less polemically) by a number of the other contributions to this section of the Handbook.

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Chapter 3: Lifelong Learning and Personal Fulfillment

ROBIN BARROW AND PATRICK KEENEY

INTRODUCTION

The argument of this chapter will be that the concept of lifelong learning (as opposed to the rather ill-favored phrase itself) has a long and honourable history and should be actively promoted. However, this is on the important assumption that the concept is interpreted in such a way as to imply self-fulfillment through education, rather than in a narrowly utilitarian way that looks through an economic lens and sees no further than skills and training.

Certainly, the idea of lifelong learning must have seemed a given to Plato, and the suggestion that it is intrinsically tied up with personal fulfillment would surely also have occurred to him. In the most literal sense, the education advocated for the Guardians in the *Republic* is a lifelong process, with explicit reference being made to the (adult) ages appropriate for various studies. Indeed, Plato states unequivocally that “education ... commences in the first years of childhood and lasts to the very end of life” (*Protagoras*, 325). It is also clear that, while recognizing, even emphasising, the social utility of well educated persons, as we shall do below, (for the careful attention to the upbringing and education appropriate to all citizens in the *Republic* is intended to contribute to the harmony and happiness of the whole), for Plato a crucial part of the point of all this education is to realise or fulfill the individual to the utmost (Barrow 1975). What particularly characterises and distinguishes Plato’s view, especially judged in the context of his times, is his argument that education is an intellectual and character-forming business, rather than a mere acquisition of skills or mastery of a trade, and that its ideal length or scope is not to be estimated by reference to any amount of information to be ingested, but to the need to ascend to ever higher and more abstract levels of understanding. It is true that Plato’s epistemology inclines towards the idea that ultimately the world and all things in it can be known and hence that in principle there might be a finite limit to the answer of the time it takes to become educated. But the fact remains that, in practice, Plato saw the business of education as a thing of wonder and of the first importance, and something that would never actually be complete in this life.

The idea, then, of lifelong learning is nothing new. Our concern will now be with its role in a contemporary context.

THE ECONOMY AND THE KNOWLEDGE EXPLOSION

The phrase “lifelong learning” is very much a part of contemporary educational discourse, and as an idea it currently plays a significant part in a great deal of planning

and practical activity. To this extent at least, our views are closer to Plato's than to those entertained at many other historical periods and in many other cultures. There seems to be a general sense, if not necessarily a well articulated claim, that, just as Plato thought, we should be doing a great deal more than apprenticing people to a trade, initiating them into a priesthood, conditioning them, indoctrinating them, or equipping them with various mechanical skills; we should be nurturing the personhood and cultivating the minds and manners of individuals, and this is not something that can be done by and completed in formal schooling alone. But given the ubiquity of the phrase and the popularity of the idea, it becomes important to examine and argue for a defensible interpretation of the concept. To make sure, in particular, that the general sense referred to becomes a reality when we put lifelong learning into practice, so that what we are subscribing to is truly worthwhile and educational.

Why should there be, at this time, such particular explicit and widespread concern with lifelong learning? In large part the impetus behind the emphasis on the idea is surely a consequence of various social, in particular economic, arguments. Cynics may no doubt attribute it more to the self-importance of theorists and the self-serving of educationalists. But, whatever the tendency of academics to latch on to some temporarily forgotten idea and run with it until it has turned to cliché, there are some fairly obvious reasons why we should be focusing on lifelong learning: many, perhaps most, individuals today change their job more than once during a lifetime; their circumstances in other respects (personal, social, economic) are equally likely to vary. To put it simply, it is no longer the case (if it ever was) that the body of understanding acquired by the end of formal schooling can possibly hope to see the individual through life.

In addition the so-called explosion in knowledge, the rapidity with which our understanding in certain fields advances, equally quickly renders yesterday's learning obsolete. Development in scientific knowledge is most commonly cited as the example here, but even archeologists or historians can be left behind if they fail to come to grips with new modes of collecting, sifting and analysing data.

That having been said, it is, in our view, possible, and in fact quite common, to overplay this particular point. First, there are clear differences between various disciplines, or types of inquiry, most notably that between those that are in some way necessarily progressively developmental and those that are not, such that it barely makes sense to talk of an explosion of knowledge or even (which is very different) a deeper understanding in respect of some of them. Science, for example, does build upon and advance on its past in a linear way, so that it both makes sense and is true to remark upon our vastly greater scientific understanding as compared with, say, that of the Greeks, and to point out that there is simply a whole lot more (and for many of us probably a whole lot too much) to be known. But mathematics is in a slightly different case: here our understanding is (we believe) refined and improved as we advance from our past; it is, we may say, a greater understanding. It may also be the case that this greater understanding implies in a literal sense something more to handle and that to rise to the heights of mathematical knowledge now takes longer than at any earlier time in our history. It may be the case, but it is not actually obvious that it is, and it does not seem to be logically necessary that it should be. When we turn to a form of inquiry such as philosophy or the performing arts, talk of an explosion of knowledge seem very inappropriate. Of course,

in a trivial sense there is more knowledge: the historians of philosophy, or painting, or practically anything, have more data or material to sift through. But philosophy should not be defined in terms of the books written on the subject, but rather of the ideas that are its subject matter. In this sense, while some would say our philosophical understanding was greater than Plato's, others would not, and in either case there is absolutely no reason to suppose that it must have taken A.J. Ayer longer than Plato to master the subject, or that the former's task was somehow more demanding than the latter's. (Both claims might be true, of course, but not for the reason advanced!)

The above digression seems to us worth making in order to deflect a rather too glib and misleading tendency to assume that, such is the state of the "knowledge industry" today, the sheer amount of what there is to be known is a sufficient reason for investing time and money into lifelong learning. The claim is generally vastly exaggerated and in any case pushes us down a dangerous path on which we identify education with acquiring knowledge in the sense particularly of information. It is understanding rather than knowledge in that sense that is our goal in education, and while there is in general probably more that is understood today than there was two thousand years ago, and while some subjects at least are considerably more complex and require more subtle understanding than before, it is not at all clear that it makes much sense to claim that the trouble is that it will obviously take a person longer today than two thousand years ago to educate themselves. To become a poet or a philosopher doesn't obviously take more time today than it ever did before. That having been said, and with this corrective in mind, it may of course be acknowledged that, broadly speaking, such facts as the ubiquity of new ideas and information, changing modes of communication, developing understanding, and the sheer extent of activity in some intellectual areas, may make one in some respects outdated in one's understanding in a conventional sense, if one ceases to advance at the end of formal schooling. Furthermore, it is the case, though it is not clear that it is primarily, if at all, for justifiable epistemological reasons, that the formal curriculum is under constant pressure to include more. Thus, the need to develop new understanding, the advances in understanding in some areas, the tendency for new emphases and approaches to be widely disseminated, and increasing demands on schooling (both formal and informal), combine to place the individual (where learning ceases with the completion of formal schooling) at an obvious disadvantage.

This is not only fairly uncontentiously the case, but it is in practice also probably the main reason for the current emphasis on lifelong learning. Pressure, whether direct or indirect, conscious or otherwise, from industry, business and government has led to the orthodoxy that individuals need to continue to learn, to retrain, to retool throughout their lives, if they are to serve their purpose as economic units.

SKILLS

Bearing the argument of the previous section in mind, one can say that during this century there has been a change of emphasis from the idea of specific training and the development of particular skills, through a belief in so-called generic-skill development, to the current focus on lifelong learning. This amounts to a shift from the assumption that

acquiring a trade (whether manual or intellectual) would suffice for life, by way of an assumption that one could learn how to be adaptable, to the assumption that one needs to continually learn new trades or re-learn one's trade (at the same time keeping one's information base up to date).

Thus, at the beginning of the century, the broad assumption was that one learnt enough to be a bricklayer, an accountant, a priest, a classics Don, and that, combined with learning certain social behaviours, attitudes and so forth appropriate to one's condition in life, would see one through. Little would change sufficient to render one's learning out of date. It is worth noting that adult education, which became a serious matter at the end of the last century, does not represent any real departure from this generalisation and is therefore not properly to be seen as the precursor of today's interest in lifelong learning. It was essentially no more than the provision of education to adults who had missed it (or part of it) as children, whether it involved instruction in literacy, handicrafts or whatever.

Perhaps the first major step in this century towards something like a concept of lifelong learning in a broader sense came with the widespread adoption of a belief in the possibility of cultivating generic skills such as that of learning how to learn or critical thinking. American psychologists of education seem to have been subconsciously wedded to the idea of generic skills for the longest of times, but it was in the sixties that the idea became more or less a part of progressive educational orthodoxy. Part of the thinking that was common at the time is not to be scorned: this was an ardent desire to replace the view that the learner was a passive receptacle into which the teacher placed information, with a view of the learner as an active agent who needed to be helped to process information and understand; a learner who thought critically about the material in question. And the idea that schools should be concerned primarily to cultivate such general abilities as that of being critical, of being caring, of learning how to learn certainly suggests some belief in education as an on-going business; for presumably the main purpose of focusing on learning how to learn is so that individuals will be free to go on learning for themselves through life. Indeed, much of the broader rhetoric of child-centred education at the time echoed the view that schooling was but a step on a journey that lasted for life and that the individual was a natural being (rather than a passive receptacle) that could and would continue to grow in a favourable environment such as the educative society it was hoped would be.

This is not the place to go into a detailed critique of a body of thinking that might be crudely summarized as: "right idea, false premise, wrong conclusion." But the "false premise" in question is the idea that there is such a thing as a generic skill of learning how to learn (or critical thinking or caring) that can meaningfully be taught to people. Broadly, as has been argued in detail elsewhere (Barrow 1990) there are serious problems in seeing intellectual abilities as skills (at any rate in anything like the same sense as say, discrete, physical skills), and more importantly in the idea of them as generic skills. There is also very often a confusion between tendencies or dispositions on the one hand and abilities or skills on the other: part of what it is to be a critical thinker is to have the inclination and tendency to look at things critically. This inclination, this disposition, is certainly neither an ability nor a skill in any sense, and is, incidentally,

quite compatible with being very bad at actually thinking critically (as anyone who has taught undergraduates probably knows.)

The argument in essence is as follows: the ability to think critically about, say, art is not some monolithic quality, some single indivisible attribute. The ability consists in various dimensions or facets. Secondly, some at least of these facets are clearly not skills such that they can be developed, exercised and trained on analogy with a physical skill (or set of skills) such as serving at tennis or riding a bike. For example, as already noted, the tendency, the disposition to think critically about art is clearly not a skill in this sense, but something to be nurtured by some means or other, as distinct from trained. Thirdly, and for our purposes much more crucially, the ability to think critically about art is one thing, the ability to think critically without qualifiers is quite another. In fact the latter is well nigh incoherent. The point is not that it doesn't make sense to conceive of someone thinking critically without reference to what they are thinking critically about, although this is also true. The main point is that, assuming critical thinking is good critical thinking and involves such things as understanding, being logical, and being clear, then critical thinking about art will be different in form from critical thinking in, say, science, politics, or philosophy. In each case the thinking needs to be logical, clear, and so on, but what constitutes logic, clarity, coherence, etc. "the form they take" are determined by the nature of the discipline or type of inquiry in question. In other words, in order to develop someone's capacity to think critically about art or science, it is logically necessary that they exercise their critical disposition (which may be, though need not be, generic) while studying art or science. The idea of a generic ability such that wherever I go, whatever the subject, even if completely new to me, I can be critical (other than in the different sense of disagreeable or antagonistic) is absurd.

There is still debate revolving round some of these views, but provided that it is understood that we are here only concerned with a partial verdict, we may say that the debate is effectively over. To put the matter in positive terms: the desire to develop individuals, who are both inclined to or have an aptitude for continued learning and critical thinking, and are able to continue learning in a critical fashion, will require developing understanding of both generic points of logic and reasoning, and also disciplined understanding of various types of inquiry and conceptual frameworks.

Thus, on this account, the sixties saw a movement towards the goal of a society of learners (particularly when we consider more specifically political educationalists' views such as those of the deschoolers), but it failed to deliver much, largely because the central ideal that there is some specific way(s) to equip the individual to carry on learning is incoherent (and, it may be added, the practical proposals to turn society into an educational environment were naive and unrealistic).

But while the view that one can learn to learn may have been in various respects confused and misconceived, and while the main impetus towards lifelong learning may be socio-economic, the paradox is that today we have a great opportunity to achieve the aims of those who believed in generic intellectual skills. For educationalists may reasonably argue that it is not the direct utility of learning that should be considered, but the intrinsic value of education, its value to the educated person, and its indirect utility that matters. The forces that have put an emphasis on lifelong learning have

provided us with the opportunity to ensure greater and more prolonged personal fulfillment for the individual.

PERSONAL FULFILLMENT

Personal fulfillment is obviously desirable in that, by definition, it increases the sum of individual satisfaction. It is one of those concepts, like happiness or anxiety, which necessarily implies that the individual senses or appreciates the emotions; notwithstanding certain psychiatric views and practices, it makes no sense to insist that someone is anxious when they do not feel or recognise their anxiety. (It may make sense to observe that they exhibit anxiety behaviour; it may even make some kind of sense to refer to a subconscious anxiety, but that cannot be equated with being anxious in the normal, everyday sense.) In the same way an individual's degree of fulfillment is logically tied up, not with objective criteria of achievement, but with a subjective sense of satisfaction.

Yet there is a dimension to the idea of personal fulfillment which takes us beyond mere satisfaction. While fulfillment is not to be defined in terms of a set of objective criteria of achievement, it is bound up with the idea of quality. Not only would we not recognise an individual as fulfilled merely on the grounds that their basic lusts were satisfied; more importantly, nor would the individual himself. To be fulfilled means to feel satisfaction in achievement relating to aspects of life that one values. Further, being human, we should expect personal fulfillment to be tied up with peculiarly human achievement.

Thus there is a strong and straightforward link between education, the development of mind and personal fulfillment. In continuing to educate oneself throughout life, one increases one's understanding. This is not a question of amassing new information nor, necessarily, of exploring new subject matter, so much as of increasing one's grasp of the nature of various distinct types of inquiry. That more sophisticated and deeper understanding in turn allows for a development of appreciation and engagement. And it is in the capacity to understand, appreciate and engage with the world that we most fully realise our human, as opposed to our animal, selves.

That personal fulfillment has intrinsic value we have already seen. But it also has considerable extrinsic value. A general tendency in life today is to equate extrinsic value with simple and direct utility. Thus money has extrinsic value, because we can use it to acquire whatever we want. A car has extrinsic value because it is useful to us in an obvious way. But to emphasise direct utility is to ignore the many things in life that have enormous value as indirect (and perhaps intermittent) means to greatly desired ends. My knowledge of driving has more direct utility than my knowledge of classical Greek, but the latter may nonetheless have greater extrinsic value to me, because I am more interested in the pleasure to be gained from studying Greek than from driving. The extrinsic value of education (as opposed to training) generally and of personal fulfillment in the sense of a developed mind and emotions, has been consistently underplayed throughout history. A contrast is again and again drawn between training, which is useful (though to some vulgar) and education which is for

its own sake. The distinction between education and training needs to be drawn, but this aspect of it (the view that education being valuable for its own sake, is not useful) has no warrant: in most times and most places education, meaning a developed understanding, is of greater potential use both to the individual and to society, than training, meaning the development of a particular skill or set of skills, could ever be.

This general point has particular application in a democracy, or any form of society where individual and general good depend to any marked extent on the ability of individuals to share understanding and take responsibility.

It is of course true that there is no necessary relationship between self-fulfillment and lifelong learning. The logical relationship is between self-fulfillment and education, but there is no necessary reason to suppose that those who continue their education through life will be any more personally fulfilled than those who do not advance their education beyond the current end of formal schooling. There is nonetheless a relationship, even if it is not a logical or necessary one.

In the first place, for many, the mere business of continuing to educate oneself, which is to say to continue exercising and developing one's mind, will provide a source of considerable satisfaction. This obvious truth is increasingly underlined by numerous empirical studies, of such things as dementia and Alzheimer's which suggest that the better educated are less prone to debilitating and demoralising diseases. In the second place, it is a contingent and no doubt qualified truth, but nonetheless a reasonable generalisation, that a society which emphasises and promotes a continuous interest in education through life, is likely to increase the general level of education in individuals and society and to increase the overall recognition of and respect for education.

CONCLUSION

To emphasise the lifelong aspect of education is, amongst other things, to attest to its value; it is to attest to education being the sort of thing that cannot be quantitatively distributed; it is also to attest that it is not ultimately a private business (although obviously there is such a thing as self-education), but an ongoing interaction between individuals and traditions of thought and inquiry. While practical necessity often dictates an end to formal schooling or study, education by its nature can never be complete nor equated with the end of any formal program(s). Learning can never be complete, because the nature of reality is always to some extent in transition. What we know changes and develops; what we think we know changes even more; how we perceive and understand is not static. Circumstances change, and partly as a consequence of that, agents change.

The conclusion to be drawn is that the contemporary emphasis on lifelong learning, while it may have come about for certain specific, limited reasons and may imply, very often, a rather limited conception of learning as training, is nonetheless to be welcomed and, if possible, taken advantage of. The emphasis on "lifelong" helps to dissociate education from formal schooling to some extent. But, most of all, provided we seize the moment and emphasise learning as education, rather than as training, then the political momentum that already exists can be channeled towards maintaining society's interest in education.

The danger is that “lifelong learning” may become an excuse for further unwarranted and unnecessary credentialling and skill-training, and it is the fear that that may be a very real danger that leads us to emphasise lifelong *education* (rather than simply *learning*) and the importance of self-fulfillment.

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Chapter 4: Political Inclusion, Democratic Empowerment and Lifelong Learning

PENNY ENSLIN, SHIRLEY PENDLEBURY AND MARY TJATTAS

Recent trends in social and political philosophy recognise the importance of inclusion in the attention they have paid to community membership and collective deliberation. But there are many “grades” or “gradations” of democratic involvement, demanding more or less inclusiveness and empowerment, and making greater or lesser demands on the capacities of those who are included. At the very least, political inclusion and democratic empowerment require universal franchise.

One of our most vivid memories of South Africa’s first democratic election in 1994 was the image on television and in newspapers of elderly voters, in their Sunday best, waiting patiently in long queues to cast, with a visible pride, their very first vote. The ballot had been organised to be as inclusive as possible. Voters, literate or illiterate, were required to do no more than place a cross next to a picture of the leader of the party they supported. If the name of the party could not be read, all that was required was that they could recognise a visual representation. This is not to deny the role that voter education played in preparing people to participate in the election. But here was an instance of the romantic side of democracy, that is, of political inclusion and democratic empowerment that did not depend on even the most basic formal education.

Inspiring and important though this first democratic election was, democracy surely involves and demands much more than the mere placing of a cross on a ballot paper. The making of a cross is not a genuine act of democratic participation unless it is the result of some prior reasoning with an informed consideration of various possibilities and the context in which they present themselves. Arbitrary and coerced crosses may count in the tally of votes but they surely don’t count as acts of democratic participation. Much more is required to get appreciably beyond this first democratic moment to deeper and ongoing democratic involvement, especially if we are aiming at a rich political and civic life with individual participation in decision-making about matters that fundamentally shape our lives. It requires at least a knowledge and understanding of the economy, political structures and processes, of current debates, controversies and competing policy options. It also requires capacities for independent and critical thought, for public presentation and appropriate motivation and attitudes.

Meeting these requirements could, paradoxically, both promote inclusion and empowerment for those who acquire these capacities, and also, for those who do not, foster exclusion and disempowerment. If this is a real danger, then a democratic state has a duty to provide enabling conditions for every citizen to meet the requirements. Lifelong learning is being touted as the way of fulfilling this duty.

A critical take on lifelong learning by a number of authors has emphasised several problematic features. The first problem is that the programmatic use of lifelong learning as a UNESCO “master concept” (Fauré et al 1972) lacks coherence and has a number of illiberal characteristics. It lacks coherence because it denies a distinction between actual and desirable outcomes, and its illiberal characteristics are that it removes the grounding for both positive and negative rights to education (Bagnall 1990). A second problem is that lifelong learning rests uncritically on what Hughes and Tight (1995) call the myth of the learning society based on the assumptions of the inevitability of change and desirability of increasing productivity.

A more recent and nuanced account of life-long learning as explicated by Chapman (1996) includes a concern with achieving and sustaining a democratic polity and institutions that promote and practice equity, justice, and social inclusiveness. Chapman’s triadic conception, the elements of which are democratic citizenship, economic progress and personal development, improves on conceptions that unduly emphasise economic productivity and hence vocationalism at the expense of individual and social development. However when applied in contexts of new democracies such as South Africa the triadic conception yields a number of worrying tensions (Pendlebury & Enslin forthcoming 2001). In this chapter we will argue that while lifelong learning does indeed have a crucial role in enabling democratic empowerment and political inclusion, the dominant conception of lifelong learning in much current educational policy cannot serve these noble ends. Part of our task in this chapter will be to suggest a rather different conception of lifelong learning. Of course, much depends on what is meant by political inclusion and democratic empowerment. It depends on what model of democracy it is supposed to prepare people to participate in, and on how far democratic participation can be expected to contribute to lifelong learning.

Someone unfamiliar with current educational policy agendas in Europe might take ‘lifelong learning’ to refer to learning across the human life span from cradle to grave. But this is not what is meant by the dominant current use of the term, which appears to exclude primary and secondary schooling as well as the education of adults who have either had no schooling or who have dropped out. It also appears to exclude such informal learning as might occur through watching television, doing a job with a more experienced fellow worker, or participating in the institutions of civil society. In its dominant current usage ‘lifelong learning’ refers to post-compulsory education, which in developed countries means accredited post-secondary or higher education. Pride of place has been given to lifelong learning in recent education policy in the United Kingdom and in the new agenda for higher education in the so-called learning society. The assumption here is that lifelong learning will meet the needs “of an increasingly sophisticated economy for a skilled and educated workforce” and fulfil the desire for “wider participation” (Taylor 1998, p.301). From an educational perspective, such policies have been controversial notwithstanding their wide support. While intended to broaden participation in education they have tended instead to emphasize economic competitiveness and to focus fairly narrowly on vocational skills and certification.

Beyond the confines of the developed western world, there is an additional problem with the dominant conception of lifelong learning – a problem not of focus but of

scope. In much of the developing world, post-compulsory education is more likely to be post-primary than post-secondary and, whatever the formal commitment to compulsory primary education, a substantial proportion of the adult population will not have completed primary school. South Africa is a case in point, despite being one of the more developed countries in Africa, if not the most developed. Under such circumstances lifelong learning can be limited neither to post-secondary and higher education nor to a narrow programme of vocational skills enhancement if it is to promote democratic participatory practice through political inclusion and democratic empowerment.

The relationships between inclusion and empowerment are complex and variable. Empowerment for some, even in democracies, may be exercised at the expense of inclusion and empowerment of others. Being included for the wrong reasons can be disempowering. Tokenism is an obvious example. But there are others – such as being included as an object of policy without being sufficiently empowered to influence that policy. Various rituals, such as consultative conferences, may be no more than pretences at inclusion and may in spite of good intentions further disempower the already disempowered.

If, in spite of this, inclusion and empowerment are what we are after, an interest-based conception of democracy won't do. Deliberative democracy seems to promise most by way of inclusion and empowerment in that it allows for the fullest expression of the principle of popular sovereignty, by providing for expressions and tests of consent that are not merely formal. Participation is the feature most often appealed to by those who argue for deliberative democracy over an interest-based conception in which collective decisions consist of little more than simple interest aggregation. Proponents of participatory democracy all seem to be committed to the view that public deliberative processes, allowing opportunities for participation, are essential to the rationality of collective decision-making processes, and for some, to the articulation of a "general will" and the public good.

Through an analysis of three recent conceptions of deliberative democracy, we will explore the role of lifelong learning in providing the conditions and capacities for genuine inclusion, particularly under conditions of diversity and inequality and where democratic traditions, institutions and procedures are nascent. What are the educational demands of each model of deliberation? What conception of lifelong learning might best meet these demands? And can the provision of lifelong learning and its associated costs, material and other, be justified with respect to promoting the goods of democratic empowerment and political inclusion?

The conceptions of deliberative democracy through which our argument proceeds we will call public reason (as exemplified by John Rawls), discursive democracy (as exemplified by Seyla Benhabib) and communicative democracy (as exemplified by Iris Young). We begin by considering each of the three models, examining their conceptions of and implications for inclusion and empowerment. We then examine the demands and promises of deliberative democracy and answer some common objections to it. Finally we consider the educational prerequisites of deliberative democracy and its possible educational consequences, with particular reference to lifelong learning.

THREE MODELS OF DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY

Public Reason

For political liberalism, the superiority of deliberative democracy is attributable to the centrality of reasoning and justification in establishing political legitimacy. Under conditions of pluralism, much attention must be paid to the question of what a “political reason” might be, what criteria a reason should meet to qualify as a public reason, and what guidelines of inquiry should be adhered to, while displaying a commitment to “substantive principles of justice.” It is a vain hope to suppose that any method of reasoning, allowed free reign, will yield sufficient convergence for theory construction on the basis of shared premises since, as Weinstock says: “Practical reason, according to the fact of pluralism, speaks with many voices.” (Weinstock 1994, p.174).

In the face of the ‘fact of pluralism’, political liberalism is concerned with delimiting and guaranteeing an area of agreement. If the outcomes of collective deliberation are to be legitimate, collective decision-making must meet certain constraints. These include not only the familiar ones that derive from ensuring that citizens be treated as equals, but also restrictions imposed by pluralism in the interests of inclusion (Cohen 1996, p.96).

In an idealized deliberative setting, it will not do simply to advance reasons that one takes to be true or compelling: such considerations may be rejected by others who are themselves reasonable. One must find instead reasons that are compelling to others, acknowledging those others as equals, aware that they have alternative reasonable commitments, and knowing something about the kinds of commitments that they are likely to have. If a consideration does not meet these tests, that will suffice for rejecting it as a reason. If it does, then it counts as an acceptable political reason. (Cohen 1996, p.100)

The model of public reason provides an account of the matter and manner for deliberation, as well as the underlying institutional conditions for viable and legitimate procedures. For Rawls, viability and legitimacy are crucial if there is “...to exist over time a just and stable society of free and equal citizens, who remain profoundly divided by reasonable religious, philosophical, and moral doctrines.” (Rawls 1993, p.4) The challenge to political philosophy, he continues, is to find a shared basis for settling the question about what institutions are most likely to secure democratic liberty and equality.

Given pluralism, Rawls’s task is to find a publicly acceptable “political conception” of justice, which would permit a publicly recognised point of view from which citizens can examine before one another whether their institutions are just, and that would allow them to cite what are publicly recognised and shared reasons. This rests on the conception of a person as someone who can take part in social and political life, exercise its rights and respect its duties, i.e. a person as citizen.

Public reason – citizens’ reasoning in the public forum about constitutional essentials and basic questions of justice – is now best guided by a political

conception the principles and values of which all citizens can endorse. (Rawls 1993, p.10)

Rawls's conception of public reason then is part and parcel of a larger view that necessitates delimiting the political domain. Three features are crucial to this delimitation. First, the political conception is restricted to a specific range of subjects, namely, the basic structure – political, social, economic institutions. Second, it is independent and non-comprehensive. Third, it draws on fundamental ideas implicit in the public political culture of a democratic society, that is, in the political institutions of a constitutional regime and public traditions of their interpretation. The imperative to delimit the political domain is driven in large measure by the idea that a conception of justice that cannot “well order” a constitutional democracy is inadequate as a democratic conception. To do this, it must enjoy the conscious and willing allegiance of the citizens.

By articulating this political conception explicitly, citizens can, while affirming opposing reasonable comprehensive doctrines, endorse the conception of justice that well orders their society. Such activities of endorsing and affirming turn out to require specific discursive and argumentative procedures, collectively called “public reason.” Rawls (1993) flatly states that the ideal of democratic politics requires that we try to meet the condition of explaining to one another the basis of our actions in terms each could reasonably expect that others might endorse as consistent with their freedom and equality. “Understanding how to conduct oneself as a democratic citizen includes understanding an idea of public reason” (Rawls 1993, p.218).

Rawls sees “public reason” as mandated by both the liberal principle of legitimacy and the ideal of democratic politics. The former requires that political issues be settled on the basis of reasoned agreement, the latter that we try to meet the condition of explaining to one another the basis of our actions in terms each could reasonably expect that others might endorse as consistent with their freedom and equality.

From the liberal principle of legitimacy and the ideal of democratic politics, Rawls derives the moral duty of civility. The duty of civility is to be able to explain to one another, in terms acceptable to all, how the principles and policies they advocate with respect to common interests and concerns can be supported by the political values of public reason. What are the implications of this democratic ideal for political inclusion and democratic empowerment? To answer this question we need to say more about the manner of deliberation in public reason – a manner requiring commitment to the rational norms of conversation.

This commitment explains political liberalism's emphasis on “conversational constraint” or “selective repression”. The constraint is meant to apply to reasons that can be invoked to justify public policy, power relations, political structures and institutions, and the distribution of goods. Legitimacy for political liberalism is established through dialogue, but not just any dialogue will do. The moral component of public dialogue should be constrained, neutral, confined to those propositions on which all groups happen to agree, and should shun issues that provoke disagreement. These conventions are in effect in public political discourse at its best (as exemplified in constitutional reasoning). Ultimately the limitations imposed on reason are justified

because they are necessary to safeguard basic rights and liberties and to advance significant values.

Constraint applies not only to manner but also to matter. Two kinds of items are off the agenda: first, the inviolable issues within constitutional democracies and, second, items placed outside the area of debate because of difficulties in reaching agreement about them. What are the consequences of these restrictions of manner and matter? One possible consequence is that it would forbid debate about injustices where this requires talk across comprehensive doctrines. It also forbids angry and otherwise impassioned talk. Both these could result in political exclusion.

Such emphasis on restraint might give the impression that public reason aims to discourage interaction among citizens. However, its proponents insist that the opposite is the case (Ackerman 1994, Rawls 1993). Rather, by allowing for disputed opinions to be set aside in a principled way, restraint makes it possible to agree to disagree and so for the conversation to change tack and to go on in more productive ways.

Despite the possible objection that such restraint would create too thin a version of democracy, it seems plausible that public reason would allow for a point of view from which all citizens, whatever their comprehensive doctrines, can view, criticise and endorse public claims. At best, public reason would result in a situation where citizens rationally accept the principles and norms that regulate their interactions, preeminent among which are conceptions of justice. They would not only understand the justification of official actions but also endorse it as rational and reasonable. In this way public reason would provide a basis of agreement allowing simultaneously for matters to be rationally decided and for their political legitimacy. In restricting the agenda, public reason seems to honour traditional liberal values of neutrality and tolerance, while serving the end of inclusion.

Discursive democracy

On the basis of a view that she ascribes to both Rawls and Habermas, Seyla Benhabib (1996) proposes that institutions of liberal democracies give a central place to public deliberation about matters of common concern. Drawing specifically on Habermas, she argues that the normative presuppositions of democratic deliberation and the idealized content of practical rationality yield a strong model of deliberative democracy. Its strength lies in the legitimacy generated by procedures of collective deliberation based on practical rationality. For Benhabib, like Rawls, legitimacy is largely a matter of reasoned agreement of all those affected. Such agreement can only be secured by deliberative means.

However, Benhabib takes the egalitarian commitments of practical reason to have significant power. They delimit the process of deliberation, making external constraints redundant. Deliberative participation is governed by norms of equality and symmetry, which she takes to mean that all have the same chances to initiate speech acts, to question, to interrogate and to open debate. What is more, all have the right to question assigned topics of conversation and all have the right to initiate reflexive arguments about rules of discourse procedure and the way they are carried out or applied.

There are no *prima facie* rules limiting the agenda of the conversation, or the identity of the participants, as long as each excluded person or group can justifiably show that they are relevantly affected by the proposed norm under question. (Benhabib 1996, p.70)

Both Benhabib and Rawls abide by the “Kantian liberal” tradition's commitment to moral respect for the autonomous person and to the principle of egalitarian reciprocity. They agree on the fundamental point that the legitimation of political power and the examination of the justice of institutions is a public process, open to participation by all citizens. Notwithstanding this agreement, there are significant differences between them. In offering an alternative interpretation of the principle of egalitarian reciprocity, Benhabib believes she has a model of deliberative democracy that is more inclusive than, and thus preferable to, Rawls's conception of public reason. How is discursive democracy more inclusive than the model of public reason? And is it, by virtue of being more inclusive, also more empowering?

Within discourse theory, each individual has the same symmetrical rights to various speech acts, to initiate new topics, to ask for reflection about the presuppositions of public conversations, and so on. For Rawls, national boundaries are one of the constraints on participation in public reason. By contrast, Benhabib's model includes anyone relevantly affected, even non-citizens who can claim that they are likely to be affected by the outcome of a rule of action or a proposed norm. Public reason, as we have seen, restricts the issues on the public agenda to deliberation about “constitutional essentials” and questions of basic justice. In addition, it imposes strict restrictions on what can, for these purposes, count as a reason. Abiding by conversational restraint, Benhabib argues, deprives us of opportunities for self-clarification and self-improvement. Removing controversial issues from the ambit of public deliberation deprives such activity of much of its point because it forecloses, perhaps too definitively, deliberation about or examination of important public issues.

These limits go along with restricted social spaces for public reason. Civil society is excluded from the public sphere which embraces only the state and its institutions, and then especially the legal ones. Benhabib protests that Rawls draws the boundaries much too parsimoniously. She thinks the distinction between civil society and the public realm is not sustainable. Civil society and its associations are public in the sense of being part of the anonymous public conversation in a democracy. Rawls's concern to protect basic rights and liberties has the effect of excluding private and non-public deliberations from the domain of public reason. Rawls is concerned to limit the scope in which the majority can exercise its tyrannical potential. Benhabib believes that a discursive model offers a built-in protection against such potential. These are the normative presuppositions of discursive democracy – namely, universal moral respect and egalitarian reciprocity – and the procedure of “recursive validation,” which gives dissenters the right to withhold assent and to challenge rules and agenda of public debate. Together these presuppositions and procedure provide adequate protection of individual rights, so that the deliberative sphere can be safely extended. Thus the dangers that would perhaps justify constitutional limitations to public discourse do not

exist. In short, there is neither need nor justification for keeping things “off the agenda”.

In any case, she claims, in complex constitutional democracies with a public sphere of opinion formation and deliberation, citizens engage in debate about basic rights, their meaning, what they imply, all the time. “When this concept of a public sphere is introduced as the concrete embodiment of discursive democracy in practice, it also becomes possible to think of the issue of conversational constraints in a more nuanced way.” (Benhabib 1996, p.80)

Ironically, feminist objectors to discursive democracy echo Benhabib's own objection that public reason excludes contestatory, rhetorical and other impassioned elements of public discourse. Benhabib is sympathetic to some of the standard feminist concerns, particularly those having to do with implementation (rather than conceptualisation). She claims, moreover, that discursive democracy requires a strong concept of the public sphere as its institutional correlate to replace the now anachronistic model of the general deliberative assembly found in early democratic theory. Recognition of this would, she believes, address the worries of those like Iris Young, who, on Benhabib's reading, reject not the ideal of a public sphere, but only its Enlightenment variety, proposing to replace the ideal of the “civil public” with that of a heterogeneous one.

Of course, for Benhabib, argument remains the distinctive mode of communication in the public sphere. Modes of communication other than argument have their place within the informally structured process of everyday communication among individuals who share a cultural and historical life world.

In responding to critics who question the feasibility of deliberative democracy, Benhabib insists that it is not a theory in search of a practice. We already have forms of association and modes of organisation capable of accommodating the procedures of free, public deliberation. The deliberative model, as she sees it, advocates a plurality of modes of association in which all affected may articulate their point of view:

It is through the interlocking net of these multiple forms of associations, networks, and organizations that an anonymous “public conversation” results. It is central to the model of deliberative democracy that it privileges such a public sphere of mutually interlocking and overlapping networks and associations of deliberation, contestation, and argumentation. (Benhabib 1996, p.74) (Original emphasis)

If we buy into Benhabib's view that practical rationality as embodied in democratic institutions constitutes the core of democratic deliberation, then her conclusion that it has a culture-transcending validity claim follows pretty naturally, and allows for a simple and clean way to circumvent problems of diversity and cultural relativism. Practical reason, she says, is the collective and anonymous property of cultures, institutions, and traditions over the course of human history.

The discursive model of deliberative democracy includes a wider range of participants and a broader agenda than does the model of public reason. It increases the scope for political inclusion more by broadening the matter of deliberation than by broadening its manner. Iris Young takes on the matter of manner in her communicative model of deliberative democracy.

Communicative democracy

If we eschew the Hobbesian solution to order and stability, namely, coercion, then we need to come up with a solution based on agreement, consent. Some models of deliberative democracy, as we have seen, take such consent to be central to legitimacy and insist that agreement can only be bought by constraining discourse. In "Communication and the Other," Iris Young describes these models as assuming that discussion should "either begin with shared understandings or take a common good as their goal...[ie] unity is either a starting point or a goal" (Young 1996, p.122). By contrast she proposes difference as a resource for "reaching understanding in democratic discussion", because for her understanding is a prerequisite for genuine agreement. This is especially crucial in circumstances of social and economic inequality among groups. "As long as such unequal circumstances persist, a politics that aims to do justice through public discussion and decision making must theorize and aim to practice" a form of deliberation that does not deny "the reality of difference in public discussion of the common good." (Young 1997, p.399). From this follows her requirement for a conception of deliberation that goes beyond critical argument.

The public reason and discursive models aim to promote reason rather than powerful interests and so to be more egalitarian and inclusive than interest-based democracy – all citizens will have an equal voice. Young takes this as being too narrowly focussed on critical argument. The aim to promote reason assumes "a culturally biased conception of discussion that tends to silence or devalue some people or groups" (Young 1996, p.120). Thus conceived the deliberative model of democracy is associated with the ruling institutions of the modern West, derived from the enlightenment, which have been élitist and exclusive because of their conceptions of reason and deliberation. Deliberation in this tradition is competitive and agonistic, formal and dispassionate, and favours those who know the rules of the game, privileging and favouring white, male, middle class speaking styles.

While Young does not reject the importance of deliberation, she proposes a broadened theory of deliberative democracy, which she calls "communicative," to accommodate a wider range of interactions among participants. In addition to critical argument, greeting, rhetoric and storytelling are endorsed as means of expanding democratic discussion. Greeting enables participants to recognize one another's particularity, lubricating discussion and fostering trust. Rhetoric allows speakers to attract and keep one another's attention. Storytelling enhances the possibility of understanding across difference by conveying the experiences, values and cultures of differently situated people. But narrative is not just a way of sharing experiences; it has an epistemic function, providing access to social knowledge from the points of view of particular social positions. Each social perspective has an account not only of its own life and history but also of every other position that affects its experience. Thus listeners can learn about how their own position, actions, and values appear to others from the stories they tell. Narrative thus exhibits the situated knowledge of the collective from each perspective, and the combination of narratives from different perspectives produces the collective social wisdom not available from any one position (Young 1996, p.132). In addition narrative plays a role in practical argument, providing

a way to demonstrate need or entitlement in debates about policy or action, and by providing social knowledge the likely effects of those policies and actions on groups with different social locations.

Young intends communicative democracy to be more inclusive than other models of deliberation. The sphere of communicative democracy is a broad public, with group representation, where group difference is a “deliberative resource.” Nevertheless, there are conditions for inclusion – normative, epistemic and attitudinal – which imply constraints on the manner and matter of deliberation. In a public discussion about collective action or public policy, people cannot simply say what they want. To be taken seriously, they must appeal to others by presenting their claims as claims that are just or righteous and therefore as claims that others ought to accept. But being taken seriously is not just a matter of how one presents one’s own claims. Equally important is the way one listens to and appreciates the claims of others. Coming to appreciate other people’s point of view is closely linked with a willingness to transform one’s own preferences.

Unlike the interest-based conception of democracy, communicative democracy emphasizes that people’s ideas about political questions often change when they interact with other people’s ideas and experience... In this process people’s own initial preferences are transformed from subjective to objective claims and the content of these preferences must also often change to make them publicly speakable, as claims of entitlement or what is right. People’s ideas about the solution to collective problems are also sometimes transformed by listening to and learning about the point of view of others. (Young 1996, p.125)

The difference between Young and other deliberative theorists on the transformative potential of participation is partly ascribable to their different views on the possibility and value of unity. Young worries that the assumption that unity should be the starting point or the outcome of deliberation makes it difficult to accommodate transformation of the opinions of the participants because it may harbor “another mechanism of exclusion”. In cases where participants in discussion are differentiated by culture or social position, appeals to the common good are likely to favour the privileged and their definition of the common good. So Young proposes procedural conditions for a minimal unity in which members of the polity are significantly interdependent and have formally equal respect for one another, “...in the simple, formal sense of willingness that all have a right to express their opinions...and all ought to listen” (Young 1996, p.126), and must agree on the procedural rules of fair discussion. Far from precluding the possibility of agreement and understanding, this thin conception of unity is a precondition for rich democratic discussion provided that difference is positively valued as a resource.

Communicative interaction between participants in different social positions allows for the transcending of the initial understanding of each and so for a transformation of their opinions (Young 1996, p.127). Participants are able to reach understanding as a result of situating their own experience and interests in a wider context that includes other social locations. Understanding is reached not by transcending what divides and

differentiates the participants, but by speaking across differences to learn the partiality of one's own perspective, to frame one's claims in terms of appeals to justice, to expand one's social knowledge by "expressing, questioning and challenging differently situated knowledge". (Young 1993, p.128)

While not abandoning their own perspective, through listening across difference each position can come to understand something about the ways proposals and claims affect others differently situated. By internalizing this mediated understanding of plural positions to some extent, participants gain a wider picture of the social processes in which their own partial experience is embedded. This greater social objectivity increases their wisdom for arriving at just solutions to collective problems. (Young 1996, p.128)

Social group perspectives are ways of being sensitive to particular aspects of social life, interactions and meanings. They foreground some things while moving others into the background. Each perspective has partial insights about the society. A social perspective is not a set of conclusions but comprises the questions, experiences, and assumptions with which reasoning begins. In "Difference as a Resource for Democratic Communication", Young describes the sorts of situated knowledge offered by social group perspectives:

(i) an understanding of their position, and how it stands in relation to other positions; (ii) a social map of other salient positions, how they are defined, and the relation in which they stand to their position; (iii) a point of view on the history of the society; (iv) an interpretation of how the relations and processes of the whole society operate, especially as they impact on their own position; and (v) a position-specific experience and point of view on the natural and physical environment. (Young 1997, pp.394–395)

Only by encouraging the expression of all the various and relevant social groups' perspectives on an issue can political discussion distinguish the truer and the better judgments from the rest and produce the best solutions to collective problems and conflicts. Democracy as a process of practical reason has a normative and an epistemic function. (Young 1997, p.400) Deliberation across different social perspectives is meant not only to augment the available information, but to result in a transformation of "...the partial and parochial interests and ideas of each into more reflective and objective judgment" (Young 1997, p.402). For Young, objective judgement is not made from a neutral point of view transcending particular perspectives, but from an understanding of one's own perspective in relation to others in a wider context. It involves a reflective stance that is not merely self-regarding (Young 1997). But the perspective of the less privileged social groups does not carry "epistemic privilege" (Young 1997, p.403) as they also need the perspectives of others, "to understand the social causes of their disadvantage or to realize that they lay blame in the wrong place".

Clearly, political inclusion and democratic empowerment are primary concerns of Young's communicative model of deliberative democracy. She strongly believes that

deliberation that rests too exclusively on forms of rational argument favours the already empowered. She proposes ways of broadening both the matter and manner of deliberation so as to include and empower previously excluded or oppressed groups. But who stands to learn most in a communicative model – the already included or the previously excluded? And would it protect important values like individual rights? We take up these questions later when we discuss the educational possibilities and challenges of deliberative democracy.

DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY: DEMANDS, OBJECTIONS AND PROMISES

To different degrees and in different ways, all three models provide for intensive political inclusion and extensive democratic empowerment. In so doing, all three make heavy demands on the capacities of citizens. And so they should. Anything less demanding would result in trivial inclusion and bogus empowerment.

What capacities are demanded of citizens by the three models of deliberative democracy? All three require practical rationality, although what this means is different in each case. For Rawls, public reason requires that citizens be able to examine together whether their institutions are just. This requires the moral duty of civility and the capacity to cite publicly recognised and shared reasons by persons as citizens who can take part in social life, exercise its rights and respect its duties. They need to understand and endorse the conception of justice that well orders their society, which in turn requires that they be able to follow the discursive and argumentative procedures that Rawls calls “public reason.” For Rawls, public reason draws on fundamental ideas implicit in the public political culture of a democratic society. This raises the question of whether or how citizens who don’t live in such a society can meet these conditions. It is plausible to expect that formal, structured education has a more urgent role in societies that do not have an established political democratic culture. Discursive democracy emphasises the procedural requirements for practical rationality in democratic institutions, including being able to initiate speech acts, to question and interrogate and to open debate. It also provides for the possibility not only of questioning assigned topics of conversation, but also initiating reflexive arguments about the very procedural rules of discourse. Communicative democracy also requires a capacity for critical argument but demands a wider range of interactions, such as greeting, rhetoric and narrative. The procedural conditions are also more demanding and require a wider range of capacities. The capacity to speak across difference demands a willingness to express one’s own opinions, to listen to those of others, and requires the positive valuing of difference as a resource, while agreeing upon and abiding by the procedural rules of fair discussion.

Even so, it might be objected that deliberative democracy is too demanding. Does deliberative democracy make outrageous demands on citizens? Judith Shklar (1991) argues that, while the demands for full participation are indeed excessive, the demand for inclusion can be met without this. She contrasts an Aristotelian conception of citizenship with the sort of citizenship demanded by disadvantaged Americans. The Aristotelian conception, whose ideal has enchanted contemporary proponents of direct

democracy, is an exclusive conception with a “premium on cohesion among a fully active citizenry” and calling for “public activity among wellbred gentlemen with plenty of free time” (Shklar 1991, pp.29–30). But this is not the sort of citizenship demanded by disenfranchised Americans. Instead they have asked for citizenship to be equally distributed so that their interests might be promoted and defended and their standing might be recognised along with the standing of other citizens.

Another possible objection to deliberative democracy is that it is not feasible since it allows neither for representation nor for experts, both of which are surely inescapable given the scale and complexity of modern government.

Consider first the matter of representation. One implication of deliberative democracy seems particularly problematical, namely that each is accountable to all in a deliberative forum. Such universal accountability does indeed present problems with respect to political representation. Nevertheless, Gutmann and Thompson argue, “the resources of deliberation provide more justifiable ways of responding to the challenges of representation than do other conceptions of democracy” (Gutmann & Thompson 1996, p.132). How so? Deliberative democracy requires representatives to justify their actions in moral terms, in other words, to give reasons that can be accepted by all those bound or affected by the laws and policies they advocate. On a deliberative model, accountable representative government requires the self-correcting procedure of reiterated deliberation in which representatives present proposals, citizens react, representatives react and so on. Gutmann and Thompson argue that reiterative deliberation promotes a cooperative spirit, an understanding of issues, better decisions and so a more adequate handling of problems. Conflicts in representative democracy are intensified by deliberative democracy insofar as it demands reason-giving and extends the scope of accountability. Yet these very demands also point to better understanding of the conflicts and how to handle them.

What is the role of experts in deliberative democracy? On the face of it, the principle of deliberative accountability gives too much weight to public opinion and too little to the moral and political expertise of representatives. If – as deliberative accountability requires – representatives must justify their actions to citizens, then their justifications must appeal to the general public so risking a degradation of public discourse through simplistic and demagogic reasoning and policies. What is more it impedes representatives from exercising their own best judgment. The trick, then, is for representatives to insist on their expertise while accommodating conflicting views of constituents and avoiding demagoguery. Democracy’s epistemic qualities can be enhanced by representation because it provides opportunities for deliberation, while the institution of representation can be constituted more deliberatively.

The question about expertise becomes more insistent when the issues involve scientific judgment. Is deliberative democracy realistic in its demands on participants’ expertise to deliberate on issues requiring complex technical understanding? Bohman’s work is helpful here. While acknowledging the potential for competition between democracy and science, he argues that in a wide public, as characterised by deliberative democracy, epistemic deference to scientists is not inevitable. Space can be created for democratic negotiation about the conduct of scientific practice and so help to establish an egalitarian rather than a hierarchical relationship between citizens

and experts. As a wide social enterprise, science can enlist various groups as participants in a collective project. Bohman cites the example of AIDS activism in the United States of America as a case of democratic enquiry in which the public challenged the assumed prerogative of expert researchers to define the enterprise of producing knowledge about the disease (Bohman 1999). Through deliberative procedures, Bohman argues, knowledge becomes a public good, a moral resource.

Yet even this may sound demanding of the time and expertise of the citizens of the citizens of a deliberative democracy. Mark Warren (1996) recognises that the sheer complexity and size of contemporary democracies must place limits on the number of decisions that can be the outcome of broad public participation. In modern industrial societies many complex decisions have to be made, and the public find some deliberative contexts closed to them by specialist discourses.

Under these conditions, enormous trust has to be placed in authorities. "Democratic authority" exists when the possibility of challenging authorities exists. But most of the time individuals can suspend judgment, trusting in experts against a "background context of critical scrutiny". In these circumstances, individuals can both focus their own time, knowledge and attention on issues that are important to them and rely on "attentive publics" as well as other experts to critically scrutinise the claims of experts.

While deliberative democracy is not easy, it is feasible. A feasible deliberative democracy need not depend on making every decision the product of deliberation by every citizen. Contrary to the worries of its detractors, deliberative democracy rules out neither representation nor expertise; it requires us neither to be full-time deliberators nor that we bare our souls or subject our messy or precious private lives to continuous public scrutiny and meddling.

Deliberative democracy promises to provide the conditions under which all citizens are included in deliberation as free and equal participants and where inclusion is empowering at the same time. Bohman's notion of "efficacious participation" implies an intrinsic connection between inclusion and empowerment. For Bohman "efficacious participation:" requires that the deliberator be confident of "deliberative uptake", that her participation has an influence on outcomes. It also requires that the deliberator is able to initiate acts of deliberation. Bohman takes this to be an index of political equality and reasonable cooperation.

His analysis shows that the urgency of political inclusion is a response to deliberative inequalities. The kind of inequality at issue is not only of resources and opportunities but also, crucially, of political capacities. Citizens can avoid persistent disadvantages only if deliberative resources and the conditions necessary for the development of public capacities are accessible to all. To achieve such political equality, and the attendant inclusiveness, it may be necessary to create new spaces for deliberation and to create and maintain the conditions necessary for public deliberation.

LIFELONG LEARNING AND DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY

The educational system is probably the most important institution in a deliberative democracy. Education for this kind of political inclusion and empowerment entails the

simultaneous cultivation of moral character and cognitive skills. Which aspects of character and cognitive skills education should develop will depend partly on which particular model of deliberative democracy is aspired to. We have already discussed the educational demands of the three different models in the previous section. Here we examine the capacities to be developed for equal participation whatever the deliberative model.

These capacities include understanding different perspectives, communicating an understanding of one's own perspectives to other people, justifying one's own actions, criticising those of fellow citizens, and responding to their justifications and criticisms. Ultimately, citizens should be able to "...engage in the give-and-take of moral argument with a view to making mutually acceptable decisions." (Gutmann & Thompson 1996, p.359) Civic education in a deliberative democracy must go further than citizenship education in other forms of democracy, for it should teach people not only to respect human dignity but also to appreciate the role of deliberation in sustaining political co-operation "on terms that can be shared by morally motivated citizens." (Gutmann & Thompson 1996, p.66) Appreciating the role of public deliberation involves understanding that the deliberative perspective is not just another morality but is offered as "the morally optimal basis on which citizens who disagree about moralities and religions can act collectively to make educational policy." (Gutmann & Thompson 1996, p.67)

It seems then that a high level of elementary and secondary education is a prerequisite for deliberative democracy. However, under conditions of inequality or in places where the school system is dysfunctional, these prerequisites will not have been met. The problem is compounded in nascent democracies which have neither strong democratic traditions nor the range of democratic institutions that provide out-of-school opportunities for citizens to develop the capacities and dispositions needed for genuine participation in deliberative decision-making about matters of shared concern. If deliberative democracy is the good its proponents seem to believe, does the state not have a duty under such conditions to provide some form of adult education or lifelong learning for citizens who have been deprived of quality schooling?

Yes, is the short answer. However, the dominant conception of lifelong learning, with its increasingly narrow focus on vocational skills, certification and credit accumulation, doesn't hold much promise for accomplishing these ends. A more promising conceptualisation is to be found in a revitalised liberal tradition of lifelong learning in which education for citizenship is seen as central (see Taylor 1998). The capacities required for inclusion in a deliberative democracy cannot be developed through narrowly defined skills training. In many respects they match characteristics of liberal education.

In the face of the tendency for lifelong learning to focus on narrow vocational skills defenders of lifelong learning in the liberal tradition have:

...held to a series of principled conceptions of the purposes of education and, in our context, post-compulsory education... Individualism has been central: the personal growth and development of the individual, through educational experience, has been seen as an *a priori* good, quite apart from the contingent benefits that such developed individuals might bring to the wider society. (Taylor 1998, p.302)

This view of liberal education, and of lifelong learning, in which the independent individual is the cornerstone of the good society, which is also economically efficient, sees critical thinking as a central characteristic of liberal education. In this tradition of post-compulsory education, democratic in both its encouragement of participation in civil society and in its commitment to democratic educational practices, “certification was seen as at best irrelevant and at worst a perversion of the proper function of education. This tradition was especially strong in the Workers’ Education Association ... where, until the 1980s, the voluntary movement in some districts resisted any such developments as inimical to the moral purposes of the organisation” (Taylor 1998, p.303). In response to the growing emphasis on vocationalism and accreditation, Taylor defends a revitalised liberal tradition in which education for citizenship is seen as central.

We agree and propose that a rich deliberative engagement with pluralism should lie at the heart of a revitalised liberal tradition.

Deliberative democracy, as we have shown in the previous section, makes heavy demands on the capacities of citizens. Conceived as a set of skills-bytes to be accumulated throughout one’s working life and into retirement, lifelong learning will fail abysmally in enabling citizens to meet these demands. A much richer conception of lifelong learning is needed for such tasks as developing practical rationality (which includes justifying action in moral terms) and enabling citizens to follow argumentative procedures, to initiate their own reflexive arguments and present proposals about matters of public concern. Under conditions of diversity, where political inclusion is both imperative and difficult, the demands are even greater. As we have already implied, an education for this kind of participation involves speaking and listening across difference in a spirit of co-operation, as well as negotiating with experts about the conduct of scientific, technical and political practice. It also requires citizens to understand issues in the light of the history of their society and to be able to decide when to trust the experts and when to suspend their trust. Only a broadly liberal conception of lifelong learning, coupled with an appropriate spread of deliberative institutions, would enable the development of these capacities. Apart from schools and other educational institutions such as community colleges, other institutions should be arranged so as to provide opportunities for citizens to engage in deliberation and acquire the skills and attitudes required for inclusion and empowerment.

Education and democratic deliberation have a reciprocal relationship. Just as equal participation in democratic deliberation requires a certain kind of education so deliberation itself offers the opportunity for education.

Two of the models we have discussed address the educational benefits of their conceptions of deliberation. The discursive model is educative in three primary aspects. First, deliberative processes impart information because no individual can predict the various perspectives through which a range of individuals would perceive ethical and political matters. Nor can any one person have all the information relevant to a decision that affects all. Second, contrary to the fiction that each individual possesses a prior ordered, coherent set of preferences, deliberation has a formative role in enabling the individual to reflect critically on her views and opinions and order them coherently. Third, attempting to articulate a view in public subjects individual preferences to external and reflexive requirements. It forces the individual to attempt to articulate good reasons in public, and to think of what “...would count as a good reason for

all others involved.” (Benhabib 1996, p.72). We have already noted the epistemic dimensions of the communicative model.

CONCLUSION

In our view, any democracy worth its salt is a deliberative democracy. To say this is to reject two kinds of easy democracy: the aggregative model in which crosses on ballot papers are totted up and what we call “Viva! Viva!” democracy, which involves attending rallies and cheering leaders and comrades in arms but not having to think too hard. Neither requires much by way of either cognitive or attitudinal capacities

Deliberative democracy is hard democracy, demanding of both cognitive and attitudinal capacities. These are not acquired without effort. Nor is basic education normally sufficient for them. If genuine empowerment and inclusion – rather than their token or bogus forms – depends on these capacities and if the acquisition of the capacities depends on education, then the state that wishes to establish and sustain deliberative democracy has a duty at least to provide such education. More strongly, it may have a duty to compel citizens to be so educated.

While the duty of provision raises some questions, it is surely uncontroversial. Not so the duty of compulsion. Although there is a tradition in modern societies of compelling young people to attend school up to a specified age, compulsion beyond this age would be regarded as a violation of individual rights. But if deliberative democracy is as great a good as we have implied then compulsion may be justified. A number of proposals could be considered. For instance: state provision of special support and funding to institutions in civil society that operate deliberatively and therefore educate deliberative capacities; incentives such as tax-breaks or extra votes for individuals who complete courses in deliberative democracy; or punitive measures such as removal from the voters’ roll for those who do not.

But while deliberation may be so valuable that it could seem worth compelling, such steps would pose a problem in bypassing deliberation itself. The challenge of deliberative democracy is to include and empower fellow citizens by reasoned argument that learning deliberative capacities and dispositions is worth doing, if necessary through lifelong learning.

NOTE:

The authors are listed alphabetically. There is no first author.

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Chapter 5: Lifelong Learning and the Contribution of Informal Learning

PAUL HAGER

INTRODUCTION

The burgeoning interest in lifelong learning during the 1990s has been influenced strongly by the scope and significance of the 1970s debate about lifelong education. This debate identified and clarified a continuum of understandings of the lifelong education concept. At one end of the continuum, a minimalist view of lifelong education envisaged a society in which there would be reasonably adequate provision of adult education for all of those who chose to patronise it. Arguably, there is already consensus about the desirability of a minimalist view of lifelong education, and, perhaps, many present industrialised countries are close to exemplifying it. However, many proponents of lifelong education were seeking much more than this. The other end of the continuum, a maximalist view of lifelong education, sought nothing less than a learning society. While learning societies can take various forms, proponents of lifelong education typically favoured one that was democratic, where the learning society was “a shared, pluralistic and participatory ‘form of life’ in Dewey’s sense ... rather than a simple set of institutions and constitutional guarantees” (Wain 1987, p. 202; Wain 1993, p.68). Certainly such a learning society is yet to be realised. Nor is there any sign of consensus about the desirability of this maximalist view of lifelong education.

Since learning is clearly a wider notion than education, it might be expected that, unlike the case of lifelong education, understandings of lifelong learning would tend towards a maximalist view. That is, that the favoured notion of lifelong learning would embrace learning in any type of setting ranging from formal educational systems of all kinds, through diverse sorts of non-formal educational provision, to the limitless situations and contexts in which informal learning can occur. Certainly, a maximalist view of this sort is implied in much of the policy literature on lifelong learning. However, this chapter cautions that a major obstacle to the valuation of learning in all types of settings comes from the hegemony exerted by the formal education system in deciding what learning is to be valued and how it is to be assessed and accredited. This poses a problem for proponents of lifelong learning in most of its forms.

The hegemonic influence of the formal education system on the relative valuation of different forms of learning is illustrated by the usual way in which the non-formal and informal educational sectors are defined. They are defined by what they are perceived to lack in relation to the formal sector, i.e. formal assessment of learning and/or the

awarding of formal credentials. Informal learning of most kinds is especially lacking in these kinds of characteristics that are valued in the formal education system.

Because informal learning covers such a huge diversity of settings the main arguments of this chapter will be given focus by concentrating on *informal learning at work*. This is an easy choice in that there is no doubt that informal learning at work accounts for the major share of research and writing on informal learning. However, while focusing the chapter on informal learning at work, the author believes that equivalent arguments can be developed for other types of informal learning.

Thus, the body of this chapter firstly examines critically major assumptions about learning that appear to weaken the claim of informal learning at work to be a main part of lifelong learning. Secondly, it discusses a range of research and literature that assist in a growing understanding of informal learning at work. Finally, the chapter draws together some themes that the discussion of informal learning at work suggests might be central to any plausible understanding of lifelong learning that approaches a maximal one.

It should be noted that the term ‘informal learning at work’ is used in the following discussion because the commonly employed alternative ‘workplace learning’ is ambiguous. The latter can refer to formal on-the-job training as well as the informal learning that occurs as people perform their work. In some cases it is used even to refer to formal training situations in vocational education institutions that involve simulated workplaces.

INHIBITING INFLUENCE OF TRADITIONAL ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT LEARNING ON THE RECOGNITION OF INFORMAL LEARNING

A major obstacle to informal learning at work being taken seriously as a component of a person’s overall education is the way that it differs on very many criteria from activities that have traditionally been thought of as ‘education’. While this is most obvious in the vast differences between informal learning at work and the learning that typically takes place in formal educational institutions, it is also the case that informal learning at work is very different from formal on-the-job training. These differences can be described as follows:

- Teachers/trainers are in control in both formal learning in educational institutions and in formal on-the-job training, whereas it is the learner who is in control (if anyone is) in informal learning at work. That is, formal learning is planned, but informal learning at work is often unplanned.
- The learning that takes place in educational institutions and in on-the-job training is largely predictable as it is prescribed by formal curricula, competency standards, learning outcomes, etc. Informal learning at work is much less predictable as there is no formal curriculum or prescribed outcomes.
- In both educational institutions and formal on-the-job training, learning is largely explicit (the learner is expected to be able to articulate what has been learnt, e.g. in a written examination, in oral answers to instructor questioning, or in being

required to perform appropriate activities as a result of the training). In informal learning at work, the learning is often implicit or tacit (the learner is commonly unaware of the extent of their learning) even though the learner might be well aware of the outcomes of such learning, e.g. that they are able to perform their job much better.

- In both formal classrooms and on-the-job training the emphasis is on teaching/training and on the content and structure of what is taught/trained (largely as a consequence of the three previous points). Whereas in informal learning at work the emphasis is on learning and on the learner.
- In both formal classrooms and on-the-job training the focus is usually on learners as individuals and on individual learning. In informal learning at work, the learning is often collaborative and/or collegial.
- Learning in formal classrooms is uncontextualised, i.e. there is an emphasis on general principles rather than their specific applications. While formal on-the-job training is typically somewhat contextualised, even here there is some emphasis on the general e.g. the training might be aimed at general industry standards. However, informal learning at work is by its nature highly contextualised.
- The learning that takes place in educational institutions and in on-the-job training is conceptualised typically in terms of theory (or knowledge) and practice (application of theory and knowledge). The learning that comes from informal learning at work, on the other hand, seems to be most appropriately thought of as seamless know how.

Given these trends, it is hardly surprising that formal learning/education has been seen as being much more valuable than informal learning. Informal learning at work is a paradigm case of informal education and, hence, tends to be undervalued particularly by those with a stake in the formal education system at whatever level. Historically, training has been viewed as the antithesis of education. It is only a slight caricature to say that training has been thought of as aimed at mindless, mechanical, routine activity in contrast to education which aims for development of the mind via completion of intellectually challenging tasks. Despite this 'chalk and cheese' conception of education and training, the trends just noted above show that in many key respects the two have more in common with one another than either one does with informal learning at work. One indicator of this is the rapid growth of formalised workplace training that incorporates externally accredited courses. This is occurring at all levels of the workforce from operatives through to senior managers. It is a trend that is expected to continue (Misko 1996) and will be discussed further later on in this chapter. In contrast, external accreditation of informal learning at work is still very rare.

One reaction to this situation would be to start from a minimalist lifelong learning option and use the characteristics of learning that are valued in formal education to seek to identify the best of informal learning, so that it could then be brought within the fold of learning that is recognised. This chapter rejects this approach, arguing not only for a more maximalist lifelong learning option, but proposing that a closer examination of informal learning has strong potential to enrich our understanding of learning in all settings. The lifelong learning concept provides an opportunity to move beyond narrow

understandings of learning that have flourished in formal educational systems and to question some little scutinised assumptions about what learning is valued. It should be noted that, in adopting this strategy, this chapter is not arguing that all learning is equally valuable. Rather, the position is the more modest one that there are compelling reasons for looking to extend the range of learning that is valued.

PERSPECTIVES ON INFORMAL LEARNING AT WORK THAT CAN ENRICH OUR VIEW OF LIFELONG LEARNING

Traditional understandings of occupational practice have largely ignored informal learning as a significant component. For more routine aspects of work, learning has been viewed as acquisition of the required behaviours via mechanistic training. For less routine work, a theory/practice approach has been favoured. Here the role of vocational preparation courses has been seen as providing the theoretical basis that workers can be apply to deal with workplace situations as they arise.

Various writers, but most notably Schön (1983), have drawn attention to the inadequacy of these common assumptions about occupational practice. Focusing on the preparation of professionals, Schön vigorously rejected “technical rationality”, i.e. the view that professionals need to have command of a body of disciplinary knowledge, mostly scientific, which they then draw upon to analyse and solve the various problems that they encounter in their daily practice. Schön pointed out that this approach does not fit very well with what is known about the actual practice of professionals. For one thing, it is typical of real life practice that ready-made problems do not simply present themselves to the practitioner. A major role of professionals is to identify what the problems are in a given set of circumstances. Thus, according to Schön, it is a major mistake to locate professional education away from actual workplace practice. Conceptualising education and the workplace in this traditional dichotomous way inevitably divides theory from practice and creates the perennial problem of how to bring them together again when attempting to account for human action in the world. The research discussed in the remainder of this section signifies the wide recognition of the inability of theory/practice thinking to account for workplace practice. Even in cognitive psychology there has been a recognition of the need to “de-emphasise the spurious theory-and-practice connotations” that surround the declarative knowledge/procedural knowledge and similar distinctions because “they do not necessarily represent independent modes of functioning” (Yates & Chandler 1991, pp. 133–134).

This increasingly perceived inadequacy of theory/practice accounts of workplace performance has generated attempts in more recent work to think about these issues in different ways, ways that take more seriously the phenomenon of informal learning at work. A series of these newer approaches is now outlined and critically discussed.

One influential approach to taking informal learning at work seriously is to view it in terms of reflection on practice. For instance, Schön’s proposed epistemology of professional practice centres on the “reflective practitioner” who exhibits “knowing-in-action” and “reflecting-in-action”. Knowing-in-action is tacit knowledge in that though practitioners know it, they cannot express it. Thus it is akin to Polanyi’s (1958) “personal

knowledge” which refers to the type of know how that is displayed in skilful performances which can be seen to follow a set of rules that is not known as such to the performer. According to Schön, knowing-in-action is underpinned by “reflecting-in-action” or “reflecting-in-practice”. This spontaneous reflecting is variously characterised by Schön as involving practitioners in “noticing”, “seeing” or “feeling” features of their actions and learning from this by consciously or unconsciously altering their practice for the better.

Schön’s proposals have been influential in many arenas of professional education. However there has also been increasing questioning of his work and its influence (see, e.g., Newman 1999). A major criticism is that it is much clearer what Schön is against than what he is for. His proposal for “reflecting-in-action” is variously charged with being too vague. Gilroy (1993) challenges it on general epistemological grounds. Beckett (1996) goes further and questions the existence of “reflecting-in-action”, particularly in those occupations where the action is typically “hot”. “Hot” action in an occupation refers to situations where the “pressure for action is immediate” (Eraut 1985, p.128). This includes much of the work of teachers, surgeons, lawyers, nurses, etc. By contrast the work of a lawyer preparing a brief, of an architect developing a design, or of a doctor in a consulting room is much “cooler”. Beckett’s point is that while Schön’s “reflecting-in-action” might appear to have some plausibility as an account of these latter cases, this concept is simply inappropriate for “hot” action situations in occupational performance. He develops an argument for “anticipative action” being a more explanatory concept for these cases, though accepting that this too is not without its difficulties.

Likewise, while the concept of “reflecting-in-action” has become very influential in the education of professionals, it has tended too often to suffer the usual fate of single factor cures to complex problems and become a cliché recipe. In teacher education, for example, the problem, as Calderhead (1989, p.46) points out is that “[r]eflective teaching has become a slogan, disguising numerous practices and offering a variety of idealised models for the training of teachers.” (See also Adler 1991 and Newman 1996). An illustration of the aptness of Calderhead’s claim is provided by Tremmel (1993, p.439) who outlines examples of attempts in teacher education courses to circumscribe Schön’s “reflecting-in-action” into standardised stepwise procedures to be learnt and applied by novices. The very technical rationality that Schön is attacking has been deployed as a means of reducing his ideas to a routine formula.

Of course, Schön’s is not the only work that places reflection at the core of informal learning at work. In fact many recent theorists rely in one way or another on the notion of reflection. It is important to gain some grasp of the range of connotations for the term ‘reflection’ in this work. It is perhaps worth noting that the basic idea is found in Dewey’s writings (see, e.g., Dewey 1916). For Dewey, the good life for humans is one in which they live in harmony with their environment. But because the environment is in a state of continuous flux, so humans need to grow and readjust constantly to it so as to remain in harmony with it. Thus, for Dewey, education must instil the lifelong capacity to grow and to readjust constantly to the environment. Since, argued Dewey, inquiry, democracy, problem solving, active learning, reflective thinking, experiential learning, etc. are methods that are necessary for humans to learn to readjust effectively to the environment, these are the teaching/learning methods that must feature in education. Dewey argues that reflection is central to effective inquiry and problem solving,

but this should not be seen merely in narrowly rational terms. For Dewey, reflective thinking is more holistic, incorporating social, moral and political aspects of the contexts in which it occurs. This is why Dewey's influence in formal education has actually been rather less than has often been claimed. The structure of formal schooling has ensured that the reflective thinking that is encouraged in the classroom is restricted to a very narrow range of learning contexts. Hence, the chronic problem of students' inability to connect their learning with the broader range of life's contexts. While informal learning at work itself also occurs in a restricted range of contexts, this range is still very much wider than what is available in the classroom. Thus, it could be said that many of the reflection-based theories about informal learning at work proposed in recent years, whether consciously or not, present a significantly Deweyan perspective.

However, Dewey's holistic view of human growth and its accompaniments, such as reflective thinking and problem solving, has attracted critical attention over the years. Bertrand Russell was responsible for a particularly influential critical exchange with Dewey (see Meyer 1985). For Dewey the starting point of inquiry is a problem situation. But given another key Deweyan principle of the continuity of nature, Russell argued that any aspect of the universe is potentially a part of a problem situation. Hence, he concluded, Dewey's holism commits him to the view that a problem situation can embrace no less than the whole of the universe. In which case, the theory of problem situations would have little explanatory value. As Burke (1994) argues, Dewey does have a way of limiting the size of situations. Nevertheless, Russell has here pointed to a general and recurring difficulty for holistic theories. The sheer complexity and range of factors involved in any situation under investigation are liable to render that situation rather unique. Hence it becomes difficult to say anything general about situations except in very broad terms. Perhaps this is a reason why so many of Dewey's works are viewed by readers as abstract and difficult. Certainly occupational practice appears to be a phenomenon that involves a very complex and diverse range of factors. This appears to be one reason why no adequate and generally accepted theory of it has yet emerged.

While reflection can be seen as the major generic skill or attribute employed by theoreticians attempting to understand informal learning at work, recently there has been strong international interest in a broad range of generic skills or attributes that are taken to be vital both in work and in life generally. Governments have been attracted to such generic skills as a means to connect schooling and work. A typical example of such generic skills are the Australian key competencies which are:

- Collecting, Analysing and Organising Information
- Communicating Ideas and Information
- Planning and Organising Activities
- Working with Others and in Teams
- Using Mathematical Ideas and Techniques
- Solving Problems
- Using Technology.

The attraction of such lists of generic skills for politicians seems to be a naive hope that if learnt they can be readily applied to an indefinite number of new situations. Of course, all

of the research evidence points to such simple notions of transfer being very dubious. As Misko (1995) suggests, it is more realistic to view transfer as application of previous knowledge to new settings that result in learning of significant new knowledge. Thus to the extent that generic skills or attributes are helpful concepts, their use in novel situations involves significant informal learning. There is some evidence that generic skills or attributes are basic enabling competencies for the development of other capacities increasingly valued in the workplace such as creating an enterprising culture, assuring quality, learning to learn, and lifelong learning (Hager *et al.*, 1997). So, rather than being viewed as discrete skills that people learn to transfer, generic skills perhaps should be seen as learnt capacities to adapt with confidence to an increasing variety of diverse situations.

A very important feature of generic skills or attributes is that they point to the strong contextuality of learning at work. Not only do the role and extent of generic skills requirements differ between industries and occupations, but their significance within occupations depends greatly on local features of particular work sites (Gonczi *et al.* 1995, Hager *et al.* 1996, Stevenson (ed.) 1996, Stasz *et al.* 1996, Stasz 1997). The research by Stasz *et al.* concluded that:

...whereas generic skills and dispositions are identifiable in all jobs, their specific characteristics and importance vary among jobs. The characteristics of problem solving, teamwork, communication, and disposition are related to job demands, which in turn depend on the purpose of the work, the tasks that constitute the job, the organisation of the work, and other aspects of the work context. (1996, p.102)

It has been found also that these generic skills or attributes are major features of work in workplaces that focus on high performance or high quality products (Field & Mawer 1996, Gonczi *et al.* 1995).

A further interesting feature of generic skills or attributes is their marked tendency to cluster. When any significant component of work is considered, there tends to be a clustering of generic skills together with more specific competencies together with features that are particular to the context. So generic skills or attributes encourage us to view work more holistically. As such, they provide an antidote to the widespread tendency to view competence in narrow, task-based ways. As Hager *et al.* concluded:

As a general principle, if it is found that particular units of work can be described without involving [generic skills or attributes], then the work units are probably being described too narrowly to be very useful from a training perspective. (1996 p.82)

The contextuality of generic skills or attributes is an important issue in the rationale for the recent higher education phenomenon of work-based learning degrees. These degrees are a somewhat controversial outcome of recent attempts to relate higher education to work in more effective ways. A work-based learning degree is not structured around the disciplines and subjects of a traditional university degree. Rather real work activities become the basis of the curriculum (Boud 1998). The student negotiates suitable work projects the satisfactory completion of which lead to the awarding of the degree. This means that the curriculum is individually tailored for each student.

The development of work-based learning degrees can be viewed as a logical extension of common situations in traditional courses where students, especially part-time ones, are encouraged to tailor assessment tasks either in part or full to their professional workplace practice via learning contracts, action learning projects and the like. Here, the workplace becomes both a learning resource and a site for learning. Other variants of this include, of course, professional placements, work experience programs, and practicums. Work-based learning degrees take this a step further by creating a three way partnership between the employee-student, the employer and the university. The employee-student benefits by being enabled to undertake a degree where work and other commitments would otherwise prevent them from doing so. Students also value the chance to have previous learning in the workplace assessed and accredited towards the degree. The employer benefits from having work-related learning that they value being certified to meet university qualification standards. Employers also appreciate that making learning at work a focus contributes greatly to the development of their organisation. Apart from the obvious benefit of creating new markets, universities find that work-based learning degrees force their staff to move their attention from teaching to learning, a move supported by much recent research into teaching and learning in higher education institutions.

The link between work-based learning degrees and generic skills or attributes comes from the need to achieve comparability with equivalent traditional degree courses. When work activities become the centre of the curriculum there seems at first sight to be no connection with standard degree curricula that are based on disciplines and subjects. The favoured solution has been to identify the main generic skills and attributes implicit in both sorts of curriculum and to match them one against the other. This has prompted a growing interest in the generic skills and attributes developed and assumed by curricula of standard degree courses.

So far reflection on work practice and the role of generic skills and attributes in work have been discussed as influential approaches to understanding informal learning at work. A further major approach that needs to be considered centres on the concept of "learning from experience" or "experience-based learning". Like reflection, experience-based learning is a term that has many meanings in the literature. Indeed, as Usher (1993) has pointed out, the notion of "experience" is itself one whose meaning is not particularly standard. He suggests that "experience-based learning" ranges from everyday learning from experience, which usually passes unnoticed, to experiential learning which is part of a highly selective and refined discourse. The variety of meanings of "experience-based learning" has been widely acknowledged. According to Weil and McGill (1989) there are four main emphases for experiential learning. These are:

- The assessment and accreditation of prior experiential learning
- Experiential learning to change higher and continuing education
- Experiential learning to change society
- Experiential learning for personal growth and development.

Each of these positions, as described by Weil and McGill, can be seen as relevant to the projects of understanding and improving informal learning at work. Recognising

the value of informal learning is the central concern of the first. The second argues not only that the informal learning that occurs during professional work experience is valuable, but that a higher education professional preparation course that lacks such experiential learning is inherently flawed. The third, which refers to the work of Freire, Mezirow, and other writers, focuses on experiential learning for social and political change. While this may not be perceived by some as a prime concern of professional education, it is, in fact, basic to cases where professionals seek to bring about changes in social behaviour. Thus experiential learning for social and political change is highly relevant in the professional education of, e.g. welfare workers, AIDS professionals, etc. More broadly, the social and political dimensions of work are vital influences on the kinds of informal learning that occur in the workplace. Finally personal growth and development are obviously major components of job satisfaction and the informal learning that underpins that satisfaction irrespective of the nature of the occupation.

Unsurprisingly, then, the notions of experience and experience-based learning are prominent concepts in the literature that seeks to understand workplace practice. It is also common in these writings to find a close connection being posited between experience and reflection. For example, in the writings of Boud and his co-workers (1985, 1990, 1991, 1993) reflection of various kinds is proposed as the means by which assorted types of experience are turned into learning. Likewise, Marsick and Watkins, workplace learning theorists who openly acknowledge their debt to Dewey (Marsick and Watkins 1990, pp.16–17), use experience and reflection as major concepts in their well known analysis of “informal learning”, and its supposed sub-set “incidental learning”. “Defining characteristics” of informal learning, according to Marsick and Watkins (1990, pp.15–24) include that it is “experience-based, non-routine and often tacit” with “critical reflectivity”, “proactivity” and “creativity” as key conditions which enhance the effectiveness of such learning. As Marsick and Watkins expand on the factors that they believe underpin the various defining characteristics and key conditions which they claim promote effective informal learning, they provide a fine illustration of the point made above about the sheer complexity and diversity of this range of factors.

Confronted with this situation of complexity and diversity some theorists have placed their emphasis on particular factors that they believe are especially influential in organisational learning. For instance, Argyris and Schön (1974, 1978) highlight the importance of non-routine circumstances for stimulating significant experiential learning. They suggest that it is the non-routine that forces professionals into the kind of reflective thinking that changes beliefs, values and assumptions. They characterise such learning as “double loop” in contrast to “single loop” learning in which a problem is solved using the practitioner’s existing system of beliefs, values and assumptions. Thus, on this account, double loop learning changes the practitioner, whereas in single loop learning the practitioner remains the same. Argyris and Schön have also investigated the types of organisational climate that are conducive to double loop learning. In doing so, they draw attention to the notion of professional judgement and the means by which it is formed (see Hager 1996). The Argyris and Schön work is a descendent of the Dewey tradition which is able to avoid the various criticisms, discussed above, of Schön’s later notion of “reflecting-in-action”.

Another developing research area that has contributed significantly to our understanding of informal learning at work is the study of expertise by cognitive psychologists. This research suggests that expertise involves the development of domain specific mental schemata that enable the perception of large meaningful patterns that are not apparent to novices (Glaser 1985, Tennant 1991, Yates & Chandler 1991). Amongst other things, this domain specific 'know how' enables experts to work faster and more economically than novices. According to this research, experts' repertoires of highly developed mental schemata have been developed informally from experience. This means that novice practitioners cannot work in the same way as experts. Thus novice teachers, for example, employ general principles learnt in their teacher education course to try to analyse and solve problems encountered in their first forays into classroom teaching. However expert teachers' mental schemata automatically allow them to perceive new problems as reformulations of old ones and to quickly fashion appropriate responses. This kind of research finding has been taken to indicate that informal learning at work is richer than had been assumed previously. However the process by which novices' general theory is transformed by experience into mental schemata that are relatively context specific is not well understood. These research findings about expertise are supported by the increasing realisation that graduates of academic courses are not yet equipped as competent practitioners. Hence the importance in various occupations of novices taking part in mandatory professional years, internships, probationary periods, practicums, etc. Nursing is one profession where the expertise literature has been very influential in shaping understandings of professional practice.

While the expertise literature focuses on internal factors, such as the types of knowledge possessed by experts, the situated learning theorists seek to study the social and cultural dimensions of the workplace as they influence learning. Rather than the workplace merely being a site in which learning occurs, the nature of the workplace, including its social and cultural features, will play a key part in what is learnt (Brown et al. 1989, Chaiklin & Lave 1993). Situated learning theory displays a determination to avoid theory/practice type thinking. According to Lave (1988, p.1):

'Cognition' observed in everyday practice is distributed – stretched over, not divided among – mind, body, activity and culturally organised settings (which include other actors).

Hence, Lave continues, the need to view "cognition as a nexus of relations between the mind at work and the world in which it works." The problem for situated learning theory is to progress beyond such holistic statements to an analysis that takes account of the very complex and diverse range of factors that are relevant to occupational practice and the informal learning that accompanies it.

The preceding discussion has surveyed some main theories that promise to help to advance our understanding of informal learning at work. Overall, it can be said that while these various theories all have something to offer, none of them thus far seems to have gained sufficient successes to be accepted as the dominant theory. As well it cannot be claimed that the above survey is exhaustive. While the focus has been on work that the author finds most suggestive, it should be noted that other relevant literature is available such as work on the learning organisation and the learning society.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has argued that any plausible view of lifelong learning that approaches a maximal one needs to include a better understanding of informal learning than what has been available from received theories. It has also been suggested that a closer examination of informal learning has strong potential to enrich our understanding of learning in all settings. Put another way, research on informal learning challenges traditional understandings of the nature of knowledge. In order to bridge the formal learning/informal learning dichotomy and attain a richer notion of lifelong learning, a number of subsidiary dichotomies need to be dissolved (Hager & Beckett 1998). These include:

- the contingent and practical (as against the theoretical, formal, and systematic)
- the process (as against the content)
- the particular (as against the universal and *a priori* as the 'context')
- the affective and the social domains (as against the cognitive domain).

Brief comment on overcoming each of these dichotomies for a new integrative approach to lifelong learning follows.

The contingent and practical (as against the theoretical, formal, and systematic)

Daily, minute-by-minute, activity at work is typically marked by rapid judgements, even when such judgements involve a high degree of routine. We find ourselves caught up in the daily flux of practical work which, as pointed out above, is inadequately characterised as reflection-in-action. This 'hot action' is perhaps the core of the claim that workplaces can generate learning. Hot action has as its key feature, an intense intentionality: we do what we find works! The action is hot because the demands of the work are shaped by the requirement to meet needs and solve problems as these present themselves contingently – that is, in the normal run of daily work life. For workers such as teachers, nurses, lawyers, and surgeons, this means close attention to the requirements of particular situations, an ability to 'read' these situations for what they require, and a keen sense of judgements about how to proceed. When the action is hot, we find ourselves caught up in thought and action, both intertwined in our 'trying' something out. The analogy that fits this close focus on the workplace is that of the artist before the canvas: there is no loss of conscious critical control of the brush, but in an integrative way, the canvas, the brush, the paint, the hand, the eye and the mind are all components of the next action, a 'trying' to see if the painting is improved in thus-and-so a way. Similarly, we can identify many components of workplace activity, but it is only when these are present altogether, in a single element of practice (a given time in a classroom, a surgery, a ward, a kitchen) that they have a cogency and therefore an impact as 'learning'. We intend to meet needs and solve problems; we learn that this is what we are doing when we actually find ourselves doing it.

Of course, such contingency, such tryings, are often shaped, and probably should be shaped, by knowledge acquired by sustained, systematic study. An integrative view of

lifelong learning *includes* the binary opposites which used to mark out the old high ground in education. This crucial, daily, phenomenal learning at work – the contingent and practical – is a focus for all manner of prior learning, but its educational power lies in where it is heading: its efficacy. Hot action is intelligent, outcome-oriented and situational. Formal learning may well have contributed substantially to that action.

The process (as against the content)

Traditional education arrangements have encouraged a focus on content as the object of learning. Informal learning points to the equal importance of learning as process. The above discussion of generic skills and attributes and their significance in informal learning, points to a convergence of processes and products of learning. Many of these generic attributes, such as analysis, planning, and information gathering, are the kind of thing that can be learnt (or at least strengthened by learning). In that sense they are contents or products. But equally these attributes in turn enrich learning processes, whether formal, non-formal or informal. That is, these attributes make learning processes more likely to be effective. So process and content interact dialectically. Overall, then, it seems that the separation of process and content distorts as much as it illuminates.

The particular (as against the universal and a priori as the 'context')

As discussed earlier, informal workplace learning is by its nature highly contextualised. It is thereby particular, local and contingent. By contrast, formal education traditionally focuses on the universal, the general and the necessary. Certainly principles with these characteristics are preferred as subject content. If we think in these binary categories, such as particular vs. universal, informal workplace learning and education remain disparate phenomena. However universals as experienced are particularised, i.e. our judgements are always of particular cases which fall under various universal categories. Moreover, education as traditionally conceived is supposed to develop learners' capacity to make judgements. But informal workplace learning develops a capacity to make the right judgements in the workplace, thereby encapsulating both the particular and the universal.

The affective and the social domains (as against the cognitive domain)

As argued above, informal workplace learning partly involves generic skills and attributes. These include interpersonal and communicative capabilities such as strategic thinking, vision, flexibility and adaptability, self-management, team membership, problem-solving, decision-making and risk-taking. Obviously these capabilities are not adequately characterisable as merely cognitive, since they involve the social and affective. Indeed the commonly applied tag 'soft skills' is a pejorative misnomer. It is quite difficult to teach and assess these capabilities. Yet lifelong learning at its broadest is about acquiring these

capabilities and exercising them in a sophisticated fashion. Belatedly, interest in this acquisition has been accelerating. Goleman (1996) develops 'emotional intelligence' as a key concept for those who need to deal better with the opportunities and provocations of the workplace. Understanding the motivations, consequences and complications of people's feelings – and one's own – at work is now regarded as an essential aspect of the knowledgeable worker. Once again, a richer notion of lifelong learning demands the dissolution of hitherto oppositional categories. Attention to the 'higher order' social and affective domains invites cognitive input. Clearly rational processes are essential at work, to advance learning as much as anything else, but it is equally important that personal and shared feelings (even of conflict) be identified and mobilised as powerful aspects of agency. In acting at work, we act as integrated persons, not just as minds or as bodies, or as hearts or as hands. The time for feelings to matter in workplace education is upon us! After all, such recognition of feelings is already central to lifelong learning across the life-span.

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Chapter 6: Lifelong Learning, Changing Economies and the World of Work

JOHN HALLIDAY

INTRODUCTION

Until recently political interest in the provision of formal learning opportunities for everyone has been limited to schooling. It is increasingly recognised and found to be unacceptable however that schooling fails so many students and excludes them from activities that are available to those who succeed (Aspin & Chapman 1997, ch.1). Programmes of lifelong learning seem to offer the possibility that such exclusion can be countered when multiple chances to learn are available. The possibility depends however on lifelong learning being seen not as a compensatory device to deal with failure at school but as the norm for everyone. The idea that globalisation produces such rapid changes in the world of work that learning must be ongoing to cope with it offers one way of normalising programmes of lifelong learning.

In this chapter I challenge such an instrumentalist conception of lifelong learning that seems to form the basis of many national and international programmes. I argue that the key issue for policy-makers concerned to encourage lifelong learning is funding the provision of those learning opportunities that would otherwise not be available. People can learn many worthwhile things at work, at home and elsewhere in informal associations. It makes little sense to duplicate the opportunity to learn those things in colleges and schools however much such learning might be supposed to guarantee a certain level of human capital. Those things that cannot easily be learnt informally should be supported precisely because they are worth learning for their own sake. Economic advancement may well be encouraged by learning that is intrinsically worthwhile but it is a mistake to design policies for lifelong learning on the basis that the main or only function of lifelong learning is as an instrumental preparation for an uncertain globalised future.

An analysis of the limits of globalisation forms a central part in the chapter. The analysis serves as a warning against over-stating the effects of globalisation and the accompanying idea that lifelong learning should be conceived primarily as a response to it. It is also a warning against the idea that the nation state can somehow, through planned programmes of lifelong learning, ensure full employment or re-engage a sense of collective identity in an increasingly fractured and networked society. That does not mean that the nation state can do nothing however and in the final section I outline what it might do. I conclude that those resources currently used to support the idea of a formal vocational preparation during and after school should be redirected.

Businesses, formal educational and other institutions should complement each other in providing learning opportunities that are not available informally.

Some time ago I analysed the origins of vocationalism in the curriculum that was so fashionable within neo-liberalism in Britain, the United States and elsewhere. It is possible to show that the type of liberal education propounded by Hirst, Peters and others working in the analytic tradition of philosophy of education paved the way for the vocationalism of the 1970's and beyond (Halliday 1990). From there it is easy to show how the 'skills talk' (Johnson 1998) of the 90's tended to suggest that education was a kind of investment that is subject to cost benefit analysis in a similar way to any other kind of investment. This suggestion coheres with the discourse of globalisation because that discourse depends upon the rapid transmission of digitised capital. So there is a mutually reinforcing set of discourses trading on the idea that programmes of learning enable the development of skills which form investments for a prosperous future.

Others argue that the unpredictability of postmodernity has increasingly rendered conventional programmes of compulsory schooling less important, founded as such schooling often is on the so-called Enlightenment metanarrative (Usher & Edwards 1994, p.159). Postmodernism suggests that the world of work is changing so rapidly that individual prosperity and enhanced national economic performance can only be secured if the rate and frequency at which people learn changes rapidly too. The rewards of such performance are supposed by some governments to enable further and more widespread learning. This in turn encourages further improvements in economic performance and so on into a virtuous circle of investment in learning (Giddens 1998, p.108) leading to increases in real, human and social capital (Bourdieu 1986).

Typical accounts of the idea can be found in many places (Commission of the European Communities 1994, 1997, OECD 1973, Delors 1996, Department for Education and Employment 1998, World Bank 1996). One such is given in the Green Paper *Opportunity Scotland* (Scottish Office 1998) and this paper is quoted as an exemplar of the genre.

Lifelong Learning is a feature of modern life and will continue to be so. Change is everywhere and we need to learn to cope with it in different aspects of our lives. Jobs are changing with continually developing technology and pressures to keep up with foreign competitors. Daily life is changing with faster communications and more technology in our homes. ... (Scottish Office 1998, p.4)

Here interest in lifelong learning is coupled with the belief that, in the midst of change, there is a need to:

update continually the skills of the workforce and better equip people to manage their own future. ... people at all levels need to use learning opportunities to keep pace in the jobs market and to ensure that Scotland is equipped to compete in the global economy. (*ibid.*)

But how do people at all levels use learning opportunities to keep pace in the jobs market? Only it seems by investing in their own skill development. The paper goes on

– people who update their skills and learn new ones will get better paid jobs and achieve more success in their chosen fields of work. (p.28)

But of course they do not choose their fields of work in this presumed rapidly changing jobs market; their fields of work are chosen for them by economic considerations beyond their control. The discourse of investment in skills is retained however through the idea that there are core and transferable skills.

It is clear that Scotland needs a workforce which is highly proficient in both core transferable skills and specialised sector based skills. (p.28)

This is not the place to rehearse the by now familiar arguments against the idea that there are core transferable skills nor that industrial sector based skills are any less transferable than any other sort (Jonathan 1987, Johnson 1998). Suffice to say that ‘skills talk’ supports the idea that individuals should invest in their own development to realise a prosperous future in a globalised economy. It seems however that some Scots are not convinced by this idea.

Involving adults in lifelong learning is our greatest challenge. ... Some people perceive difficulties and barriers relating to their personal circumstances or previous low attainment at school. Others simply never think about learning at all. (*op cit.* p.8)

Are these people ignorant and/or misguided or is there something wrong with the conception of lifelong learning presented in the Green Paper? In Britain, at any rate, there is a degree of uncritical acceptance of this conception. Although as Coffield notes –

behind the high flown rhetoric, lifelong learning, the learning society and the learning organisation are all being propounded to induce individuals to become more or less willing participants in learning for life and to bear an increasing proportion of the costs of such learning. (Coffield 1998, p.11)

He goes on to argue that lifelong learning can be seen as the latest form of social control. If he is right then it is hardly surprising that Scots resist such control even though they might be induced to learn in approved ways through schemes such as Inn tuition, cybercentres and electronic villages (Further Education Funding Council 1997). These are all British government-funded schemes designed to encourage people who are said to be excluded formally to learn. None of these schemes are cheap however. They all involve generally well-paid professionals trying to enrol generally less well paid people or even poor people within formal educational institutions. In the case of Inn tuition, lecturers visit public houses trying to persuade drinkers to go to college! (Chisholm 1997, p.45)

Braverman (1976) argues that one of the main purposes of formal education is to provide many thousands of jobs for generally middle class people supposedly training

working class people for jobs for which training as an activity distinct from the job itself, is not really required. It is not necessary to concur entirely with Braverman to question whether money is well spent on schemes such as the above. It is however necessary to question whether much current rhetoric of lifelong learning serves to reinforce an instrumentalist conception of education in which learning is seen as the acquisition of qualities of dubious value which are then supposed to serve as the means to fulfil someone else's aims.

GLOBALISATION

One way of challenging such an instrumentalist conception is to question the economic argument based on globalisation that is often put in support of it. It seems obvious that trans national corporations will seek to increase their profitability by relocating to those parts of the world where the rate of return on their investment is maximised. The production and consumption of goods and services is becoming increasingly globalised. Capital now flows round the world almost instantaneously, in digital form without regard for national boundaries. Information too flows round the world via the Internet. Even though there is a reaction against it, there is an increasing homogeneity in global culture towards such institutions as fast food outlets, supermarkets and shopping malls. As a result of these trends there is a tendency to discuss globalisation as if it was something new and all embracing. Yet all of these trends except for the digitalisation of information and capital were features of colonial expansion in the late 19th century too.

Certainly it is now easier and cheaper to move materials, people and information around the globe than ever it was. This means that there is no longer such a competitive advantage to be near human, physical or economic resources of any kind. Therefore it is easy to appreciate the argument that the key to economic advantage must be the value that can be added to these resources and the assumption that more skilled people are best able to add value. Hence increasing investment in education and training are seen as the only hope for economically advantaged nations to maintain that advantage and less advantaged nations to improve (Field 1998, p.10).

One problem with such a strategy is obvious. If every nation, group of nations or individuals adopt it, then there will be no competitive advantage, merely better educated or trained people engaged in an ever-increasing spiral of ingenious schemes to manufacture demand and then satisfy it. A further problem is that it neglects the importance of traditional though perhaps unglamorous forms of work to many areas of economic life. Yet another problem with this strategy is that it assumes that those possessing most knowledge or skills should be paid to educate those having less knowledge and skills (Macrae *et al* 1997, p.500). Within the discourse of rapid change through globalisation, however, such skills and knowledge must be obsolescent.

What is going wrong with this strategy is something to which Hartley (1998) among others has drawn attention. There is a constant tension between government attempts to control learning and cultural forces that make such control counter-productive. For example at a time in which post-fordist modes of organising industrial and commercial activity suggest that there is a need for flexible working practice, some governments

prescribe through national curricula what individuals should be able to do long before those individuals ever have to perform in the way specified.

Curricular prescription gives an illusion of control as if national governments could anticipate the effects of global capitalism and local contingency to plan to fill the job vacancies that are going to arise in the future. There are however dire social and personal consequences of trying to enforce the view that learning should be a preparation for work or life when for many people it turns out to be no such thing. There is an increasing body of literature often based on Foucault's (1977) work that suggests that formal education easily becomes a normalising induction into procedures of surveillance and control (Falk 1998). Students are compelled to go through this induction in order to have a chance of earning a living and securing an identity in an increasingly fragmented society. If they fail at school then the increasing formalisation of what was previously informal through schemes such as the accreditation of prior learning and those listed above maintains the normalising process into a form of lifelong social control (Edwards 1997, Hargreaves 1997, Usher & Edwards 1994).

For the purposes of argument I leave aside two of the three elements of lifelong learning outlined by Aspin and Chapman (1997, p.27). That is not to suggest that lifelong learning 'for personal development and fulfilment' or 'social inclusiveness and democratic understanding and activity' are unimportant considerations. Nor is it to suggest that these elements are unrelated to lifelong learning 'for economic progress and development'. Just the opposite. To focus policy and the allocation of resources on this third element actually hinders achievement in all three elements. That is why I offer a critique of the idea that globalisation means an increasing degree of homogeneity in work for which lifelong learning in formal education institutions can prepare people.

The mistake that I think is often made in talk of globalisation is one to which Wittgenstein drew our attention and which he called a 'craving for generality' or 'the contemptuous attitude towards the particular case' (Wittgenstein 1958, p.18). As one of the sources of this mistake Wittgenstein points to 'our preoccupation with the method of science... the method of reducing the explanation of natural phenomena to the smallest possible number of primitive natural laws' (*ibid.*) There are two features of Wittgenstein's remarks that are relevant to my argument. First the preoccupation with science arises in part out of the powerful utility of its applications such as the computer (Hesse 1980). Second the success of reducing some natural phenomena to binary code that can then be manipulated and transmitted with supreme efficiency gives rise in an age of performativity (Lyotard 1984) to the illusion that all phenomena can and should be usefully reduced in this way. Arguably the most easily globalised commodities are information and finance but just because these commodities can be rapidly transmitted across the globe does not mean that everything can or should be replicated or transmitted across the globe. It might appear, for example, as if the flows of information, power and centres of influence are increasingly homogenous but as Castells (1996, 1997, 1998) argues, this appearance is mistaken

A 'craving for generality' also leads to the conflation of formal learning with most worthwhile learning. Just because some skills and knowledge can usefully be learnt in formal educational institutions does not mean that all skills and knowledge can or

should be learnt there. It is clear, for example that contextually specific practical knowledge cannot be conflated with theoretical knowledge in the form of a series of propositions however detailed those propositions are. Similarly just because the nature and availability of some jobs is changing rapidly as a result of the impact of information technology does not mean that all jobs are so changing. Indeed as I endeavour to show through a variety of jobs studies, the nature and availability of jobs is much more stable than the discourse of rapid change through globalisation might lead us to believe. I also argue that it is only concepts that can be economically digitised that potentially take on a global appearance and it is only places where there is a communications infrastructure in place that can realise this potential. That excludes from the direct influence of globalisation many values, places and economic systems. I discuss each of these before drawing some implications for policy.

VALUES

As MacIntyre (1981) argues, there are values internal to all practices – values that are embedded within the practical knowledge that gives some people their prime sense of identity as a joiner or nurse for example. But practical knowledge is not digitisable. However many propositions or pictures are composed to try to illustrate the values that are internal to a practice, those pictures and propositions can never be equivalent to the practical knowledge that is acquired through working with others in contextually specific ways. There is always a gap between prescriptions for and illustrations of action and action itself. There is always room for asking the question ‘show me how to do it’ of someone with superior insight and ability who can be trusted to care about my learning. The very notion of teaching depends upon there being a shared sense of trust and caring that cannot be exchanged as external values.

Lave and Wenger (1991) and others working in the area known as situated cognition support the view that there are parts of all practices that are contextually specific and not amenable to the homogenisation of information flows that characterise the discourse of globalisation. The characteristic gesture, piece of advice, command and so on that form part of particular jobs can only be understood in context by those already in some way attuned to the job in question. Moreover the same job performed in different places needs to be learnt afresh in a kind of way. In short there remains an essential indeterminacy within human interactions at work and elsewhere that is not captured in the flows of digitised information. Moreover there remains a solid core of manual work within all occupations that cannot be replaced by mental work. The electronics entrepreneur Allan Sugar recently pointed out how easy it is to be seduced by the exchange of e-mails within his company into the belief that workers had actually solved the problem on the production line or given their colleague the information they actually needed. (*Sunday Times*, 22.2.99.)

Commodities too are not as amenable to a complete description of their properties as some imagine. While it might be thought that the exchange of commodities can be governed by the exchange of digitised information about their properties, there is always a gap between such description and the value of the commodity itself which

goes beyond the numerical value achieved in a market. There are environmental and human considerations that affect the ways commodities are described at particular times and these are inevitably value laden according to culture, religion and habit. Religious values are necessarily resistant to globalising influences and it is hard to envisage a time in which cultural values and habits will not be central in determining the things people want to learn throughout their lives.

PLACES

Globalisation may well be tending to suggest that the nation in which people live is irrelevant to their economic well being. Yet according to Ashton and Green 1998:71, in most countries the largest part of economic life is still served by national companies. Moreover there is no uniform pattern of economic growth across the globe. Even though the gap in growth between the 'North' and 'South' remains large there are parts of both that have narrowed the gap. For example many Asian economies have grown rapidly while the opposite is true of some Eastern European countries. Moreover it would be misleading to suggest that there are even uniform patterns of growth within countries or even within towns. And the same is true for wages, prices, rates of unemployment and so on. Hence Ashton and Green (1998, p.5)

'take issue with the simplistic notion of a globally integrated economy and more especially with the associated notion that there is an ever greater convergence of national economies within that integrated whole. ... In the face of an increasingly internationalised economy there persists a substantial diversity in both skill formation systems and more generally in national economic systems.'

Castells (1996) explains this lack of homogeneity through the idea of a network society in a way that is reminiscent of Wittgenstein's notion of a family resemblance. The picture that emerges from this explanation is of society in its widest international sense comprised of an overlapping series of networks, sharing some things in common but not all things in common. Castells gives a number of examples to illustrate this idea. Why, he asks, 'were discoveries of new information technologies clustered in the 1970's and mostly in California?' (Castells 1996, p.50) At this time, he argues, a number of important technological advances such as communications switching, processing and genetic technology began mutually to enhance one another to become a source of powerful new ideas and metaphors. For example the idea of neural networks seemed to parallel the idea of networked microcomputers made possible through the laying of optical fibre cables, digital switching and the project to map the human genome. The reason was not because of any emphasis on applied research by government. Nor was it a response of capitalism to new internal contradictions. Rather Castells notes a number of fortuitous events: the hiring of particularly talented and visionary individuals to key posts; the flexibility engendered by a number of emerging structures within international companies rather than rigid and moribund thinking in parts of the US. There was –

a milieu of innovation when discoveries and applications would interact and be tested in a recurrent process of trial and error of learning by doing; these milieu required and still do in the 1990's, (in spite of on-line networking) spatial concentration of research centres, higher education institutions, advanced technology companies, a network of ancillary suppliers of goods and services and business networks of venture capital. (Castells 1996, p.56)

From this example it is clear that networks do not exist apart from the large markets developed by the state but that such markets do not create them either. The location of basic services and products such as transport, food and restaurants are important to the existence of networks but it is clear too that there can be no blueprint for the generation of innovative networks in the future. That is because networks exclude as well as include. They also exclude by default. Markets in many commodities are far from being fully integrated or open. Capital flows are not totally fluid. Labour is far from being mobile because people have attachments to each other and to places at particular times that will transcend a perceived economic advantage. Multinational corporations keep most of their assets and strategic command centres in home countries. The nation state persists and forms the legislative centres and controls of spending, taxes and natural resources that influence the structure and dynamics of a network society. As a result of all these considerations it will remain the case that –

space and time are the fundamental variables of human life. The standards of their co-ordinates allow events to be quantified, rules to be made and case law established. All of these facilitate the regulation and control of societies around spatially determined groupings. They facilitate the formation of national laws and policies. (Castells 1996, p.376)

To be sure standardised methods of coding and decoding languages and of translations of languages provide the means globally of publicising what was previously national or local without delay. Advanced services including finance, legal, insurance, marketing and others can plausibly be reduced to information generation and flows. It might be expected that there would be an increasing homogeneity in work and culture through communications in virtual space. Yet this has not happened. For most people particular physical locations and human relationships remain the most important variables. While it might be expected that information processing power will continue to increase, it is not likely that it will ever increase to such an extent that the particularities of places and events will be irrelevant considerations in the phenomenology of work or learning.

If societies are viewed as comprising overlapping networks not free from physical space and subject to globalising tendencies, then there can exist within very short distances quite remarkable disparities of wealth and influence. The nodes at which networks do or do not overlap determine which physical places are economically and culturally prosperous and which are not. Nowhere is this more obvious than in cities where areas of wealth and poverty seem to exist in close proximity without any obvious rationale for this spatial relationship.

All this makes the work of national governments difficult. The burdens of a collective lack of identity and civil society are placed upon them and this induces what Habermas (1973) has called a legitimization crisis. The introduction of national programmes of lifelong learning may be seen as a vain attempt to hold on to the idea that the members of a nation can share a common identity. Such an identity might be supposed to enable people to live peacefully with one another even though quite disparate levels of wealth and influence are apparent to them. But people have multiple identities and may have more in common with foreign nationals than their neighbours. Certainly people retain something of a sense of identity through the places they inhabit and the work that they do but those places and that work may have more in common with places and work in quite distant locations than those that are near. That does not mean however that the particularities of time and space are becoming less relevant. It is rather that grouping people according to nationality is under strain. Since large parts of economic life are still served by national companies, it makes little sense to make economic considerations the prime focus of strategies for lifelong learning.

ECONOMIC SYSTEMS

It is widely believed that paradigm shifts in economic systems that took place during the post-agricultural and post-industrial periods are similar to economic changes that are now taking place as a result of the impact of information technology. Yet as Singleman (1978) shows, the overall effect of these shifts was a decline in agricultural jobs and a rise in service-sector jobs although there are big differences between the rates of decline and increase in different parts of the world. The idea that the so-called information revolution has resulted in a further paradigm shift in economic systems is not supported by empirical studies. Castells concludes that there is no systematic structural relationship between the diffusion of information technologies and the evolution of employment levels in the economy as a whole.

The march toward information employment is proceeding at a significantly slower pace and reaching much lower levels than the trend toward service employment. (Castells 1996, p.211)

A perusal of the jobs studies conducted within the OECD countries between 1950 and 1995 shows that the most noticeable feature is the rise in unemployment from 10 million in 1950 to 35 million in 1995. As one of the reports acknowledges this figure is probably misleadingly low because of the numbers on training schemes or who are not registered (OECD 1994). Patterns of unemployment are far from even however. For example Japan and North America have kept a low rate of unemployment compared with Europe. The types of employment in different countries and the rates at which those types are changing are not uniform either. Nor as Robinson (1997a, p.28) argues, in the OECD countries, is there evidence of acceleration in 'the pace of change in the structure of employment by industry and occupation.' While the percentage of the workforce occupied as producers of information has doubled in the period quoted,

no more than 10% of the workforce in any country is presently employed in this sector. Whereas about 25% of the workforce are steadily employed in the distributive services and 10% of the workforce are steadily employed in personal services. There is stability too in the percentages employed in the transformative industries such as building.

Of course the very framing of these employment categories decontextualises the work that is actually done and may conceal similarities between types of work and learning to work that cuts across categories. A more detailed look at types of work reveals why it is unlikely that percentages employed in each employment sector will change dramatically. Under personal services for example, it is likely that there will be a continuing need to employ a similar percentage of the population as hairdressers, domestic workers, cooks, entertainers and cleaners. In the case of the social services, there will continue to be a need professionally to care for the elderly and the very young for example. While it is possible to envisage a large growth in the use of the Internet for commerce, there will still be a need for distributors to lift goods from one place to the other. The transformative industries may be regarded as a kind of movement of goods and are unlikely to change rapidly. People still need houses for example.

The building industry provides a good example of an industry that has resisted the impact of new technology for good reason. People like familiar things such as traditional handles on doors. There is an air of reliability and familiarity about them. There will be a continuing need for people to make and install such objects. The need for shelter and food is universal and this demands a physical and not a virtual response. The sheer numbers of people having such needs suggests that many people will continue to be employed to move materials from one place to another to build houses, set tables, cook food, cut hair, produce materials and so on. Moreover there remains a great deal of similarity between all forms of work in that most people still travel to work. Work involves a mixture of talking and doing. It is regulated by time and space. It is managed in some way and remains for many distinct from their main interests.

The argument that people need to become skilled in high technology in order to secure jobs in the global market place is easily countered by the fact that high technology manufacturing is not likely ever to employ more than a very small proportion of the labour force. There is considerable evidence (Coffield and Williamson 1997, p.10) that the cost of establishing such jobs is so prohibitive as to exclude all but a minority of those capable of doing them. Coffield and Williamson point out that the Fujitsu plant near Darlington in England took 1million GB pounds of investment in plant and equipment for each job created. Moreover that plant has now been closed because of world over production of microchips for personal computers.

O'Donnell (1981) states that there are between two and five million adults not fully literate in Britain who nevertheless perform a variety of jobs perfectly adequately. He goes on to argue that people can be trained on the job as it were without spending time in formal learning organisations. This argument is supported by the situated learning theorists that were quoted earlier. Wolf (1997) makes a similar point in her critique of the utility of vocational qualifications and this is supported by Robinson (1997b). Recent evidence from Steedman *et al* (1998) indicates that there is now an over qualification of people in the workforce for the jobs they are expected to do. The lack of even very basic skills such as literacy and numeracy does not according to Robinson (1997c,

p.2) raise a high level of concern among employers. Moreover he argues that high earnings still tend to be achieved by those with non-vocational or academic qualifications.

Felstead *et al* (1999) also provide robust information to support the view that there is already an oversupply of well-qualified people for the jobs that are on offer in the UK. There is a low level of demand for qualified manpower. Ashton and Green (1996, p.3) conclude that 'it is incorrect to assume a linear and automatic connection between skill formation and economic performance'. Indeed they argue that there may be a strong economic case for business to place strict limits on the amount spent on raising the skill levels of the workforces in certain parts of the industrialised world.

These arguments concerned with values, commodities, places, jobs and economic systems serve to undermine the claim that there is a universal link between economic performance and lifelong learning conceived as an ongoing form of skill acquisition in preparation for a global economy. Globalisation and the associated networking within it will proceed in ways that no government can predict. That is despite attempts made by governments acting together to regulate global capitalism and in particular financial markets. While it will never be clear precisely what set of policies will best encourage lifelong learning, it is clear the direction they should take and the kind of considerations that are not relevant or unhelpful. Knowing some ways not to proceed does narrow the options for knowing ways that are worth pursuing.

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY

Wain (1993) drew attention some time ago to what he called the minimalist and maximalist positions on lifelong learning. Within the minimalist position, lifelong learning is seen as an adult 'add on' to schooling which aims for qualities associated with 'educatedness' through investment in learning detached from work and life. Theorists of a Deweyan persuasion such as Wain and the author reject this position in favour of the maximalist position that education is a lifelong process in which familiar dualisms between life and work, liberal and vocational are dissolved. That is not to reject the idea that a period of compulsory schooling might be the best means of ensuring that people do grow in desirable ways. Rather schooling is reconceived as a stage in a process of lifelong learning. Overall Wain follows Dewey who wants everyone –

to learn from life itself and to make the conditions of life such that all will learn in the process of living. (Dewey 1916, p.51)

Conceptualising learning within school and elsewhere as something that is done apart from work or living is a mistake embedded in the idea of a vocational preparation within the minimalist position.

This chapter is a rejection of the minimalist position on lifelong learning. A minimalist position albeit coupled with maximalist rhetoric cannot deliver the economic competitiveness that is desired, nor the social inclusion and justice either. Rather the implementation of this conception will make matters worse by wasting whatever resources are available for programmes of lifelong learning on inappropriate formal

education. It is worth recalling that people learn to do all kinds of things by working under the decreasing supervision of an expert and that as Dewey (1916, p.310) remarks:

the only adequate training for occupations is training through occupations. It is worth recalling too that work cannot be detached from the cultural and social practices in which it is situated.

For example supporting business directly on the basis of the educational contribution that the business makes might best fulfil the vocationalist strand within lifelong learning. A condition of that support should be that businesses operate so as to maximise their educational contribution both to their own workforce and others with an interest in it. Those who want to learn to practise in the ways that makes the business viable should be encouraged to do so. That means that the business is managed in a democratic way in which its responsibilities to those it employs and those it serves are both recognised. It makes little sense to simulate such businesses within educational institutions as if participation in such a simulation was obviously educationally and economically worthwhile. Moreover it is incorrect to argue that businesses are necessarily anti-democratic (Semler 1994).

It is worth noting with Tiles (1995, p.266) that there is no incompatibility between democracy and the recognition of authority.

It is both rational and in no way undemocratic for a community to give greater credence to some of the voices that speak within it when it considers decisions to be taken.

That applies both to business and to learning. For Dewey (1916, p.87) the educational imperative provides the motivation for workers that respects their humanity.

Efficiency in production often demands division of labor. But it is reduced to a mechanical routine unless workers see the technical intellectual and social relationships involved in what they do, and engage in their work because of the motivations furnished by such perceptions.

He goes on:

The realisation of a form of social life in which interests are mutually interpenetrating, and where progress or readjustment is an important consideration makes a democratic community more interested than other communities have cause to be in deliberate and systematic education. ... Since a democratic society repudiates the principle of external authority, it must find a substitute in voluntary disposition and interest: these can be created only by education.

All this is not to suggest that a maximalist conception of lifelong learning could be satisfied through democratising business alone. Other arguments can be advanced to

support the view that governments ought to provide opportunities to learn practices that cannot be learnt through business. Pring (1995) is correct to argue that a community of educated persons would be diminished if it included only those practices that are amenable to profitability. There are good reasons to provide opportunities for people to learn those practices that enable the transmission of a cultural inheritance that has withstood the test of time including those periods when it appears as if a paradigm shift in the rate of change is taking place (Pring 1995, p.180). Such a transmission enables people to maintain a critical perspective on their lives and to consider those fundamental questions of value that characterise an educational ideal.

Given that programmes to encourage lifelong learning require some resources, it is worth remembering that economic inclusion is a precondition of any other form of inclusion. It is little use having policies that encourage social inclusion through lifelong learning when people are so economically disadvantaged that their efforts are spent trying to eke out a living. Such eking must be inefficient because those people are trapped in a cycle of deprivation that excludes them from the very resources that would enable them to move out of that cycle. It is worth remembering too that some learning resources are much cheaper to provide than others. Books for example are cheaper than professional teachers. Sometimes it is cheaper to provide the resources for people to learn informally rather than to learn from professional teachers within formally supported institutions such as colleges. It has often struck me for example that some of the money that is spent in schools and elsewhere on trying to make the British population computer literate would be better spent equipping each household with a basic machine of its own that is linked to the Internet. Commercial providers could provide occasional access to more sophisticated machines.

Policies to encourage lifelong learning can be ambivalent in their effects. Overstating the importance of formal education and resources controlled within formal educational institutions is most likely to lead to greater surveillance of citizen by the state through the requirement to keep records of achievement in the forms of credentials gained and work obtained. Policies that encourage more informal learning may enable greater participatory democracy through on line meetings, voting systems and more access to information. They may create a widespread demand for unrestricted access to government information, statute and case law, scientific data and so on to enable people to learn to make a difference to those things that matter to them. Resources to support such learning could become more widely available. I am not thinking here of resources manufactured in formal learning organisations for which there is now a considerable market but learning materials to inform the lives that people are leading and work that they are doing now.

Dewey (1916, p.64) criticises much of the present education system because it conceives the formal educational institution

– as a place where certain information is to be learned, or where certain habits are to be formed. The value of these is conceived as lying largely in the remote future: the child must do these things for the sake of something else he is to do: they are mere preparation. As a result they do not become a part of the life experience of the child and so are not truly educative.

Along with several other countries, the UK devotes about 5% of GDP to education which amounted to some £30 billion in 1998. Of this approximately £5 billion was devoted to vocational further education. It is hard to estimate what in addition is spent on vocational primary secondary and higher formal education systems but it is likely to be considerable. According to this chapter, those resources currently used to support the idea of a vocational preparation during and after school should be redirected. A radical shift is now needed away from a personal banking concept of lifelong learning towards a societal improvement concept in which businesses, formal educational and other institutions complement each other in providing learning opportunities across a range of practices. Such learning enables people to communicate better with each other in deciding democratically what ought to be done and how best to do it.

In summary if it is assumed that improvement is best brought about through piecemeal pragmatic change (Popper 1945) and that such change will always be constrained by what is available from public taxation, then those resources that currently support a formal vocational preparation should be redirected towards:

- The support of private business and the public sector to provide more jobs to counter economic exclusion and provide worthwhile learning opportunities for their own workers and others
- The provision of books, Internet access and other resources such as communal workshops to enable people to learn through reading about and doing things that matter to them and their communities. The greater the degree of democratic participation especially at local level, the more likely it is that people will continue to learn in desirable ways
- The employment of teachers of practices that are worth learning, not because those practices have any obvious economic benefit or vocational relevance but because they are worth learning for their own sake.

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Chapter 7: From Adult Education to Lifelong Learning

MAL LEICESTER AND STELLA PARKER

INTRODUCTION

There are two reasons why it seems to us timely to reconsider the concept of learning. The first reason, as we will outline in section one, is that there is a contemporary emphasis on learning (eg lifelong learning, the learning society, the establishment of an Institute for Teaching and Learning) with universities facing an unaccustomed emphasis on teaching/learning quality issues. Our second reason, as we will argue in sections two and three, is that we believe that the current policy emphasis on lifelong learning is influencing conceptions of adult education. In the chapter as a whole, we attempt to convey a contemporary transition from “adult education” to “lifelong learning.” We agree that the current global movement towards lifelong learning could be seen as a paradigm shift, now in train, which, in the context of adult education, we suggest, is blurring the old and clear distinction between ‘learning’ and ‘education’.

An assumption of our analysis is that the concepts we employ and through which we experience the world are not fixed and immutable. The cluster of educational concepts in which we are interested is being influenced by modern conditions – unprecedentedly rapid social changes and technological developments etc. – which are generating the need for educational change. With such pressure for rapid educational change, it is not surprising that revolutionary changes should occur in the framework of concepts within which we think about education.

Given our assumption that concepts, and even conceptual frameworks are influenced by social processes, it follows that conceptual analysis cannot take place in a vacuum, isolated, as it were, from a particular historical and social context. For this reason we dwell at some length, in section one, on this contemporary context.

LEARNING AND THE CURRENT CONTEXT

Lifelong education is a concept that has its origins in the Council of Europe (Fauré et al 1972) and the European Commission (1996). It refers to the learning that is provided by formal systems (schools, colleges and universities); it also extends beyond the formal to encompass both non-formal and informal learning too. One of the concept’s major tenets is that individuals can become self-directed learners who will seek out their own opportunities to participate in educative learning throughout their lives.

There are as yet rare concrete examples to demonstrate exactly what lifelong education in practice would look like, but if the criterion of mass participation is an indicator of operational practice, then few (if any) societies can demonstrate that they have achieved in the arena of lifelong education. If the role of the State is implicit in concepts of lifelong education, then its prime function is in removing the barriers to existing learning opportunities as well as providing new opportunities. However, education is not the same as learning; the former is organised and bureaucratic and can be the object of State policy whilst the latter is something that individuals do and cannot be included in the province of policy. (We see here that there has been, traditionally, a clear distinction between adult learning and adult education, though adult education as a field of study has included the broader adult learning as 'informal education.')

Despite this, the UK government has begun to use the phrase 'lifelong learning' as the banner under which it plans to reform at least some elements of the post-school sectors (these can be subjected to policy) and to encourage more adults to engage in learning of all forms. These forms of learning include the non-formal and the informal (DfEE, 1998) which arguably are beyond the pale of State legislation. The impetus for the government's decision to reform the post-school sectors was to some extent outside its control. Within the first few months of taking office in 1997, the government inherited the outcome of two reviews that were set in train in the final phase of the previous Conservative administration. These reviews culminated in the Kennedy Report (DfEE, 1997) on further education and the Dearing Report (NCIHE, 1997) on higher education. Following on from these two, the government immediately set up a national advisory group for continuing education and lifelong learning (NAGCELL) with the aim of focusing specifically on the education and training of adults within and across the two sectors of further and higher education. The outcome of the government's deliberations on these three (i.e. Kennedy, Dearing and NAGCELL) was a Green Paper *The Learning Age* (DfEE, 1998) which draws heavily on its many antecedents and explicitly distinguishes between the learning needs of adults and of young people. This was a consultative document with the promise of a White Paper to follow, but to date, this has not emerged whilst there has been a publication on the reform of further education entitled *Learning to Succeed* (DfEE, 1999).

In *Learning to Succeed* there is clear distinction made between education of adults and the education undertaken by young people. This distinction is manifest in the proposed arrangements for quality assurance and control by means of two separate Inspectorates, one for 16–19 year olds and one for adults. The practicality of having two separate quality assurance regimes is questionable, but the proposal does indicate that adult provision in further education is regarded as somewhat different to provision for young people. This distinctiveness of adult provision is also recognised in higher education, where the body responsible for assessing the academic quality of provision (the Quality Assurance Agency – QAA) has established a working group of adult higher education practitioners. The working group has the remit of proposing advice to the Agency on the procedures to be used for assessing the teaching quality of adult provision in universities and elsewhere in higher education. Whether or not the distinctiveness of the higher education of adults can be accommodated within the QAA's

methodology has yet to be seen, and how this methodology can be articulated with the quality assurance regime in further education has yet to be resolved.

Apart from *The Learning Age*, and some policies designed to remove barriers to adult education, it is too early yet to discern exactly what will be the outcomes of national policy on the education and training of adults. However, there can be no doubt that the rhetoric of lifelong learning will feature prominently. This is because lifelong learning in the UK appears now to have the same meaning as 'the education and training of adults', notwithstanding the policy makers' familiarity with the broader concept of lifelong education that originated in Europe and elsewhere. So what is the new meaning of lifelong learning in the current UK context and how does it differ from more traditional forms of adult education? In attempting to answer this question in this chapter we interpret lifelong learning not in its literal sense but as referring to the learning that can be the object of State policy, in other words formal and non-formal provision and specifically (in the UK context) the learning undertaken by adults engaged in adult education.

If our assumption is correct, then the focus of UK State policy on lifelong learning falls only within the third phase of education (the adult phase) within the life of any individual. In the UK the first phase is full time and includes 'schooling' (here meaning full time school and university education) to the age of 21; the second phase is the transition between learning and work undertaken by some 16–19 year olds (Wilson, 1999). This second phase is generally part-time (as in the case of apprenticeships) and may not be a feature of every young person's education. The distinctiveness of the third (adult) phase of lifelong learning (as defined through State policy in the UK) is that it is generally part-time and takes its place alongside many of the other activities of everyday life. In contrast, either schooling or apprenticeship is a central focus in the lives of young people engaged in either the initial or the second phases of education. Lifelong learning in the UK policy is, in terms of policy and provision, a kind of shorthand for phase three. Yet the notion of 'lifelong' in the discourse of adult educators, in common sense usage and in historical associations of the term carries the implication of a learning process that crosses the whole of the lifespan of the learner. There is clearly a tension here, which is not surprising, perhaps, given that the paradigm shift to which we are drawing attention is not yet completed but currently in its transition. Within a changed conceptual framework, such that education, being lifelong, is no longer to be equated with initial schooling, remnants of the old ways of dividing educational sectors remain implicit and influential.

The first two phases of education have much in common such as prescribed curricula, standards and qualifications that are controlled, they are institution-bound, funded to a greater or lesser extent by the State, and so on. In contrast, the education of adults is far more complex. It can share some features with the first and second phases but it can also be completely different in that it can be free of standardised curricula (as in the case of customised employment-related provision); it need not lead to a recognised qualification; it may take place outside of an institution and it may be privately funded by an individual or by an employer. These many different modes of adult education have flourished because of the many different needs of those who engage in it, and there is little doubt that more adults than ever before are participating

in education in the UK although participation rates vary across socio economic groups, gender, age and disability. However, *The Learning Divide* (Sargent 1997) reports *inter alia* that UK adults now study for shorter periods of time when compared with surveys done in previous years and (as a consequence) the number of registrations on formal qualifications has fallen. This indicates that the adult 'market' is being driven by learners who are flocking to study but who eschew the traditional, lengthy, standardised packages of learning that are characteristic of the first two phases of education. They prefer to pick and choose to suit their learning needs and to study when it suits them; they prefer to construct their own learning agendas too. If the State wishes to continue to provide for these adults and also make available new opportunities for non-participants, then it needs to accommodate the trends of this 'market'. Herein lies a dilemma, at the heart of which is the State's need to be accountable for spending public money on educational provision of acceptable quality.

The State has sophisticated mechanisms for assessing the quality of provision in the first and second phases of education and hence whether or not funding should continue to be provided. These quality measures were developed first in schools and then were extended into further and higher education. Over the past 15 years there has been a plethora of new measures brought in to improve standards and quality in colleges and universities so there is now institutional audit, external assessment of teaching in both sectors, the research assessment exercise in universities and so on. In addition there is the development of the Institute for Learning and Teaching that is planned to encourage further the development of high quality teaching in higher education and seek to redress the perceived imbalance that has led to teaching taking second place to research. These quality assurance procedures have been designed to cope with organisations that take in full time students (or their equivalent, measured against a standard) and deliver reasonably uniform outputs (i.e. prescribed, standardised curricula of predictable length, numbers of achievers and so on). The quality assurance and control procedures for academic disciplines in higher education involve measurement against commonly agreed standards – a type of bench marking. The educational quality of an institution depends partly on the achievements of its students – so high quality establishments have high achievement rates, low drop out rates and so on. Although there are problems with these quality criteria when applied to the first and second phases of education, there are even greater problems in applying them to the achievement of students in adult education (the third phase). As we have seen, adult education provision is far more complex than schooling or apprenticeships and adult learners are now tending to prefer short, episodic educational opportunities – if given the choice – in preference to the standardised qualifications available to them in colleges, universities and in work based learning schemes. The dilemma for the State is that its current methods for assuring quality are based on criteria that encourage conservative and standardised practices, but these methods do give simple results and (presumably) inspire confidence in those who control State spending.

At the time of writing the methods to be used for assessing the quality of adult education in further education and in higher education have not been finalised. However the methods will need to be sufficiently flexible to accommodate not only short episodes of learning, the customised learning pathways of individuals and so on, but also new

State initiatives brought in to extend adult education opportunities. Some of these recently introduced initiatives help students financially whilst others extend the range of provision. Examples of student financial support include the extension of State funded student loans from the original cut off point of 50 years to students between the ages of 50 and 54 years; the extension of access funds and disability allowances to part-time adult students (previously, only full time students had been eligible for these grants). In addition there are State grants for Individual Learning Accounts (ILAs); these are grants of £150 per person available to people who open an account on the condition that they contribute at least the same amount themselves and use the funds to pay for learning. The grants that encourage a wider range of provision include those for the development of non-accredited courses in further education and grants for local authorities to fund initiatives in Adult and Community education. In addition, provision for adult students in higher education is funded more generously (by a factor of 5%) than provision for their younger 18–21 year old counterparts. Both the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) and the Further Education Funding Council (FEFC) for England have made available additional grants to fund the development of progression routes between further and higher education and the development of higher education courses in further education.

The focus of all the initiatives described above is to extend educational opportunities to adults who have, for whatever reason, remained untouched by what has been available in the past. In essence, these initiatives attempt to enable established providers to stretch out and reach adult learners who have been beyond their tutelage. Although they are innovative measures, they do not herald a complete break with the past, but the government's flagship – the University for Industry (UFI) – does just this. UFI together with Learning Direct and the proposed new investments in adult learning and guidance and careers services represent radical breaks with the past. Taking the UFI first, it is described as 'a new organisation for open and distance learning' (DfEE, 1998). It is planned to be in operation by the year 2000 and 'will work in new ways' (DfEE, op.cit.) relying on partnership between publicly and privately funded organisations. It will not provide everything itself, but will rely on contributions of learning opportunities from its partners, stimulate the market, provide and direct people to information, advice and guidance through the telephone help line of Learning Direct. Its main aim is to enable access to learning opportunities and it will commission new content, have a national network of outlets in companies and in the established sectors, and individual members will have a progress journal that will be continually updated to record progression. Finally, it will ensure the quality of 'products and services by building on existing mechanisms and standards'. What is more, these products and services are not institution-based and are vocational. Although the lines of public accountability are as yet unclear (for example, will the new adult inspectorate foreshadowed in *Learning to Succeed* play a role in this?) it is clear that this new venture is a radical break with the past, and extends above and beyond the traditional forms of institution-based adult education. However, there is a hint that the criteria to be used for assessing its quality have their roots in the standardisation typical of the first and second phases of education.

Turning now to the proposed new guidance and careers services and their links with initiatives such as the New Deal specifically aimed at unemployed people of 25 years and over – these have been set up to cater for adults and are not simply extensions of services whose main clientele is young people. In all of these examples of innovation, there appears to be the implication that these new more flexible forms of adult provision represent real Lifelong Learning; ‘education’ is not for adults but ‘learning’ is.

What distinguishes this variant of lifelong learning from established, traditional forms of adult education? In terms of content the new lifelong learning means ‘products’ demanded by adults who wish to learn; if a product is not available, the Ufi will commission it. In terms of process, this new adult provision can range through traditional delivery to non-traditional delivery methods, the latter relying heavily on new technology for interactive support. This new lifelong learning is responsive to local needs (determined through the partnerships of careers, advice and guidance and local Ufi hubs). State sanctioned lifelong learning will be supported partly by public funds (basic skills training entirely so). Above this basic level it will be paid for partly by the student and/or employer. How will it be evaluated in terms of quality and value for money? The users will evaluate it and inform Ufi; Ufi will apply its own extra-institutional quality criteria. Value for money will be implicit because Ufi can disseminate learning materials to create additional demand for suppliers (DfEE, 1998). This variant of lifelong learning will sit alongside the more traditional forms of adult education with its roots in prescribed or negotiated curricula, with its bureaucracy of assessment and evaluation, all based in institutions and controlled by professional educators. Despite their differences, both traditional adult education and the new lifelong learning share the need for quality assessment criteria that can accommodate the diverse needs of adult learners, for in the current context worthwhileness is judged against these criteria. Unless the quality criteria are distinctive of the third phase of education (rather than variations on ‘schooling’) then this third phase is unlikely to flourish because it will not be deemed worthy of continued State financial support. In other words, the State has created a new variant of adult education (referred to in policy as lifelong learning) but as yet there are no appropriate quality assurance procedures to ensure its continued survival.

“LEARNING”

Before this contemporary movement towards lifelong learning philosophers had generally distinguished between ‘learning’ and ‘education’. Thus, in 1966 R S Peters’ definitive *Ethics and Education* established the inescapably normative dimension of “education”. No one is educated who stays just as she was. But not just any change counted as education. Educative change was desirable change. Though different accounts of what this “desirable” change might consist in would give rise to differing conceptions of “education”, each would be advocated because thought to be desirable. This normative dimension was part of the very meaning of “education”.

Peters, Hirst and other influential philosophers of education, offering a conception of education as the development of knowledge and understanding, saw educative

learning as worthwhile learning both because such learning was equivalent to the acquisition of knowledge and because, for the student concerned, it constituted the development of mind.

At that time, then, 'education' was clearly distinguished from 'learning'. Unlike education, learning was not conceived to be inherently normative, for not all learning was necessarily thought to be worthwhile. That is to say, some learning was thought desirable though not educational (eg acquiring mechanical skills through training) and some learning was thought to be undesirable (eg learning to be a pickpocket). Only epistemologically and morally worthwhile, planned, systematic and intentional learning counted as education. Thus 'learning' was a broader concept than was education.

The focus in this kind of analysis tended to be a school based one. During schooling one could become educated; the educative process produced the educated men (Peters 1996). Thus the 'education of adults' was conceived as a second chance to acquire the learning (knowledge) missed during schooling, or, at best, as a chance to deepen and broaden this school based learning.

Theorists in 'adult education', however, distinguished 'the education of adults' from 'adult education'. Unlike the former, 'adult education' suggests a form of education that is distinctive of adulthood – a worthwhile learning which is somehow different in kind to the learning that takes place during childhood.

These theorists of adult education sometimes locate the distinctiveness of adult learning in terms of the nature of the learning process in adulthood (eg, the idea of adult stages of reasoning) or in the nature of what ought to be learned in adulthood (eg, the idea of really useful knowledge – see Thompson, 1980) or in the nature of adulthood itself (eg, the notion of andragogy – see Knowles, 1970). This is merely a difference of emphasis in that distinctiveness in any one of these elements – process, content, student – will have implications for each of the other two.

In terms of the learning process, the accepted wisdom has been that adults learn best with non-didactic, participatory, experiential pedagogical approaches. (As a matter of fact, however, it is probably the case that students of all ages benefit most from active learning activities within a pedagogically varied teaching strategy.) In terms of what is taught, the accepted wisdom has been that adults want to learn 'really useful knowledge' of direct relevance to their lives. (Again, psychologically, material which is relevant to their concerns is motivating for most students at any age.) In terms of the nature of adulthood, the accepted wisdom has been that adults have already learned much from life and that these *life experiences* should, therefore, be used as a resource in their on-going learning. (Although children's prior experiences and learning will be taken into account by a good teacher, it is certainly the case that adults almost always have more of such experience.)

It is this emphasis on experience which has been accepted as of most significance. Adult learning has been seen as an on-going process (eg, see Mezirow on 'perspective transformation') in which adults learn throughout their lives and through reflecting on life experience. In the formal system of education, therefore, the adult educator recognises these students' experience as a learning resource which in a variety of ways becomes part of the systematic learning on offer in the adult curriculum.

Thus though both school focused and post-school analyses of 'education' distinguished it from 'learning', 'adult education' was thought to involve learning that was somehow peculiar to adulthood. Moreover, 'adult education' as a field of study also embraced non-formal and informal adult learning which occurs outside educational institutions through(out) life and through life experience.

In adult education theory and practice the *learner* was accorded central importance. Learning has been emphasised more than has teaching. This emphasis sometimes relegated the teacher to the position of 'a learning facilitator' or even dispensed with her altogether – as with the idea and practice of 'self-directed learning' for example.

In a variety of ways, then, 'adult education' has not been so closely tied as schooling to the notion of initiation into forms of knowledge. It has been broader, more eclectic and multistranded, incorporating radical ideas about education for social action as well as liberal adult education, for example.

Theories about adult education have also envisaged an ongoing, continuous learning process – for example, of perspective transformation (Mezirow, 1990) or critical reflection (Brookfield, 1986) or conscientization (Freire, 1970). There is no line to be crossed as there is in the notion of 'the educated man'. The process goes on forever.

However, despite these differing ideas about school and post-school education, and despite the learning divide which they presuppose, for both school oriented and post-school oriented theorists, as we have indicated, 'education' has been distinguished from 'learning'. Though there have been different accounts of what counts as worthwhile learning (education) there has been agreement in this basic conception of education as worthwhile, planned learning in formal settings.

Currently the notion of lifelong learning dominates political and policy agendas across the world. The discourse of lifelong learning is becoming firmly entrenched and is influencing contemporary policy and practice and, we suggest, reflects significant shifts in our thinking about education. Indeed, inherent in the very notion of lifelong learning is the conception of a process which spans childhood and adulthood. But it is not just this school/post-school boundary which has blurred. Conceptual shifts are blurring the established crucial boundary between "education" and "learning" too. Other established distinctions, such as education/training, work/leisure and liberal/vocational education are also affected.

"LIFELONG LEARNING"

There is always a danger in the blurring of conceptual boundaries. Loss of discriminatory power is loss of meaning. What, then, are we to understand by this currently much used term 'lifelong learning' and how does it relate to 'lifelong education'?

It seems to us that when either term ('lifelong learning' or 'lifelong education') is used they are almost always used approvingly. There is, therefore, a normative dimension. They are mainly concerned with planned, purposeful, systematic, *worthwhile* learning – not just with any or all learning. Indeed, it may be that it is because 'lifelong learning' carries approval, and suggests a learning throughout life which is worthwhile, that it tends to be used interchangeably with 'lifelong education', though the latter term may, perhaps, be less likely to include non-formal and informal learning.

Because 'lifelong learning' is used both normatively and widely, to include liberal, vocational and social aspects, we would suggest that it goes beyond a blurring of boundaries to a recognition that these aspects of learning/education are, in practice, interrelated. The agenda for lifelong learning encourages education for citizenship (social), seeks for wider participation (social), and emphasises the importance of learning for economic prosperity (vocational) while recognising the importance of individual choices and personal development (liberal).

'Lifelong learning' then, though comprehensive, is not meaningless. It serves to reject the school and post school division to endorse learning across the lifespan, a learning which is worthwhile to the individual citizen, and, therefore to the society of which she is a part. Lifelong learning is thus often linked with the notion of a learning society – a society which will, that is to say, be so organised as to provide (maximum) learning opportunities for each of its members.

We are now in a position to see in what key ways the terms 'adult education' and 'lifelong learning' do and do not differ. 'Adult education' and 'lifelong learning' both recognise a learning beyond schooling but whereas 'adult education' presupposes a learning which is distinctive of adulthood, 'lifelong learning' at least in rhetoric suggests *one* lifelong process, though in practice it is often used with particular reference to the third adult phase of learning. Both terms recognise informal and non-formal learning, as distinct from the more formal study suggested by 'education' *per se*.

And because, unlike 'learning', 'lifelong learning' tends to carry normative, assumptions, both 'adult education' and 'lifelong learning' are conceived as educative learning.

Finally, 'adult learning' is a broad concept encompassing any educative learning in adulthood. 'Lifelong learning', on the other hand, though broad, tends to refer to specific domains. These, to use the established educational vocabulary, could be called the liberal, the vocational and the political. Now, however, these three forms of education are also less clearly distinct. Rather they are taken to be inter-related dimensions of a lifelong learning process in which every citizen ought to be given the opportunities to engage.

To summarise, we have suggested that with the contemporary movement to lifelong learning, 'lifelong learning' could be seen simply as a new name for the third phase of education previously referred to as 'adult (or 'continuing') education'. As a species of education, however, 'lifelong learning' acquires a normative dimension. But despite this use as a new name for 'adult education,' we have also suggested that 'lifelong learning,' unlike 'adult education' still carries *lifespan* connotations. (This suggests schools will increasingly consider their curriculum in lifelong perspective). 'Lifelong learning' also blurs the old distinctions between informal and formal learning and between liberal and vocational education. There is thus a conceptual shifting, basically occurring for pragmatic reasons to do with the nature of modern societies and their need for a flexible, skilled workforce which is adopted to rapid change – a workforce that can be achieved only through wider education participation.

As government policies on lifelong learning increasingly affect students, schools, colleges, universities and the wider society, it remains to be seen just how fruitful associated changes will turn out to be. Will a wider participation in education across the

life-span be achieved? Will the provision of the learning required for economic prosperity really be accompanied by learning provision that will enhance democratic participation? And will large numbers of mature students have opportunities to choose to develop their knowledge and understanding not only in relation to the vocationally useful but also, some of the time, for the inherently worthwhile nature of the learning involved?

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Chapter 8: Caring for the Adult Self

JAMES MARSHALL

INTRODUCTION

The self which is my concern in this chapter is the adult self, particularly the adult who seeks further education in a context of what is now known as postmodernity. This is not the place to enter the modernity/postmodernity debate but, whatever one's position on this debate, we can recognise that there has been a decentering of knowledge and a decentering of the self, as a matter of fact. There has been a downplaying of traditional forms of knowledge, Kantian subject centred reason, and the foundations of knowledge. There has been an emphasis instead on learning by experience. But new forms of experience, where the distinction between reality and image has become blurred, have proliferated. Nor do they seem to be the experiences of a stable and unified Kantian self. According to Usher *et al.* (1997, p.10) in postmodernity:

The modernist search for a true and authentic self and the fulfilment of a pre-given individual autonomy gives way to a playfulness where identity is formed (and 're-formed') by a constantly unfolding desire that is never fully and finally realised. The unified, coherent and sovereign self of modernity, the firm ground for the fixing of identity, becomes a multiple and discontinuous self, traversed by multiple meanings and with shifting identity.

Suppose, as the quotation encourages us to believe, that the modernist notion of a fixed, permanent and sovereign self is exhausted and in need of replacement or supplementation.

It would be wrong to assert from this however that there can never be a firm ground for a fixing of identity, or that identity can never be fixed (though not permanently). But nor should the search for a true and authentic self imply that identity cannot and should not change, for what is true and authentic in one situation may not be the case in another situation. Indeed fulfilment may require change of identity as one may move from a reasonably intolerant situation, a sojourn as an officer in the armed forces say, to adult study in the liberal university. For example the naval officer self, used to making decisions for others and maintaining discipline, concerned by matters of navigational exactitude acquired through rigorous practice, may not mingle well or even succeed in the liberal university, unless there is change of self. In the liberal university staff and students are encouraged to challenge disciplinary authority structures in a more or less free and egalitarian situation. For the ex naval officer then this may necessitate discontinuity and

multiple meanings and identities. Understanding that identity must change however does not mean that there is no new firm ground, or that any old self suffices.

In this chapter I will argue for a position about the self which argues that the *self* is not an individuated *substance* or thing, that it can change, yet it can still be cared for. In doing so I will be arguing for the position of the self of Michel Foucault (Foucault, 1984). According to Foucault the self is not an individuated substance (eg, a Kantian, unified, coherent and sovereign self) but a self which is historically constituted, which can change, and which ethically must be cared for. Caring for the self rules out *ethically* certain possible notions of the self.

For Foucault ethics is “the practice of freedom, the conscious [réfléchi] practice of freedom” (Foucault 1984a, p. 284). Furthermore (Foucault 1984, p.287): “The care of the self is ethical in itself”. This means that, on the self, playfulness, changing identity, and multiple identities are not to be equated with anything goes. For to be a self and to care for the self as a matter of ethics is to rule out certain forms that the self might take. My argument will be therefore, that if in adult education the self is to be conceived in postmodern terms (as suggested above) then from a Foucauldian position, and without embracing either modernism or postmodernism, all is not doom and gloom.

The chapter is structured as follows. Section I looks at various philosophical accounts of the self, especially Schopenhauer and Wittgenstein, which began to question Kant’s notion of the self as both subject and object of knowledge and as a fixed, permanent and sovereign self. The argument in Wittgensteinian fashion is that the self is not an individuated substance. Foucault is not in the analytic tradition but he comes from Nietzsche (and Schopenhauer) to argue also that the self is not an individuated substance, but is more like a general concept or *form*. This is discussed, together with his accounts of ethics and care for the self, in section II. In the final section these ideas on the self are extended to the adult learner.

THE SELF[1]

It does not need postmodernism to tell us that there is something mysterious about talk of the self or of an *I*, namely *myself*, for there is a literature available in traditional philosophy which raises this issue. Descartes had thought that the self was simple and clear, and unproblematic. Kant had seen the self as both subject and object of knowledge, as being unified and coherent, and as the basis for subject centered reason. But a number of writers, eg., from Rousseau to Schopenhauer and Wittgenstein have been less assured than Descartes and Kant on such a notion of the self – essentially the self as an individuated substance. Wittgenstein, deeply influenced by Schopenhauer, talks of the self as being deeply mysterious. Thus in the *Notebooks*:

The thinking subject is surely mere illusion...The I, the I is what is deeply mysterious. The I is not an object. I objectively confront every object. But not the I. (Wittgenstein 1961, p. 80e)

Later, still concerned about the notion of the self, he says in *Philosophical Investigations* (1953, #410): ““I” is not the name of a person”. Here, given that to name is to

refer, Wittgenstein is saying that "I" does not *refer* to what we normally think of as a self, soul, subject, or person. For him the I is certainly *not* an individuated object, for he was hostile to any such notion.

Schopenhauer

Schopenhauer's Kantian doctoral dissertation (Copleston 1965, p.28) leads onto his major work *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* [2]. Schopenhauer preserves the Kantian notion of the thing-in-itself and the notion that space and time are *a priori* conditions of the perception of the external world, but adds that space and time can also be included in the world as object, as presented to a subject. In this way metaphysics was possible for Schopenhauer (Schopenhauer 1966, Vol I, p.427). But Schopenhauer also attempted to bypass the subject-object dichotomy for he believed that starting from either the subject or the object led to problems which were not able to be solved:

we start neither from the object nor from the subject, but from the idea, as the first fact of consciousness. Its first essential, fundamental form is the anti-thesis of subject and object. (Schopenhauer 1883, Vol I, p.44)

The idea unifies the subject and the object in an "inseparable and reciprocal dependence" (Schopenhauer 1883, p.40). Indeed the world is entirely idea (Schopenhauer 1883, p.38). But this means that the idea is the external phenomenal world, a world which exists only for knowledge. The world as idea is *my* representation. Thus the world is only that which appears to the representing subject, ie a world of objects, and the world is exhausted in its perceptibility. The world of objects of which we have knowledge is a world of appearance but for there to be objects there must also be subjects. But these subjects, "I's", are not in the objective world. However, if the I is not an object it is certainly not illusory: "No one with a Schopenhauerean background would think that the non-objective status of the subject entailed its illusoriness" (Janaway 1989, p.328). The self in Schopenhauer then is not merely a representer of the world, for there is the self as will, and we can have "direct" knowledge of this aspect of the self. However this takes Schopenhauer deep into metaphysics and pessimism. But as he said of philosophy:

Its theme must restrict itself to the world; to express from every aspect *what* the world *is*, what it *may be* in its innermost nature, is all that it can honestly achieve... Now it is precisely here that the mystic proceeds positively, and therefore, from this point nothing is left but mysticism. (Schopenhauer 1966, (2) p.612)

Wittgenstein and Schopenhauer

Wittgenstein was clearly influenced by Schopenhauer, but he would have none of this mysticism and metaphysics. The influence is perhaps clearest in a number of cryptic

comments in the *Tractatus* (Wittgenstein 1971) from #6.4 to #6.54. These remarks are divorced from the earlier remarks on logic and the world in the *Tractatus*. But those later remarks have taken us to the Schopenhauerean brink, where only mysticism remains.

There are other explicit similarities in the text of the *Tractatus*: eg, on ethics and aesthetics (#6.421); the mystical and inexpressible (#6.45; #6.522); the world as a whole (#6.45); and the “I” (#5.6410). His indebtedness to Schopenhauer is more copious in the *Notebooks*. Some examples on the self: “You say that it is just as it is for the eye and the visual fields. But you do not actually see the eye” (Wittgenstein 1961, p.80e); and, “I” objectively confront every object. But not the “I” (loc cit); “How can man be happy at all, since he cannot ward off the misery of this world?” (ibid., p.81e).

As we have seen above in Schopenhauer “I” does not refer to any self which is a substantive or individuated substance in the world. But nor is it illusory. Whilst Wittgenstein says such things as, “it is true that the knowing subject is not in the world, that there is no knowing subject” (Wittgenstein 1961, p.86e), and “The I is not an object” (ibid., p.80e) what he means (following Schopenhauer) is that the I is not an object which I objectively confront in the world: “I objectively confront every object. But not the “I” (loc cit). Because of this, he continues, “...there really is a way in which there can and must be mention of the I in a non-psychological sense in philosophy” (ibid.). It cannot be psychological because the psychological I could be confronted objectively in the world, and the I which is the concern of both Schopenhauer and Wittgenstein is not an individuated *object* in the world. It is not that there is no I but rather that the I cannot be discussed in the same way as objects in the world: objectivism, if we may call it that, is inapplicable to the I. The self then is given or understood in a non-objective way.

In the *Notebooks* Wittgenstein says that philosophy can and must elucidate this notion of the I. But Wittgenstein will have little of Schopenhauer’s metaphysics. Perhaps his position is best summarised in the *Blue Book*: metaphysics “leads the philosopher into complete darkness” (Wittgenstein 1958, p.48). If Wittgenstein says that there must be a philosophical account of the self then it would appear that he has transgressed his own general position on the role and limits of philosophy, moving down a path towards a philosophical ‘theory’ of the self. Fogelin (1996, p.45) believes that he has transgressed this self imposed stricture on philosophical theorising, but he does not believe that the transgression is sufficiently serious to be compromising for Wittgenstein.

Whereas Schopenhauer says the I (eye) sets the limits to the world, Wittgenstein says the world is my world because of language. In the *Tractatus* he says: “The world is my world: this is manifest in the fact that the limits of language (of that language which alone I understand) mean the limits of my world” (Wittgenstein 1971, #5.62). If there is any mirroring of “how I found the world” (Wittgenstein 1961, p.82e) it is not through the eye but through the logic of the language which reflects the structure of the world.

Thus Wittgenstein agrees with Schopenhauer that the “I” is deeply mysterious and that “I” does not refer to an individuated substance (object in the world). However

Wittgenstein refuses to pursue the metaphysical issues raised by the mysterious “I”. Instead he turns to language and how we use “I”.

Wittgenstein on the Self

Expressing Pain

Wittgenstein is to abandon this Schopenhauerean mysticism. If so how are we to understand Wittgenstein when he says such things as: “the thinking subject is surely mere illusion”; or the statement that I am not LW is false; or the comments that “I” does not refer to any substantive or individuated self? We must look at the grammar of statements containing “I”, especially those concerned with mental states, ie, those that ascribe thoughts, intentions, sensations... to an “I”. We must turn to his account of the grammar of those first person psychological statements which he considers as *expressions* of natural feelings rather than as *descriptions* of inner mental states.

In the well known private language argument Wittgenstein asks (Wittgenstein 1953, #244): “How do words refer to sensations?” Wittgenstein explicitly makes the point here that first person statements ascribing pain sensations do not refer to sensations but *express* pain:

how does a human being learn the meaning of the names of sensations? – of the word ‘pain’ for example. Here is one possibility: words are connected with the primitive, the natural, expressions of the sensation and used in their place. A child has hurt himself and he cries; and then adults talk to him and teach him explanations and, later, sentences. They teach the child new pain behaviour. “So you are saying that the word ‘pain’ really means crying?” – On the contrary: the verbal expression of pain replaces crying and does not describe it.”

There are differing interpretations of this passage. However, according to Fogelin (1996, p.44):

“...there are a great many passages in the *Philosophical Investigations* and in his other writings that suggest that Wittgenstein was committed – in outline at the least – to something like an expressivist account of first person mental utterances”. Wittgenstein’s expressivist approach to first person mental utterances is the outcome of intractable problems caused by the uncritical assumption that mental terms like ‘pain’ get their meanings because they refer to inner states or processes. Treating first person mental utterances as similar to natural *expressions* of feeling – pain with a cry, for example – is an attempt to break away from these problems of reference and objectivity. In the *Philosophical Investigations* (#302) Wittgenstein talks of the subject of pain being the “person who gives it expression”.

The mistake that he warns against is that language always functions in one way, always serves the same purpose to convey thoughts – which may be about houses, pains, good

and evil, or anything else you please (Wittgenstein 1953, #304). Wittgenstein's position then is that first person statements ascribing pain to an "I" do not function descriptively but *expressively*, as expressions of pain behaviour, much the same as a cry of pain. And these expressions of pain are learned.

An Expressive Account of Identity

Elsewhere I have advanced the hypothesis that first person statements of identity should be construed as *expressions* of identity (they are not like normal contingent identity statements – see further, Marshall, 1999; Peters and Marshall, 1999, chapter 4).

Briefly, for there is not space here to repeat the arguments, if "I am in pain" is to be understood as an expression of pain, then "I am LW" might also be considered as an *expression* of identity rather than as a description of identity. But what is an expression of identity? Identity is certainly not like a sensation, or feeling, or attitude, although the latter has some possibilities. For example we express attitudes through various bodily gestures such as a smile, a nod of support, or by clapping our hands. But we also say such things as "that's right" or "we're with you" where we are not describing states of affairs so much as expressing where we stand, as what our attitudes are to some proposal or belief. But "I am LW" does not quite express an attitude in those senses. Wittgenstein says (1953, #253):

I have seen a person in a discussion on this subject (ie, pain) strike himself on the breast and say: 'But surely another person can't have THIS pain!' – The answer to this is that one does not define a criterion of identity by emphatic stressing of the word 'this'. Rather, what the emphasis does is to suggest the case in which we are conversant with such a criterion of identity, *but have to be reminded of it.* (author's enclosure and emphasis)

"I" then might be said to function so as to *remind* people of certain things in statements such as "I am LW". First that the name 'LW' is to be associated with criteria of identity such as "the Austrian philosopher", "the relentless truthseeker", "the person who gave away a fortune" etc. Second, that "a centre of consciousness" that cannot be mistaken about "I am LW" is associated with those criteria and that in expressing that identity the centre of consciousness in question has a certain world view, for the "I" is an eye at the boundary of the world of representation (Schopenhauer) and of language (Wittgenstein). If the listener has or learns the criteria of identity of LW, or some of the criteria, then (s)he can identify LW, but not the I, for the "I" does not refer to an object in the world; it is not something that can be represented to the listener/identifier. My intention then in asserting "I am LW", a truth about which I cannot be mistaken or uncertain, is that a particular centre, or eye, or boundary point of language can be identified via the criteria for identity for LW (the Austrian philosopher, etc.). Just as it cannot be false that I am in pain, my thought that I am LW cannot be false. The fact that a mouth is speaking, saying "I am LW" identifies a centre or focus of representation, will and intention for Schopenhauer, and a centre of language and intentional use

for Wittgenstein. Because the criteria of identity used by those who know LW to identify LW are in the world and objects for my representation also, my expression of identity functions correctly and cannot be mistaken.

So “this is LW”, or “here is LW”, or “I am LW”, do not state criteria of identity but “reassert” or remind us of criteria of identity, and explain names. But they are not reminding us of the *truth* of some such proposition as “I am LW”, but of *who* we are as we *express* who we are – “this is *me!*”.

For Wittgenstein then the self is not an individuated substance but it remains somewhat mysterious. Not only is it mysterious but in Wittgenstein’s works there seems little that one can do for the self except to adapt it to the external world of objects. Here there are signs of Schopenhauer’s pessimism and asceticism. There seems to be no “belief” or hope that in caring for the self one can also care for others and our relationships with others, and thus change the world. Whilst his philosophy is concerned with the self it does not carry with it the more optimistic message of hope carried in, for example, Foucault’s notion of care for the self (see below). Foucault is adamant that whilst the self is not an individuated substance, care of the self carries with it some message of hope. In Wittgenstein, however, the world as I found it is essentially the world as I will leave it.

In summary then we can find in traditional philosophy a substantial critique of the self as an individuated substance. We did not need to wait for something called “post-modernism” for Schopenhauer was writing and critiquing Kant early in the 19th century and influenced not only Wittgenstein but also Nietzsche.

Foucault and Care for the Self

Michel Foucault should be considered as a poststructuralist, and not as a postmodernist. On a number of occasions he vigorously resisted the category of postmodernist, claiming that he did not even understand the term. He began to pursue questions of the self vigorously from 1979, particularly in his important article “What is Enlightenment?” (Foucault 1984b). His question was: “who are we in the present, what is this fragile moment from which we can’t detach our identity and which will carry that identity away with itself?” In Nietzschean fashion he was slowly to answer this question by turning to experience, as opposed to a committed and perhaps theoretical philosophical position. As he said:

What I rejected was the idea of starting out with a theory of the subject... What I wanted to try to show was how the subject constituted itself, in one specific form or another... it is not a substance. It is a form, and this form is not always identical to itself... in each case one plays, one establishes a different relation to oneself. (Foucault 1984a, p.290)

He is clearly not advancing a *theory* of the subject. Here as in many other genealogies his question is “How?”, and here traditional philosophy was of little account, with its traditional concentration upon questions such as “What is a self?”, and “What are the

criteria of identity for selves?" Rather, for Foucault, in order to grasp our experience one must stay close to the modern – to everyday events – and to experience them, be willing to be affected by them and to effect them. What mattered for the Foucault of post-1968 Vincennes and the 1970s was "experience *with*...rather than engagement *in*" (quoted in Rabinow 1997, p.xix. [My emphasis]). "Who one was, Foucault wrote, emerges acutely out of the problems with which one struggles" (Rabinow, loc cit).

Foucault does not hold the mystical view of the "I" that is to be found in Schopenhauer and, in part, in Wittgenstein. As in Nietzsche the self is part of the organic (and inorganic) world. Nevertheless it is not something which is open to biological, sociological, etc. description. For Foucault the Man which is dead, and cannot serve as a posit of "human" theory, is not just *the* Man of the human sciences, with all of the humanistic baggage that Man there carries. It is also the subject post Kant to which these attributes are accorded, which is not the self of Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Wittgenstein and Foucault. For Schopenhauer as the "I" is not logically amenable to any such attributions it cannot be part of the objective world, or the world of experience. This was Nietzsche's critique of Schopenhauer – adorning the "I" with clothes which it could not wear logically.

For Foucault the self is not something which is given. Instead he holds a Nietzschean position (Nietzsche 1983, p.127): "Be yourself. You are none of the things you now do, think, desire". (Miller [1993, p.69] says that this was Schopenhauer's influence upon Nietzsche, and Nietzsche's upon Foucault). Furthermore for both Nietzsche and Foucault: "Our body is but a social structure" (Nietzsche 1966, #19), and the self is contingent, and hanging because of shifting social and cultural forces (Nietzsche 1968). They both reject the metaphysical "I" of Schopenhauer, seeing the self as being constituted or constructed by customs, practices and institutions in which we live and grow (cf. Wittgenstein on forms of life). As these are not ultimate givens, therefore *we* can change. Nietzsche thought that we had come to hate the body and its Dionysian untamed frenzies because of Christianity, and thus deeply immersed in social and cultural traditions it was difficult "to become what one is". For Nietzsche of *Thus Spake Zarathustra* (Nietzsche 1976) begins with the discovery of the Dionysian frenzy of life by communing again with the world, and to transcend the self that appears as a given: for the later Foucault it is to care for the self. For both Nietzsche and Foucault: "Nobody can build you the bridge over which you must cross the river of life, nobody but you alone" (Nietzsche 1983, p.129).

Foucault, in his earlier writings on the constitution of the self, sees coercive forces and practices as dominating selves, as he treated power as *repressive*. In his later writings Foucault is to drop the concept of repression, because "repression is quite inadequate for capturing what is precisely the productive aspect of power ... (and) this (repression) is a wholly negative, narrow skeletal conception of power" (Foucault 1977, p.119). Here he becomes more Nietzschean – power is productive, it creates or makes people, it can be positive and not merely negative and it is this later positive notion of power which is to be found in his writings.

Foucault claims that the Delphic maxim, "to know yourself", has supplanted the other notion of Greek antiquity, "to take care of yourself". He argues that the "need to take care for oneself brought the Delphic maxim into operation" and that the latter was

subordinated to the former. In modern Western culture, he claims, the notion of caring for oneself has come to be seen as narcissistic, as an immorality, and as a means of escape from rules and respect for law. Given further the Christian inheritance that the road to salvation lies through self-renunciation to know oneself seems paradoxically the road to self-renunciation and salvation. Secondly, he argues that theoretical philosophy since Descartes has placed ever-increasing importance upon knowledge of the self as the first step in epistemology. His conclusion is that the order of priority of these two maxims has become reversed; “know thyself” has assumed priority over care for the self.

Care for the self, in Foucault’s hands, is to be a form of exercise upon the self and not a Schopenhauerean renunciation of the self, or a form of Wittgensteinian resignation that not much can be done. The self is not a mystical entity, but nor is it corporeal, or an object. Furthermore this self is not a self to be known through the human sciences, though it does involve the exercise of reason. In his lectures at Le Collège de France, post 1970, he is to shift from coercive practices (as e.g., in *Discipline and Punish*), to “an exercise of the self on the self, by which one attempts to develop and transform oneself, and to attain to a certain mode of being” (Foucault 1984a, p.282).

Foucault is not advancing a theory of the subject, as his question was a “How” question:

What I wanted to try to show was how the subject constituted itself, in one specific form or another...it is not a substance. It is a form, and this form is not always identical to itself...in each case one plays, one establishes a different relation to oneself. (Foucault 1984a, p.290)

Foucault states his position clearly. The self is not an individuated object or substance. Rather it is a form, something conceptual, which our conceptualising of ourselves at any particular time may take up, in a complex interplay of intellect, character and action. The form is like a category (the self), or a logical placeholder, which may be filled in various ways. Thus you may not have the same relationship to yourself when you constitute yourself as a political subject to speak at a meeting and as a father speaking to a daughter or son prior to the meeting. We cannot assert an identity relationship such as “ $a = b$ ” between these two forms, because these two forms may not be identical. Put another way his concern is with how the intellect, character and action, can be reconciled in living in the context of practical affairs in the present. The singularity of the present in its games of truth and practices of power may either require a certain form of the self, or present the opportunity to constitute one’s self actively in a form of transfiguration of other forms of the self. But these practices are not something entirely invented, as we are influenced by models: in Foucault’s case by Kant on the historical singularity of reason and Baudelaire on the stylisation of the self, though not in an artistic or narcissistic sense (Rabinow, 1997:xxxii). But other models are available, and are proposed and suggested (sometimes imposed) by the culture, society and social group (Foucault 1984a, p.293). We are also influenced by mentors. But all of these models must be subjected to historical and philosophical examination.

In other words to learn to care for the self is to evaluate various models in a relationship with a mentor, someone who will speak the “truth” and not attempt to exercise power improperly or manipulate the learner. To evaluate models to see which model promotes freedom and prevents tutelage is to apply criteria which involve the rejection of certain forms of the self. To permit oneself to be dominated is not acceptable to Foucault. For right conduct care of the self was required by the Greeks and Romans. Now whilst this involves knowledge of the self it also requires a number of rules of acceptable conduct which are both truths and prescriptions. So taking care of the self is to equip oneself with those truths and to reflect upon one’s conduct in terms of those truths and their prescriptions.

This knowledge which one has of the forms that the self takes (*se connaître*) is active and highly political as it was for the Greeks. For the philosopher this becomes doubly so, “in terms of intensity, in the degree of zeal for the self, and consequently, also for others, the place of the philosopher is not that of just any free man” (Foucault 1984a, p.293). Here he was assigning a special role for the philosopher which Wittgenstein was reluctant to assign. But in Foucault’s case it was a role which was academic for it was also scholarly, though it was philosophical not in the normal and more traditional academic sense, but in a very overt sense of the political.

Care for the self is not to be seen as a form of *liberation*, but as “an exercise of the self on the self by which one attempts to develop and transform oneself, and to attain a certain mode of being” (Foucault 1984a, p.282). This mode of being is not that of the liberated or unalienated person as in versions of marxist theory, because it runs the risk of returning to some notion of human being or essence to which one can return by breaking repressive deadlocks. Indeed practising freedom requires liberation but liberation *per se* does not define for us the practices of freedom (loc cit.), for freedom must be practised ethically: “...for what is ethics, if not the practice of freedom?” Freedom is said to be “the ontological condition of ethics” but “ethics is the considered form that freedom takes when it is informed by reflection” (Foucault 1984a, p.284).

Care of the self is ethical he argues not because it is care of others but because it is ethical in itself. It does however imply complex relationships with others “as this *ethos* of freedom is also a way of caring for others” (Foucault 1984a, p.287). It is not therefore merely self regarding or narcissistic. *Ethos* involves a relationship with others, which becomes about because of the way in which the self and care of the self becomes known. Here Foucault argues one needs a guide or mentor who can speak truthfully to one, who will not be authoritarian or manipulative, and who will teach one. Thus relationships with others are built into the very conditions of the learning of, or the development of, the care of the self. To learn to care for the self is then at one and the same time to learn to care for others. Nevertheless:

Care for others should not be put before the care of oneself. The care of the self is ethically prior in that the relationship with oneself is ontologically prior (loc cit.).

Thus a person who understood what it was to care for the self would conduct him or herself properly in relation to others. Care of the self is also seen by Foucault as “a way of limiting or controlling power” and the abuse of power. Dominating others through

the exercise of tyrannical power occurs when one has not taken care of the self (Foucault 1984a, p.288).

For both Wittgenstein and Foucault there is no such thing as a self, if we mean by that a substance referred to by "I". Foucault sees it as a kind of logical form, or concept, not fixed or immutable, and capable of change through care by the self of the self, and a concomitant reflective reconceptualising of the self. This is far from a metaphysical notion of the self like that of Schopenhauer (some vestiges of which remained with Wittgenstein).

The Adult Learner

It would be tempting to use Foucault's earlier work (eg. 1979) where he talks of disciplinary power and discusses the ways in which the adult learner has been constructed by various disciplines, particularly in psychology (Henriques, et al, 1986), but also in the emancipatory conscientization work of Paulo Freire. Then the role of modern institutions in the construction and disciplining of the adult learner could be problematised. Thereby a gamut of discourses from repressive to radical liberating could be explored for their power effects. Turning to the later Foucault also we could move away from the repressive and dominating effects of power/knowledge to its more positive non-manipulative and even pleasurable effects.

But Foucault in countering the arguments that his earlier work was deterministic and pessimistic turns to the self, and in turning away from truth and power *per se* he moves to questions of freedom and ethical practices of the self, including his account of care of the self. What sense can be made of this notion of care for the self in relation to the adult learner? First we need to look at the self of adult learning.

Adult learning is normally conceived as involving activities which lead to desirable kinds of change for the learner. Here the Enlightenment notion of the autonomous individual is of paramount importance for it "defines both a goal for and an approach to the practice of adult education" (Usher *et al*, 1997, p.94). But the notion of autonomy itself is far from clear.

The concept of autonomy was applied initially in a political context. It was city states that were said to be autonomous, or not, according to their independence from more powerful adjoining cities or kingdoms. But gradually this notion was applied to the individual person, and becomes an ethical concept, and is clearly used in this manner by Rousseau and Kant. Autonomy has two aspects or components: the *autos* and the *nomos*; that is the individual or the self, and the law or the laws which govern the individual or the self. Whilst Plato can be interpreted as extending the notion from city states to the individual it is still the laws and institutions of the state which are held to govern the individual. Hence personal autonomy, though associated with virtue, was not a purely ethical notion as it retains its political connections.

In educational thought the concept has become divested of its political overtones and is represented essentially as an ethical notion (Lankshear, 1982). This would appear to be the way it is used in adult education. But this leads to the masking of the political, because the *autos* or self has itself been "constituted" politically, post-Enlightenment,

by what Foucault calls modern power (or power/knowledge). In other words there are questions which need to be asked about the nature of “the autos” which sets or adopts the laws and the nature of “the laws” which are adopted or set thereby. Questions such as: are the autos and the nomos independent?; can a self, a private self, “set” laws; if the autos can set laws then does it have something like an *essence*, eg, of rationality? Elsewhere I have argued (Marshall 1996, chapter 3) that in the Enlightenment notion of the autonomous self the autos is continuously infected and constructed by the nomos, ie, by factors outside the independent self which constitute the self in certain ways, including the self’s belief that it is autonomous and rational, or that it can act as an autonomous chooser in the free market.

According to Usher, et al (1997, chapter 5) the Enlightenment notion of the adult autonomous learner has been set against the social. In the four traditional adult learning styles that the authors identify the adult learner is seen as highly individualistic with the social “outside”, and as an oppressive Other. These traditional approaches to adult learning are said to be: training and efficiency, which attempts to remove distractions: self-directed learning or andragogy, which seeks to remove the restrictions of didactic teachers and formal disciplines or bodies of knowledge; learner centred or humanistic, which seeks to remove internally imposed restrictions upon learning; and the critical tradition which seeks to remove social and historical oppressions from the learner. Whilst there are differences between the conceptions of the self here they see the binary opposition – individual/social – as constitutive of the self in these traditional conceptions of adult learning (along with voluntarism/determinism) (Usher et al, 1997, p.99). It is this binary opposition which Foucault’s notion of the self bypasses.

According to Foucault the self has no essence. If so the Other is essential for the self to become a self and to develop. (Interestingly, Simone de Beauvoir argued in Hegelian fashion for the necessity of the Other in defining the self, though Foucault carefully ignores a humanist such as Beauvoir [Marshall, 1998]). If the Other is important then for the self, the kind of self which develops will depend very much upon the Others guiding that development, if the self is to be able to care for the self, and eventually to care for and mentor others.

Foucault, Pedagogy and the Self

Foucault cannot, and should not, be appropriated by postmodernists because not only did he protest at any such classifications but, also, his writings should not be conceived in that way (Marshall 1996). Yet he said little explicitly about education. Education, conceived either in its formal and informal, institutional and individual senses as a process that, for all sorts of reasons – economic, social and political – promotes personal growth and emancipation, was not explicitly on his “formal” agenda. But from what he has said on the disciplines (excluding the human sciences) and non-manipulative education, development of the self and care for the self can be carried forward and extended from early childhood to adolescence and adulthood. The self, development of the self, and care for the self are not divorced in Foucault’s thought. The individual self cannot do some of this on its own because of the need for the Other

(selves, community, etc.). In later life care for the self involves care for others and therefore care for the development of Other and younger selves. That is what care of the self means in Foucault (Foucault 1984a). Thus there is an important pedagogical element in care for the self.

He is quite adamant that care for the self involves practices of the self that are not invented individually but “are models that he (sic) finds in his culture and are proposed, suggested, imposed upon him by his culture, his society, and his social group” (Foucault 1984a, p.291). The subject constitutes itself in an active fashion both with and against these models, and in a pedagogical relationship with a “mentor”, especially in the earlier development of the self. Thus conceived the self is not an isolated individual opposed to the Other, but is always in the company of a community, right across and throughout the lifespan. That this is right across the lifespan follows from the non narcissistic view that care for the self is necessarily care for Others, developed in a mentoring situation, and therefore care as learned in this situation must involve a learned aspect of care for younger members of the community. This is very much a Wittgensteinian point concerning the conditions under which concepts are learned and therefore our understanding of such concepts (MacMillan 1985). Thus if I learn the concept of care under conditions involving a younger/elder relationship, then in later caring for *young* others I would take responsibility for certain aspects of their development of the notion of the self, because this would be my understanding of care for the self. I would have learned not only that care of the self involved care for Others, but that it also meant care for the *development* of the selves of Others.

CONCLUSION

Thus Foucault’s position on the self, buttressed by certain Wittgensteinian arguments from notions of “forms of life” (itself somewhat obscure), tends to suggest that the more traditional models of adult education concerned with the “outcome” of an autonomous self based upon a binary opposition of Self and Other, are fundamentally flawed. Wittgenstein is quite clear on these issues. Language and forms of life are learned in a shared community and, as an individual, I have no privileged epistemic or ethical position, as the four models of adult learning introduced briefly above would seem to need to claim if they are to be viable epistemologically. This is because, for Wittgenstein, the limits of my world (and hence my grasp of the world in which I live) are structured by my language. Thus if I have not had the right mentors (early childhood to adult learning – seen as a continuum), I may lack crucial concepts and understandings of the world in which I live, and be unable to develop a concept of care for the self. Such a limited concept would not permit me to achieve the promised educational objectives of personal autonomy that the traditional models seem to espouse.

The argument from Wittgenstein and Foucault is clear. If you ask the question “What is the self?” then the self is mysterious (Schopenhauer and Wittgenstein). It is certainly not an individuated substance or object (Schopenhauer, Wittgenstein and Foucault), although it can change and develop through care (Foucault). But what this means in practice in education (where “education” is understood as being along the

widest parameters of society and its educational institutions, culture and social groups), in the age of performativity or of maximising efficiency and useful knowledge (Lyotard 1984), is another matter. From Foucault's position such an education might be good or bad. What relationship then might be posed between education and care for the self?

Two conclusions suggest themselves: either education is to be included in the concept of care for the self or, the other way round, that care of the self is to be included in education. These answers have similarities to the two traditional liberal answers given to a similar question concerning the relationships between power and knowledge: either power produces knowledge or knowledge gives power to the possessors of knowledge. These answers are challenged by Foucault's concept of power/knowledge. He did not identify the two but argued that where there was knowledge there were power relations and vice versa, and that power and knowledge were closely intertwined through their effects.

A similar relationship might be proposed between education and care for the self, namely that wherever there is education there are effects upon the self, its development and its care and, similarly, caring for the self effects a certain kind of education. The mentor in a pedagogic relationship with a young person helps the self to learn to care for the self and, in turn caring for the self has a pedagogical effect upon Others. Thus they are closely intertwined. This relationship can of course have both positive (good) effects and negative (bad) effects. My readings of Wittgenstein and Foucault, with their deep suspicions of the human sciences, would suggest that education (schooling and its correlates at all levels, where there is an emphasis on the human sciences and/or technocratic rationality), may have effects under "state" auspices (either public or private education) that severely hinder caring for the self. The development of an autonomous individual would be severely hindered. Foucault sought a non-manipulative education where power relationships were minimised, but how this was to be achieved in practice is far from clear, especially in his own teaching (Marshall 1996, pp.145–156).

So it's not only with adults that lifelong learning is concerned. It is with very young children learning in family structures and their making of "the right start" in compulsory schooling. The concept of self, and its correlate care for the self, must be learned in tandem in educational processes if they are to become the kind of adults who can in turn mentor the young. If the self of adult learning is conceived as in someway alienated from others then either this needs to be reconceptualised or care taken in mentoring the adult learner who may be alienated, or both. Adult education predicated upon a binary opposition between self and Other and the liberation of the self from the Other would therefore be misconceived. Seen in this way education and care of the self continues into old age, when seniors are still endeavouring in Nietzschean or Foucauldian fashion to impose meaning on a reality and a notion of self that "might be".

NOTES:

1. This section is very brief. The ideas are argued more fully in Marshall, 1999.

2. There were two major translations of this as *The World of Will and Idea* and *The World as Will and Representation*. Schopenhauer's preface to the original German edition is dated 1818 but it was probably published in 1819. The respective translations into English by Haldane and Kemp (1883) and Payne (1958) are somewhat different.

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Chapter 9: Lifelong Learning for a Learning Democracy

STEWART RANSON, GLENN RIKOWSKI AND MICHAEL STRAIN

INTRODUCING THE CHALLENGE

If our society is to meet the twin challenge of economic regeneration and social cohesion, then it will require a renaissance in learning (EC/FAST 1994, Cooley 1993). A globalising economy, increased flexibility of employment and rapidly changing labour markets will require citizens of the 21st century to continually renew the capabilities that will help them contribute actively throughout their lives. A society facing an increasing dependency ratio will also need to learn how to cultivate and draw upon all its human resources (in 1940 ten working people supported one retired person who lived on average 7 years following retirement; by 2001 the ratios will be 2:1:21). Such transformations and exigencies require the boundaries of public policy to be redrawn: e.g. between public and private, work and leisure. Informing these issues are questions about which forms of learning and institutional capability will sustain a more active citizenship for lifelong participation in both work and community.

The Learning Age (DfEE 1998), building upon the Kennedy (1997) and Fryer (1997) reports, has begun the process of developing public policy to meet this challenge. Yet the preoccupation of public policy with the formation of human capital continues to leave public policy on lifelong learning too narrowly conceived as developing capabilities for the labour market to the exclusion of preparing capabilities that enable citizens to make an active contribution to the wider purposes of a democratic civil society.

This chapter considers the dimensions of structural change, the emerging and inadequate frameworks of public policy on lifelong learning, and the outline of an alternative approach to lifelong learning in a learning democracy.

CONTEXT OF RESTRUCTURING

Employment is being transformed by the experience of structural change accelerating over the past decade (Luttwak 1999). Substitution of new information technologies, the relocation of labour intensive industries to low wage economies, the shift from manufacturing to services, and the intensification of globalisation, have generated unemployment, the collapse of full-time youth labour (Ashton 1992) and the growth of part-time, intermittent employment which is 'feminising' and 'flexibilising' the labour market (Massey 1994, Castells 1996). This restructuring and cultural redefining of work presents a profound predicament: exclusion from work denies many access to

resources to sustain their own well-being as well as to society's process of wealth creation (Room 1995, Oppenheim 1998).

Human resources have become the key to regeneration and competitive advantage, yet these changes by the mid 90s revealed an economy trapped in what Finegold and Soskice (1988) called 'a low-skill equilibrium' which provided young people and firms little incentive to invest in higher skills. In this analysis companies have been as culpable as governments in maintaining a post compulsory education and training (PCET) system that was characterised historically by inadequate levels of investment, participation and achievement, reinforced by an institutionalised fracture of academic and vocational study. PCET reproduced chronic inequality of opportunity when economic change now demanded a massive expansion in participation and skill levels (IPPR 1990, Kennedy 1997). This has been the central predicament facing public policy.

A dominant paradigm emerged to define how 'human capital' was to be developed. If employees were to become more adaptable to a greater variety of occupational tasks then, it was argued, they would need a secure foundation of 'core' or general knowledge and skills that would allow them to transfer flexibly to different work contexts (CBI 1989). Considerable pressure was thus placed upon the PCET sector to raise significantly the level and type of skills. To this end a national framework of general and occupationally specific vocational qualifications was created to achieve parity of esteem with traditional academic awards and so increase participation, progression and achievement. National targets (for all qualifications) were set which expect 50% of young people to reach level 3 by the year 2000. Self-governing colleges were created to strengthen institutional competition.

While reforms in Scotland built upon their traditions to create a more unified and coherent system that has improved participation and progression (Raffe 1993), in England and Wales the effectiveness of the reforms until the mid 1990s remained questionable. Although participation rates increased, progression and levels of attainment still lagged behind other countries (Smithers & Robinson 1992) and the system remained highly differentiated: three potentially separate routes were characterised by fundamentally different curricula, forms of assessment and teaching method (Green 1991, 1997). A levels employ 'knowledge', GNVQs 'attainment' criteria and NVQs competence criteria. The system lacked 'transparency' (Raffe 1994), was inflexible in provision (Finegold 1993) and offered inadequate guidance and matching of students to courses (CBI 1989).

Deepening of Change and Continuing dilemmas

Change has accelerated through the second half of the decade, creating dislocation, instability and insecurity for the traditionally secure as well as the excluded (Sennett 1998, Edwards & Usher 1999) The risks which, for example, young adults face in making the transitions to employment, marriage and leaving home have grown. Time horizons have shifted: while information, expectation and risk arrive earlier than in the past, the transition to full adult status has become more protracted, while the structures which hitherto provided support – marriage, community, employment, public

institutions have been weakened by the form and pace of change. In what Beck (1992) or Giddens (1990, 1994a, 1999) term 'the risk society' there is a mismatch between the needs and identities of young adults and the resources and structures available to support their transitions (Bentley & Gurumurthy 1999).

In this context of uncertainty the scale of the challenge for education and training remains considerable at the end of the 90s. Performance in basic and intermediate skills is often poor when compared with the best internationally. 'Almost 30% of young people fail to reach NVQ level 2 by the age of 19. Seven million adults have no formal qualifications at all; 21 million adults have not reached level 3 (equivalent to 2 A levels) and more than one in five of all adults have poor literacy and numeracy skills.' Moreover while 54% of young people from professional and managerial homes go on to higher education, only 17% of those from semi-skilled and unskilled family backgrounds do so. Their relatively low participation results mainly from under-attainment at earlier stages of education. These data reflect significant social and cultural variations in participation (Learning Age 1998). The National Adult Learning Survey (DFEE 1997) reinforced understanding of such diversity: those most likely to participate in learning include: males, younger people, those in paid work and those in managerial/professional occupations and those already qualified, while those least likely to be engaged in learning include those:

- aged 50 or over
- looking after the home/family, the retired and those with long-term sickness
- leaving school aged 16 or younger and those leaving school without qualifications.

The implications for our society are starkly drawn in *Learning to Succeed: There are too many people with few, if any qualifications and too many with low skills. Lack of skills reduces people's chances of well-paid and steady employment. Those without qualifications earn 30% less than average earnings. The earnings of people with degrees are double those of people with no qualifications. The unemployment rate of those with no qualification is more than three times that of graduates without urgent action to tackle these problems, the risks of social exclusion will grow as sophistication in information and other new technologies increases. Society will continue to be divided between information rich and information poor.* (p.13, 1999)

Existing structures of provision in the UK continue to be ill matched to respond. Inherited demarcations of adult, vocational and continuing education seem to inhibit the flexibility required (Edwards 1997). The White Paper argues that 'the current system is failing a significant section of the community, often the most vulnerable and disadvantaged. It is also failing to match skills to the needs of the local labour market.' One key weakness is that '*too much learning provision is unsuited to the needs of learners. Many learners do not want to be tied to learning in a classroom. Many adults, in particular, are looking to learn in informal, self-directed and flexible ways – in the evenings, in their places of work, at weekends and in their holidays. This flexibility will be essential if we are to attract into learning those for whom traditional learning methods have formed a barrier – including women returners and those turned off learning in a classroom by poor experiences at school*' (Learning to Succeed 1999).

Access to and quality of training remain problematic. Hyland and Matlay (1998) portray a vivid, but depressing picture of actual practice. The authors show that, among 2000 SMEs surveyed, extremely high levels of positive attitude were found among owner/managers; yet a correspondingly high number of firms provide no actual training at all. A similarly sized, longitudinal study (Cosh, Duncan & Hughes 1998) found less training provided in smaller firms, even though firms with less than 20 employees constituted the only group for which a relationship was identified between training and subsequent increased profitability. On quality, Hyland and Matlay point to a failure of NVQ certification to ensure high standards of actual training and identify an 'emerging consensus' in favour of reform through provision of "programmes which encourage both breadth and depth of study, including the recognition of key skills" (p.410).

Taken together with the findings of another recent report by Field (1998), it might now be possible to see a link between the nature and form in which schooling and work-related training have been extended in Further and Higher Education, in successive post-war UK reforms, and the impact of early learning experiences on subsequent learning behaviour. Formal education in the UK has for too many failed to enhance essential skills and learners' motivation: learning was too often associated with a sense of personal failure; its contribution to the formation of a strong, positive, personal identity was very weak or negative; learning experiences were found to inhibit later readiness to participate in adult learning; and significant numbers of respondents reported that experiences of learning had been emotionally and educationally disabling.

NATIONAL POLICY OF LIFELONG LEARNING

The pace of and impact of change during the 1990s has driven Governments, first the Conservatives and then after the election in 1997 New Labour, to develop a national policy for lifelong learning in support of improved employability and competitiveness in the global economy.

The Conservative Government's *Consultation Document on lifetime learning* (DfEE 1995) can be viewed as a continuation and deepening of the policy perspectives advanced in the first Competitiveness report (DTI 1994). The key point advanced by the Secretaries of State for Education and Employment, Scotland and Wales (Gillian Shephard, Michael Forsyth & William Hague respectively) was that: 'Creating a culture of lifetime learning is crucial to sustaining and maintaining our international competitiveness.' (DfEE 1995, p.3). They went on to emphasise the value of lifetime learning for 'personal competitiveness' (in the labour market) and also for 'national culture and the quality of life' (Ibid.). Lifetime learning is valued mainly as having strategic value in the effort to maintain national competitiveness in the context of economic globalisation. The consultation document itself reiterates the links between lifetime learning, globalisation and national competitiveness. The opening paragraphs sets the tone for the whole document:

'The skill levels of the workforce are vital to our national competitiveness. Rapid technological and organisational change means that, however good initial

education and training is, it must be continuously reinforced by further learning throughout life.' (p.6 – our emphasis)

The emphasis in the report was very much on individuals taking responsibility for investing in their own skill and knowledge enhancement through life; the Conservative administration was hoping that the costs of labour-power development would be taken up by workers themselves. However, there was acknowledgement that it would be necessary to consult on 'individual responsibility for vocational lifetime learning' (Ibid.) as advocated in the second Competitiveness report which came out just before the consultation document (DTI 1995). Individuals 'must make themselves marketable in the competition for jobs' (p.8) – though there was some reference to the effectiveness of individuals in communities and lifetime learning as an aspect of a civilised society too.

The consultation document of 1995 and subsequent consultation process resulted in the Conservative administration's *Policy Framework for Lifetime Learning* of 1996 (DfEE 1996). This reiterated the message of the 1995 consultation document and pointed out that capital, products, skill, knowledge and technology were all increasingly mobile as 'economic borders have largely disappeared'. But skill was less mobile (and by implication more controllable) than any of the other factors listed. The bottom line was that: '... we as a country have to ... make sure that we have a workforce to sustain our competitiveness in international markets.' (p.143). It was acknowledged, however, that 'Convincing individuals to get involved in learning is critical.' (p.150). Individuals need to be sure that learning for the enhanced competitiveness of UK plc was in their own interests too.

In December 1994 the English Further Education Funding Council (FEFC) set up a committee on Widening Participation to explore how further education (FE) colleges – the sector between schools and universities – could widen the participation of under-represented groups in post-compulsory education and training. The Committee was chaired by a leading barrister, Helena Kennedy and her report, *Learning Works: widening participation in further education* (Kennedy 1997) appeared in June 1997, a month after the Labour Party's general election victory.

Learning Works exhibits an markedly different outlook on lifelong learning. It analyses the task of widening participation in FE colleges within a broader strategy of creating 'a self-perpetuating learning society'. Whilst acknowledging that both trade unions and employers were looking for 'a quantum leap' in Britain's education and training performance (p.2), the report was also critical of aspects of the marketisation, businessification and money-led nature of FE following the incorporation of colleges in 1993 (where they obtained freedom from local authority control, and were funded on a complex formula by the newly-created FEFC). *Learning Works* emphasised partnership (especially between employers and trade unions) and the key role that central government had in 'presenting the powerful vision of a learning nation' (p.7). Most importantly, for realisation of a learning nation, the report held that 'Lifelong learning does not just happen in colleges' (Ibid.). Change of culture will necessitate change of practice in support for learning. The Kennedy Report's targeting of the FE system as the core of national strategy may be insufficient to achieve its own

aim of 'a self-perpetuating learning society'. If many 'learners' remain outside education, and are not attracted by its classroom traditions frequently preferring to spend free time in other ways, then a self-perpetuating learning society is only likely to emerge in a culture in which those traditions are reformed and learning is also part of everyday social practice and personal orientation.

The Kennedy Report envisaged learning going on throughout society in the new learning nation: in schools, but also in libraries, betting shops, supermarkets, pubs and other 'new public' spaces (p.8). It also recognised that 'lifelong inclusive learning' would remain a dream without adequate financial backup to turn it into reality, and argued for a redistribution of resources towards FE is 'really to be the engine of economic and social success' (p.10).

In the Kennedy Report, learning for 'life' and learning for work were viewed as inseparable (p.16). All learning was to be valued. This perspective redefines lifelong learning, and attempts to shift it beyond a univocal or primary concern with capital accumulation. This was a vision of lifelong learning where: 'Learning may be undertaken: to maintain or enhance employment prospects; to support children in their reading; to care for an elderly relative; to plan for retirement; to budget on a reduced income. Learning may also be undertaken for fun, for personal development or to achieve an appreciation of broader issues.' (p.29) The prioritisation here of a 'target' group, the 60% of the population without level 3 qualifications and of possible motives for continuing learning, among which 'learning for fun' comes at the end, may itself be part of an obstructing shield of belief and assumption which has contained almost all officially sponsored initiatives within a strategic horizon of economic and social order and 'effectiveness'. Kennedy may have put too much emphasis upon the available structures of institutions (FE) and mechanisms (new funding and accreditation opportunities). At its root, Kennedy sees lifelong learning in an individualistic setting which can be ameliorated by strengthening the material and aspirational contexts of individuals.

When elected New Labour quickly sought to form its own policy perspective on lifelong learning and established, in June 1997, only a month after its general election victory, a National Advisory Group on Continuing Education and Lifelong Learning (NAGCELL) chaired by Professor Bob Fryer. Charged with advising on the preparation of a White Paper on Lifelong Learning, as precursor to legislation, the NAGCELL reported in November 1997 (*Learning for the Twenty-first Century* (Fryer Report 1997). The report carried on in the spirit of the Kennedy Report – but took a more expansive view of lifelong learning which was to be developed and explicated further in its second report (Fryer 1999). The initial justification for lifelong learning was very broad: It is essential to help the country and all of its people meet the challenges they now face, as they move towards the twenty-first century. (Fryer 1997, 3). In Part Two of the report, *The Necessity of Lifelong Learning*, Fryer and his colleagues moved onto familiar ground in arguing that:

Global forces are exerting and growing in influence over the everyday life of the country, its businesses and its people. Increased global competition and liberalisation of markets cause whole industries to shrink or expand, shifting the demand for skills and the availability of job opportunities for particular communities and

whole nations. (p.11) [Thus the] ... aim should be to make people less vulnerable, at the same time as enhancing the capacities and competitiveness of businesses and other organisations. (p.12)

The rest of the Fryer Report mainly focuses on: enhancing the capacities of learners; breaking down barriers to learning; analysing the potential for learning within a range of contexts (with special reference to community learning); and pinpointing factors making for divisions and inequalities in learning opportunities and discussing possible solutions. In section 5, on Core Principles, the Fryer Report took a similar view to Kennedy in advocating that: 'Lifelong learning should be for all aspects of life and meet a variety of needs and perspectives' (p.29) – indicating that it should not just be about labour-power development. What is most significant is that Fryer's second report (Fryer 1999), where citizenship and cultures of learning were to the fore, got little coverage in either the press or academic literature. If learning throughout life is to be realised in support of employability and social inclusion, it is increasingly recognised that this will 'will depend upon promoting widespread and systematic changes of culture in our society'. This report is right to emphasise, moreover, that such cultural change will necessarily incorporate 'a variety of different learning cultures... There is no 'one best way' or universally applicable type of learning culture, irrespective of people's circumstances, or of the organisational settings they find themselves in.' and it calls for studies of effective learning cultures from a wide range of business, community educational and family settings. (p.9)

Most significantly of all, perhaps, this later report identifies the challenge of lifelong learning in a societal context, Beck's (1992) and Giddens' (1990) 'risk society', more cited explicitly in the report. Globalisation, in its political and economic manifestations, most notably through the effect of electronic communications on governments and business, will produce "increasing diversity and fragmentation of experiences and institutions and a greater willingness to tolerate, even celebrate, such features of the modern world". Another of the 'defining characteristics' of the *Risk Society* is the "much greater emphasis upon consumption and its pleasures", the "democratisation of inventiveness and creativity, more focus upon choice, lifestyle and individuality", and the "increasing variety and pluralism of popular culture" (3.1) Here, the radically different orientations and lifestyles of young people are quietly acknowledged, suggesting that the working group wished to make clear to government the more profound nature of the challenge of change which appeared to be recognised in the official rhetoric but, as a vision of the future was absent from the check-list of measures taken so far (2.6). The need to fashion a coherent policy response which attended to a context of "changing identities, loyalties and aspirations" [among individuals, social movements, firms as well as governments] articulates something of the as yet unknown dimensions inherent in creating a *Learning Society*, but which require refashioning of many traditional forms of association within communities, where values, beliefs, desirable lifestyles are plural and not infrequently incommensurable, as of right as well as in fact (CEC 1997). The report, therefore, emphasises the nature of the challenge as one of instituting a new culture, a Learning Culture, one in which learning is inextricably woven into the fabric of living a social existence, supporting relationships in the family

and the neighbourhood and requiring establishment of new institutional forms and modes of professional and civic implementation.

Changing the prevailing culture, one in which “far too many people [regard] lifelong learning as either unnecessary, unappealing, uninteresting or unavailable” is shown to be a long term and very complex undertaking. It also recognises that some organisations have already acted in response to the challenge and cite evidence of their achievements (3.8). Community partnerships with local government, voluntary groups and employers must be formed and supported, financially and organisationally in programmes in which formation of new, local ‘cultures’ and the expansion and dissemination of new learning habits are mutually inseparable.

While New Labour’s rhetoric sought to promote learning not only in the interests of improving employability and competitiveness in the global economy but also to tackling exclusion and ensuring social justice through a period of transformation (Hodgson & Spours 1999), strands of policy continued to emphasise the objective of creating human capital for regeneration and social cohesion: tackling long term unemployment (New Deal); improving basic skills; modernising learning in the workplace (new apprenticeships; LiP; Ufi; & ILAs); reforming FE (Kennedy) and HE (Dearing). The ‘third way’ vehicle for change is a partnership between individuals, employers and government reinforced with appropriate incentives to produce shared responsibilities and benefits for learning (cf. OECD 1996).

Although the Government’s Green Paper *The Learning Age* (DfEE 1998) can, in many ways, be viewed as an effort in making sense of the wide-ranging perspectives and concerns of the Kennedy and the Fryer reports, it should also be viewed as a continuing focus of the debate around lifelong learning in Britain back onto the terrain of enhancing human capital in the context of globalisation and competitiveness. The opening statement in the Foreword from David Blunkett (Secretary of State for Education and Employment) made this clear:

Learning is the key to prosperity – for each of us as individuals, as well as for the nation as a whole. Investment in human capital will be the foundation of success in the knowledge-based global economy of the twenty-first century. (p.7)

Blunkett viewed the main aim of the consultation following *The Learning Age* as being about ‘how learning throughout life will build human capital’ (Ibid.), for ‘in order to achieve stable and sustainable growth, we will need a well-educated, well-equipped and adaptable labour force.’ (Ibid.). Whilst Blunkett also mentioned the importance of learning for making a civilised society, developing spirituality and promoting active citizenship, it was clear that enhancing employability was lifelong learning’s prime mission for Britain.

The body of *The Learning Age* reiterated this message. The opening quotation from Prime Minister Tony Blair informed the reader that ‘Education is the best economic policy we have.’ (p.9), whilst the opening sentence of the report noted that: ‘We are in a new age – the age of global competition.’ and in the same paragraph went on to announce that: ‘We have no choice but to prepare for this new age in which the key to success will be the continuous education and development of the human mind and

imagination.’ (Ibid.) It was argued that: ‘The most productive investment will be linked to the best educated and best trained workforces.’ (p.10). Nevertheless, it was also argued that ‘Our vision of the Learning Age is about more than employment.’ (Ibid.) – and went on to emphasise the importance of learning for individuals and communities (as well as for businesses and the nation) thus taking up some of the themes from Kennedy and Fryer. But the emphasis on enhancing human capital within a context of hyper-competitiveness nurtured by globalisation was the *Leitmotif* in *The Learning Age*.

When a White Paper on ‘lifelong learning’ – *Learning to Succeed* – finally emerged in June 1999 (DfEE 1999), the mystifying aspect of it was that it was not essentially about lifelong learning. It was essentially offering a ‘framework for post-16 learning’ (i.e. learning beyond compulsory schooling – though there was not much on higher education in the White Paper). Whilst David Blunkett attempted to demonstrate how *Learning to Succeed* was natural successor to *The Learning Age* Green Paper in his Foreword, the notion of lifelong learning appears to have been downgraded within the White Paper. For Blunkett, there was a new emphasis on removing ‘contradictions, conflict and incoherence’ within post-16 education and training (p.4) – a less ambitious project than creating a learning society of lifelong learners.

However, the task is not to demonstrate the degeneration of the notion of lifelong learning in the movement from Kennedy/Fryer to the White Paper, but to illustrate the triumph of lifelong learning as human capital development within *Learning to Succeed*. The opening sentence indicates the ordering of priorities:

Our vision is to build a new culture of learning which will underpin national competitiveness and personal prosperity, encourage creativity and innovation and help build a cohesive society. (p.6)

And the reasons given are that:

In the information and knowledge based economy, investment in human capital – in the intellect and creativity of people – is replacing past patterns of investment in plant, machinery and physical labour. (p.12)

These developments, it was argued in the White Paper, necessitated access to learning throughout working life to adapt to changing jobs or to train for new ones (Ibid.). This challenge grounded the need for lifelong learning. For in these competitive times, employers ‘rightly put a premium on adaptability and the capacity to learn new skills’ (p.13).

The rest of the White Paper was basically about the Labour Government’s plans, strategies and policies for delivering this form of lifelong learning. It proposed a comprehensive co-ordinating structure of planning, provision and monitoring of a massive extension and strengthening of skill acquisition and work-related skills, by both adults and young people, to be supported by a new framework of local Learning Partnerships. New funding principles, such as the preferential funding of HE registrations of students from lower s/e groups, are also key mechanisms resulting from the Dearing Report. Learning Direct, a national helpline provided by the Ufl, provides for mentoring of all young people in their transition from school to work.

A learning culture will require more than mechanisms and structures. The second report by NAGCELL (Fryer 1999) took further an analysis of the conditions of social and cultural change. After reiterating the Group's earlier identification of recurring problems: the need to strengthen the demand for learning, especially among those least likely to be influenced by campaigns, employment related concerns (re-skilling, job insecurity), the urgent need to widen access, especially to relevant high quality vocational education, and to increase, co-ordinate and resource new opportunities for learners of all ages, the multi-faceted and inherently elusive nature of the government's goals for Lifelong Learning was explored. In Chapter 3, Beck's (1992) *Risk Society* was used to contextualise the proliferation of social, political and economic dimensions within which new lifelong learning policies must be constructed. The "increasing diversity and fragmentation of experiences and institutions and a greater willingness to tolerate, even celebrate, such features in the modern world,...the emergence of new agendas in politics, concerned with issues as diverse as race and gender equality, disability rights, the environment, food and transport" call for more than policies and programmes which will alter individual incentive structures and stimulate demand for learning. "Successful implementation...will depend upon promoting widespread and systematic changes of culture in our society" (Fryer 1999, 3.1-3.4). Yet the vision and pedagogy of a new culture of learning remain to be articulated.

Some significant evidence is emerging that the goals set will be obtained by a growth in *informal* learning, unaccredited, outside formal institutional settings, and ostensibly unrelated to work. Even in the workplace, Eraut's (1999) study of health professionals in the *Learning Society* (ESRC 1999) research programme showed that most valued learning occurred in informal interactions with colleagues. This emergence of learning's need to escape from the formal framework of history and institution is symptomatic of a more fundamental, if enigmatic, aspect of contemporary political change. Field (2000), in a paper to be published later this year, argues that the elusiveness of lifelong learning, both as a concept and as a social objective, derives from a new 'ungovernability' facing late modern societies.

"It is not governments that will produce more learning among more people, but citizens. This is an issue which requires citizens to act (Beck & Sopp 1997). For governments, this presents obvious difficulties. Rather than government doing things directly, it is required to persuade citizens to change their ways. Lifelong learning is far from being the only such issue; many others are driven by civil society including public health, environmental action, racial tolerance and tackling crime. And in the process of shifting away from service delivery or legislation to offering guidance and trying to steer citizens' behaviour, government has had to change its own ways of working." (Field 2000)

The inference to be drawn is that the new 'learning cultures' called for by Fryer are inseparable from the creation of a new polity, one which, as we have argued here in several contexts, must be grounded in acceptance of autonomy for learners and their independently formed learning projects, participative forms of democratic local

government, and a polity of 'active' citizens nourished by 'learning communities'. The components of such a polity are outlined and discussed further in section IV.

Public policy on lifelong learning has we argue been driven by too narrow an agenda (cf. Tight 1998, Edwards 1999, Parry & Fry 1999, and Coffield, 1999a/b). For us, the series of reforms to post compulsory and continuing education and training have, from the late 1980's, been characterised by too limited a grasp of the paradigm shift in the pedagogies of learning required for social and economic regeneration. The challenge of the Kennedy Report and, even more so, the wider horizons of the Second Fryer Report have still to be confronted. A much more enriched conception of work and wealth creation is needed (Giddens 1994b). Not only does 'social wealth' (eg. preventative community health care, or environmental regeneration) add to the quality of life, it clearly adds economic value as well as saving public expenditure. Furthermore, rethinking the nature of work cannot be separated from re-examination of the social and cultural relations (between sexes, races, and generations) which define who works and thus the social conditions of active citizenship within a democratic civil society. Such analysis needs to be underpinned by a new theory of learning (Ranson 1996, Field & Schuller 1999) and, in particular, of learning for citizenship in democratic learning communities. (Ranson 1997, 2000, Ranson & Stewart 1998)

LEARNING FOR LIFELONG DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP

During the past decade key research on learning has critically re-evaluated the dominant paradigm and proposed values and practices which can provide a more adequate framework for considering lifelong learning: Gardner (1993) on multiple intelligence, Engestrom (1991; 1999) on learning communities, and Lave and Wenger (1990) on situated learning. Such research however is not divorced from practice, as the reform programme of Professor Brighouse in Birmingham illustrates (for example on *The University of the First Age*), or Tom Bentley's (1998) DEMOS study of active learning reveals, and is manifest in the work of government departments, and the Scottish Office's (1998) prospectus on *New Community Education*. This work proposes that education has traditionally been shaped by too narrow a conception of purpose, of human capacity, of frameworks of learning and of assessment. The central principles informing the new teaching and learning are:

- *Learning for capability and active membership of society*
Education has been driven by too narrow a conception of the competencies which people are to acquire. The challenge is to reconceive the purposes of education as being a preparation for living and becoming active citizens of the communities in which they are to live and work.

Education has been shaped by a mistaken division between knowledge and practice. The point of learning is practice. Learning now needs to be connected to the wider experiences of people and the purposes which are to shape their lives. The relevance of education to the lives of people is the challenge facing educators at every level.

- *Valuing the whole learner – recognising all the needs of all the learners*
Learning has been envisaged, mistakenly, as a narrow cognitive process, with thinking and feeling separated out. The research of Goleman (1996) and others is illuminating the significance of emotional well-being, of health and quality of relationships for learning and fulfilling potential. Educators are learning to recognise the importance not only of developing basic cognitive skills and competences but also the need to address the social emotional health of each person to enhance their self-esteem, motivation and well-being.
- *Learners are capable*
Education has been undermined for many because of the flawed assumptions of capacity and intelligence. The research of Gardner is transforming our understanding of human capability and potential. Intelligence is far more diverse and broad ranging than traditional assumptions allow. Intelligence is not a fixed internal characteristic of individuals. Each individual is able and has a different portfolio of abilities which require careful nurture and attention to develop each person's talents to full potential. Intelligence is learned (Perkins 1995) through experience, hard work and through developing capacities for critical self-reflection. Achievement in all areas of learning needs to be celebrated.
- *A pedagogy of active and flexible learning*
If learners are to become active members of their communities then institutions need to become crucibles of active learning, enabling people to see the purpose of education by reconnecting learning and practice. Grounding education in investigative learning and reflective problem solving motivates people to become involved in their learning. Gardner's (1993) research has revealed that each individual learns in a different way. Music and colour and movement are as important as traditional forms of transmission.
- *Involving the family*
The more holistic view of the learner which the new education strives to achieve is reflected in the practice of involving parents and families. This also requires focusing support on the family unit to encourage and bring out the best in both parent and child through family learning and the development of positive parent child interaction.
- *multi-agency working*
Addressing all the needs of the learner and the family leads to a much more integrated approach to education, one which involves family support, health and social services in a co-ordinated approach.
- *Engagement with the wider community*
The new pedagogy which relates learning to practice and social purpose together with the inclusion of families provides the context for engaging with the wider community. An education which includes adults in their own learning as well as in support of the education of the young creates a broader agenda supporting education for life-long learning.

This new learning describes a potential pedagogy for lifelong learning whose purpose is to reconnect knowledge and practice in preparing the capabilities necessary for active citizenship in a democratic learning society. These capabilities will involve different 'layers' of learning, drawing attention to the intricate social textures of context and historical experience which underlie individual lifetime learning. Navigating these layers (through time and engagement with an increasing number of roles) the individual is endowed with the benefits of learning in a gradual progression towards agency and capability. Learning may begin with ability to grasp discrete *competences* or pieces of knowledge, though their effect depends upon the quality of reflective understanding which accompany them, so that the principles informing an activity are grasped. Potentially, much education and training provision has this purpose and benefit.

Yet the deeper significance of learning lies, through its forming of our powers and capacities, in our unfolding agency. The purpose and benefit of learning may be a particular 'competence' which alters our capacity to intervene in experience, but its central purpose is to enable such skills to develop our distinctive identity and *capability* as a person (Nussbaum & Sen 1994). Learning is becoming, enacting the distinctive capabilities. Learning leads into action and grows out of the experience which action enables: it creates the capacity for *self-creation*.

There is no solitary learning: we can only create our worlds together. The unfolding capability of the self always grows out of the interaction with others. It is *inescapably a social creation*. We can only develop our identity and agency as persons with and through others in membership as citizens of communities. Autonomy and wellbeing, therefore, depend upon the quality of co-operative inter-dependence that recognises and values the plural identities which comprise communities.

To learn to recognise this necessary mutuality is to learn to understand the duality of *citizenship*: that individuals are members with rights and responsibilities of the community as a whole (Crick 1999). The purpose and benefit of this deeper layer is to learn to co-operate with others to renew the communities within which we live and work. It is to learn that many of the problems which confront society – social exclusion or environmental erosion, or the quality of life – can only be resolved by people working together to identify what is the public good. As Dunn (1992) argues 'In the face of the obscure and extravagantly complicated challenges of the human future, our most urgent common need at present is to learn how to act together more effectively'.

Citizenship in such a learning democracy entails not simply conferment of status, passively enjoyed in a chosen community (Turner 1990). Membership brings with it a sense of responsibility to become involved, and speak out in the public sphere. Members exercise their agency, deliberating with other traditions in search of a good for the community as a whole. For Clarke (1996) this deep, 'democratic citizenship' requires for a recovery of collaborative participation, the establishing and strengthening of spaces, the intermediary institutions of civil society, in which such active citizenship can be practised (Keane 1988, Hirst 1994, Cohen & Rogers 1995). A domain is formed in which private engages with public, providing the conditions for what Mouffe (1993) argues is needed in a strong democracy – an articulation between the particular and the universal. Within individual lives, a sphere of the lifeworld is activated here which

recognises and mediates, through habits of association, the diversity of particular interests serving the public good. By providing forums for participation, the new polity can create the conditions for public discourse and for mutual accountability which enable citizens to take each other's needs and claims into account and learn to create the conditions for each other's lifelong development.

LIFELONG LEARNING AS TRAVELLING THE SPHERES OF CITIZENSHIP

If Lifelong Learning is to be inherently part of each individual's life experience, it should be conceptualised as a progression of learning engagements which promote and enhance agency. This progression towards agency recognises the learner as a traveller, exposed to and progressively intervening in and choosing 'routes' within and between spheres of learning. These spheres can be identified within the progress of the individual lifeworld as: experience and expression of the sensation of 'being in the world' (pleasure), production and acquisition of material goods (occupation), and uncoerced engagement in relations with others, including that public sphere recognisable as civic or other forms of voluntary, purposeful social activity (civic world). The benefits of learning within each sphere are layered, reflecting their embodiment in the individual learner, aspects of self-efficacy which are revealed in action and in an individual's sense of self-worth. In their co-ordinated social application, at work and social activities in pursuit of common or public purposes, they show the contribution of learning to the wider goals of social policy. Issues within each of the transitional spheres, however, raise many questions about the appropriateness of much formal learning currently provided.

FIGURE 1

Spheres of learning (through the life-course)			
Layers of learning for citizenship	1 Experience/pleasure [individual/life world]	2 Production/acquisition [occupation]	3 Uncoerced engagement With others [interpersonal and civic engagement]
competence/knowledge			
capability as a person			
co-operative action in civil society			

Individual life-world: the concept of traveller fits well with our understanding of each individual's experience of living in a risk society, less autonomous in the face of increasing uncertainty yet 'sentenced to a lifetime of choosing' (Bauman 1997), especially in dilemmas and transitions arising in the contexts of home, partnership and parenthood. Competence in making particular choices, for example as a consumer, will reflect self-efficacy in general, yet the principal purpose which steers individual life-long learning is one oriented to shaping life-plans (Giddens 1991, Giddens & Pierson 1998), improving the health and quality of life by charting a course through its problematic transitions. The learning family (Alexander 1998) is increasingly acknowledged as the crucible for capability in personal learning and in mutuality of relationships: learning about internal roles, identifying and supporting development needs, individually and together in the new extended family (Wilkinson 1998). The active citizen in the life-world of home and leisure activity takes responsibility, yet cultivates reflection and dialogue about common decisions. Supporting the family can create the necessary conditions for fulfilling the wider policy of securing partnership between health, social and youth services (including education).

Occupation: The workplace, considered as a site of lifelong learning, brings into view opportunities for a variety of forms of learning, including general personal development as well as specific and transferable skills. Developing competence in communication or problem solving or team working will improve personal effectiveness as well as the intended return on investment. Capability, however, will also be revealed in reflexive life-planning as employees take initiatives in planning further personal development as well as demonstrating adaptability and enterprise in the firm. By generating a culture of the learning organisation – encouraging staff development, through Investors in People, and creative participation in dialogue and decision-making, businesses contribute not only to their own competitiveness, but also to the capability of employees as life-long learners and as active citizens in the creation of healthy families and communities. If the benefits of learning in the workplace are to be realised, corporate interests need to be responsive to the pressures upon family members as carers as well as contributors to voluntary activity as citizens in the community.

Civic activity: The National Adult Learning Survey showed an increase in demand for learning linked to community and voluntary activity especially amongst those over the age of forty. When citizens participate in the life of their communities as governors or in a tenants group or in some civic association, or single issue group, their 'voice' contributes to the creation of a civil society as well as benefiting the employers by making explicit local needs and priorities. This is at the heart of the Crick Report (1999) and the EU's *Learning for Active Citizenship* (1997). Learning needs may focus upon a specific competence of communication or execution, yet becoming an active citizen contributes also to the collective health of communities by generating the capability of participating in a plural yet shared culture. *New Library: The People's Network* also vividly illustrates how the use of IT – access to knowledge through the Internet, interactive communications with councillors and interest groups – as 'a gateway for citizens' communications could open up routes for all, in a networked society which will promote a healthy democracy and social cohesion.

TOWARDS DEVELOPING THE PRACTICE OF LEARNING COMMUNITIES

Causal models (such as human capital theory) of educational investment in individuals as resources for future economic benefit are being challenged (Halsey et al 1997, Coffield 1999b, Rikowski 1999) and replaced by analysis of the complex linkages and dynamic relationship of learners to the communities in which they participate. Insufficient attention, for example, has been paid to the knowledge and skills learners bring from their communities to more formal learning situations and how learners in turn inform the 'funds of knowledge' available in their communities.

Analysis of these dynamic interactions between learners and the communities in which they participate is drawing upon work in US cultural psychology (Lave & Wenger 1991) and Russian work on activity systems recently developed in the west (Cole et al 1997, Engestrom et al 1999). New pedagogies are increasingly premised on the need to analyse the institutional, social and cultural contexts of learning as activity systems.

This model builds upon the work of Engestrom (1999b) which also reveals that activity systems are not without internal conflicts or contradictions. Activity systems imply social space within which a variety of different viewpoints or 'voices' may be accommodated, as well as layers of historically accumulated artefacts, rules and patterns of division of labour. The multivoiced and multilayered nature of activity systems is both a resource for nurturing reflection and dialogue, which are the goods of a learning community, but can also be a source of compartmentalisation and conflict. Contradictions can be as the engines of change and development in the activity system as well as a source of conflict and stress. The analysis of power and control must be brought into the activity theory framework, as well as the agreements and partnerships between interests. Of particular importance are the management of the boundaries of learning environments to enable learners to move coherently between settings.

For Engestrom (1991), Young (1995, 1998) and Cara and Ranson (1998), the creating of a learning community takes place when its members proceed to a third order of learning: (a) from imitation or conditioning, and (b) learning by doing, to (c) investigative learning, or problem solving in which learners begin to reflexively question the existing community of practice and to learn how enter into a dialogue with others in order to transform practice, and in this way begin to design their own futures.

This way of analysing learning communities as reflexive activity systems in their institutional, social and cultural contexts provides the basis for fulfilling one of the challenges set by the Second Fryer Report (1999): to generate '*examples of good practice in the development of learning cultures...drawn from a wide range of business, community educational and family settings, showing how learning cultures have combined to practical success in a wide variety of endeavours*' (p.9).

CONCLUSION

The transformations of our time require an age of learning, in which individuals continue throughout their lives to develop their capabilities, institutions learn to

respond openly and imaginatively to change and the difference between communities becomes a source for reflective understanding. What forms of learning are needed to enable this regeneration of communities for the global age?

The challenge to create such a learning society is considerable (cf. Ranson 1998, Alheit 1999, Strain 2000). If nations are to flourish in a globalised knowledge economy, adults as well as young people will need to be highly qualified and skilled. Those without the appropriate cultural capital risk social exclusion as society becomes increasingly divided between the information rich and poor. Yet the levels of participation in continuing education and the extent of underachievement remain a deep concern.

Public policy on life-long learning over the past fifteen years has been dominated by one distinctive perspective: a model of human capital oriented to preparing people with flexible, transferable skills, and with the will to continue to develop them throughout their lives in order that they may continue to succeed in the labour market.

The argument of this paper is that this model is unduly restrictive. A different concept of the learning age is needed even for an agenda of economic regeneration. The flexibility of labour requires change in the social and cultural relations between women and men, between ethnic groups as well as between generations. But such changes themselves will depend upon a more enriched vision of society and the commonwealth it can create – of health and well-being, of mutuality and cultural enrichment, of environmental sustainability. These values are made possible by a capacity for reflexive learning, for questioning convention so that new practice can be created which enhances individual and collective capability.

Underlying such an analysis lies a different vision of life-long learning as an unfolding education for citizenship, the conditions for which lie in the creation of learning communities. These encourage all to participate in learning, to give support to others in learning and to participate in creating the personal and collective conditions for learning. Such conditions are the institutional forms and processes of a participatory democracy, which involves all in a reflexive dialogue to learn how to define and sustain the potential of each citizen as well as the value each can offer in creating the public good.

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Chapter 10: Lifelong Education: Some Deweyan Themes

IVAN SNOOK

John Dewey's *Pedagogic Creed* published in 1897 begins with the stirring words: "I believe that all education proceeds by the participation of the individual in the social consciousness of the race. This process begins unconsciously almost at birth, and is continually shaping the individual's powers, saturating his habits, training his ideas, and arousing his feelings and emotions. Through this unconscious education the individual gradually comes to share in the intellectual and moral resources which humanity has succeeded in getting together." (Dewey 1971, Vol.5, p.84). A little further on he says: "I believe that education is a process of living and not a preparation for future living." (Ibid. p.87). This notion of education as a continual process with the potential for growth remained a central part of his philosophy of education. It is interesting, however, that although these words seem a clarion call for what we now call lifelong education, Dewey seemed unable to draw this conclusion from his own philosophy. Thus, for example, the words which immediately follow the creed just quoted are: "I believe that the school must represent present life – life as real and vital to the child as that which he carries on in the home, in the neighbourhood, or on the playground." (loc.cit.). To my knowledge, Dewey wrote nothing on education beyond the formal school years. Thus, despite the implicit significance of his philosophical position, John Dewey was the major philosopher of schooling rather than of education.

In this chapter I pursue four major themes, each of which is implicit in Dewey's philosophy of education:

- (1) The centrality of "education" as distinct (but not separate) from "training"
- (2) The rejection of any dichotomy between liberal and vocational education
- (3) The importance of the changing social situation and
- (4) The centrality of critical thought in education.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Dewey argued that "The educative process is a continuous process of growth, having as its aim at every stage an added capacity for growth." (Dewey 1916, p.54). If the current movement for encouraging lifelong education is really to take root as a genuinely *educational* movement it is important that the early years of formal schooling (if that organisational form is to be persisted with) needs to be revised in the light of this commitment. Currently, educational policy in many countries is committed to the

notion of “skills” and “preparation for work.” The emphasis on skills ties the student to the concrete and the present: it does not enliven the mind by abstractions; nor does it necessarily relate the “skills” to the interests of the child or to the wider society outside the school. Much of current policy making is dictated by the interests of business and schools are being made increasingly reliant on business sponsorship for resources. At the extreme, children are perceived primarily as consumers and, for the sake of income for the school, are subjected to advertising within the school and within the classroom. They are being taught to “think Business, think profit, think short term” and are prevented from criticising the dominant ideology of the day – consumerism.

The emphasis on the vocational or job related aspects of schooling further limits the child’s capacity for growth and development along the lines advocated by Dewey. There is an emphasis on the future rather than the present and this future is seen as limited by the person’s capacity to fill some job or perform some service; the child is to be a functionary of the economic order. This of course has ideological purposes beyond a servile and uncritical workforce; the whole idea of the consumer society is to be accepted uncritically as a natural part of the world. This acceptance of a controversial social arrangement as “natural” is the prime purpose of an ideology.

If we are to turn (or return) to a conception of education more apt to meet the current needs of students and yet encourage them to take advantage of appropriate learning later on, formal education needs to be consciously structured towards two main purposes: (a) providing the basic understandings required to continue to learn throughout life and the motivation to go on learning. As Dewey put it: “The criterion of the value of school education is the extent to which it creates a desire for continued growth and supplies means for making the desire effective.” (loc.cit., p.53). Schools should not create the impression that they can provide all that a child will need throughout her life; rather they should engage her in activities which are both enjoyable in themselves and likely to provide a lifetime of interest. There is, of course, no one way of doing this but certain school customs and social demands work against it. For example the constant assessment can destroy the student’s current engagement and her future interest. Similarly, the emphasis on “a common curriculum” which must be “covered” fails to recognise the variant interests of children. If the principal aims are to engage the child’s current interest and to help her preserve that interest for life, it may sometimes be preferable to allow the student to concentrate her energies on one aspect of the curriculum: from one point of view it matters little whether this is music, literature, science, mathematics, computer studies, or history, provided it has the potential for “growth.” Concentration on a limited range of studies can provide the motivation to go on learning and, arguably, the ability to learn in one can readily be transferred to another when that is required. (b) There must be a move away from isolated information, and studies carried out in isolation from other studies. It is a moot point whether an integrated curriculum is the best means of achieving this but certainly in some way or another knowledge has to be integrated in the life of the learner. She is after all a growing person and not a congeries of information and skills.

We are frequently told that this is the computer age and Information Technology will rule the future in education. To some degree, this seems to be likely. It is important,

however, to ensure (from school days onwards) that the computer is seen as a tool of education and I mean to stress both the words: seen as a *tool* for achieving certain human ends and not a kind of drug which forestalls thought; and seen as a tool for *education*, not for gathering lots and lots of discrete bits of information which do not add up to a process of growth or development of the person. Rob Watts has persuasively argued that in the movement to more use of technology in education, two serious matters are at stake: the first is “the contest between incommensurate understandings of knowledge and... ‘education.’ The second is the danger of losing the “thick texture” of face to face encounters between human teachers and human learners and replacing it totally by “thin texture” encounters with virtual reality”. (1999, p.3)

Watts argues that there are two basic models of education: an Information Theory (IT) model and an Action-Reflection Theory (ART) model. Following Habermas, he characterises the IT model as “an instrumental-rational constitutive interest that shapes a distinctive kind of knowledge and praxis.” (loc.cit. p.7) These interests are exemplified in the activities of corporate culture and the military and, hence, constitute a further limitation of the growth of the person. This model can be followed in any classroom (by emphasis on authority, by slavish use of text books, by assessment in terms of memory, by stress on ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ answers, by the rejection of criticism.). But the growth of Information Technology brings added dangers of this model dominating. More positively, however, it can provide further opportunity to reflect on the nature of knowledge and of education.

According to Watts the ART model stresses the importance of interpretation in our daily lives; we impose patterns on our experience and we are shaped by social, economic and political forces of which we are often unaware. In this model, what is stressed are: conversation rather than information imparting; the centrality of the learner as a critical, self-conscious being; the recognition of the historical and sociological contexts of all forms of understanding; the importance of the right question rather than the right answer; and the awareness of some of the “canons” of human thought and action. (loc.cit, p.19). Watts believes that while these can be endangered by Information Technology, awareness of their importance can enrich our use of that technology for teaching.

VOCATIONAL AND LIBERAL EDUCATION

I have already drawn attention to the excessive emphasis on “vocational education” on the part of today’s policy makers and the ideological role this plays in social life. It is important, however, to recognise that while “liberal” and “vocational” and “skills” and “knowledge” can be conceptually distinguished, in practice they converge and overlap; discussions of the curriculum of lifelong learning should not pit one against another. Dewey is again very helpful here. As is typical of his philosophy, he rejects unhelpful “dualisms” or dichotomies. He writes: “A vocation means nothing but such a direction of life activities as renders them perceptibly significant to a person, because of the consequences they accomplish.” (1916, p.307). For Dewey, therefore, a person’s vocation is not limited to her paid or unpaid employment (“job”) but extends to all those

aspects of a person's life in which she carries out tasks and performs roles. While our vocation will include our job it will also embrace our roles as parent, spouse, friend, community member, churchgoer, club member, community member, rate payer, citizen and member of the "global village." There is then, no contradiction between vocational studies and liberal studies. Good vocational studies *are* liberal: they free people from blind conformity and rigid habits and release people to be agents of their own lives in all their richness and diversity.

Dewey argues that in the school years vocational education in the narrow sense will merely predestine some students to a life of drudgery and will in general not promote the "freeing of activity" which education should involve. This point should be well taken by those making policy for schools. It is, however, very likely that in the future a good deal of post-school education will be centred on a person's trade or profession. In our society a person's job occupies an increasingly large part of her time and energy. There is also much talk of the short-lived nature of skilled knowledge, the need to upgrade credentials and often to re-train for quite different work. That need not be of concern provided that the wider sense of vocation is taken into consideration. In the dominant ideology the worker's work IS her life. Those providing in-service training should realise that not only has the worker other central roles in society (which all, including employers, rely on) but the full flowering of a person can itself contribute to a better quality employee. Thus all lifelong education should be "liberal" in the sense in which Dewey meant it; it should provide context and criticism, should seek to upgrade not only skills but also background theory and other relevant matters. As an example, it is becoming common to include in MBA programmes for middle management a course or module on business ethics: rightly taught these deal not only with day to day issues such as insider trading, sexual harassment, and honesty in advertising but also broader issues of the role of business in developing countries, the morality of multi-national dominance, and the rights of the worker. I suggest that regardless of the trade or profession a broad view can and should be taken of on-going education: the nurse would be exposed to analysis and critiques of health policy; the programmer to the social role of IT, the caterer to the sociology of tourism, the sportsperson to the issues relating to sport as a business.

I would like to illustrate the major points made so far by reference to the education of teachers.

As a result of the current ideology in New Zealand (and, of course, elsewhere) there have been strong moves to de-professionalise teaching and to increase competition in teacher training. As a result, pre-service courses have become shorter, cheaper, and (arguably) less demanding. More significantly the contextual studies needed for a full profession have tended to be reduced. The history, philosophy and sociology of education have been downgraded and often excluded altogether. Thus teacher education is producing technicians who will be uncritical of their important role in society and subservient to the business interests which are trying to control schools. The "formal" further education of teachers is generally no better: narrowly technicist, it does not even try to provide senior teachers with an analysis of educational policy or a wide understanding of the tasks confronting teachers in the society.

If Dewey's notions of growth were taken seriously, pre-service education would concentrate less on "techniques" and narrow methodologies and more on ensuring that students had a sound theoretical grasp of the issues to be faced and the means to solve the problems which will arise. In their formative years they would become aware of the limitations of their knowledge and hence be motivated to continue with lifelong education and, having been exposed to basic understanding of, for example, social science and ethics, they would have the skills to constantly upgrade their knowledge and skill. *Lifelong education* for teachers would mean just that.

THE WIDER SOCIETY

Dewey was well aware (it was central to his whole philosophy) that education is always carried out in a particular social setting: we grow up as social beings moulded by the kind of society we are in. But he did not mean that schools should simply prepare young people for the current social system with no regard to its quality. For one thing, as already shown, he was opposed to the notion of education as preparation: education IS life not a preparation for life. But more than that, he refused to allow that education should reproduce the dominant forms of thought and action. Writing in the early part of this century, he recognised that schools could so readily simply conform to the dominant groups. He worried lest education become "an instrument of perpetuating unchanged the existing industrial order of society, instead of operating as a means of its transformation." (1916, p.316). In this light, we might have the same deep worry about the role of education in the current environment of trade, enterprise, and profit. It is also important that those engaged in lifelong education emulate Dewey in trying to understand the social order, and have a sound analysis of it. They must also learn to work within it without being subservient to it.

One way of trying to envisage the world we might well be entering is to follow Gee et al (1998) in thinking about "fast capitalism" ("new capitalism" or post-capitalism.) They write that fast capitalism's "visions and values have deeply informed contemporary calls for reform both in adult education and training and in schools across the developed world" and point out that "the new-capitalist educators stress education and learning as a life-long enterprise and thus do not concentrate just on children and schools." (loc.cit.,1998, p.164). Thus this analysis seems peculiarly relevant to our theme.

According to these authors, where old capitalism relied on the mass production of relatively uniform goods by large and hierarchically structured organisations new capitalism involves the design and production of diverse high quality goods for a saturated market. In the former, the worker concentrates on one aspect of the task and does not see the whole. In the latter, the worker has to be a fully active learner. The front line worker will have to be as knowledgeable as the manager. "Workers will be transformed into committed 'partners' who engage in meaningful work, fully understand and control their jobs, supervise themselves, and actively seek to improve their performance through communicating clearly their knowledge and needs." (loc.cit., p.29)

These new organisations are characterised by ‘flat structures’ of management. Every worker is an entrepreneur. To bring this about there is required either (1) visionary leadership or (2) shared core values and sense of purpose. Thus the world of business is in competition with church and school in creating a vision and a set of values. Dewey is turned on his head: work is no longer a part of a person’s life; rather life is part of a person’s work. Business colonises our minds and rules our lives; workers are never really off duty. (loc.cit., p.35)

There are several problems with this account and with the educational significance that might flow from it.

- It is not clear how much this is a well founded prediction or an attempt to construct our reality for us. As the authors points out, new capitalism deals with the manipulation of symbols and new uses of words. These are devised to present a particular view of reality and to exercise power over people’s minds. It is not simply that education will have to deal with a set of phenomena. It will have to “decode” or “de-construct” the words used to convey the vision, the values and the ideology. The current talk of “the Knowledge Society” masks fast capitalism’s intent in using this expression: to make all knowledge and all values subservient to the world of work. Unmasking the words used to deceive and to persuade is clearly a task for lifelong education.
- It is far from clear that this is an adequate account of what is likely to happen to the world of work. On the face of it, the modern world seems more to be tending towards a polarised or segmented workforce. Some will have highly paid, secure and pleasant jobs; a huge army of other workers will be poorly paid, insecure (often part time) and they may work in poor conditions. If this is a likely picture, the education system will be expected to reproduce this structured workforce. It is plausible to argue that “choice” policies in education are aimed at producing just the segmented work force required. Those with cultural capital desert less favoured schools and go to those attended by other motivated students, leaving the lower classes and the less motivated segregated in schools which, deprived of the social mix, become worse and worse. Some call this “social cleansing.” Lifelong education will have an uphill battle to remedy this sort of situation.
- The fast capitalists claim to want “knowledgeable” and even “critical” people but they cannot allow their employees to criticise the goals and values of the organisation or the system in which it operates. Workers’ “growth” is restricted as anyone’s is when allowed control only over means and not, as Dewey would have it, over the ends as well. It is interesting to observe the ways in which teachers have been de-skilled in recent years and are being seen as technicians serving other people’s ends. And if teachers are deskilled, their students are likely to be also. As in teaching, so in other areas of business and professional life: people are encouraged to “pull together” and “develop process values” but are not allowed to criticise the goals or the ideology.

It is very clear that those involved in lifelong education must re-examine their aims in just the way Dewey (1916, pp.104–105) advised:

- The aim set up must be an “outgrowth of existing conditions.” Before we devise high sounding goals we need to examine carefully what forces are at work and what the contextual situations are. Analysis along the lines of the work on fast capitalism is essential.
- The aims must be flexible and tentative. Aims can never be static because neither the social world nor the growing person is static. Aims must, to a large extent, be derived from the stated concerns of the learners and from the conditions of their lives.
- Aims must “liberate activity.” That is to say, each successful achievement must open out to further possible achievement. The solution to a problem is, at once, a further problem. Hence education involves the continual reconstruction of experience. It must be lifelong indeed.

CRITICAL REFLECTION

The arguments I have developed so far indicate that the major aim of lifelong education is to promote the autonomy of the individual and her readiness at all times to be involved in critical thinking and liberating action. This was, of course, a major conclusion of Dewey: “All which a school can or need do for pupils, as far as their *minds* are concerned...is to develop their ability to think.” (1916, p.152). For Dewey this was connected to the respect he had for the methods of science which he took to be clear and uncontroversial. Of course, good Pragmatist that he was, he did not subscribe to a realist world of ‘pure facts’ or to the discovery of timeless truths. For him “warranted assertability” was all that could be hoped for. It is also true that he did not subscribe to the individualism of the empiricist tradition: all knowledge comes about by joint efforts within a social context. In these, and many other ways, Dewey was ahead of his time. Yet the methods of science were accepted uncritically; he thought that they needed only to be implemented and imitated.

In these matters, there is a vast gulf between Dewey’s intellectual world and ours. The possibility of both autonomy and critical thinking has been under profound attack in recent years under the general heading of “postmodernism.” Luntley (1998, pp.15–17) provides a useful summary of the basic epistemological tenets of postmodernism by setting out its four basic theses:

- All experience is based on interpretation
- There are no secure foundations for knowledge
- There is no single language suitable for reporting all the things we want to say about the world
- All languages are local, perspectival human languages.

These seem to cut the very ground from under the feet of any conception of critical thinking. Any thinking which a person does will be limited, personal and “perspectival”; it cannot discover the truth; my “critical thinking” will be no better (or worse) than yours. Hence any educational aims which set out to develop critical thinking will

be in vain. We can only teach someone to think in a particular way and this will be, by definition, simply one way among many equally valid ways of thinking. The Deweyan endeavour is particularly compromised by postmodernism's rejection of science as a privileged way of knowing.

Luntley argues that while all the theses of postmodernism are true, they do not eliminate truth, rationality, or critical thought. He argues that there are two fundamental questions about knowledge. (1) Can we know which of our beliefs are true? (2) Is there truth at all? To the first question, he answers "no": there are no criteria by which we can assess knowledge claims. On some interpretations of "critical thought" this would be disastrous for it seems to be linked with the possibility of an answer being right or wrong. The second question, however, casts a different light on the matter. That we cannot know which of our beliefs are true (and constitute knowledge) does not entail that none of them *are* true. (loc.cit, p.95)

Turning to the second question, Luntley argues that although postmodernists reject the idea of truth, notions of truth remain in their philosophy. Confronting Rorty (1980) head on he asks what it means to say, as Rorty does, that some of our beliefs are "better" than others in serving human interests. According to Luntley they can be better in this way only if they are "true." In this "very humble" sense of truth, apples were falling long before Newton noted the fact. Luntley is at pains to show that while the postmodernists are right to reject any overarching story about truth they are wrong if they carry on to become irrationalist as well. What has to be retained, he argues, is the notion of "simple truth." This underlies all our actions: money in the bank decreases as I cash cheques; seat belts protect us from some serious injuries; dentists can cure our toothache and so on.

It is, of course, a long way from this "simple truth" and the critical thought which it allows ("am I over-spending?" "might I be worse off in some accidents if I do wear a seat belt?"; "can I relieve the pain without the expense of a dentist?") to the criticism of economic and political views with which we are surrounded. This is what critical thinking is normally thought to be about and it is this that is regarded as crucial to democracy. Nevertheless, there is a link and it is an important one. For one thing, the recognitions that there are "paradigms" and "perspectives" none of which can be said to be true in any deep sense should give us confidence in questioning those which are set out as if they are undoubtedly true. At present, New Right economics and the political judgements which follow from it are presented as if they are obviously correct ("there is no other way."). Proponents fail to see (or decline to see) that theirs is one point of view among many; start from one set of assumptions about ownership and private property and you will end up with a particular conclusion; start with a different set and you will end up with a very different conclusion. Postmodernism suggests that neither can claim to be true. Nevertheless each will contain numerous claims to "simple truth" (eg. that the existence of welfare creates dependency) and these can be contested by data. Critical thinking is possible and, to some extent, made possible by the basic claims of the postmodernist.

To my mind, critical thinking is not primarily a skill but an attitude of mind: a disposition not to take statements for granted, not to accept dogmatic beliefs no matter how sanctioned, not to go along with the dominant simply because they are a majority. It is

this attitude which should be encouraged in lifelong learning. Of course, we now have to acknowledge that our individual selves do not emerge ready made. We are the results of the social world in which we have been brought up and our knowledge, as Dewey saw (though less clearly than is possible in the post-modern age), is inevitably social. We cannot critically examine all our beliefs at once; but we can examine some of them at any time and all of them over a period of time. And even the assumptions on which they rest can, at least to some extent, be challenged by ourselves. This IS critical thinking and it has not been overthrown by post-modernism.

Despite the challenges that have come since Dewey we can still support his basic idea that the major function of education is to challenge students to critical thinking. This can be done in many ways: by presenting all knowledge historically (the history of science or technology would lead to a more critical approach to those subjects); by examining the philosophy of various human endeavours (the philosophy of art would enliven the study of art); and by presenting alternatives in all areas (the presentation of Marxist economics might balance the one sidedness of modern economics teaching; work on creationism might help students to see modern science in perspective.)

INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT

I have presented a case for lifelong *education* as distinct from training and indoctrination. I am very aware, however, that given my own analysis of the ways in which those with power operate, it is quite unlikely that the institutions and organisations which provide lifelong education are likely to follow the critical path I have mapped out. Dewey reminds us that if an aim is to be more than an idealised and futile hope, it must be “an outgrowth of existing conditions.” (1916, p.104). It is here that most difficulties arise for, as I have indicated, existing conditions are far from ripe for any genuine lifelong education to take place and if fast capitalism comes to be, the situation for lifelong education will be even bleaker since the ideology of the entrepreneur will rule in every aspect of life.

It would be naive to hope that business firms will provide re-training courses which allow, much less encourage, criticism of business itself. Perhaps there are some developments which can be built on: the growth of Business Ethics provides a niche for a more critical study of the role of business in the world.

Very likely however, lifelong education will have to be found in “independent” situations. Libraries, in planning and displaying their holdings and in providing ways of gaining access to the knowledge, can move beyond the very practical and domesticating. The churches, theoretically committed to a critique of all social situations, might more consciously take up the challenge of providing scriptural and, in the case of the Roman Catholic Church, papal support for in depth study of the economical and political worlds. In New Zealand, for example, the Catholic Bishops’ conference has recently published their many statements over the past 20 years on social, political and ethical issues (Orsman & Zwart 1998). Political parties will have an important part to play; they have normally a strong point of view and it is in their interests to make it known. Small parties might indeed (since almost by definition they represent a less

orthodox view) make education a priority. The popular press has a part to play though in recent years it has by and large abandoned any pretence of impartiality and has enthusiastically supported the dominant ideology.

It goes without saying that universities and other tertiary institutions should be to the fore in promoting a critical view of social life. But sadly, they too seem to have been “bought” by the powerful. Forced to compete with each other, they tend to adopt the ethos of business and so seek to satisfy rather than to challenge their students. They may yet recover their heart; certainly there many within them who hanker for a more critical role for their institutions; they should organise to challenge the status quo.

Without doubt, however, the most successful form of education, particularly for adults, is that which involves praxis. The activities which in many countries surrounded the opposition to the Vietnam war and the Apartheid regime in South Africa did much to educate people politically but the memory of these events is fading. What issue would motivate today’s young people? It is difficult to tell. They are “children of the market” and the uncritical support of the status quo is being written into their minds and hearts; even their own burden of debt for their education does not seem to have led to mobilisation for action. The growing popularity of “Green” parties might suggest that the environment could be a focus for action and reflection.

CONCLUSION

Little will be done, it seems to me, unless there is concerted effort by organisations which co-ordinate and fund lifelong learning to develop a careful philosophy of education which transcends mere factual learning, updating professional credentials, and providing hobbies and entertainment. As Dewey reminds us again and again, there need be no conflict between these activities and education; they can all be used to educational effect. What is needed is a clear understanding of education in its broadest sense and the will to follow it through. I submit that Dewey has provided us with the understanding; the will must come from ourselves.

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Chapter 11: Lifelong Learning in the Postmodern

ROBIN USHER

The theme of this chapter is lifelong learning in relation to the postmodern condition. This requires a consideration of the contemporary role of education within the context of globalisation, risk, uncertainty, reflexivity and the foregrounding of diversity and difference that characterises that condition. I am going to argue that there is no single or simple definition of the 'postmodern'. It is itself a contested area and as such its contribution cannot be said to be uncontentious in terms of what it might tell us about lifelong learning practices. Nonetheless, it can provide powerful conceptual resources for understanding the increased role and importance assigned to discourse and signification in the configuring of contemporary social practices. Locating social practices including those of lifelong learning within a theoretical framework provided by the postmodern can provide different and multiple understandings of such practices

In the first part of this chapter, I will attempt to briefly analyse some of the key features of the postmodern with a view to highlighting significant contemporary socio-economic and cultural changes that have begun to impact on education. I will then go on to consider the contemporary nature of knowledge. From there, I will look at the argument that we need to understand 'lifelong learning' other than in the way it has been conventionally understood – for example, as a description of inherent motivational processes or as a structure of provision – instead it needs to be understood more as a signifier with many possible signifieds or meanings – and I would also argue that this is a way of understanding 'lifelong learning' that is more appropriate in the light of the significant place of signification in postmodernity. I will argue that changing conceptions of knowledge and the need to understand knowledge in terms of its performative and signifying location in different social practices of the contemporary implies that the meaning of 'lifelong learning' cannot be fully subsumed in current educational, economic and political discourses. Essentially, I am claiming that 'lifelong learning' needs to be understood in terms of its *significations* (the meanings it has and the meanings it gives) in relation to its positionings within contemporary social practices.

Institutionalised education at all levels is itself becoming increasingly more diverse in terms of goals, processes, organisational structures, curricula and pedagogy. This both reflects, and contributes to, a breakdown of clear and settled demarcations between different sectors of education and between education and the lifeworld – and lifelong learning is itself a manifestation of this dedifferentiation. With 'lifelong learning', institutionalised education can no longer claim a monopoly over learning purely on the grounds that it is a formally constituted field. Once learning is recognised as located in a variety and diversity of social practices outside the institutional,

a multiplicity of activities can involve learning and hence be deemed 'educational'. 'Lifelong learning' therefore can be understood as a metaphor that foregrounds the simultaneous boundlessness of learning ie. that it is not confined by pre-determined outcomes or formal institutions, and its postmodern quality ie. its inherent discursivity, signficatory power, and socio-cultural contextuality. The various activities subsumable under the heading 'lifelong learning', located in different discourses and played out through different social practices, is learning which could be inside or outside educational institutions, not necessarily within the modernist educational project, and not necessarily bounded by what educators would traditionally define as the transmission of 'appropriate' and/or 'worthwhile' knowledge.

ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DIMENSIONS OF THE POSTMODERN

The meaning and significance of postmodernity is subject to an enormous amount of contemporary debate (Lyotard 1984, Lash 1990, Giddens 1990, Harvey 1991, Featherstone 1991 & 1995, Beck 1992, Bauman 1992, Smart 1992, Lash & Urry 1994, Usher & Edwards 1994), encompassing many areas traditionally covered by separate academic disciplines and work practices, for example, literature, architecture, the media, advertising, cinema, music. The notion of 'postmodernity' has been deployed in a variety of ways –

as an historical period, an aesthetic style, a change in the condition of knowledge; to conceptualise a difference – a distinctive form beyond the modern – as well as similarity – a variant of the modern, or its limit form; and to describe affirmative or reactionary and critical or progressive discourses and movements. (Smart 1992, p.164)

Often it has come to be associated with ways of characterising the present that imply a historical trajectory from the traditional to modernity and from there to postmodernity. Postmodernity has therefore been constructed as a new historical era, a position that is highly problematic in that it denies complex configurations of change, rupture and continuity. The position I find most helpful is that of 'postmodernity' as the attempt to understand contemporary practices from a position that prior orthodoxies – conservative and radical – are no longer as telling as they once were – and where this position is itself left open to critique. This leaves open a place for reflexivity in a way that exemplifies the reflexivity of the postmodern. Any discussion of the 'postmodern' requires a reflexive stance since: 'the "postmodern" discourse generates its own concept of "modernity", made of the presence of all those things for the lack of which the concept of "postmodernity" stands' (Bauman 1992, p.95.).

In economic terms, postmodernity has often been characterised as a period of revitalised capital accumulation based on globalisation that has both brought about, and resulted from, new forms of production, distribution and consumption. These globalising processes involve the integration of the economies of nation-states through market mechanisms, accompanied by increased transnational flexibility of capital and

labour markets and the introduction of new forms of information technology. With globalisation comes increased economic competitiveness and a requirement for flexibility – these themselves being important aspects of the economic arguments for lifelong learning. While Fordism provided the basis for constituting and satisfying the desires of a mass market, post-Fordism is held to serve the swiftly changing desires of market niches, to which instantaneity and disposability have become central. There has been a shift to post-Fordist forms of work organisation in fragmented and volatile markets for goods and services, where smaller scales of production and customised design have tended to displace pre-existing forms of mass production for the homogenised consumers of the mass market (Murray 1989). The outcome is that marketisation and a culture of consumption become central to the economy as a whole. The primacy given to production and the politics of the producer has been displaced and overlaid increasingly by consumption, the shopping mall and the politics of the market. Changes in products, services and working practices reconstruct the workplace, the organisation of work, and the social definition of skills.

In many ways, flexibility in its many manifestations can be seen as an attempt to resolve the problems of capital accumulation as capital becomes more internationalised and the globe more integrated into market mechanisms. Here space-time compression is not only significant in relation to the restructuring of the places of production and production processes, but also in relation to its impact upon exchange and consumption. The acceleration of production can only be sustained if there is greater and faster consumption. Greater importance is thereby given to the consumer, advertising and marketing and it is significant that debates about ‘consumer society’ have developed alongside the shift in capital accumulation associated with globalisation. With the ‘shift in patterns of differentiation from the social to the cultural sphere, from life-chances to lifestyles, from production to consumption’ (Crook et al, 1992, p.133), the socio-cultural distinctions based on status and lifestyle overlay and, for some, displace the centrality of socio-economic class divisions. Consumed items have a symbolic as well as material value and image and lifestyles have an increased volatility. The consumer market is one in which difference is the mark of distinction rather than uniformity. Any desire to ‘keep up with the Joneses’ means not having the same as them, but being able to distinguish oneself positively from them. This gives rise to a proliferation of possibilities for differing lifestyles, images and identities despite and maybe because of the increased integration of the global economy.

One consequence of this is that flexibility has come to be equated with change and the acceptance of change. In one sense, this mirrors and reinforces the sense of instability, insecurity and uncertainty that Lyotard (1984) argued characterised a post-modern condition of knowledge. Beck’s metaphor of the ‘risk society’ (Beck 1992) aptly designated the uncertainty of contemporary social and personal life and highlighted certain important characteristics of the postmodern condition. On the one hand, there has been an unprecedented growth of globalised and unabating dangers and hazards – ‘risks’ which are unbounded by either time or space, which effect everyone but for which no one can be held specifically accountable. As Lash and Wynne (1992) point out, it is the very incalculability and ubiquity of risk that is the issue and which induces the uncertainty that pervades the risk society.

Another consequence is its individualising thrust. For example, an important feature of this contemporary postmodern scene is the redrawing by the state of its traditional boundaries of responsibility – one aspect of this being the withdrawal by the state of comprehensive welfare provision. This is an example of the more general trend whereby, paradoxically, structural change itself ‘constrains’ people to become progressively free of structures (Lash & Wynne 1992). Consequently, the choices to be made in directing lives become more and more the responsibility of individuals – people must reflexively construct their own biographies. For individuals, matters of identity – who they are – become questions in need of an answer rather than those answers being structurally ready to hand. Furthermore, as Giddens (1990) points out, as the range of information and media through which it is available multiply, so individuals reflexively produce more information about themselves as a condition for their on-going development. Given the explosion in the availability of information and the proliferation of signifying images, making choices and constructing biographies becomes both necessary and yet at the same time increasingly difficult. All this produces a situation where the very need to make decisions actually makes such decisions less secure – a situation of disembeddedness which overlays and accentuates the uncertainties produced by globalised risk. Thus as Beck (1992) argues, people now behave as an individual centre of action with respect to their own life courses, their competencies, orientations and relationships. Giddens in the same vein talks of the development of self-identity as a trajectory that individually has to be planned – in effect, a lifelong learning project – where subjects reflexively incorporate their experience into a self-narrative. A failure to do this leads to an exclusion from the opportunities that the risk society offers with respect to self-actualisation and identity development.

However, the need to make personal choices and to function as a planning agency for one’s life course coincides with two conditions that seriously endanger the development of a stable and self-determined personality. In the first place, there is always a touch of volatility, arbitrariness and provisionality in the choices one makes. In the risk society, nothing is certain – and besides there are a lot of choices – so identity development appears as a fragile process that can be interrupted and derailed. People have to build continuity into their biographies amidst the bewildering change and multiple options they experience in the different and often contradictory social and cultural contexts in which they are situated.

Secondly, identity development becomes strongly privatised. Issues of meaning and identity become disconnected from the public domain (or more accurately the public domain blurs into the private), and are defined as the concern of the individual alone. Needs and desires related to the discourses of self-actualisation are seen as not belonging to any of the traditional public discourses regarding justice, democracy and solidarity. People, it is argued, no longer have external sources of inspiration and identification in the search for the meaning and sense of life. The self-investigation of private desires and wants becomes the way of defining how a meaningful life can be lived.

Destandardisation, risk and individualisation therefore come to characterise all aspects of life. They are for example to be found in moves to increase the flexibility of the workplace and the workforce. As well as individuals, organisations are required to

become reflexive, needing to learn in order to keep up with or be ahead of the bewildering pace of change and casting themselves as 'learning organisations'. This is one of the reasons for the emphasis on workplace culture. The workforce at all levels needs to 'think' change – to have a positive attitude towards and be prepared to accept change – and in this situation 'lifelong learning' becomes a significant technology in helping to bring this about.

Alongside, and as part of, changes in the economy come changes in cultural forms. In areas such as film, music, entertainment, fashion, architecture, and art, modernist seriousness and the search for deep, often hidden meaning is contested by postmodern 'playfulness', pastiche and self-referentiality, as the possibility of providing secure and deep meanings is overwhelmed by the proliferation of signs and images. However, the playful does not necessarily equate to the trivial, but perhaps should be more aptly seen as an alternative strategy that can transgress and dislocate dominant conceptions of meaning and power. In the significance of culture generally to the economy and the social formation, the hitherto tight boundary between the realm of culture and the realm of the socio-economic, and the dominance of the latter over the former, has broken down. Cultural goods become commodities to be consumed – 'infected with aesthetic considerations, becoming signs of style and taste, and losing their functional qualities' (Gabriel & Lang 1995, p.107). In the postmodern there is both a culturalisation of the material world of goods and products and a materialisation of the world of culture. In effect, everything becomes 'culture' – witness for example, the redescription of the workplace as a culture. Images and information become cultural artefacts, pre-eminent hallmarks of economic growth and innovation. The culture industries eg. entertainment, the media, museums and theme parks, all assume a greater significance with education increasingly being seen as such an industry. The cultural and the aesthetic displace, or come to be valued more highly, than the functional, with style and design playing an increasingly significant role in ensuring consumption of products and services, and with image and lifestyle playing an increasing role in the decisions of many consumers. When cultural change becomes so closely linked with economic change, even those with little or no capital are swept up in this signifying culture of consumption. It is here perhaps more than anywhere that education's hitherto guiding paradigms are proving to be most inadequate. To anticipate the argument to be developed, 'lifelong learning' becomes not simply an aspect of economic instrumentalism nor an assertion of enlightened humanism but also a way of constituting meaning through the consumption of signs – a consumption which becomes the mark of identity and difference.

Rather than the somewhat problematic notion of postmodernity as a historical era, it has also and perhaps more usefully been termed a condition of 'hypercommodification' (Crook *et al*, 1992), a condition where the commodity becomes the culturally dominant and where the dominant commodity form is the image. What's brought this about is the communication/media revolution (ICTs) which has created a situation of virtuality or 'hyperreality' (Baudrillard 1988), where people are engulfed by images to the extent that the distinction between reality and image breaks down. It is in the work of Baudrillard (1996) that are found the most provocative accounts of the implications of ICTs and media for understanding some significant aspects of contemporary society. He has been very influential and also extremely controversial in his, at times, apparent

fatalism in the face of a revitalised consumer capitalism with all its associated pleasures and oppressions (Plant 1992, Poster 1996). For Baudrillard, the proliferation of ICTs and other media makes representation as reference and stable meaning increasingly problematic. The proliferation of signs means an accelerated production of the real, with fixed and definitive meaning slipping away amidst a 'confusion of signs, images, simulations and appearances' (Plant 1992, p.194). The hyperreal, characterised by Baudrillard as a world of constantly proliferating images, of simulacra or copies without originals that nonetheless still have meaning and are thus a desirable reality to be consumed even though that meaning becomes undecidable. Therefore, even as representations have a power to invest themselves as standing for the real, the true, the authentic, the meaningful, their very proliferation as signs results in a hyper-real situation where 'ubiquitous images, simulations, and reproductions no longer distort or conceal the real; reality has slipped away into the free-floating chaos of the hyper-real' (Plant 1992, p.155). In this situation, representations and the real are not separable and mediated representations become more real than the real.

Two consequences follow. First, as the flows of signs differentially envelop the fabric of everyday life so this does not simply result in a requirement for different skills to operate new technologies but also entails different possibilities, and different capabilities, for making sense of and interpreting that which is available and possible (Frith 1996) – this being related to the need for reflexive biographies mentioned earlier. For some, like Baudrillard, these possibilities emerge as a new condition in a context where the very proliferation and volatility of signs can be argued to result in less secure groundings from which to make sense of them – everything has an element of undecidability. Second, experience ceases to be an indubitable ground, it becomes contingent and less well defined rather than coherent and determinate. In this process, new forms of experience proliferate, experiences that are not rooted in a stable and unified self – itself conceived as a modernist patriarchal construct. Hyper-reality is characterised by a continual shaping and re-shaping of subjectivity and identity. Postmodern sensibilities become attuned to the pleasure of new experiences, part of a constant making and re-making of a lifestyle and biography and where therefore there is an emphasis on the subjective.

While we might not want to go as far as Baudrillard in characterising contemporary society as one totally enveloped by simulacra and hyper-reality, the analysis is nonetheless productive in problematising purely economic and humanistic readings of lifelong learning. At the very least, we recognise that given the development and deployment of new information/communications technologies, the mediation of the social by signification cannot be ignored. The significance of signifying practices in a contemporary society, even one only partially hyperreal, involves forms of learning which barely feature in mainstream discourses of a 'learning society'. There is a foregrounding of the location of education in specific cultural matrices. Traditional forms of and rationales for pedagogy are subverted by, for instance, the spread of electronically mediated networks of learning. Who controls learning and indeed what constitutes a curriculum and a learning text becomes problematic, something around which national curricula and the introduction of competence-based qualifications may be said to attempt to place closure.

THE POSTMODERN ATTITUDE

The emergence of postmodern identities may be an aspect of the individualising thrust of the risk society but it can also be attributed to the valorisation of difference and the recognition of the significance of the particularities of differences which emerges with this kind of society. The white Western male cultural assumptions found within modernist discourses – assumptions which have normalising and regulative effects – have been problematised by among other things, a valorisation of the significance of gender, sexual, ethnic and racial differences. New discourses such as feminist, postcolonial, gay, and green discourse which challenge the modernist norm of the ‘same’ both illuminate and shape the contemporary condition.

However, this foregrounding of difference should not be merely construed as a facile celebration of pluralism, an openness that only serves to more effectively conceal the workings of globalised power. If anything, we have a greater awareness that postmodernity is not simply a matter of diversity and difference. It has its ‘dark’ side too – managerialism, rampant technical-rationality, environmental degradation, increased panoptical surveillance, marketisation that pays little heed to those who cannot engage with it, – all these are features of the postmodern globalised risk society – indeed they are what puts the ‘risk’ into the risk society. Yet the discourses of *postmodernism* allow us to recognise and be much more reflexively aware of these features – we recognise, for example, that a diversity of meanings, lifestyle choices and identities still has to be seen within a network of power relations, and we recognise that to have difference recognised within the relations of everyday life still involves struggle and contestation against dominance and subordination.

Perhaps what has been most intensely questioned is the emphasis on progress (inevitable human betterment) and a faith in rationality and science as the means of its realisation. This and other ‘grand narratives’ (those of truth and emancipation) are increasingly greeted with ‘incredulity’. What is meant by ‘incredulity’ in this context? In one sense, it is a scepticism that results from the discrepancy between modernity’s ideals and promises, as enshrined in the grand narratives, and the actuality of the oppression and destruction which characterises the contemporary world of the globalised risk society.

As Burbules (1995) points out ‘incredulity’ is an inability to believe. We can no longer bring ourselves to believe in the grand narratives. We cannot any longer take them at their word. Rather than true accounts we now see them simply as interesting stories, even though there will be different degrees of investment in them. Postmodernism cannot provide an alternative grand narrative – although some, mistakenly in my view, believe it does. In this sense, modernist grand narratives continue to remain indispensable. Think, for example, how difficult and indeed artificial it is, despite our scepticism, to avoid talking in terms of ‘progress’, particularly as educators.

In other words, modernist discourse provides ways of talking and knowing which we cannot readily dispense with and the postmodern attitude of incredulity does at least enable us to recognise both the indispensability and therefore power of modernist discourse and why precisely because of this it can be so dangerous. Postmodernism provides the intellectual resources to critique that which we cannot do without and in

using those resources we are reflexively brought back to ourselves, as postmodern critique becomes self-critique and a dissolving of self-certainty. Incredulity therefore is not so much aimed at modernist discourses and grand narratives as such, but at our own modernist pre-understandings and taken for granted.

Incredulity is about doubting whether we should be doing more and more of what we have always done, even when it might have brought benefits. That's the whole point about a different way of understanding 'progress'. We can accept that progress has occurred in certain areas whilst at the same time doubting whether more of the same will automatically continue to do so. Science is no longer regarded automatically as providing the answers to problems arising outside science. We can accept that science has brought about betterment in many areas of life but doubt whether more applications of science will solve all problems or continue to make life better.

One important source of this postmodern incredulity is the growing awareness through globalisation and space-time compression of the diversity and incommensurability of the cultural forms that shape and sustain groups and individuals. As we become aware of and in closer contact with diversity, we recognise that it is difference rather than sameness which is most significant in social life and that indeed sameness can only be maintained through the repression of difference. We also recognise therefore that the only way to unify this diversity is through violence and oppression and consequently we have become sceptical of modernist projects that do this. There is no Archimedean point from which any one discourse can speak, no definitive discourse or 'final vocabulary', no universal essence which provides the centre for social thought – and this is as much the case for postmodernism as a theory of the postmodern risk society which itself cannot aspire to providing a totalising explanation.

Postmodernism is a discourse of the postmodern moment. It can be characterised as an intellectual/cultural form of the contemporary that undoubtedly raised fierce passions with partisans and opponents tending to adopt entrenched positions. I do not intend to enter these debates. As I have already indicated, I prefer to see postmodernism as expressing a certain mood or attitude which frames a way of telling a story and hence a way of being and coping within the contemporary condition – and in particular, a means of coping with the incredulity towards that which we find difficult to dispense with. It is a mood that portrays the extent to which the world has changed and is changing – and does so in a reflexive way.

What emerges from this is that the 'postmodern' is at one and the same time an aspect of the contemporary world and a way of understanding it. Reflexively there is the attempt to provide a discourse for the world it seeks to explain, a discourse that highlights notions of decentering, ambivalence and contingency that interlinks with the thrust of postmodernity in a socio-cultural and economic sense. Kellner (1995, p.47) argues that:

the discourse of the postmodern is a cultural and theoretical construct, not a thing or state of affairs... the discourses of the postmodern produce their objects, whether a historical epoch of postmodernity, or postmodernism in the arts... the family of concepts of the postmodern are merely conceptual constructs meant to

perform certain interpretive or explanatory tasks and are not transparent terms that merely reflect established state of affairs.

A postmodern discourse is interpretatively powerful because it allows the changes that are happening in the contemporary world to be identified in a way that makes room for critical practices and possibilities. This does not mean establishing firm boundaries between the modern and postmodern. Indeed Lyotard (1992) argued that the postmodern is the constantly reworked interface between the past and future, with the implication that the modern and postmodern are moments always found together in dynamic tension and interaction. Modernity and postmodernity are perhaps more usefully seen as different and conflicting attitudes and discourses that are present in the contemporary moment. The postmodern marks the terrain of ambivalence and uncertainty of which it is partly a product, enhancing and opposing aspects of modernity. This points to two aspects of the postmodern that are central to the position I am seeking to develop here. The first is the constructed nature of the postmodern in other words, that the postmodern constructs a way of seeing rather than simply modelling reality; the second, its attempts to engender understanding and explanation without falling into a totalising mode of speaking.

Lyotard argued that the grand narratives of modernity now no longer have the ability to compel consensus. Increasingly, they are seen as masterful narratives and narratives of mastery, functioning to 'legitimise Western man's self-appointed mission of transforming the entire planet in his own image' (Owens 1985, p.66). Their declining influence and power in the contemporary period has also thrown into doubt the subaltern narratives they have helped to shape. Master signifiers are no longer quite as masterful. Universal messages are now seen as historically located, cultural constructs, their universality and consequences open to question. Teleological certainty has been replaced by open-ended ambivalence. Here, then, one way of understanding the 'postmodern' – as a condition where people have to make their way without fixed referents and traditional anchoring points in a world characterised by rapid and unpredictable change, uncertainty and ambivalence, where knowledge is not only constantly changing, but through the impact of information/ communications technology is becoming more rapidly and overwhelmingly available and where at the same time what constitutes knowledge is itself contested.

CHANGING CONCEPTIONS OF KNOWLEDGE

If the significance of discourse, image and socio-cultural locatedness is accepted then the modernist notion of universal and transcendental foundations of knowledge is challenged. Ironic incredulity towards grand narratives carries with it a questioning of any foundation or authorising centre as well as a scepticism about claims that certain kinds of knowledge have canonical status – ie that some knowledge is *intrinsically* worthwhile and some is not. The decentring of the world means a *decentring* of knowledge – another aspect of disappearing fixed references and traditional anchoring points. At the same time, knowledge is constantly changing and becoming more rapidly, almost

overwhelmingly, available – itself mirroring the conditions of rapid change and bewildering instability of the risk society.

All this has paradoxical educational consequences. On the one hand, it has contributed to an erosion of the ‘liberal’ curriculum and an emphasis on learning opportunities that optimise the efficiency of the economic and social system. On the other hand, the decentring of knowledge has resulted in a valuing of different sources and forms of knowledge (including knowledge that would not have been considered worthwhile) and a corresponding devaluing of specialist discipline-based knowledge.

As the means by which ‘worthwhile’ knowledge is generated and transmitted through dedicated institutions, educational discourses and practices have had a powerful role in the development, maintenance and legitimisation of modernity. Education is a defining characteristic of modernity, conceived as the social institution endowed with the mission of furthering social progress, and conferring on individuals the means of empowerment. It is the site where ideals of critical reason, individual autonomy and benevolent progress are disseminated and internalised and so it is here that the project of modernity is most obviously realised. The grand narratives are inscribed in the very practices of education, whether in its liberal, progressive or radical variants. This project, embodied in the grand narratives, emphasises mastering the world in the cause of human betterment by means of ‘objective’ knowledge and rational scientific approaches. The project of modernity can therefore be seen as a kind of benevolent and generally implicit social engineering where progress has a certain meaning and functions both as a pre-given end which education strives for and the norm by which it is judged.

Clearly, therefore, education generally does not fit easily into postmodernity, nor can it adapt easily to the postmodern attitude. One reason for this is the way that it reflects changes in how people relate to the world – the decentred self of the risk society, the more fluid positioning of subjectivity, challenges both the assumption of the bounded yet autonomous ‘natural’ self that brings itself and the world under the control of reason, which is at the heart of modernist education – in a sense, education itself has become a simulacrum.

Without foundations and a faith in scientificity, the certainty and determinacy for which modernity strives is no longer so certain, and with this a curriculum based on the dissemination of ‘true’ and certain knowledge and a pedagogy based on the authority of the teacher as ‘master’ of a discipline – all these become highly problematic.

The undermining of the modernist project in relation to education undermines the grand narratives of progress and hence the meaning of progress which that narrative embodies and disseminates. One of the most important aspects, and one which has the most significance for education generally, is that the modernist project tells us *in advance* what is universally good for us, what we should be aiming for, and how we can best attain it. In other words, modernist progress is both teleological and totalising. Anything that does not fall under these definitions becomes a feared and rejected other to be ignored, marginalised, derided, disciplined and suppressed. But what about the possibility of *change without teleology*? Here change at either the personal or social level can be partial, discontinuous, it can take a multiplicity of forms and fulfil a variety of ends, or even simply be its own end.

The economic, technological and cultural changes that we have referred to as postmodernity or the postmodern condition, and the incredulity that characterises the postmodern attitude have contributed to a changed postmodern condition of knowledge (Lyotard 1984). In postmodernity, knowledge has varied purposes. Given that it is no longer so closely related to legitimating grand narratives, these purposes are complex and to some extent contradictory, a reflection perhaps of the ambiguous tendencies characterising the postmodern. However, one clearly discernible tendency (and one that is often emphasised to the exclusion of any others) is to do with knowledge being valued for its 'performativity'. This is usually taken to mean that the purpose of knowledge is the optimising of efficient performance of the socio-economic system. This is the most influential way of understanding 'performativity' although as we shall see later, it is by no means the only way. This contemporarily influential view of knowledge is closely linked to the post-Fordism and the information-communications revolution I mentioned earlier.

Given the individualisation inherent in the risk society, educational processes themselves become individualised, reconstituted as a market relationship between producer and consumer. Knowledge becomes commodified and is exchanged on the basis of the performative value it has for the learner as *consumer*. Hence the contemporary demand for education that is 'value-adding'. The marketisation of knowledge in the form of information spreads from the commercial realm into educational practices. Educational institutions increasingly find it difficult to claim a monopoly in the generation and dissemination of knowledge. When knowledge takes the form of information, it circulates through networks that evade the control of educational institutions (Plant 1995). Moreover, educational institutions become part of the market, in the business of selling knowledge as a commodity and therefore reconstructing themselves as enterprises dedicated to marketing this commodity and to competing in the knowledge 'business'. Not only do they become geared to producing the personnel of post-Fordism, they are themselves expected to behave in post-Fordist ways (Ball 1990).

The valuing of knowledge in terms of its performativity suggests that there is a co-implication of contemporary discourses of individualistic learner-centredness and current trends towards the marketisation of learning opportunities. Given this situation, it is hardly surprising that 'a vast market for competence in operational skills' is created (Lyotard 1984, p.51). Hammersley (1992, p.172) argues that this represents a shift for educators from a professional to a market-orientation – utility displaces vocation, technique drives out calling. Managerialism and the criteria of efficiency and effectiveness increasingly govern the activities of professionals. Skilled performance embodied in 'competences' becomes an increasingly significant part of the agenda and an increasingly important and valued outcome of learning. This is why vocational, professional and workbased training have become so prominent.

But at the same time, it would be mistaken and over-simplistic to not take account of other trends and even of countervailing tendencies within the trends mentioned. As education in the postmodern becomes detached from legitimating grand narratives, it also becomes increasingly implicated with specific cultural contexts, on localised and particularised knowledges, on the needs of consumption and the cultivation of desire and on the valuing of a multiplicity of experience.

CONSUMPTION AND LIFELONG LEARNING

This is probably an appropriate point to introduce consumption. There is a problem here however inasmuch that consumption is not high on the educators' list of 'good things' to be involved with. Surrounded by an aura of disapproval and with connotations of the frivolous and the oppressive, consumption is something to be criticised rather than something to be taken seriously. We reluctantly accept that consumption figures importantly in people's lives but we also wish that it did not and we tend to account for its importance in terms of the language of manipulation and false consciousness. Although it is certainly the case that not all may consume equally, it is also the case that all are affected by consumer culture and consumerist discourse and images. Furthermore, this is not to be accounted for simply by pointing to manipulation and the inducing of false consciousness since it neglects the dimension of desire in consumption which even oppressed groups are not immune to. There are many examples of oppressed groups who see empowerment in terms of the increased consumption of desired goods and images and as adult educators we ought to recognise that – or at the very least not deny it.

Perhaps the failure of educators to foreground the place and significance of consumption in contemporary society is yet another example of how educational theory lags behind the development of theory in the wider social field. Postmodernism as social theory has had much to say on the nature and significance of consumption in postmodernity and contemporary capitalism which encourage and require consumption and people who develop their identities through consumption (Urry 1994). There is an emphasis within consumer culture of tendencies which favour the aestheticisation of life and hence an emphasis on lifestyle, a whole range of practices that revolve around the eclectic and the aesthetic. Certain sites become centres of aesthetic consumption – urban areas, re-developed and gentrified, shopping malls, museums, theme and heritage parks – all providing spaces for new experiences and the forming of new identities.

Consumption, or the active use of goods and services, enables people to establish and demarcate a distinctive social space. But consumption is not so much about goods but about signs and significations. As I have hinted earlier, consumer objects function as a classification system, as markers of difference that codes behaviour and differentiates individuals. Consumer culture is therefore an economy of signs where individuals and groups communicate messages about social position and worth.

Now, it is easy enough to see education simply as the supplier of the multi-skilled post-Fordist worker. Yet this would be simplistic since there is also a need to examine the consequences for education of this consumer culture. Educational activities have become consumer goods in themselves, purchased as the result of choice within market place where educational products compete with leisure and entertainment products. The boundaries between leisure, entertainment and adult education activities have become blurred. As we have seen, consumer culture is marked by individuation and it is this that also characterises contemporary trends in learning. In order to explore the changing relationships between consumption, individuation and learning, we need to look much more closely at areas such as personal development and cultural creativity.

Finally, there is a need to take on board the notion of educational events as experiences. that foreground the place of play and desire, and learning as the fulfilment of desire – in other words, learning which is not about the search for enlightenment or some other educationally pre-defined end. It is to see learning as something to be consumed, an object of desire implicated with pleasure rather than discipline.

Having to take account of consumption means that we have to consider education more in terms of learning opportunities located in the context of a cultural economy of signs where consumer choices are social communicative acts and where education is increasingly used by learners as a marker – an expressive means of self-development, a central part of the process whereby individuals differentiate themselves from others. For adults particularly, it is only important for learning to be identifiable as ‘education’ if to be an ‘educated person’ is important to their identity, if it acts as a means of positioning themselves in some significant way. Hence the increased significance of learning in shaping subjectivity and identity.

One thing that emerges very clearly and very significantly from this is that consumption is a complex and multi-dimensional process that can be active and generative as well as passive and reproductive. Consequently, I would argue that it is no longer possible to understand learning in the contemporary moment without a conception of the part played by consumption and consumer culture. In particular, we need to understand the significance of the cultural meanings of consumer behaviour, the role that consumer choices have in certain social practices where meanings and identity are developed. In general terms, this is an argument for locating lifelong learning within a socio-cultural paradigm of postmodernity or the risk society. Mainstream education paradigms upon which much discussion of lifelong learning tends to be based, are beginning to have limited uses as explanatory and curriculum planning devices.

I will examine the sign economy of ‘lifelong learning’ in terms of four contemporary social practices – lifestyle, confessional, vocational and critical. All these practices involve lifelong learning, although lifelong learning has a different signification within each practice. To illustrate this point more fully I shall relate consumption to certain contemporary social practices all of which involve learning but where this has a different signification in each. First, lifestyle practices. These work through an expressive mode of learning. Learning is individuated with an emphasis on self-expression, marked by a stylistic self-consciousness. Aestheticisation (the self-referential concern with style and image) and the constant and pleasurable remaking of identity necessitates a learning stance towards life as a means of self-expression and autonomy. Every aspect of life, like every commodity, is imbued with self-referential meaning; every choice an emblem of identity, a mark of difference, each a message to ourselves and to others of the sort of person we are. As we have noted, consumption is a signifier of difference – of the need to make oneself different and to identify with those who are different. Lifestyle practices, given the emphasis on novelty, fashion, taste and style, are practices of consumption, and moreover of a consumption which is potentially unending since as desire can never be satisfied, there is always the need for new experiences and hence new learning.

Second, confessional practices. These work through the bringing forth of one’s self which becomes an object of knowledge, with one’s inner life the terrain to be explored.

The assumption is that there is deep hidden meaning buried 'inside', which once discovered, opens the door to happiness, psychic stability and personal empowerment. Again, this is a process where one is never done, one can never know all there is to know about one's 'hidden' inner self, where one can never finally realise all one's inner potential, and where there is constant need to change in order to adapt to a changing self and a changing environment. Hence there is a lifelong process at work here. In confessional practices, it is the self that is 'consumed' in a process based upon a never-ending fascination with the self, its deepest secrets and its hidden potential. Difference is signified in terms of an open, well adjusted, fulfilled and empowered person, 'in touch' with self as against those who are out of touch, repressed and incapacitated.

Third, vocational practices which work through an ostensible adaptation to the needs of the socio-economic system. The emphasis is on a pre-disposition to change and to not seeing particular skills as something to be owned and defended. Here what is consumed is pre-defined and 'relevant' (ie. applicable) knowledge and skills but which are at the same time disposable and ephemeral – thus one can never be prepared enough vocationally and in relation to one's position in the labour market since the market and one's position within it is constantly changing. Here then, consumption signifies difference (in relation to others) in the sense of being motivated, trained and effectively positioned in the market.

Fourth, critical practices. These work through the foregrounding of action in the 'here and now' as against theorising or contemplation or waiting for the right moment. They are located in a multiplicity of sites and can take a myriad of forms. They are not confined to educational institutions although these can be sites of critical practices. At the same time, critical practices do not occur within the productive order alone. They very often involve struggles against the dominance of consumption, particularly against the globalised risk which as discussed earlier is an inevitable feature of a consumption based economy but they do this by utilising techniques of ludic subversion and the creation and manipulation of seductive images. Resistance against the dominance of consumption and its consequent endemic risks are in a sense a non-consumption which itself signifies and therefore functions as a mark of difference. Critical practices are non-teleological and given also that there are always sites of resistance, to that extent they are always incomplete and never-ending – in the risk society there is always scope for resistance.

All these practices involve lifelong learning, although it has a different signification within each practice. Of course, what I have described is probably not 'lifelong learning' as it would be understood conventionally by educators. This takes us back to our original problematic. Educators tend to see 'lifelong learning' as a set of transcendental principles that they have formulated and related to a set of cognitive processes inherent in all adults and by so doing they fail to locate it in contemporary social developments.

This now also brings us back to the postmodern condition of knowledge. Earlier, we pointed out that there was a powerful tendency to see this condition as one where knowledge was valued for its performativity. The latter has been mainly understood as signifying 'efficiency' or even more simplistically as 'relevant', but another and perhaps more fruitful alternative is to see performativity as signifying 'efficacy'. Doing

this enables us to more adequately relate knowledge to the social practices we have been discussing. Thus:

- in lifestyle practices efficacious knowledge signifies creating and re-creating identity and difference
- in confessional practices efficacious knowledge signifies gaining access to inner life and potential
- in vocational practices efficacious knowledge signifies advantageous positioning in the market and the workplace.

Critical practices are a little more difficult to relate to the significance of efficacy. They overlap with lifestyle, confessional and even vocational practices. They are firmly located in marketisation and the contemporary culture of consumption, recognising their immersion in the conditions of the present but in a reflexive, ironic and resistant way. They do not involve commitment to a universalistic 'cause' and a utopian project. They work by helping to surface local and very often subjugated knowledge and getting people to think about their situation through role-play, workshops, street theatre and popular carnivals – in effect, through *performance*. Performativity as 'efficacy' is not the efficacy of commitment to totalising projects of transformation but rather something much more modest although no less effective:

- in critical practices, efficacious knowledge signifies 'giving voice' to specific, subjugated knowledge, of empowering through a learning that is both participative and performative.

In the light of all this therefore we can say that performativity does not necessarily and simply signify 'efficiency' in the reproduction and maintenance of a market-dominated capitalist system. Whilst there are certain activities where performativity does mean this, there are others where it means something completely different. Certainly, 'performativity' does permeate all the knowledge practices of lifelong learning but it does so in different ways and with different significances and significations. To assimilate lifelong learning to one sense alone of performativity is to ignore the complex signifying characteristics of lifelong learning.

THE CHALLENGE OF LIFELONG LEARNING

The postmodern emphasis on ephemerality, fragmentation, and reinvention links with certain notions of a democratic education and education for democracy – the taking into account, without suppressing difference of a diverse range of interests and locations within the social formation (Westwood 1991). It is precisely the instability introduced by cultural change that provides a means of challenging dominant values and norms of knowledge. By undermining the certainty surrounding canons of knowledge, universal messages and the efficacy of enlightened pedagogues, opportunities are presented for diversity and for new and innovative practices which switch the emphasis

from 'provision' to learning opportunities, from the student to the learner. For those committed to addressing inequality and oppression, contemporary uncertainty and diversity can be both a condition for and an outcome of rethinking the challenge of marginalisations in a situation of new and multiple forms of lifelong learning.

The postmodern emphasis on reinvention means taking into account a diverse range of interests and locations within the social formation. The instability introduced by the risk society has provided a means of challenging dominant values and norms of knowledge. By undermining the certainty surrounding canons of knowledge, universal messages and the efficacy of enlightened pedagogues, opportunities are presented, 'risky' though they might be, for diversity and for new and innovative practices which switch the emphasis from 'provision' to learning opportunities, from the 'student' to the learner.

Whilst it is undoubtedly possible to point to the existence of many trends in the opposite direction, educational forms are increasingly becoming more diverse in terms of goals, processes, organisational structures, curricula and pedagogy. This both reflects and is a contributor to the social phenomenon of de-differentiation, of which lifelong learning is a manifestation. Dedifferentiation implies a breakdown of clear and settled demarcations between different sectors of education and between education and cognate fields. Furthermore, education can no longer claim a monopoly over learning simply because it is a formally constituted field, since a multiplicity of activities in many contexts involve learning and hence may be deemed 'educational'. What I have tried to argue is that 'lifelong learning' foregrounds that learning is not confined by pre-determined outcomes or formal institutions. Its postmodern quality lies in its inherent discursive and socio-cultural contextuality.

When students are positioned as learners and as consumers of learning opportunities, demands are made on educational providers that they find difficult to cope with (Edwards 1994). The very notion of 'student' is reconfigured as indeed are notions of what constitutes 'provision' and 'providers'. When students become 'learners' changes follow in both the control and content of curricula and in the position and authority of teachers. It can no longer be automatically considered perverse and uneducational that learners should make choices based on desire (including the desire to be optimally positioned in the market) rather than 'reason' or a search for enlightenment and mastery of a canon of knowledge. To do so is to imply that this is not what education is 'really' about and this itself assumes an ideal model of education where education is constituted by a set of transcendental ideals. It is to see lifelong learning from a purely educational frame of reference as the systematic selection and delivery of learning experiences predefined by the professional educator and teacher. But in the postmodern condition it is possible to argue that this is a dangerously oppressive and totalising discourse that assumes learning is a 'gift' bestowed by enlightened pedagogues. Whilst institutionally-based educators might well want to foreground the empowering potential of education, there is also a need to see educational forms contextually rather than transcendently, and therefore a need to re-assess the place of pedagogues within this.

Reconceptualising education in this way affirms the significant place of 'learners' as against the institutional form or the discursive tradition. The term 'lifelong learning'

therefore does not simply signify 'out of school' or 'outside' the formal educational institution, the widening and increased incidence of learning opportunities, but more significantly the lessening of the power of the educator to define what constitutes 'worthwhile' knowledge and 'serious' learning, a questioning of the role of discipline and normalisation and a refusal to acknowledge that learning must always be shaped by the values of a particular conception of progress. In the process, *what a 'learning opportunity' is and who legitimately provides such opportunities is problematised and reconfigured.*

Equally, instead of everything being delimited and reduced to one and the 'same' eg. to liberal education, to experiential learning, to education for liberation, to the creation of the rational goal-directed individual, the trend is becoming one where educational forms are seen instead as expressing 'difference' in their diversity and providing spaces for a diversity of voices. Whilst it is easy enough to mock this by pointing to the oppressive features of vocationalising trends and the current emphasis on education as a business, it is important not to downplay the significance of the increasing diversity, multiplicity and dedifferentiation which characterises the contemporary landscape of education and the re-configuring of learning opportunities for adults.

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Chapter 12: Lifelong Learning: Small Adjustment or Paradigm Shift?

KENNETH WAIN

THE MAXIMALIST VIEW

When the discourse on lifelong learning began to gain ground and popularity worldwide over three and a half decades or so ago it did so in different locations and within different regional and international organizations. One such organization that gave it near absolute priority was UNESCO. In the early 1960s UNESCO declared 'lifelong education' as the master concept for all its educational planning, policy-making, and practice for the future. A considerable group of international writers quickly formed within the organization to work out what this undertaking meant, becoming a kind of loose movement in the process. Their object was to render 'lifelong education' the name of a project intended to re-conceptualize the whole of education as a lifelong process where, in modern times, it has customarily been associated with, and even defined as, schooling instead. The central idea of these writers was to re-cast schooling as a mere constituent phase of education within the broader context of a learning society. Indeed, the learning society was proposed as the new organizing principle for education instead of schooling, with the role of the schooling re-dimensioned accordingly as part of the learning society. In this way, by re-conceptualizing education in terms of a learning society also, the writers added the *lifewide* dimension of learning to the lifelong. Henceforth, other sites than the school – the home, the church, the workplace, the neighbourhood, etc., would be recognized as educationally relevant, or potentially educative, sites. And other modes of learning than schooling, including informal learning, as educative modes of learning. So that education would also no longer be necessarily associated with teachers and teaching or with formal teaching/learning situations either, but could be picked up experientially, through the environment. They also insisted on the harmonization of the learning experience on both learning axes: *vertical integration* on the axis of the individual's lifelong learning experience, and *horizontal integration* on the axis of the lifewide. Thus, the modern identification of education with the school would be broken on three dimensions: on the dimension of time, where it was identified with childhood, of space, where it was identified with schools, and of pedagogy, where it was identified with the activities of professional teachers in schools and classrooms.

This revolutionary approach to education has been labeled maximalist because the writers emphasized it as a holistic strategy in the approach to education and learning and visualized a learning society at its centre mobilized socially and materially for the

purpose of educating its members on both dimensions. With the state playing a significant role in providing the resources for it. 'Society cannot exercise broad, efficient action on all its components – in any domain –' they argued, 'through one single institution, however extensive it may be. If we admit that education is and will be more and more a primordial need for each individual, then not only must we develop, enrich and multiply the school and the university, we must transcend it by broadening the educational function to the dimensions of society as a whole.' (Fauré 1972, pp. 161–162).

So, to begin to address the question set in the heading of the chapter, certainly what the maximalist approach, advocated and articulated by the UNESCO based lifelong education writers in the 1960s and 1970s, amounted to *was* a veritable paradigm shift in our mode of thinking about education. They were putting a new technical discourse around built on the notions of lifelong learning, educability, motivation, change and impermanence, informal and non-formal learning, the learning society, vertical and horizontal integration, self-directed learning, and so on, and including much of the philosophy and jargon of the progressive education movement beside. And they expressed it within a political vision of a better world that would give it its normative sense of direction. For this reason their discourse could be termed utopian, as indeed it was. The Fauré Report, *Learning to Be* (1972), commissioned by UNESCO, which quickly came to be regarded by many at the time as the canonical text of the lifelong education movement, admitted as much. It spoke of a learning society of the future in which education would be returned to its 'true nature', which is to be 'total and lifelong'; a process 'transcending the limits of institutions, programmes and methods imposed on it down the centuries.' (Fauré 1972, p.145). It would be a society, Suchodolski (1976, p.89) claimed, whose institutions would correspond with 'man's vocation to continuously extend himself', with his (sic) 'constant efforts to render civilization more humane and to base his happiness on a way of life which really deserves the epithet "human"'. In short, it would be a society whose general culture or *ethos* would be a humanistic one in character; a 'scientific humanism', to be precise, which the writers very broadly defined (appropriately enough given his association with UNESCO) on Huxley's lines.

The most fundamental concern of a learning society imbued with the spirit of scientific humanism, they said, would be with the quality of life of both individuals and their communities in a fast changing, increasingly technologized, world. It would, therefore, project education, as another prominent writer of the movement put it, as 'closely linked with the aims of scientific reasoning, creativity and social commitment which make up the essential substratum for the well-balanced development of every personality.' (Lengrand 1975, p.100). The political culture of the learning society, on the other hand, would be a strongly democratic one, defined along the lines of participation and empowerment, of individual initiative and self-direction. 'Instead of delegating educative power to one, single, vertical, hierarchical structure constituting a distinct body within society,' the Fauré Report (1972, p.163) said, 'all groups, associations, unions, local communities and intermediary organizations must take over their share of educative responsibility...' While education 'is no longer focused on the learner, nor anyone, nor anything else. It must necessarily proceed from the learner.' (Fauré 1972, p.161)

The way they envisaged progress towards the learning society was through a radical rejection of the dominant capitalist ethos of contemporary Western societies and of their education systems which it has infected, based on a redefined conception of education and culture. Central to this project was the undertaking to view education and culture as a matter of *being* which is in a constant state of *becoming* rather than a matter of *having*, of possessing something (culture or education), as though it were some kind of territory. (Lengrand 1975) Thus, Suchodolski (1976, p.77) could speak of the 'deeper sense' of the expression 'lifelong education' with which the writers of the movement operated as one which represents 'an entire philosophical system centred upon man and his creative development.'

COMPETING CONCEPTIONS OF LIFELONG LEARNING

It needs to be observed from the outset, however, that this, the maximalist, was not the only way lifelong learning was conceived in the 1960s and 1970s, in this early heyday for the notion, when people from different walks of life began to wake up to the reality of the challenges posed to contemporary societies by a rapidly changing world and to realize that these, in turn, constituted a challenge to the way we think about learning and education. Richard Bagnall (1990, p.1) has described three different ways in which it was conceived at the time, namely (a) as the preparation of individuals for the management of their adult lives; (b) as the distribution of education throughout the lifespan of the individual; and (c) as the identification of education with the whole of life. Bagnall takes the maximalist to represent the third of these options. Model (a), on the other hand, corresponds with the predominant way of thinking about education and lifelong learning even today: as a matter of mass basic schooling followed by higher education or vocational training according to one's needs for self-fulfillment or the needs of the workplace. This 'topping up' model of lifelong learning was captured early on by the term *continuing* education. While model (b) constitutes a different way of thinking about lifelong learning. It implicitly draws a dichotomous distinction between education and 'life' deliberately separating the two notions as exclusive of each other. In the classical liberal mode it restricts 'education' to formal, intended, learning activities and processes carried on apart from 'life' and under the direction of teachers, in places set apart for the purpose (schools, universities, and training institutions), and proposes that we may need regular doses of it intermittently, or at intervals, throughout our lives after we finish our schooling. This 'intermittent' model, as it may be called, was captured by the term *recurrent* education.

One feature that the notions of continuing and recurrent education held in common, and that distinguished them both from the maximalist account of lifelong education, was their common rejection of the close association of education with 'life', or raw experience, that follows upon admitting informal learning into one's definition of 'education'. Both regarded education as necessarily involving learning which is formal or intended, or guided in some way. Neither did they share the maximalist emphasis on the need to redefine schooling, its role and purpose, anew within

the broader understanding of education as a lifewide experience in different sites, even without including informal learning. Therefore, it is not surprising that they did not include the notion of the learning society, the key notion of the maximalist discourse on lifelong learning, in their vocabulary either.

THE ECLIPSE OF LIFELONG EDUCATION

In sum, the bare idea that lifelong learning was the appropriate response to a fast changing world was capable of generating very different strategic responses to it of which the maximalist was but one. R.H. Dave (1976) making roughly the same point as Bagnall said that how one defines lifelong education turns on how one understands the constituent terms of the expression; on how one understands the terms 'life', 'lifelong', and 'education'. In other words, how one defines it ideologically, strategically, and pedagogically. The UNESCO-based movement of the 1960s and 1970s articulated the three terms separately and together as an outlook on lifelong learning in the way described above, ending with a philosophy of education which, apart from its maximalist strategy and definition of significant learning, reflected its own radical-Left socio-political perspective. Not many years after the publication of the Fauré Report, however, largely as a reaction to the criticism made against its utopianism from the very start, (for example, Elvin, 1975) but also because of its politics, and because of the charge that it was imposing a hegemonic Western model of the learning society on the international discourse on lifelong education, (Gelpi 1985) the movement went into a second, 'pragmatic', phase in the middle and late 1970s (Ireland 1978) and, eventually, lost its UNESCO backing (as a result of the 'bureaucratic' and political opposition to it from within the organization itself) becoming effectively extinct, as a movement, in the early 1980s. Ettore Gelpi, one of the major protagonists of this phase tells me that the UNESCO Lifelong Education Unit in Paris (which he started in 1966 and headed until the end), itself was not officially closed until 1993, but only after a long and difficult battle for survival.

Still what is relevant to the question set in the title of this chapter so far, from all this, is that a body of literature *did* exist some years ago, that raised a 'cry of alarm' about the current state of education provision in the 1960s, which it regarded as fundamentally irrelevant to the world it needed to serve at the time, a fast changing, 'dangerous', world. And that it proposed the maximalist principle of lifelong education instead as the theoretical basis for a programme intended to radicalize the contemporary thinking about education. Secondly, that, nearly from the beginning, there were also other, non-maximalist, ways of interpreting the basic principle that learning would have, in future, to be regarded as a lifelong business, around. And that these, in turn, gave rise to different strategies sponsored by other organizations than UNESCO (the OECD, the Council of Europe etc.), most especially those that went by the name of recurrent and continuing education. In sharp contrast with the maximalist, these alternative programmes recommended only limited strategic 'adjustments' ('tinkering with the machine', as Cross-Durant (1984, p.115) referred to it) to the current education provision in response to the demands of lifelong learning. In the sense that they left things

untouched with respect to schooling, respecting its old priority in the definition and provision of education, and understood the demands of lifelong learning only in terms of a new sense of urgency only towards the needs of adult education. It is not surprising that, with these other alternatives going about rather strongly also at the time, 'lifelong education' became confused, and is still confused, in many vocabularies with adult education. Thirdly, that the title of the chapter refers to 'lifelong learning', and the book as a whole is about 'lifelong learning' while the writers of the movement wrote about 'lifelong education'.

The point may seem an insignificant one, and the difference between the two terms largely immaterial and academic. But what I have written about them in this chapter so far clearly shows that it is not. What it shows is that, to the contrary, it has always been of the greatest significance although the tendency to confuse them together existed from the start. As I have just argued, lifelong learning could refer in the past to very different kinds of projects, of which what was referred to in those days as 'lifelong education' was but one. This historical point apart, however, and at a more fundamental, conceptual, level, the level of meaning and understanding or of use of language, *any* kind of learning falls within the parameters of the expression 'lifelong learning' provided that it *is* lifelong. The expression 'lifelong education', on the other hand, even without its association with the maximalist programme of the movement, implies a commitment to a *specific* kind of learning: the kind of learning that is *educative*. It demands a definition of *education*. The writers of the movement specified the difference by insisting that what they were interested in was not more and more learning, lifelong learning as a matter of *having*, but in the quality of individual and social life learning can bring about: in lifelong learning as a matter of *being* in the world that is free and creative, and, therefore, also a mode of constant *becoming*, or, as Dewey referred to it, *growth*.

The notion of the learning society was specific only to the maximalist discourse of lifelong education because it was only within this discourse that the need was felt to describe the socio-cultural, political, and ethical conditions, as well as the strategic, under which the growth of such a mode of being could be possible. Because it was felt within this discourse, as Dewey had insisted, that the mode of living together is crucial to the being of every individual and to the process of growth that constitutes its becoming. The expression lifelong learning, on the other hand, carries none of these connotations; it leaves lifelong education's concern for the quality of being and its becoming as growth aside, takes no interest in it at all. Not only that. With time it has gradually come to be appropriated more and more within the narrower instrumentalist discourse of further training and professional development. Which is not a surprising thing in itself since the perception of the 1960s that, in a rapidly changing world, lifelong learning is a matter of sheer economic and industrial survival for both individuals and companies, has, if anything, grown stronger with time and with the ever growing vocational demands of the emerging post-industrial world. Today, in fact, there is hardly a government agency anywhere, an economist, employer or educationalist, worth her or his salt, who does not readily subscribe to the view that, as a matter of policy, learning must be approached as a lifelong process. Often twisted into the post-Fordist language of human capital investment this belief has, in

fact, turned platitudinous, one of the 'givens' of our age. The fate of the expression 'lifelong education', on the other hand, has been entirely different. It has grown correspondingly less and less in fashion to the point of near extinction. The interesting thing is that this same fate has been shared also by the other expressions of lifelong learning I referred to earlier, recurrent education, continuing education, and *education permanente* (which was the French rendering of the latter). These also seem to have disappeared, or are on the point of disappearing from the scene. What we have instead is this all-enveloping, hegemonic, affirmation of the expression lifelong learning that some writers consider a good thing. Martin Yarnit (1997), for instance, who, in a piece he wrote quite recently about lifelong learning declared that the term 'education' is best abandoned because it tends to sound 'passive'; 'learning', he says, is better, and 'lifelong learning' is better than lifelong education.

I'm not sure what Yarnit means by referring to 'education' as passive, since the nature of 'being' and the aims of education have, if anything, been one of the most hotly contested and evolving issues in the history of Western thought. There could be the other objection to it, raised by Richard Rorty (1990), that the whole discussion about the nature of being is itself a waste of time and that the philosophical discourse that engages in it is irrelevant at best, downright harmful at worst, to the enterprise of learning which should engage us in purely practical considerations (rather than philosophical ones) instead. Rorty's view on this matter, and perhaps Yarnit's too, could be described as consistent with the more general trend, to the degree that it exists, to abandon the word 'education' as part of the more general post-modern trend to abandon the discourse of master narratives.

THE RETURN OF THE LEARNING SOCIETY

Is the post-modern death of education an event to celebrate? This is not a question I can take up here, though I shall describe some of the event's manifestations and its consequences in the world of adult education in the course of taking up the history of the notion of the 'learning society' which, as I pointed out in the first section of the chapter, was the key to the whole maximalist discourse of lifelong education, and central to the movement's project for a paradigm shift in our way of thinking about education as a whole. For a very long while it also fell into disuse. Not that there were no continuing references to it after the Fauré Report; Thorsten Husén's (1974) work kept it alive for a while, mainly in adult education circles. There was also published, a couple of years before the Report itself, Robert Hutchin's (1970) equally utopian book called *The Learning Society*. But, to all intents and purposes, it was otherwise dead to the world of education (except for some places, in North America mainly, where the expression continued to be used, in a drastically reduced sense from that given it in the maximalist discourse, for community based adult learning projects). In short, as a project, the learning society had virtually died with the maximalist lifelong education movement. Then, the early to mid-1990s witnessed its vigorous resurgence. Suddenly, the expression 'learning society' began to reappear everywhere: in government and other reports (mainly within the business world), in white papers, in seminar proceedings. The idea

that some notion of the learning society should guide our policies for the future began to be forcefully made again. In short, the notion of the learning society was back in business in spectacular fashion. And its return began not in the Western world but in Japan.

The Japanese re-appropriated the expression much earlier than the West. In 1990, they had already decided on a national policy for creating a new learning society, and the task of producing it was placed, by parliamentary legislation, in the hands of a National Lifelong Learning Council. The Japanese government, however, did not stop there. It also decided to support ongoing local learning initiatives that contribute to lifelong learning through exemptions, direct financial assistance to projects, tax breaks, and similar policies. Indeed, as Gunther Dohman (1996, p.69) observes, in tune with the mainly European lifelong education writers of the 1960s and 1970s, 'the primary point of departure for Japan's lifelong learning policy is the advancement of non-formal learning within the context of everyday life. This is called *shakai kyoiku* which literally means social learning and learning within society.' The principle at work here is, in the maximalist fashion, to recognize the value of *all* forms of learning, those pursued in the more formal learning institutions beside the non-formal, as part of an overall network of learning opportunities and aids over the whole of Japanese society. Dohman refers to the 17,000 *kominkan*, or community learning centres already active at the time, as 'the main players' in providing this network. But he also refers besides to the growth of a booming industry in learning businesses, working hand in hand with public institutions, private companies, publishing houses, broadcast stations, and other organizations, to create new opportunities for lifelong learners. And he remarks about the near effortless incorporation of modern information and communications technologies into this scenario, the creation of private and public communications centres offering open access to electronic information networks, and so on.

Dohman emphasizes that when the government took its initiative, apart from the *kominkan*, there was already fertile ground for this notion of a learning society in a Japanese tradition which has always attached the greatest importance to using one's leisure time for one's continuous self-improvement, for the ongoing development of the quality of one's life, and for enhancing one's satisfaction with life in general. 'The Japanese understanding of learning as an ongoing activity that is as much a part of life (and offers just as much pleasure) as eating and drinking,' was always there. Dohman remarks on how 'unusually broad compared to Western thinking' this importance given to learning is. In keeping with it, he says, 'the Japanese feel that all social institutions and all spheres of life can be places of learning; not only libraries, museums, theatres and cultural centres but youth clubs, sports facilities, cinemas, organizations, hobby rooms and bars as well.' In short, in their way of thinking, worthwhile learning takes place everywhere and is as much a feature of the outing, the bus trip, the place of work, the privacy of one's garden, the hospital, the watching of television, all kinds of personal contacts, as is formal learning in a classroom. (1996, p.70) A way of thinking that is confluent with a society's perception of the value of mobilizing learning lifewide which the lifelong education writers could only dream of at the time. In Japan, that other dream of the writers, the growth of a non-formal 'lifelong learning movement' to counterbalance government initiatives also takes concrete form. Gaining its

popularity through 'its propinquity to leisure time, recreation, *joie de vivre*, social life, contentment with life, and even festivals and exciting contests – and its remoteness to school performance pressure, control, qualification processes, career, competition, selection processes and the like.' (1996, p.72)

The Japanese lifelong learning movement receives additional strength from the fact that the National Lifelong Learning Council, as Dohman observes, is restrained in its interference by the overall principle that politics should not try to channel the direction taken by the people's learning needs and activities. That 'lifelong learning must spring spontaneously from one's life, personal experience and interest,' rather than from some outside source. (1996, p.71) This may sound like utopia in the making: a perfect combination of planned government initiative and the spontaneous, 'zesty', growth of the movement. But Dohman notes that, as one would expect, everything is not perfect. The spontaneity and lack of focus of the movement, responding as it does to sheer demand, creates difficulties for planners and for the educational reformers who favour a more studied and critical approach towards the examination of learning needs from the perspective of 'the oppressive problems that affect our future such as pollution, demographic trends, women's rights, etc.' (1996, p.71) Another difficulty arises with harmonising the formal education system and its institutions with the non-formal lifelong learning initiatives promoted by the movement: 'the incorporation of learning institutions into a broad learning network as more or less fixed, stabilizing nodes appears to be more difficult because of the dissonance between formal stress-filled learning and informal leisure time learning in Japan,' Dohman remarks. (1996, p.72) Perhaps the most difficult tension to resolve, however, is that between the infrastructure for the learning society created by the government and the popular grassroots movement. Dohman believes that the Japanese have been largely successful in resolving all these tensions. Thus, their learning society, he says, avoids being either meritocratic-formal, or one geared to the definitions of the market economy, and comes close instead to being an open learning-network society of a 'postmodern' kind.

The reason that first drove the Japanese to resort to radical rethinking about their education system was their perception of deep structural changes that had occurred within Japanese society over the past years mainly through internationalization, the coming of the information age, and the maturation or aging of Japanese society. (Makino p.2) Changes not unlike those that were experienced in the Western world at the same time. Their model of a learning society, however, does not simply react to a tradition or respond to purely social needs and purposes. The belief in Japan, Dohman says, is that a policy that permits learners to move about freely and according to their own self-identified needs and preferences is better suited to promote the country's economic strength than a policy geared narrowly and specifically toward establishing vocational qualification and competence.

The discourse about the learning society in the Western world, roughly, also began to reappear in the early 1990s, a few years later than in Japan, and the agency that promoted it was different. The initiative came not from the state but from different reports and documents, produced mainly within business and industrial environs. For example, in 1994, the European Round Table of Industrialists (ERT) published a report entitled *Education for Europeans, Towards the Learning Society*. It began by

expressing a need, much in the same manner as the lifelong education movement of two and a half decades earlier, 'to raise a *cry of alarm* to alert society to (the) educational gap' between the kind of education people need for today's complex world and the education provision they actually receive in schools. (1994, p.6) The standard schooling provision provided by European educational systems today, it warned, is nearly wholly out of phase with the contemporary world. It then went on to identify the current 'gaps' in skills, curricula, and funding that are 'dangerous as they threaten Europe's ability to meet the new and complex challenges to today's world,' putting 'European competitiveness and democratic ideals,' at risk, 'and foster(ing) unemployment and social marginalisation,' beside. (1994, p.14) The remedies the report proposed were: the involvement of industry at all levels of the formal educational system, designing a new vocational curriculum, launching a European initiative in adult education, investing in innovation in the areas of media production and management, and 'remotivating teachers'.

It also ended with an important warning, that 'the primary purpose of education is to develop each individual to become a whole human being, not just to become an economic resource.' (1994, p.16) A warning that revealed a sensitivity to the current criticism over the prevailing vocationalist philosophy that was growing everywhere in the adult education sector at the time, to which I shall return shortly. Meanwhile, these piecemeal remedies, proposed by the report, because they are piecemeal and do not claim this kind of ambition, come nowhere near constituting a strategy for creating a learning society in the maximalist mode, though they addressed a broad spectrum of areas. Even apart from the old lifelong education writers, they do not begin to approach the subject, anywhere remotely, like the Japanese. 'Japan,' Dohman tells us, 'has been working single-mindedly on what has been the world's most comprehensive model for a nation-wide lifelong learning society in recent years.' (1996, p.68) The same thing could not be said of any of the European governments at the time. In 1995, however, the European Union published a 'white paper' on education named *Teaching and Learning – Towards the Learning Society*, which, as far as utopian tones and aspirations are concerned, fell little short, if at all, of the old, much maligned, Fauré Report, of a quarter of a century earlier. The white paper confidently proclaimed the advent of 'the learning society of Europe'. It then went on to predict that 'Tomorrow's society will be a society which invests in knowledge, a society of teaching and learning, in which each individual will build up his or her qualifications, in other words, a learning society.' (1995, p.5)

A MATTER OF MYTHS: RECENT PAST

But is this what a European learning society of the future will be about? A society which invests in the 'qualifications' of its members? Further on in the White Paper it turns out that what mainly preoccupies the European Union and occasions the call for a learning society is to some extent the social problems its member countries share, particularly those of employability and long term unemployment, and of social integration and exclusion or marginalisation. But it does not neglect to refer to the goals of

economic competitiveness and industrial efficiency either. Significantly, in fact, nowhere in the White Paper does the word education appear if not in tandem with 'and training'. It also makes a similar remark to that in the ERT document, to the effect that 'the future of Europe, and its place in the world depend on its ability to give as much room for the personal development of its citizens, men and women alike, as it has given to economic and monetary issues.' Europe, it points out, 'is not simply a free trade area, but an organized political entity.' (1995, p.74) Notwithstanding this kind of lip service to these social and political ideals, however, the objective of personal self-fulfillment which is so prominent on the Japanese agenda, and so crucial to the Japanese concept of the learning society, does not appear among any of the five objectives that the White Paper sets for building the learning society of the future, namely: encouraging the acquisition of new knowledge, bringing schools and the business sector close together, combating problems of exclusion (in the sense of creating more second chance possibilities), encouraging proficiency in three Community languages, and treating capital investment and investment on training on an equal basis.

Apart from its ideological orientations, however, these recommendations clearly do not propose a paradigm shift, or radical turn, in the European Community's overall thinking about education. As in the case of the ERT document, these proposals are piecemeal and pragmatic; there is no proposal for radical structural change and no encompassing vision of a learning society such as the one developed in Japan and, ultimately, by the writers of the lifelong education movement. Not that the political ambition is not there; it is, implicitly. A utopian vision much more ambitious than any expressed in the 1960s and 1970s of a 'European learning society'. But it is nowhere described or elaborated upon, and the generic political statements on its behalf the document contains play second fiddle to its immediate economic and social agenda. In Britain, however, a more exhaustive description of the learning society appeared in an ESRC report quoted by Hughes and Tight (1995, p.296) in an article: 'A learning society,' it said, 'would be one in which all citizens acquire a high quality general education, appropriate vocational training, and a job (or series of jobs) worthy of a human being while continuing to participate in education and training throughout their lives. A learning society would combine excellence with equity and would equip all its citizens with the knowledge, understanding and skills to ensure national economic prosperity and much more besides... Citizens of a learning society would, by means of their continuing education and training, be able to engage in critical dialogue and actions and improve the quality of life for the whole community and to ensure social integration as well as economic success.'

This is much closer in tone and aspiration to the old vision of the lifelong education writers of three decades earlier. The two authors, however, regarded it at the time as no more than a 'myth', unsupported empirically by any reality, at least as far as Britain was concerned. Against it, they argued, there was another, more pervasive myth, set in circulation by a powerful 'coalition of interests including politicians, employers and educators,' who were eager to put their economic interests on the national education agenda. (1995, p.290) Indeed, the general indications at the time, in the first half of the 1990s and just over, were that the evolving discourse on the learning society in Europe generally, and in Britain more especially, was growing mainly within business and

industrial circles. That, for the most part, the neo-liberal governments in power at the time stayed aloof from it and gave it very scant if any tangible support, content to leave it to the Employers and their associations. That, notwithstanding the rhetoric of documents like the ERT, its thrust within this forum was mainly vocationalist and little to do with democracy and justice. And that this orientation was tacitly supported by the government of the time. Thus, Europe in general, during this period, witnessed radical reductions in the investment in liberal adult education or learning for self-fulfillment. This was accompanied by a new and powerful rhetoric that recast liberal adult learning within the domain of the market and of the leisure industry instead of education. Concurrently, European societies experienced ever-declining rates of participation of the traditionally vulnerable sectors of society in the vocational sector also: of older people, the long-term unemployed, those in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations, minority ethnic groups, women (particularly, but not only, those with dependent children), and people living in rural and remote areas.

True, there was also an upward trend in open learning created by the new computer technologies that had become available everywhere, and to the coming into being of the information society. Open and distance learning created new opportunities for people to learn independently, to access information and data freely, under their own control and direction, and to conference to a degree that has never been known before. But even here the picture was not necessarily as reassuring as it sounded. In the first place there are Baudrillard's dystopian extravaganzas about the postmodern information society. But even without these extravaganzas, the information society is depicted by its critics as having destroyed the old critical democratic public sphere installing a society of spectacle and propaganda in its place, reacting to market forces rather than social considerations, and encouraging a contrary culture of private and atomic individualism. In the second because, even if open learning is attracting growing numbers of adherents, these are mainly persons already to some degree motivated to learn, and with substantial resources at their command already both in terms of 'cultural capital' and in terms of access to the technology. So that, though the sheer numbers may have risen, if anything, the situation has created an even sharper and more fundamental divide than in the past between those who are members of the learning society and those who are not.

AND PRESENT

And so we move to the last phase of our narrative about the learning society marked by the access to power of new social democrat governments throughout nearly the whole of Europe, after 1996, including in the United Kingdom. And this is a truly crucial phase, for here we witness a total reversal of the non-interventionist policy with which the previous neo-liberal governments had over the years approached the learning society. In Britain, (which I refer to in particular because it is the context I am most familiar with since, Malta being a former colony, Maltese thinking about education continues to be strongly influenced by developments in Britain), the new Labour Government, in sharp contrast with its Conservative predecessor, came out fully

committed towards the policy of creating a learning society based on a culture of lifelong learning, identifying it as a key strategy in its efforts to modernize the country, and pledged strong leadership and active involvement in achieving it. Thus, in 1998, drawing on the findings and recommendations of three earlier reports, all published in 1997, the Kennedy Report *Learning Works: widening participation in further education*, which had been commissioned by the Further Education Funding Council (FEFC) in December 1994, the Dearing Report *Higher Education in the Learning Society*, appointed by the Conservative Government with the support of the then opposition parties in May 1996, and the Fryer Report *Learning for the Twenty First Century*, published by the National Advisory Group for Continuing Learning and Lifelong Education (NAGCELL) which it had set up itself in June 1997, the British Labour Government produced a Green Paper, or consultative document, with its policies and strategies, named *The Learning Age*, that also reflected the social objectives of the European Union's white paper.

All three earlier reports accepted without question the force of the contemporary arguments for widespread lifelong learning. The Kennedy Report, which was about widening and improving access to further education, recognized the lifewide aspect of the learning society explicitly. Further education, it said, does not occur only in colleges, but in several other locations beside, 'including the home and the workplace, training and enterprise councils, and schools and community centres, where people expand their horizons and extend their capabilities.' (Tight 1998, pp.475–476). It identified lifelong learning as central to national economic success and social cohesion and argued that, for this reason those currently excluded from it, who are not realizing their potential or who have underachieved in the past, should be drawn into it. The Dearing Report referred specifically and continuously to the learning society and identified the expansion of higher education over the next twenty years as the chief factor for achieving it. Fryer, on the other hand, argued for the need to develop the culture of lifelong learning in British society for the future if the country was to respond successfully to the challenges of the new century residing in the economy and the labour market, in the radical and far reaching transformations that had occurred in the world of technology, information and communications, and in the social sphere which was experiencing wide-ranging changes in the realms of the family, relationships, communities, people's aspirations, and identities. It also referred to the 'learning divide' I described earlier, that exists between the haves and have nots today, between those who possess the qualifications and who actively learn, who are in a minority, and the majority of under- or non-qualified people who have had little in the shape of systematic learning since they left school, and have little or no motivation to seek any.

How close is the learning society of *The Learning Age*, in its politics and spirit, to the Japanese? Is the Labour strategy, like the Japanese, a maximalist one? In his forward to the document (1998, p.8) the Secretary of State for Education identified 'two initiatives that will exemplify our approach' toward creating the new learning society. The setting up of 'individual learning accounts which will enable men and women to take responsibility for their own learning with support from both government and employers,' a proposal made previously by the Commission for Social Justice. And the setting up of 'the University of Industry' which will offer 'access to a

learning network to help people deepen their knowledge, update their skills and gain new ones.' The latter could well be a response to the developing trend for businesses to move away from the universities which service their needs, and to set themselves up as independent and self-sufficient 'learning organizations' (a new expression in the new jargon of the learning society originating in the business world). Whatever the reason, the fact is that the two complementary initiatives the Secretary of State chose to highlight in this way are both connected with employment and industry. The first is, of course, also complementary with New Labour's political agenda of encouraging strong individual responsibility and self-determination. There is also a pledge to use the learning society to develop a strong sense of community, also in line with Labour's political agenda. 'Our vision of the learning age,' the document states, 'is about more than employment. The development of a national culture of learning,' it says, 'will help build a united society, assist in the creation of personal independence, and encourage our creativity and innovation.' (1998, p.10) In short, as one would expect of a Government which describes itself as social democrat, the social agenda is as strong as the economic. What that agenda is, the document leaves in no doubt. Labour's learning society 'aims to promote social cohesion and foster a sense of belonging, responsibility and identity,' among people, and to address the problem of widening social inequality, breaking 'the vicious circle of under-achievement, self-deprecation, and petty crime' among young people by building their self-confidence and sense of independence. (1998, p.11) The strategy, besides providing individual learning accounts and the University of Industry is: attacking the problem of basic literacy and numeracy, widening the participation of adults in continuing learning, raising the general standards of teaching and learning, setting and publishing clear targets, working with business, employees and trade unions, and building a qualifications system which gives equal value to vocational and academic learning.

To answer the question beginning the previous paragraph, evidently the approach and thinking here is very different from the Japanese. For one thing, there is no mention in the Green Paper or anywhere in the related documents, of any sort of initiative to create a partnership with any non-formal spontaneous grass roots, or whatever community based and non-formal learning initiatives are currently in progress. It may well be that Britain lacks the learning culture of the Japanese, but resources and extant ongoing non-formal independent learning initiatives within the communities, even personal ones, hitherto obscure and unheralded perhaps, there certainly are. These could be publicised and supported as a beginning until a more comprehensive partnership plan is worked out, at the same time as the government encourages a national culture of lifelong learning. If strong government initiative is not balanced with a strong non-formal sector, the danger of going from the former extreme of virtual *laissez faire* that characterized the neo-liberal approach to that of strong suffocating government is very real and worrying. But what the New Labour Government proposes instead of a partnership with the non-formal learning sector, is a partnership with business. It appears that the learning society of future Britain will be made in partnership between government and business. But the politics of the learning society, crucially important as they undoubtedly are, is not the subject of this chapter. The question that concerns us is the second set in the earlier paragraph. Does the model of the learning society that Labour offers

through its Green Paper and the supporting documents mentioned earlier, actually amount to a paradigm shift in the way learning is conceived for the new millennium along the lines of the maximalist model, as does the Japanese. And the quick answer is that it does not.

For one thing, as Tight points out, with reference to the supporting documents, all of them, although they take the need for lifelong learning for granted and argue for its extension into the broader society, are all sectoral in their interest. None makes any reference at all to 'anything that happens before the age of 16.' (1998, p.478) This means that their notion of lifelong learning and of a learning society is based on the model of continuing education rather than on the holistic maximalist one. Tight observes that *The Learning Age* not only includes many of their key recommendations, it actually uses similar language and arguments to its precursor reports. Like them, it also fails to make any significant linkage between lifelong learning and compulsory education within its learning society. One evident disadvantage of this is that although there is, in all the documents, strong concern with the problems of non-participation and marginalisation experienced by different sectors of the adult population, none heeds warnings like Lyn Tett's (1996) that these are mainly problems of motivation, that they start in school and need first to be addressed there. More seriously, Tight accuses all the documents of a 'tendency to elide the broad view of lifelong learning for all with a narrower perspective of vocational education and training,' (1998, p.482) which means that we are back where we were under neo-liberal government on the ideological level. Predictably, as Tight goes on to argue, when the policies are spelled out, the Government's emphasis clearly falls on formal learning and training, on the needs of the employers, and on achieving meaningful qualifications and reaching national targets. Tight is even suspicious of Labour's concern with adult non-participation and its way of dealing with it which, far from showing a concern with equity, he describes as 'off-putting and unrealistic', a case of 'victim-bashing' and 'stigmatizing', one that 'effectively blames non-participants for the "learning divide"' that exists, charging them with the obligation to "fulfill their potential", "modify their behaviour" and personally invest in the future.' (1998, p.483)

CONCLUSION

This chapter began with the 1960s and with the subsequent evolution within UNESCO of a particular vision of lifelong education, the maximalist, which had the idea of the learning society at its centre, and which proposed a socio-political and cultural utopia based on the radical reconceptualization of education which lay within this vision. This was understanding lifelong learning strategically in terms of a revolutionary paradigm shift in the way the modern world thought about education, society and the individual, which stayed modern, however, in its essence. It pointed out that this was not the only way lifelong learning was understood at the time and two other models were described: recurrent and continuing. Subsequently, after very sketchily tracing out the negative history of the notion of the learning society, it indicated its return into circulation in the 1990s in two very different settings, the Japanese and the European (mainly British).

Again, as regards the latter, two distinct phases in the fortunes of the notion of the learning society were identified: the first marked by disengagement by the state under neo-liberal government, and the second, with the return of the social democrats by the reversal of that policy. The history of the notion of the learning society in Japan, on the other hand, was entirely different and, strategically, corresponds closely with the maximalist notion of the lifelong education writers of the 1960s and 1970s. The myth of the learning society generated in Britain in the first half of the 1990s was clearly nothing similar. But neither is that generated in the second half although government commitment to the notion could have led one to imagine otherwise. The Labour government sees its commitment to lifelong learning as a strategy for continuing learning not as an excuse to rethink in a holistic manner. I have not argued that the maximalist model is the best model of lifelong learning around, and I shall not do so because I am currently re-examining that claim myself. But it will have emerged from what I said in the previous section that the partnership with the non-formal sector of the learning society that it proposes, and its concern with informal learning, is more compatible with social democracy than any partnership with business.

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Section 2

The Policy Challenge

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Chapter 1: Lifelong Learning Policies in Low Development Contexts: An African Perspective

DAVID ATCHOARENA AND STEVEN HITE

INTRODUCTION

While making lifelong learning a reality for all is fast becoming an attainable goal in the most advanced societies, it still represents a formidable challenge for countries struggling with basic development issues. For developing countries, creating the economic, educational and employment conditions that will provide everyone an opportunity to learn throughout life remains a utopian ideal. Thus, in low development contexts, changes in the international environment such as the rise of knowledge-based economies and globalization, reinforce the ideal of lifelong learning as one of the primary national goals for the future. In an effort to address both domestic development issues and the impact, both concrete and ideological, of global trends, governments attempt to find new ways of providing essential knowledge and skills to their citizens. In this context, reaching the disadvantaged groups of society represents an increasing concern, particularly in terms of achieving an environment conducive to lifelong learning.

During the past few decades, Africa has experienced a tremendous commitment to development in education. The impressive commitment of resources and effort is reflected in outstanding growth in enrolments. The increase in the average educational attainment of young people entering the world of work is probably the most visible impact of this progress in education.

However, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the continent experienced adverse economic conditions. For most African countries, this period of austerity and structural adjustment has caused a slow-down in educational expansion, and has sometimes led to a reverse trend. Diminishing national and regional resources have also contributed to a decline in the quality of educational opportunities by forcing a reallocation to more short-term needs. Additionally, the closing down of employment opportunities has adversely affected the demand for education.

Hence, in spite of impressive efforts and achievements, today Africa still suffers from a low level of basic educational attainment. In most countries, the majority of the population can be considered as poorly educated and by virtue of this lack of basic education is denied reasonable hope of access to lifelong learning.

In confronting this educational dilemma, governments have to tackle two problems:

- in a context of rapid demographic growth, they must ensure access to, and consolidate participation of children in, basic education

- the low level of educational attainment of the adult population also requires immediate action through the provision of adequate educational programs. In this respect, the issue is to identify the most efficient strategy for promoting lifelong learning.

In the 1990s, these concerns have led many African countries to implement educational alternatives not only for adults but also for the young people who did not go to school, and for the fast growing population of school drop-outs. To a large extent, those developments are typical of the on-going trends visible in most poorly developed economies. It is therefore an important policy concern to take stock of these recent developments and to evaluate their impact on lifelong learning prospects.

Ultimately, these events and conditions of the last 30 years have clearly demonstrated that there is an unavoidable connection between the general economic conditions of the nations of Africa, their educational systems, and the contexts of work and employment into which the graduates of the educational systems emerge. A successful approach to lifelong learning will, of necessity, need to account for the trends and conditions in all three of these arenas. In the African context future success in facilitating lifelong learning will be based primarily upon basic educational attainment and connection to the economic and employment imperatives of the particular regional, national and local setting.

The first part of this chapter provides an overview of the socio-economic and educational context in which the policy debate on lifelong education takes place in sub-Saharan Africa. The second part analyses contemporary trends in the region that are reshaping education systems and transforming both formal and non-formal education. Lastly, this chapter attempts to examine the impact of those reforms on educational progress and to reflect on the policy mix likely to promote lifelong education pathways in low development contexts.

LIFELONG EDUCATION IN AFRICA

Socio-economic background: poverty, educational provision, and employment

Poverty constitutes a major obstacle to human development in sub-Saharan Africa. Most countries in the sub-region have experienced negative per capita income growth rates in the 1980s and early 1990s as living standards have fallen. Today, more than two in five persons in sub-Saharan Africa are income-poor. Data indicate that 42% of the population lives on less than \$1 per day, representing 220 million poor people. Furthermore, it is also one of the world's most unequal regions and the only one where poverty is increasing in both absolute numbers of poor people and relative to the total population. Based on present trends, it is expected that the number of Africans in income-poverty will reach 300 million by the year 2000 (UNDP, 1998).

Poverty is multidimensional. Lack of access to productive resources, employment opportunities and social services, including education, are among its typical features.

In the long run, education remains one of the most important institutions for breaking both poverty and social exclusion. Yet, empirical data are still required to precisely document key questions such as: What role does education play in the generation or the reduction of inequalities? How important is education as a mechanism of differentiation and stratification? Although further evidence is required to provide fully satisfactory answers, it is generally accepted that good relevant education plays an important role in enlarging people's choices through individual empowerment, notably for women (Easton, 1998; Psacharopoulos, 1988).

Africa experienced substantial economic growth from the early 1970s through the early 1980s. The late 1980s, however, brought a reversal in economic conditions that have persisted to the present. For many countries, the economic improvements of the late 1990s can be attributed to significant efforts towards macro-economic stability and policy reform. Signs of economic recovery generated some optimism concerning the African economic and social future, and the role education had played in creating the conditions that facilitated the turn-around. However, the spread of armed conflict in several areas of the continent and current unstable economic conditions have threatened the consolidation and sustainability of development efforts.

At present, unemployment is a major issue everywhere on the continent, e.g. unemployment rates are reaching unprecedented levels among youth, including school graduates (Lachaud, 1994). Hence, many countries face a paradox, whereby a large number of school-leavers remain out of work, whilst the education system is still considered as underdeveloped. A higher level of unemployment among graduates is sometimes attributed to their attitude towards work, preferring to wait rather than taking poorly-paid or low-prestige jobs. However, it is also recognized that the demand for qualified labour has significantly declined due to a reduction of the public sector, the main user of such skills.

In a context of low employment, job-seekers are absorbed in the informal sector where productivity and working conditions are often poor. In spite of favorable economic growth forecasts, the employment prospects remain gloomy. Thus, the informal sector will continue to play a key role in absorbing a major share of the fast growing economically active population.

Regional education profile

Despite considerable expansion since the 1960s there are still major problems with issues of school provision (participation) and adult literacy. The complexity and magnitude of this educational situation are reflected in the rapid recorded growth in enrolment from the 1960s through the 1980s, followed by a pattern of stagnation or slight decrease through 1995 (see Table 1). The higher enrolment levels of primary school pupils in 1995, compared to the late 1960s and early 1970s, is even more impressive when considering that over that same period of time the school-age population base itself grew at a very rapid rate (3.3% for the 1980-1990 period).

Recognized as a form of investment in human capital, education constitutes a major tool for sustained economic growth, poverty reduction and improved well-being

(African Development Bank, 1998). In a region particularly affected by the spread of HIV/AIDS, increasing attention is being paid to what education can do to prevent HIV infection and improve the living conditions of infected people. But most African countries are still far from addressing the challenge of achieving basic education for all.

In spite of the progress made, the record remains uneven. Access and school participation appear very unequally distributed between the countries of the region, and between rural and urban areas within nations. The conditions leading to unequal progress in educational access and the ensuing unequal levels of education contribute to income and labour market inequalities and social tensions. Although the reliability and availability of both demographic and schooling data are far from satisfactory, it is estimated that the regional gross enrolment rate at the primary level is 74% (Table 1). In the absence of net figures for all countries, the review of gross enrolment rates reflects both the relatively low level of participation and the rather chaotic trends experienced by the region (see Table 1).

Table 1: Educational change in sub-Saharan Africa: basic indicators

	1970	1980	1990	1995	2005
Illiterate population (millions)	115.0	125.9	138.8	140.5	145.4
Literacy rate	22.6%	40.2%	47.3%	56.8%	66.9%
Enrolment in primary education (millions)	21.2	47.7	58.1	76.5	—
Gross enrolment rate primary level	46.3%	77.5%	76.2%	73.9%	—
Public expenditure on education (US\$ billions)	1.2	15.8	14.8	18.8	—
As percentage of GNP	3.2%	5.1%	5.1%	5.6%	—
Public unit recurrent cost, pre-primary + Primary, US\$	27	47	42	49	—

Sources: UNESCO Statistical yearbook and World Education Report, various years

Education systems should ensure that people's basic learning needs are met. In this context, basic learning needs to include knowledge, skills, attitudes and values required for ensuring survival and improving the quality of life. They should also constitute the foundations for lifelong learning.

In relative terms, adult literacy has made significant progress. Nevertheless, despite enormous efforts to eradicate illiteracy, the number of illiterate adults is still increasing (see Table 1). In most African countries, the low level of literacy and the size of the illiterate population indicate that education systems have failed to substantially promote lifelong education.

The development of education has taken place in a context of rapid demographic growth. About 45% of the African population is below the age of 15. Education systems, as well as labour markets, face the difficult challenge of absorbing an increasing number of children and young people. Their inability to do so has created an ever-growing out-of-school child population. It is estimated that, for Africa as a whole, the number of out-of-school children in 1995 was about 2 million higher than in 1990. This pattern is due to a number of factors, including child labour which constitutes about 30% of the labour force in most African countries (African Development Bank, 1998).

Changes in the spatial distribution of the population also have a major impact on the school system. Indeed, while Africa's population remains mainly rural, it is experiencing a very rapid urbanization. In 1995, 34% of the population lived in urban areas; however, there are now 22 cities with over one million people as compared to only three in 1960. Such trends raise a number of questions for the provision of education services, especially in the suburban areas where large groups of disadvantaged people are to be found. It results both in overcrowding in a significant number of classrooms and in the drop-out and non-attendance of children-at-risk. The emergence and expansion of the street children phenomenon in African cities reflect this complex issue.

Emigration from rural areas to urban economic centers also represents a major obstacle to human capital accumulation and sustained educational progress at the national level. In a context of structural adjustment and public sector reduction, poor labour market opportunities often fail to retain the most qualified people. In recent years, increasing unemployment rates for graduates, (combined with declining real incomes), seem to have aggravated the migration of skilled personnel from the continent (African Development Bank, 1998).

Besides the demographic challenge, the economic problems and financial constraints experienced by most African countries have weakened education systems. In 1995, the average public expenditure on education represented 5.6% of GNP (see Table 1).

Yet, governments' capacity to invest in education is strongly restricted by high debt burdens. In countries like Congo and Mozambique, external debt represents over 300% of GNP. Often, debt servicing exceeds public spending on education. In such contexts, debt management tends to become a key element of national human development strategies. At present, the extent to which governments in Africa will be able to reconcile lifelong education and cost remains an open question.

EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Policy directions in formal education

The extensive policy reform efforts in sub-Saharan Africa have produced, at best, mixed results. The persistence of civil strife and economic instability in many parts of the region plague efforts at establishing and maintaining footholds in improving the educational conditions. However, there have been a number of substantial and enduring successes in the preceding decades. While these successes are usually counter-balanced by problems, the general picture in Africa is one of serious commitment and resilience in the face of substantial and persistent challenges. The range of strategies attempted in the last decade is nearly as diverse as are the countries of Africa. However, almost everywhere on the continent a major focus has been to reform the institutional framework through community participation and decentralization.

Community participation

Within the context of community participation, the development of new relationships and social structures seems to be essential. In both urban and rural settings, successful community-based programs "appear to have grafted themselves onto, or been born from, existing social structures" (Easton, 1998, p.7).

If one single lesson has emerged for the last decade of renewal, restructuring and experimentation, it is that successful programs are rooted in and draw upon the resources, needs and talents of the local community (IIEP, 1997). The learning of students is, whether school programs account for it or not, naturally contextualized in their home communities. Entering into relationships with parents, businesses and local artisans has shown to be an effective and substantial resource in the eventual success of basic educational programs. The success of the students becomes more of a community activity, rather than the detached responsibility of one student and, perhaps, his or her family.

Community involvement has shown particular promise in rural locations. While many successful community-based programs were organized with the help of officials from the national formal education system and private Non-Government Organizations (NGOs), a large number were self-initiated. For example, in Chad, which experienced a prolonged civil war and a nearly incapacitated state government, many communities were left to maintain or create their own civil systems. In response to locally-perceived need, many created their own schools. Over the past decade, this has created the situation where local communities have provided, and maintained, 28 *times* the number of classrooms as the government over the past decade (Easton, 1998, p. 12). However, in spite of the enthusiasm that such trends reflect, the quality has remained poor (Esquieu, Peano, 1994).

The role of NGOs in community-based programs has been carefully reviewed and considered at all levels of educational planning. NGOs have a long history of localized involvement, sometimes in opposition to government programs or policies, which has generated a significant degree of mistrust among government representatives.

Additionally, experience with NGOs and their sometimes quickly shifting policy initiatives has raised serious concerns with regard to the sustainability of the programs they support (Hallak, 1998, p. 23). On the other hand, NGOs and other groups outside the formal governmental system seem to have developed the best approaches and capabilities in dealing with localized populations, particularly disadvantaged groups (Cailods, 1998).

Decentralization

It is fair to say that decentralization is a primary goal of most countries in sub-Saharan Africa. While in large part past efforts have struggled to succeed, some countries have managed to install largely decentralized systems, even under extreme conditions. Most successes, however, are short-lived in the absence of a supporting context of actual democratization and explicit policies that ensure that inequities are not simply institutionalized under the banner of decentralization.

Decentralization is primarily concerned with the administrative, governance and financial systems of education. In such reforms, the clear objective is to shift the oversight and operational activities of the educational system away from centralized administrative offices out into the towns and villages, where education actually takes place.

While decentralization is among the most politically complex and challenging efforts confronting contemporary educational systems, some countries have succeeded in decentralizing significant portions of their systems.

Decentralization sometimes entails more than a strictly internal transfer of control from the national to local level. Since significant levels of funding for education in sub-Saharan Africa often derive from international funding agencies, decentralization might include the need to first transfer a significant amount of control from external funding agencies to the national level, and then to the local agencies and schools.

Research has shown that in many countries, which appear to have decentralized systems, the reality is frequently quite different. Even when the local administrative structure is in place and local authorities are allegedly in control, the centralized authority often still has the power of finance, curriculum resources and materials, or other hidden mechanisms of control. This appearance versus reality problem has been documented in Kenya (Adamolekun *et al.*, 1990) and other African countries (Negash, 1996; Nzouankeu, 1994).

A frequent concern voiced over decentralization is that it may, in fact, simply serve to formalize historical regional inequalities. An unavoidable reality is that if, particularly in the case of financial decentralization, the responsibility for education is strongly given to villages and communities, then the "rich" areas of a country may become even more entrenched in their advantaged conditions over poorer rural areas. Clearly, decentralization reforms must account for the varying capacity of different areas in important functions like finance. Somehow these policy initiatives need to ensure conditions that equalize access regardless of location.

This last point brings up the connection between decentralization and democratization. The relationship between these two important reforms must be reaffirmed. It is

simply difficult to imagine that one can exist without clear evidence of the other. Decentralization is closely related to pluralistic democracy (Nzouankeu, 1994).

TRENDS IN NON-FORMAL EDUCATION

The inability of the school system to accommodate the growing population of children, or even sometimes to maintain the rate of enrolment, has motivated the search for innovative ways to resolve the crisis. Everywhere in Africa, an increasing number of initiatives are being launched to respond to the limitations of the school system and to provide work-related skills (Chauveau, 1998). These non-formal education programs are aimed at the populations that have been excluded from educational opportunities. Non-formal education seeks to better address the needs of poorly educated people by using a flexible and adaptable approach with regard to age-range, course content and duration, modes and place of learning, language of instruction or teaching methods. Community participation and NGOs' involvement are also important features of most non-formal education programs.

Although there seems to be a renewed interest in these initiatives, the concept of non-formal education is not new. It can, for instance, easily be related to the 1970s shift in development thinking which advocated the "basic needs" approach. The concern was already to challenge the focus on economic growth by advocating a priority for improving the living conditions of the poorest. There is therefore no doubt that non-formal education constitutes an important effort to reach the disadvantaged groups and promote lifelong learning. However, evidence is still lacking to assess precisely its impact and identify conditions for success.

Non-formal education encompasses a wide variety of programs. It is however possible to distinguish among them different types reflecting various strategies. Without attempting an exhaustive list, three main categories of programs can be identified, namely: (i) non-formal basic education programs for children and youth; (ii) community development related initiatives, and (iii) adult literacy and post-literacy programs.

The search of educational alternatives

In the African context, non-formal basic education first refers to traditional village schools often related to various forms of religious education. While some reservations exist about the exact nature of these systems, most countries in the region recognize the need to establish some sort of partnership between the State and religious initiatives to expand the scope of basic education. Religious institutions – Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox Churches, Mosques – are also extensively used for literacy and post-literacy programs.

Besides the traditional village schools, a number of alternatives are developed by communities in collaboration with NGOs. Hence, NGOs often play an important role in providing material and financial support to non-formal schools. However, the

mushrooming of private sector initiatives in basic education has progressively revealed a need for co-ordination. New patterns of collaboration between the various public and private stakeholders involved in non-formal education are being developed. In Senegal, for instance, the government has formulated a “faire faire” approach whereby the delivery of educational services is delegated to NGOs.

In several other countries, the State has embarked on innovative forms of collaboration with communities and NGOs to provide alternative options to out-of school children and youth. The *Centres d'Education de base non formelle* (CEBNF) in Burkina Faso, the Nafa Centers in *Guinea* and the *Centres d'Education pour le Développement* (CED) in Mali illustrate such trends (Atchoarena; Niameogo, 1998).

These three countries are facing strong demographic pressure in a context of low level enrolment. Furthermore, under the prevailing financial constraints, the cost of formal education, although too low to meet quality standards, hampers rapid educational expansion. In the short run, progressing towards the goal of basic education for all and addressing the needs of a fast growing out-of-school child population require imaginative options.

In this framework, the strategy inspiring the CEBNF, the Nafa centers and the CED is based upon the following basic principles:

- adapting education to the local environment: this means transforming the curricula to make it more relevant to the local culture and economy, adaptation applies equally to the organization of the school day in order to accommodate the requirements of the agro-pastoral life, it can also imply the use of the local language (Burkina Faso and Mali)
- involving the civil society: community involvement constitutes the basis foundation on which these three programs are built, communities must express their will to open the center, they erect and maintain the school building and participate in its management, they also contribute to identifying, paying or supporting the teacher
- redefining government operational modalities: in such contexts, Ministries of Education although still playing an important role are no longer in charge of delivery, they must facilitate, monitor, support, evaluate a process controlled by others, e.g. the beneficiaries themselves, assisted by NGOs.

Designed to reach out-of-school children and youth, mainly in rural settings, the three programs combine both basic education and vocational skills. Hence, although the students can, to some extent, reintegrate the formal system or youth vocational training centers, the major aim is to facilitate their productive integration into the local labour market, usually dominated by agro-pastoral activities and craft production.

Although they are still in an experimental phase, those three programs already have some limitations. In Mali, and to some extent in Guinea, the poorest communities experience difficulty in remunerating the teachers. These experiences suggest that, although community participation is an important factor to ensure empowerment and develop a sense of ownership as well as to generate the initial investment required to establish the center, it can hardly last. If poor communities are able to make a significant contribution at the initial stage, this effort can hardly be sustained in the long-run. In extreme

cases their inability to provide sufficient and stable salaries leads to loss of motivation and absenteeism among instructors.

The inability of instructors to apply the participatory and competency-based approach recommended for such programs also represents a major issue. The preservice training they receive is often inadequate both in terms of length – too short – and style – theoretical with no practical activities. This is also the case with in-service training programs, when they do exist. Furthermore, the absence or weakness of supervision services deprive instructors from direct professional support while they are teaching.

Eventually, the major issue remains, in those three cases (CEBNF, Nafa, CED), the preparation for work. In Guinea, where most centers recruit only girls, the focus has been so far on sewing, which appears to be in great demand among communities. It now appears that a single skill cannot be taught to all cohorts, in all centers. But no alternative has been found yet. In Mali, initiatives have been taken to identify local competencies available in the communities, especially in the craft sector, in view of creating training pools, each pool being specialized in a particular field. Although intellectually attractive, this approach is still at an experimental stage. In Burkina Faso, no option has yet been selected to implement the vocational component of the CEBNF fourth year of training. Investigations are conducted to identify the main economic activities at the local level in order to develop relevant curricula. In the meantime, learners are only exposed to general subject areas and acquire basic competencies.

Promoting local capacity-building

Following a period of strong state intervention, Africa is now experiencing an increase in local initiatives, often supported by decentralization policies. The sustainability and performance of the top-down approach to development is being questioned everywhere. As a result, the balance has shifted and local initiatives and participation are seen as possible responses. Local associations are expected to play a growing role in launching sustainable development initiatives. In this context, education and training are considered necessary to empower communities and give them the required knowledge and skills. Furthermore, it is usually recognized that in the field of adult education, the decentralized network of grassroots initiatives better responds to the social demand and economic needs.

Recent evidence on this topic has been produced within the framework of the PADLOS[1] – Education study, conducted by the Club du Sahel/OECD. Implemented in five countries (Burkina Faso, Ghana, Mali, Niger, Sénégal), the research looked at the contribution of education and training to the success of local development initiatives. The scope of the study covered: (i) rural production and natural resources management; (ii) processing and marketing of products, small scale industry, and, (iii) tertiary sector activities such as credit, health education and administration.

The findings suggest that, within the framework of local development activities, education and training programs do contribute to real capacity-building. This relationship seems stronger for inter-sectoral interventions and when external support is available to consolidate local initiatives (Easton, 1998).

The study also confirms that, in itself, education is not sufficient. Successful local development initiatives require an enabling institutional environment, a supportive culture, and finance. Interestingly, the research documented peculiar situations of “over-literacy” or “over-training” when education programs were not followed by investment. Furthermore, local leadership, which is a key factor for success, depends more on the experience, personality and motivation of individuals than on their level of education.

The gap between the school system and the work of development services at the local level is seen as a major obstacle. So is the exclusive use of European languages in official documents, while most adult education programs use national languages as the medium of instruction.

It is arguable that the formal education system is unable to meet the immediate needs of the community, partly because of the exogenous nature of the language used and because it focuses on youngsters while adult learners are the main agents of local development initiatives.

Hence there is need to: (1) better articulate, at the local level, formal and non-formal education, (2) to link formal and non-formal programs with local development initiatives for them to be effective, and (3) to differentiate between both types of programs for children and those for adults.

Emerging patterns in adult literacy programs

During several decades, following the Arusha Declaration (1962), African countries have launched several mass literacy campaigns in an effort to eradicate illiteracy and support the development process. While the potential benefits for the learner seem obvious, most of these programs failed to produce clear evidence of their impact on educational and economic development. In addition to ill-conceived delivery mechanisms and methodologies, most programs suffered from a total lack of adequate monitoring and evaluation (Carron; Carr-Hill, 1991).

Recognizing the relative failure of the mass campaign approach, an increasing number of countries are choosing a targeted strategy aimed at disadvantaged groups such as out-of-school and out-of-work youth, particularly girls, women in poor rural areas, and, in cities, women and youth working in the informal sector. While this approach is considered more powerful to address the needs of the poorest segments of the population, it also forms part of a strategy to ensure greater participation of children from poor families in the school system. Hence, it is expected that once literate, parents and particularly mothers will be more inclined to send their children to school, especially girls.

This targeted approach is often implemented in a decentralized framework where delivery, technical support, monitoring and evaluation are controlled at the local level. It is considered that this modality can respond more cost-effectively to the demand and needs of learners and communities.

Furthermore, central government agencies are no longer seen as the major agent of literacy programs. Flexible and demand-driven delivery mechanisms take advantage of

the diversity of potential providers present at the local level. Therefore, partnership between government agencies, NGOs, private sector organizations, trade unions, churches and development projects tends to become a key instrument for the design, financing, implementation and evaluation of literacy programs. Within such collaborative arrangements, NGOs, viewed as more innovative for the pedagogical and operational aspects, more cost-effective and closer to the communities often take the lead in identifying needs and in delivering programs.

In Senegal, for instance, the *Programme d'Alphabétisation-Priorité Femmes* (PAFPF) operates by delegation, through NGOs. The PAFPF covers 150,000 persons, 75% of whom are women, spread over five language zones. Its operational modalities rely fully on selecting and contracting NGOs. Experience suggests that the success of such schemes largely depends on establishing an efficient unit for managing NGO-delegated contracts.

Community participation is also increasingly recognized as an important element to stimulate adults' demand and motivation. Sensitization and negotiation, through consultative meetings and workshops, constitute the initial step of successful programs. At the implementation stage, local management contributes to better monitoring of literacy activities. The Village literacy committees in Namibia, the peasant associations Tin-Tua and Manegdbzanga in Burkina Faso illustrate this community ownership (Fiaux; Niada, 1997).

The search for local relevance is also reflected in the delivery methods chosen. Development-oriented approaches such as REFLECT and FAL are being applied in some countries like Ethiopia. Both methods use participatory approaches in teaching, requiring a detailed study of the beneficiary community.

The REFLECT (Regenerated Freirian Literacy through Empowering Community Techniques) concept involves helping the learners to analyze the overall reality in which they live with the aim of empowering them to address identified problems. Instructional methods require the active participation of learners using resources from the environment.

In the FAL (Functional Adult Literacy) method, adults are grouped according to the concerns they have expressed, around thematic issues including economy, health, education, politics and culture. It is expected that the active participation of the learners in FAL creates a sense of ownership among the community.

Although adult education specialists may argue about the best methodology to be used, enough experience has been gained to know what educational investment is required to achieve functional literacy. It is generally recognized that about 500 hours of adequate learning can make adults literate and sufficiently trainable to follow post-literacy activities related to local development issues (agriculture, decentralization, health, population and environmental issues).

Earlier programs have also demonstrated that adults learn better and faster in their own language. Furthermore, complementary methods have been developed to then acquire literacy in the official language. In Burkina Faso, the ALFAA[2] method or the one developed by Tin-Tua, inspired by the work of the *Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar* (CLAD), provides evidence of this know-how.

While the pedagogical aspects seem well documented and controlled, the management aspects have long been overlooked. In a context where past experiences have suffered from their inability to learn not only from mistakes but also achievements, building up evaluation and monitoring systems now appears a priority. Learners' and instructors' attendance, availability of educational materials and reliable cost data are typically not recorded. The lack of clarity on the way costs are compiled often prevents any meaningful analysis and attempts to compare programs. The fact that statistics on cost per completer are usually not available makes it difficult to assess the real efficiency of the programs.

Rectifying this situation is important at least for two reasons. First, in a context where preference is increasingly given to decentralized frameworks and grassroots partnership, government agencies must learn new procedures. They often have to co-ordinate a diversity of providers, representing different institutional cultures and capacities. Effective monitoring then requires the development of indicators common to all programs and the establishment of an information system able to collect and process, on a regular basis, a harmonized set of data on aspects such as learners' participation, instructors' work, learning achievements and programs outcomes, but also on program management, instructors' supervision and community mobilization.

The second concern for better monitoring and evaluation is policy-related. In most African countries, literacy has become the "parent pauvre" (poor relative) of educational policies. The call for basic education for all has been mainly interpreted as developing access and participation in primary schools. Increasing investment in literacy for a large share of the adult population who have been excluded from the school system requires producing more evidence of the actual educational, social and economic benefits. As such, building robust monitoring and evaluation systems is a strategic issue.

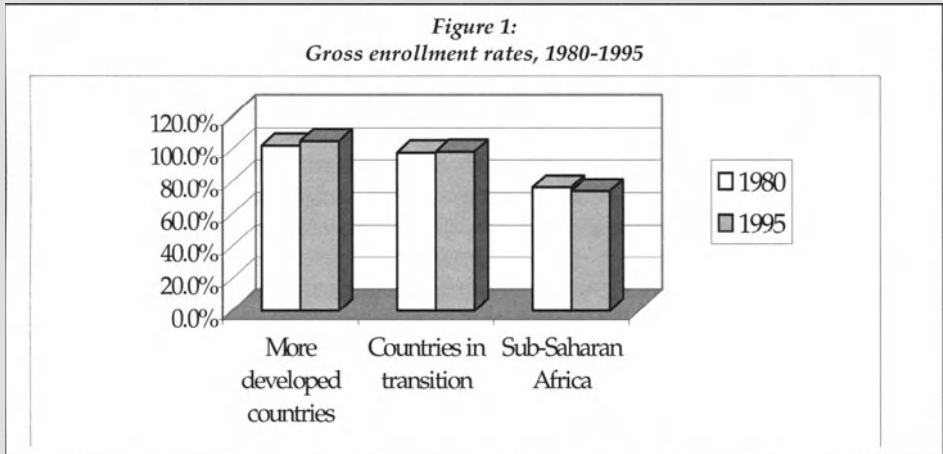
MAIN ACHIEVEMENTS AND OBSTACLES

Progress and resistance in the school system

The progress and resistance in educational efforts in most countries of sub-Saharan are strongly influenced by the constraining impact of the social, economic and cultural forces invariably at work in the region. A more realistic view has emerged as to what can be expected of educational systems and reform efforts in both local and national terms. Prevailing social, economic and cultural forces are now recognized as presenting substantial and ongoing challenges to rapid and extensive education reform, especially in the vital areas of access, efficiency, equity, quality, and learning outcomes.

Access

Throughout the decade of the 1990s, the issue of access to basic educational opportunities has been clearly at the top of most national educational agendas. It is commonly



Source: (UNESCO, 1998, p. 27)

accepted that, as the close of the century approaches, virtually all governments and aid agencies are concerned with and working toward the enrolment of 100% of the world's children in school (Caillods, 1998). In sub-Saharan Africa, the relative emphasis in official national declarations on access to basic educational opportunities is nearly always the highest priority. Providing access to all children was clearly the primary objective of the Jomtien Conference, based on the consensus that the opportunity to simply be in school was the first threshold to pass on the way to providing quality education to all the world's children.

Even though most sub-Saharan African countries have devoted enormous energy and resources to solving the problems associated with access, the number of children without any reasonable access to primary education actually grew by two million in the first five years of this decade (Bennell; Furlong, 1998, pp. 57-58). Most measures of access indicate that sub-Saharan Africa is the only geographical region in the world where access to basic education resists long-term improvement (UNESCO, 1998, pp. 26-27).

The data in Figure 1, showing gross enrolment rates from 1980 and 1995, indicate a decrease for sub-Saharan Africa over that period. Gross enrolment rates from 1980 to 1995 in sub-Saharan Africa were the only rates to exhibit a decline in any area of the world.

This decline is partly due to the problems encountered by specific countries such as former Zaire and Nigeria, which account for a large share of the total population of sub-Saharan Africa. Generally, the rise of civil disturbances also critically affected progress in education. In this context, and despite the highest priority and efforts of the region's governments, improvement in access will be, at best, gradual and come in small increments into the foreseeable future (ICFEFA, 1998; IWGE, 1999; UNESCO, 1998; UNICEF, 1999).

Efficiency

Full participation in basic education, through completion, is a critical issue in the efficiency of sub-Saharan African education. With human and financial resources apparently stretched to their limits, ways in which education can be more efficient are rising in importance.

While schools struggle to maintain or increase enrolments in basic educational programs in sub-Saharan Africa, a serious gap remains in research and evaluation as to why enrolment challenges persist.

The following statistics create a sobering picture regarding the participation levels in basic education in sub-Saharan Africa:

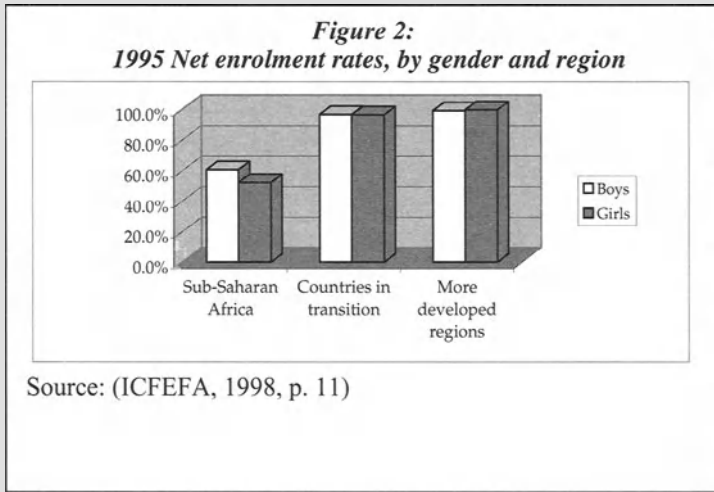
- Counting all children, whether in school or not, a six-year old boy in Africa can expect to receive, on average, not quite two years of education, and girls no more than one year
- “School life expectancies” are shortest in the Sahelian countries, with Mali at 2.3 years, Niger at 2.8 years, and Burkina Faso at 3.4 years
- For girls in these three Sahelian countries “school life expectancies” are even shorter at 1.2, 1.4, and 2.1 years respectively. (ICFEFA, 1996)

The social and personal impact of such inefficiency in participation in basic education is unacceptably high. In addition, the growing problem of students who “drop-out” of formal educational systems is compounding the challenge of making educational systems more efficient.

Each year of repetition absorbs human and financial resources that could be used to bring another child into the educational system or to improve the quality of the educational experience for the rest of the students. Pedagogical effects aside, repeating grades is simply inefficient in an economic sense. Data indicate that the percentage of repeaters in primary education in sub-Saharan Africa was 17% in 1985 and 16% in 1995, the highest in all of the least developed regions over that span (ICFEFA, 1998).

Students who enroll in school and subsequently “drop-out” create a substantial impact on both the educational system and the local labour markets and economies. Drop-outs generate one of the single largest negative influences on the efficiency of African educational systems. Nearly half of all drop-out occurs before pupils reach Grade 2. This fact is important because, to ensure adequate literacy, a student needs to complete Grade 4.

Many factors are involved in the decision to drop-out, most of which are linked to labour force and economic influences. For example, South Africa has recently experienced a dramatic increase in unemployment. Unemployment of parents has been proposed as a cause for a number of students to drop-out because the required school fees could no longer be paid. Further propositions suggest that while adult employment has dropped, youth employment is increasing because they are used to replace adults. Thus, some students may have left school to assume employment responsibilities that adults could no longer maintain (Harrison; Chisholm, 1999). Besides economic



factors, the poor quality of education is probably the most significant factor leading to drop-out.

Equity

Educationally-disadvantaged groups can be identified on the basis of gender, ethnicity, economic status, religion, location in rural areas, and many other dimensions. In addition, many people are kept from equal educational opportunities by virtue of membership in several disadvantaged groups simultaneously. Equitable allocation of educational resources is clearly one of the universal goals behind the efforts of the last decade in sub-Saharan African education (Caillods, 1998; Harrison; Chisholm, 1999; IIEP, 1997).

Girls and women are at the top of the list of disadvantaged groups. No other group is so uniformly kept from full and equal participation in basic educational opportunities. As shown in Figure 2, not only are the net enrolment rates for girls in sub-Saharan Africa much lower than those in countries in transition and the more developed regions, but girls fall behind boys in Africa by nearly 8%. This general comparison masks the fact that in many countries in sub-Saharan Africa, net female enrolment rates are substantially behind those of boys. For example, girls trail boys at alarming rates in net enrolment in Benin (31%), Democratic Republic of Congo (19%), and Gambia (18%) (ICFEFA, 1998, p. 42). Yet, over long periods of time, research has consistently shown that the greatest personal, social, labour force and economic benefits accrue through the education of girls and women (Easton, 1998; Psacharopoulos, 1988).

While the reasons vary in specific cases for the unequal access of girls and women to basic educational opportunities, several patterns hold consistently over time. The primary patterns in the low participation of girls in many countries of Africa are largely socio-cultural artifacts, such as belief in the inherent intellectual differences between men and women, gender-based roles in daily living and maintenance activities, and marriage, child-care and fertility expectations. All of these types of socio-cultural issues make it difficult or impossible for girls to participate in education beyond a few years, if at all (ICFEFA, 1996).

The education of rural children provides further evidence of the equity issue. Primary and secondary school enrolment rates are usually lower in rural areas than in cities. Furthermore, the rural children who do attend school suffer from a wide range of disadvantages such as unsafe facilities, shortage of teaching materials, lower teachers' attendance and qualifications, long travel distances from place of residence, lack of a supportive linguistic environment. These unfavorable learning conditions are usually reflected in lower achievement levels in rural schools than in large cities.

While significant challenges to equity exist across many dimensions, concerted efforts and extensive resources are being brought to bear on possible solutions. The resolutions to equity problems have not come as quickly as hoped, but indications are that progress is being made.

Quality

For at least the last decade, the emphasis in basic education has primarily been on issues of access (which is the effort to increase quantity) and equity. Perhaps in the rush to meet what was seen as the more immediate need of enrolling all students, the fact that seminal conferences and gatherings such as Jomtien and MINEDAF V emphasized quality as an equally important ingredient to educational success was overlooked (ICFEFA, 1996; UNESCO-BREDA, 1997).

However, it has become increasingly clear that the challenges facing sub-Saharan Africa cannot be adequately answered through strategies almost exclusively oriented toward increasing enrolments. Research indicates that the quality of instruction and the conditions of teaching and learning, perhaps especially in poorer rural regions, matters greatly in social, labour and economic impacts of education. In addition, much of the problem in achieving and maintaining higher enrolments is essentially connected to the quality and relevance of the education being offered. With tens of million out-of-school children in the continent as a whole, a significant portion of the blame must be placed on the problem of low quality (Bennell; Furlong, 1998).

Despite the emerging agreement on the importance of quality issues, a fundamental disagreement persists on both what quality is and how it can be measured. Quality measures typically used in the developed regions, such as examination results, teacher/pupil ratios, and proportion of teachers who are trained and certified, availability and distribution of teaching materials, etc., are substantially lacking in many sub-Saharan countries.

However, policy-makers and educators are increasingly realizing that less tangible indicators and factors than those mentioned contribute greatly to the level of quality of education (ICFEFA, 1996). Some of these less tangible indicators of quality focus on measuring context-specificity of the curriculum, availability of current and high-quality textbooks, personal as well as professional characteristics of teachers, the physical and mental preparedness of pupils to make good use of materials and instruction, and the existence of an appropriate social environment in the school that is conducive to learning. In addition, a growing awareness exists in many countries that school management and leadership is also an important factor in quality (ICFEFA, 1996).

All reasonable indications are that the conditions of teaching and learning in sub-Saharan Africa are not only less than optimal, they are not even meeting basic needs. In most African countries, both teachers and students simply need more basic support if teaching and learning outcomes are to improve.

However, while improving the supply of education by providing an adequate learning environment is clearly a necessity, empirical evidence also indicate that the teaching-learning process plays a key role (Carron; Ta Ngoc, 1996). Teaching style is one of the main determinants of a school performance.

In addition to teacher-learner contact, attention needs to be paid to the interactions taking place between the teacher and other stakeholders, including the headteacher, the parents and the education administration. Often overlooked, for obvious reasons in contexts where basic input factors are in shortage, the importance of the teaching-learning process needs to be fully acknowledged in educational reforms.

Learning outcomes and lifelong education

Most African countries have expended substantial efforts to increase educational opportunities. Yet, for sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, labour productivity today is lower than it was in 1980 or even, in many cases, than 1965 (ICFEFA, 1996). This condition is particularly troublesome, because African countries were initially committed to educational reform largely on the basis of the expected labour and economic benefits that were supposed to be associated with educational attainment.

However, the lack of benefits is only half of the picture. Have educational outcomes improved over the last decade or, at the very least, what are the levels of current educational attainment? Without this vital information, evaluating where the cause originates for the decrease in labour and economic indicators and whether education should be seen as falling in this regard is impossible.

Throughout the developed regions of the world, tremendous amounts of time and energy are exerted to conduct just this type of research and evaluation, with decidedly mixed results in terms of quality. The measurement and evaluation of the achievement of students in sub-Saharan Africa would seem to present challenges which have been seen in other parts of the world. In reality, however, the research and evaluation capacity of the region is consistently rated as one of the single most problematic aspects of the educational reform efforts of the last few decades. While governments expend virtually all of their available fiscal resources to increase access, equity and

Table 2:
Gender differences at the secondary and tertiary levels for five SACMEQ countries

Females per 100 males enrolled (1990)		
Country:	Secondary:	Tertiary:
Mauritius	43	15
Namibia	125	4
Zambia	59	39
Tanzania	--	--
Zimbabwe	79	38

Sources: (Saito, 1998, p. 261; United Nations, 1995, pp. 100-101)

quality, funds are not made available to develop research capacity, an activity that seems so critical to understanding the basic needs and challenges in Africa today.

As a result, educators have few, if any, scientifically rigorous and reasonably large-scale studies to rely on in examining what educational attainments can be dependably attributed to educational efforts in recent years. In fact, very few moderate or poor quality studies even exist to use in evaluating educational achievement in Africa.

The International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) contributed to a cross-national study conducted in seven countries of Southern Africa. This work presents very compelling information concerning the specific achievement outcome of reading competence, the one educational indicator considered to be the most critical in terms of increasing educational success and, therefore, labour and economic productivity (Saito, 1998).

The initial educational research project of the Southern African Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ) was a co-operative, cross-national initiative conceived of by the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) of UNESCO along with the Ministry of Education of the countries involved. The original countries involved were Kenya, Malawi, Mauritius, Namibia, Tanzania (Zanzibar), Zambia, and Zimbabwe (Kulpoo, 1998; Machingaidze, *et al.*, 1998; Nassor; Mohammed, 1998; Nkamba; Kanyika, 1998; Voigts, 1998).

The SACMEQ research illuminated three key findings. First, and most surprisingly, no significant differences existed between the overall reading performance levels of boys and girls. Second, the overall reading levels of the students were very low. And finally, the study found large regional differences within countries in reading performance (Kulpoo, 1998; Machingaidze *et al.*, 1998; Nassor; Mohammed, 1998; Nkamba; Kanyika, 1998; Saito 1998; Voigts, 1998).

The first SACMEQ finding looked at the performance levels of boys and girls at Grade 6 (the grade level for the research). Substantial gender differences between

Table 3:
Minimum and desirable levels of reading performance in five SACMEQ countries

Country:	% of students reaching specified levels	
	Minimum:	Desirable:
Mauritius	52.8	26.7
Namibia	25.9	7.6
Tanzania	46.1	5.2
Zambia	25.8	2.4
Zimbabwe	56.4	37.0

Sources: (Kulpoo, 1998; Machingaidze et al., 1998; Nassor; Mohammed, 1998; Nkamba; Kanyika, 1998; Voigts, 1998)

boys and girls, particularly in reading and maths, are almost always found in educational studies. Yet, in this study no significant differences were found. If the reading competence levels of boys and girls in the region are indeed as indicated, then perhaps hope exists that a generation of literate female students is beginning to emerge from the recent reform efforts. The impact of this trend, however, is still far off. At the present time, for example, girls in Zimbabwe are dropping out of the educational system much earlier than boys. Table 2 shows how girls are still far behind boys in levels of education above the primary level. Another important point is to consider that while girls and boys are performing at roughly the same levels in the critical area of reading, the overall level at which they are both equally performing is very low.

Each SACMEQ country specified "cut-off scores" on the test corresponding to two levels of reading achievement. The first was the "minimum" level of reading mastery expected to be able to move on successfully to the next grade in school. The second was the "desirable" level, indicating a higher level of reading performance.

As can be seen in Table 3, the levels of reading performance against standards of minimum and desirable were far less than optimal. With a range of 25.8% to 56.4% of the students achieving the minimum level, 2.4% to 37% performing at the desirable level, a substantial dampening effect is created on the previous finding of no gender differences in reading performance. While gender equity may have been manifested in this area, equality at such low levels is hardly the achievement outcome that recent educational reforms have been seeking.

The last finding of the SACMEQ reading research was that there were consistent large disparities in performance between geographical regions of the countries. Namibia exhibited the greatest variation between regions. In all countries, the regional differences correlated strongly with the higher performing areas being more urban and the lower performing regions being rural. In terms of the reading mastery categories,

three of seven regions of Namibia had 0% of the students reaching the desirable level of mastery, compared to 24.7% of the most urban region, Windhoek.

In French-speaking Africa, a similar exercise called PASEC[3] has been conducted within the framework of the *Conférence des Ministres de l'Éducation ayant le français en portage* (CONFEMEN, 1998). Achievement tests were conducted with students enrolled in the second and fifth grade of primary education in eight countries.[4] The results show that basic skills (reading, writing, numeracy) are not always acquired at the end of the fifth year. Furthermore their application to every day situations remains weak.

An important, although controversial, finding of the PASEC is that the options currently used to reduce cost do not have significant effects on quality. It is therefore suggested that for countries with low enrolment levels, decreasing unit cost can be an effective option to expand coverage, the equity benefit compensating the modest loss in quality. Further evidence is however required to confirm such policy conclusions.

In summary, the lack of scientifically dependable research and evaluation plagues efforts at constructing a clear picture of the achievement and attainment levels of African students. This is especially challenging in the face of the need to determine what, if any, role the educational system is playing in the persistent labour and economic problems of the region. What little, good information is available indicates that the performance of African students still falls below expectations and targeted standards. This situation is likely to seriously affect the prospects for lifelong learning.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF NON-FORMAL EDUCATION TO LIFELONG LEARNING

Learners' achievements

In contexts where financial constraints are tight, non-formal education seems an attractive option for disadvantaged children. It is estimated that, in French-speaking Africa, between 10% (Cameroon, Togo) and 30 percent (Niger) of all school-age children benefit from non-formal education programs (IIEP, 1998). However, it is still difficult to precisely assess the contribution of non-formal education programs to the gross enrolment rate.

A number of unsolved problems remain concerning the level of education reached. Prominent among these problems is the limited funding and capacity in national educational research units with responsibility for gathering educational data for basic evaluations of performance and attainment. With data sources and quality usually lacking, it is difficult to assess even generally the contribution of non-formal education in increasing the average educational attainment of the population.

In the absence of comparable and complete sources of information for most countries in Africa, some indications can be provided by looking at recorded results for selected programs in Burkina Faso, Guinea. The first example is drawn from the EBAALAN[5] program in Burkina Faso. EBAALAN is an educational innovation using literacy methods in the Mooré language to provide 4 years of basic education to

9-14 year-old out-of-school youth. The first year is dedicated to literacy in Mooré, students begin to study French the second year. In the third year, French becomes the medium of instruction.

Tests were conducted to measure achievement levels obtained in EBAALAN centers and compare them with those of formal school children. The tests covered five subject areas, namely, reading, dictation, reading comprehension, mathematics and observation. EBAALAN students obtained significantly better mean scores in all subjects than primary school children (ADEA, 1999). Furthermore, girls in the EBAALAN centers recorded higher mean scores than boys attending formal schools. Three assumptions are being made to explain those differences.

The better performance of EBAALAN students suggests that the use of the mother tongue in instruction has greatly facilitated the learning process. The location of EBAALAN centers, close to the communities, may also explain part of the results, when often primary school children must walk long distances. The experimental conditions in which EBAALAN operates, involving high motivation, more efforts and resources, probably explain much of the learning outcomes. The relatively higher performance of girls in the EBAALAN program compared to boys may be attributed to the fact that these girls were taught by female teachers.

Another set of results concerns the CEBNF, also in Burkina Faso (see section 2.2.1). Those data are extracted from a quantitative and qualitative evaluation conducted in 1997 (Napon, 1997). The tests were administered in 7 CEBNF totaling 114 learners. The scores indicate that 28 students, or 25%, had problems in writing, and 34, or 30%, in mathematics. Among the sample, the children who had never been to school experienced more difficulties than drop-outs. Unfortunately, the results cannot be compared to those obtained in formal or EBAALAN schools.

In Guinea, an evaluation of Nafa centers conducted in 1997 (Hamadache; Sow, 1997) provides some indicators of the level of educational attainment. The scores obtained in reading reflect a great disparity between centers. In the top Nafa centers, 85%–95% of the learners have acquired the targeted reading level, in others the average student expresses great difficulties in pronouncing all letters of the alphabet and can hardly understand what she reads (the majority are girls). Scores in mathematics display a similar pattern. In fact, they show a strong correlation with reading achievement.

In conclusion, the report proposes that 85 to 90% of the learners could reach the targeted reading level, if teachers' attendance could be higher, and textbooks made available. Unfortunately, there is little reliable evidence to support this opinion.

Recent data collected by the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) on the CEBNF (Burkina Faso), Nafa centers (Guinea) and CED (Mali) raise interesting questions about the differences in learning outcomes between students who had never been to school and drop-outs (Atchoarena, 1999). It seems that the children who had never been in contact with the school system, who form the majority of Nafa and CED learners, do better than their counterparts who had left school. On the contrary, in the CEBNF, where most of the learners are school dropouts, they perform much better than the illiterate youth.

A number of factors can explain such results and differences. In the case of Burkina Faso, one may conclude that formal education does increase trainability. In Guinea and Mali schooling seems to be rather detrimental to further learning. This paradox may be attributed to a failure stigma, drop-outs being easily discouraged. Parents of children who have never been to school may also feel more concerned, exerting strong pressure on their children to succeed. Available data also suggest that in Burkina Faso drop-outs attending the CEBNF have spent more years in schools than their counterparts in Guinea (Nafa centers) and Mali (CED).

While defensible conclusions are difficult to draw from so few limited examples, it appears unlikely that non-formal education constitutes an alternative way of providing basic education to disadvantaged children. More likely, these initiatives represent a complementary measure in a context where the economic conditions prevent governments from universalizing formal primary education. In the short and medium term, the assumed capacity of non-formal education to achieve literacy with a reduction in the required number of years could result in significant savings. Furthermore, the use of the local language and a better integration between the school and the community is likely to facilitate the transition of youth into the working life, in economies where labour markets are stagnant.

A related issue has to do with the articulation between non-formal education and the formal system. In an effort to upgrade the status of non-formal education, some countries have established bridges allowing, under certain conditions, non-formal program learners to access formal schools, usually at the end of primary or at the first grade of secondary education. Not much data is available on these experiences, which remain marginal.

In Guinea, where provision has been made to authorize Nafa learners to enter formal schools, the evaluation conducted by UNICEF in 1997 shows promising, but still modest results. Out of the 13 Nafa centers covered by the study, 113 learners were admitted into formal schools. Up to 1997, for all centers, a total of 144 learners, including 130 girls, had transferred to the formal system after three years of training. It is worth noting that most of them were initially illiterate.

Although in quantitative terms this performance is not significant (about 4,000 learners were attending Nafa centers in 1997/98) it reflects the potential value of the Nafa formula. Furthermore, the follow-up of students coming from Nafa centers shows that their performance level is one of the best in their class. Such results seem encouraging, but they do not provide any indication of the average attainment level of Nafa learners or their capacity to continue their education in the formal sector.

In fact the question of equivalence with the formal system is a tricky one. While it can contribute to a parity of esteem between formal and non-formal education, establishing a parallel system based on reduced cost and local relevance may also have its merits. The transfer to the formal system may not be the best way of boosting post-primary education. It could also prove to be counterproductive in a context where priority should be given to providing basic education services to the disadvantaged groups.

In the presence of a highly heterogeneous demand, further educational progress in Africa may require recognizing the need for a diversity of modes of delivery, each

having its own merit and relevance. Building robust diversified educational pathways would also require abandoning the standards of the school system as the universal yardstick to measure performance.

A complementary approach which seems to be productive consists in establishing feeder schools in remote areas. These incomplete schools represent a promising innovation to enlarge access in disadvantaged rural areas, especially for girls. For that purpose they retain many characteristics of non-formal education including, strong community participation, flexibility in time and content, use of local facilitators, focused and condensed curricula and use of local language. The satellite schools in Burkina Faso or the Appropriate, Cost-effective Centers for Education with School System (ACCESS) in Ethiopia illustrate such a strategy.

At the post-primary level, the contribution of non-formal education to skill development, integration of youth into the world of work and lifelong learning is obvious. In the CEBNF (Burkina Faso), the good results recorded by primary school completers suggest that primary education does increase trainability. However, progress has to be made as to what type of non-formal program is best suited to address social and economic needs.

Contributing to adult literacy and children "educability"

Although the results of literacy programs are difficult to measure, it is clear that this investment has generated a positive dynamic towards educational development. In Burkina Faso, literacy centers can now be found in every other village. Every year, they are attended by approximately 100,000 learners. Even assuming a 50% drop-out rate, it means that, on a yearly basis, 50,000 adults are exposed to skills and knowledge that, if acquired and retained, will enhance their capacities as parents, as economic agents, but also as members of the civil society.

In the absence of adequate monitoring and evaluation systems, it is impossible to obtain comparable and complete data for most countries in Africa. The available information suggests that situations vary to a large extent according to national contexts. Research conducted by the IIEP in Tanzania revealed that 70% of the learners achieved the minimum score, and that, even in the most disadvantaged areas, 50% passed the test (Carr-Hill, et al., 1991). It is worth noting that among the factors explaining the scores attained exposure to primary education plays an important role. This Tanzania result further illustrates the positive impact of schooling on trainability, through retention of literacy and numeracy skills. A similar IIEP study on the Kenya literacy program showed that the vast majority of those who successfully completed the courses had acquired basic literacy and numeracy skills and were using them in every day life situations (IIEP, 1991).

Besides their potential capacity to increase the overall educational level of the population, literacy programs can produce strong intergenerational effects. International experience confirms the existence of a positive link between the level of education attained by parents and children's enrolment rates. In Zambia, recent data indicate that increasing the educational level of household heads by only one year would result in

increasing the enrolment rate at the primary level by two to three percent (Kelly, 1998). Such results suggest that educating parents can contribute to compensating for the negative effects of poverty on school participation.

These findings support the need for investing more in the education of adults, especially women. Providing education to illiterates can contribute to creating positive economic and social effects for the individual learners and for the community as a whole. Furthermore, it could also produce indirect benefits for the next generation through higher attention paid to children's education and health.

In essence, formal and non-formal education constitute together a lifelong learning system; both are necessary to educational development. The art is to achieve a proper balance between the two and to reconcile short-term objectives (addressing the needs of disadvantaged groups) and long-term development goals (achieving sustained and equitable educational progress).

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Educational policies in sub-Saharan Africa have a substantial link with reform efforts in other geographical regions, particularly developing areas. The starting point for most African countries is the recognition that basic education provides the groundwork for lifelong learning. Primary education is therefore considered the crucial element of foundation learning, as the basis for developing the ability and motivation to learn throughout life. Moreover, an increase in access to, and the quality of, basic schooling would produce collateral benefits such as facilitating the introduction of new technologies in the informal sector, reducing AIDS propagation or promoting human rights. All reasonable factors indicate a direct relationship between the quality and quantity of basic education received and the potential for further, lifelong, learning.

Future policy must account for the experience of the last decade, which has demonstrated that the economic, social and civil conditions of the sub-Saharan context exert an unavoidable influence on the development, sustainability, and relevance of educational systems. This is especially true at the basic level of education, as dire economic and civil conditions typically force young children out of school and into the workplace to help provide basic sustenance for their families. A positive trend for using these conditions as opportunities is found within the movement toward democratization.

Although not sufficient in itself, basic education contributes to the democratic foundation for social empowerment. The consolidation of democratization requires that people be able to build an active civil society and participate in decision-making. Lifelong education can promote empowerment and it is expected that, in turn, this process – particularly among the poor – can lead to greater demands for education in depressed areas.

A pragmatic approach requires adopting a diversified strategy and organizing interfaces between schools and non-formal education. Besides improving the quality of the formal school system, it is clearly necessary to design new complementary strategies. In this context, local initiatives focusing on core curricula, initially taught in the national language and provided over a shorter period than the formal school system,

deserve particular attention. Similarly, the increasing number of programs for drop-outs and other disadvantaged groups must gradually form part of emerging life-long education policies. Recent experience in African education has clearly shown that the most effective way to address the needs of poorly educated people is to diversify learning opportunities and make them relevant to prevailing economic and employment realities.

ENDNOTES:

1. Projet d'Appui au Développement Local au Sahel
2. Apprentissage du français à partir des acquis de l'alphabétisation (Learning French after acquiring literacy)
3. Programme d'Analyse des Systèmes Educatifs
4. Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Mali, Central African Republic, Senegal
5. Enseignement de Base à partir des Acquis de l'Alphabétisation dans les Langues Nationales

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Chapter 2: Lifelong Learning and Developing Society

RAMON FLECHA AND LÍDIA PUIGVERT

SOCIAL CHANGES IN EUROPE

From an Industrial to an Information Society

In a rapid and advancing process, a new kind of society is emerging and generating a new kind of inequality. The breakthrough from an industrial to an information society has consequences that have transformed, in a radical and permanent manner, the context of economic activities and the way our societies function. All these new conditions – the global context of the information society and its technological dimension – generate new needs regarding access to information and knowledge.

The information society and its technological dimension have also radically changed the nature of work and the organization of production. The relations of production and the conditions of employment are changing. Work will increasingly be made up of tasks based on one's intellect and will require of workers both initiative and the ability to adapt oneself. People without these specific abilities are more likely either to be excluded from the labor market or to opt for the worst jobs. This scenario implies that intellectual processes are much more decisive nowadays than they were in the industrial society. Success in different areas of social life depends more and more on education and training becoming determining factors in attaining equality of opportunity for everybody.

The selection and processing of information is becoming a key factor in the economic and other areas of our social life. The impact of the information revolution, no less transcendental and certainly more accelerated than the industrial one, goes from the growing importance of those functions connected with design (information added to the product) to the growing power of families' cultural capital *vis-à-vis* the economic impact in determining, to a greater or lesser extent, their members' training success.

These new needs bring learning systems and productive systems closer together. It is usually said that there is a convergence between labour market demands and learning and training supplies. Thus, as a result of the application of new technologies to productive processes, there is a need for the dissemination of scientific and technological knowledge to be accelerated. Cooperation must be developed between training centers and firms.

In the context of the information society, technological progress modifies the professional qualifications that workers require in order to gain access to new jobs or tasks. Education and training contribute thus to a personal and social transformation. Education has to be understood as a lifelong process in such a continuously changing environment.

SOCIAL DUALISATION PROCESSES

Despite the fact that the information revolution has created conditions to improve the living conditions of humankind, the social model that is becoming hegemonic deepens the old inequalities and generates new ones, causing social subsystems to become very dualized. Among them, in the labor market, a new division between workers is arising. This is being produced by firms' not taking advantage of new possibilities to reduce the length of the working day, and by diminishing the number of adequately stable and remunerated jobs. We are thus reaching a clear division of workers into three sectors: those who enjoy steady jobs, those who are temporarily hired, and those who are unemployed. There is a privileged social sector that has an advantageous relationship with the labor market (permanent, well-paid jobs). Another, not so privileged, social sector has a sporadic relationship with the labor market. And finally, there are those who never have access to a job. This social fragmentation results in a situation in which those employed work more and more, and those unemployed have fewer opportunities to get a job.

The traditional organization of the workplace – based on a full-time job, very defined occupational tasks and a model of a lifelong professional career – is changing. Since the beginning of the 1990s, we can observe a trend toward flexibility/mobility in the transformation of the labor market; in Spain, for example, several Labor Reforms (1984, 1994, 1997) are proofs of this. Part-time employment is a way to increase contracting opportunities for some groups such as women. In Spain in 1997, while there was 3.08% of employed men working in part time jobs, women working in part time jobs represent nearly six times more (17.05%) than the male percentage (INE 1999). All these trends may also be noted in some countries with highly developed social policies (Denmark, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, or Sweden). The tendency is for sporadic work to increase in those countries where part-time jobs are fewer (Spain, Greece, or Portugal). In these places, where there are high percentages of irregular jobs, such a situation has not necessarily led to a more flexible labour market. On the contrary, in Spain, an 'irregular' economy is supposed to provide work for approximately 1,200,000 people; yet Spain is characterised as a very rigid labor market. Therefore, one might conclude that an increase in the number of part-time or irregular jobs does not always provide flexibility to the labor market.

Some advocates of this social restructuring model argue that the same phenomenon occurred at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. In the initial phase, there was a worsening of the living conditions for large sectors of the population; in the longer term, however, the Industrial Revolution contributed greatly to their improvement. From a critical perspective, we could say that improvement did not come about automatically from linear industrial progress, but rather from the struggle of social movements, for instance, the unions' struggle for the eight-hour workday. In any case, regardless of the scientific and ethical validation that such an argument requires, it seems obvious that education must do something to attempt to overcome those inequalities by taking advantage of its new acquired role in the current Information Society.

Because of the aforementioned social model, education is purveying valuable resources to overcome the barriers established between the three sectors and is

becoming more and more a way of selecting who belongs to which sector. Cultural developments, then, tend to become one of the factors that configure social dualization (Habermas 1988/1983, p.36), that is to say, the selection of the "fittest".

MULTICULTURAL EUROPE

From among the various transformations generated by the Information Society and its effects in nearly all social spheres, one of the most remarkable is to be found in the large number of foreigners that the European Union (EU) is receiving. This phenomenon is important because of the lack of historical experience that EU has in relation to the reception of immigrants from beyond the European borders. The immigrant population has increased by three times its initial number. In 1950, only 1.3% of the total European population were foreigners; in 1990, the proportion has gone up to 4.5% (Castells 1996).

European educational systems reflect these changes. As a result of immigration, our educational institutions are receiving an increasing number of people from Africa and Asia. In Spain, for example, the National Institute of Statistics (INE) estimates that there is an official annual entrance of 35,000 immigrants. From 1989 to 1998, the number of foreign people in Spain has nearly doubled. The proportion of African immigrants has increased by eight times the initial amount; of these 78% are from Morocco (INE 1999a). Mobility among European populations within the European Union has also increased the multinational composition of schools. Schools have also been receiving large numbers of immigrant populations as a result of social and political changes in Eastern Europe. In addition, higher birth rates and the shift from an itinerant to a settled lifestyle have increased the size of the Gipsy population in schools (Flecha 1999, p.153).

As a result of this new multicultural environment, Europeans now face the problem of learning how to live together in the same territories and educational institutions. This affects social relationships in several ways. As explained above, two thirds of the active population work, and the rest (one third) is on the fringes of the labor market. It is specifically among this third group where one can find the majority of immigrants. They only have access, at best, to the most unstable and marginal jobs.

This population flow has produced the rise of some racist attitudes and of aggressive responses toward newcomers. Nazism is on the rise across Europe – Nazi parties have come second in some countries' elections (Flanders) and have recently grown in size in other countries (Norway, Denmark).

For the purposes of clarification, by "Multiculturalism" we shall mean the egalitarian recognition of the existence of different cultures in the same territory. "Interculturalism" would then be a way of thinking and acting that seeks to emphasise the relationships among cultures. "Pluriculturalism" is a name for another way of thinking and acting that stresses the preservation of these cultures' own identities.

In the present situation, two kinds of racism may be distinguished: an older, modern racism and a newer, postmodern racism. The former is based on assumptions about inequality and the existence of inferior or superior ethnicities and races. The latter

holds that ethnicities and races are neither inferior nor superior; they are merely different. It emphasizes the impossibility of dialogue among different races and ethnicities as a way to seek to establish common rules for living together. While denying the possibility of free intercultural dialogue, any attempt at intervention, assessment or even analysis is, on this view, to be disregarded if it does not start from the basis of a certain culture. The main proposal relativist authors make is to keep and develop one's own cultural identity.

In face of this situation, only the dialogic perspective – such as that promoted by Jürgen Habermas (1984, 1987, 1989a, 1996), Anthony Giddens (1991, 1992, 1994), Ulrich Beck (Beck & Giddens & Lash 1994 ; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 1995), CREA (1998–2000, forthcoming) and even by former rational choice theorists such as Jon Elster (1998) — can provide an appropriate intellectual framework to deal with both forms of racism, modern and postmodern.

With regard to multicultural relations, the three main characteristics of the dialogic perspective are the equality of differences, the sharing of territories, and the radicalization of democracy. In this view, difference is simply a part of equality: everybody has an equal right to live differently. This approach purports to allow those people involved to make decisions about options and actions, insofar as that could be possible. For this reason, the notion of equality of differences offers a greater plurality of options and consequently more freedom to many people to preserve their own cultural identity without being obliged to reject it in order to have equality of opportunities.

SPAIN IN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

During the Dictatorship, the economic relief of the 1960s was not matched by the country's political evolution. Only after Franco's death in 1975 could the country enter into a surprisingly smooth democratic transition process. In 1978 the Spanish people approved and adopted a democratic constitution, in which the subsequent decentralization of political power in regional Autonomous Communities was also established.

Since the adoption of the current constitution in 1978, Spain is now a parliamentary monarchy, with a bicameral legislature, made up of both the *Cortes* (the Lower House) and the *Senado* (the Upper House). In addition, each Autonomous Community^[1] has its own parliament and government. Spain entered the European Economic Community (today's European Union) as a member state in 1986. The GDP has increased a few tenths of a percent above the rest of countries since Spain's entry to the EU, so we can say that its political and economic situation is one of increasing convergence toward that of most West European states – of which its recent inclusion in the "Euro zone" is good proof.

The 1998 National Employment Plan focused on the need to create new jobs, especially in those groups that are in greater need. This concern goes back to the dramatic increase in unemployment rates in the early 1980s, especially among women and the young. The Spanish labor market has traditionally featured a high degree of rigidity. Gaining access to employment was an almost impossible task for most young people. The 1984 Labor Reform was the first of three (1994, 1997) statewide labor reforms that

have been enacted over the last fifteen years. Steps were introduced to increase the flexibility of the job market. Temporary employment was seen as a solution and was fostered: new types of contracts were introduced to make the labor market more flexible later on.

The main aim of the 1994 labor reform was to fight the high unemployment rates of the last years (24.2%) (INE 1994). Then new hiring forms were introduced to encourage the entry into the workforce of vulnerable groups (women, the young, long-term unemployed and the handicapped).

Between the 1994 and the 1997 labor reforms, unemployment was reduced, although it was not done through the creation of more stable jobs. At that time, there were 333,100 temporary jobs transformed into steady ones, but the job contracts reported in Spain in the six months following the approval of the latter reform numbered 912,621, of which 806,033 were short-term (88% of the total). Therefore, there was more steady work, but it is still insufficient. The 1997 reform succeeded only partially in reducing that rate. Thus, in 1998, out of a total of 11,663,279 jobs, 970,964 were permanent (8,32% of the total). By contrast, temporary contracts amounted to 91.68%. Furthermore, within the 16–24 age group, there is a split between those who obtain indefinite contracts because of their higher qualifications and those who can only obtain irregular jobs because of their low training level (INE, 1999b).

Up to this point, we have offered a brief outline of the general framework. In the next sections, we start from historical overview, to end with an analysis of the latest states of affairs, and more relevant aspects of the development of lifelong learning policies in Spain.

THE TRANSITION TOWARDS LIFELONG LEARNING: THE CASE OF SPAIN

Historical overview of Adult Education in Spain

- *Friends of the Country Societies and Ateneos (cultural associations)*

The first institutions in Adult Education in Spain were developed in the eighteenth century, when the Friends of the Country Societies wanted to promote the economy and education. The societies were founded in 1763 in the Basque Country and worked on similar lines to those of the Academy of Azcoitia, where the first stages in the evolution of Adult Education can be found (Pastor 1886). They received considerable support from King Carlos III and “The Enlightenment” (Flecha; López & Saco 1988), which confirmed the movement for the modernization of Spanish economy and culture.

From Napoleon’s invasion in 1808 to Franco’s victory in 1939, Spain had continual changes of political regime, alternating periods of stability with strife (and even civil wars) between the forces of traditionalism and liberalism. During this epoch, three different directions unfolded within Adult Education: liberal, working class and religious.

The most important achievement of the liberal trend was the establishment of *ateneos*. In 1820 many Spanish people returned from exile in France; the liberal and intellectual bourgeoisie made use of the freedom of this period (1820–1823) to establish *ateneos* such as the Scientific and Literary Ateneo of Madrid, founded in 1820. In

the first stage, the members were usually from the middle class, but that changed in the second half of the nineteenth century onwards. The working class took the initiative, rejected the liberal centers and promoted others in order to satisfy their own cultural needs. The first workers' *ateneo* was the Catalan Ateneo of the Working Class, founded in 1860 in Barcelona. The anarchist and socialist streams became very important in the education of the workers; the cultural and the working class movements were closely related.

- *Free Institution of Education*

The Free Institution of Education was officially founded in 1876 by a group of intellectuals. They were rejected by some Spanish universities because of their defence of the educational liberties obtained during the First Republic. One of the members, Lorenzo Luzuriaga (1889–1959), was the greatest Spanish thinker in Adult Education. One of his books (Luzuriaga 1926) overturned previous understandings of illiteracy, demonstrating the possibility to surmount it by means of an educational policy. Before his exile in Argentina, Luzuriaga founded the *Journal of Pedagogy* in Spain and developed many projects fostering pedagogical renovation. Within Adult Education, the Institution promoted the following activities:

The Association for Women's Education (Ruiz de Quevedo 1883), founded in 1870. Reactions to this organization were extreme: some people argued that it had "opened the gate to women for seduction and the perdition of their children".

University extension was very important in some towns. Altamira, a member of the Institution, proposed the British model in the International Pedagogical Congress of Madrid in 1892, which voted for the development in Spain of a similar movement (Turín 1967, p.240). In Oviedo, the project of university extension included collaboration with the writer Clarín, and reached workers' centers in many mining villages and towns. In Valencia, the initial extension project became the Popular University, with the important novelist Blasco Ibáñez (1867–1928) as its Principal. The university extension wanted to bring university culture to the people, and the Popular Universities wanted to develop the people's own culture. The poet Antonio Machado participated in the Popular University of Segovia.

The Pedagogical Missions (Cossío 1934) were the most important achievement of the Second Republic. The Department of Public Instruction, with the collaboration of universities and the Pedagogical Museum, organized groups of teachers and students in order to travel through the villages promoting different cultural activities: theatre productions, reading books, listening to music, etc. Federico García Lorca participated in one of them: the Theatre Group "La Barraca", which performed classical and modern plays in many villages.

- *State of Autonomies*

After the Civil War (1936–39), the Spanish people lived under Franco's Dictatorship until 1975. The Franco Regime took measures to present Spain to Europe as a modern

country without illiterates; it also aimed at increasing workers' education in order to contribute the economic development. Simultaneously, it claimed it had been able to introduce its ideology to illiterate people. In 1973, the Department of Education ended the last literacy campaign and founded a few adult state schools. One year later, it published pedagogical orientations for these schools.

In the last years of the Dictatorship many centers for adult education were founded by popular organizations, churches, etc. Most of them kept close contact with Freire's work and others reflected the tradition of the *ateneos* and the Free Institution of Education. All of them opposed state literacy campaigns and state schools for adults (whose contents and methods were similar to children's education), and with the coming of democracy these centres had better chances.

In 1978 the Spanish people adopted a democratic constitution. One of its main characteristics was the establishment of the autonomous organisation of nationalities and regions. There are seventeen Autonomous Communities (AA.CC.) and only some of them have 'educational competencies', that is, legal authority in the field of education. The important changes introduced in adult education are linked then to the present situation, which is outlined in section below.

EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

Educational transformation started in the 1970s, when the General Law of Education (LGE) developed what in Spain is called "General Basic Education" (EGB). The passing of the LGE was related to the last period of the industrial society and its main goal: to equalize social opportunities. However, as we shall see below, studies made after LGE implementation suggest that many people, at the end of their schooling, finished with even more inequalities than before they started.

In 1987, and because of the new socioeconomic and cultural situation, the Government determined on the need to establish a new educational law. It presented a Proposal for an Educational Reform, and a specific document about Vocational Training. The White Paper for the Reform of the Educational System was presented in 1989. Finally, in the 1990s, a new Law for the General System of Education (LOGSE) was accepted. One of the main changes has been to extend mandatory education to 16 years of age.

A main difference between the old law (LGE) and the new one (LOGSE) can be found in the discourse employed: while the former defended *equality*, the latter defends *diversity*. Diversity, however, within the educational framework, has a risk. Although we must respect the diversity of educational processes – i.e. learning styles, the presence of cultural diversity in the curricula, and the different ways of acquiring knowledge depending on social background, the final purpose must be to find the most effective form of social equality. If this attempt is not successful, the result is likely to be that, from an early age, some children can be motivated to pursue maximum efforts so as to achieve the highest curriculum goals, while others are happy achieving minimum levels of skills and attitudes. In some cases, education contributes the development of competitive workers, and in others it contributes to the creation of workers who will face an underprivileged situation, which is an inadequate basis for the rapidly

TABLE 1:
COMPARISON TABLE OF THE OLD AND NEW EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

LAWS — YEARS	LGE		LOGSE	
18	Access to university	Vocational Training II	High School From 16 to 18	Middle Division Professional Training From 16 to 18
17	High School From 15 to 17	Vocational Training I From 15 to 17		
16			Second Mandatory Grade (second cycle: 15-16) (first cycle: 12-14)	
15				
14				
13				
12				
11	General Basic Education (EGB) From 6 to 14		First Mandatory Grade Initial Education From 6 to 11	
10				
9				
8				
7				
6				

changing context and form of labor. Educational reform should ensure the development of more democratic environments to allow those who are different to have equal opportunities; otherwise, the social inequality gap will be kept rather than overcome.

- *Equal opportunities understood as homogeneity : LGE (1970)*

In the LGE, there was an “homogenising” offensive focused on the notion of *Culture*. In other words, cultural values belonging to the dominant groups were regarded as the only ones to be taken into account in any policies or undertakings related to education. Diversity was completely forgotten in the name of a false equality. This position has led to severe consequences for minorities or groups of high social exclusion risk, because their cultural differences are not included in the curriculum. What is promoted instead is an emphasis on a white, male, middle-class Western culture, which came about through policies that attempted to equalize everybody into that hegemonic pattern.

In the USA, authors such as Bloom (1987) and Hirsch (1987) have stood out as intellectual leaders of that homogenizing offensive. Rorty (1989) believes that it is necessary to distinguish between Bloom’s Straussian doubts about democracy and Hirsch’s Deweyian aspirations for a democratic and educated electorate. Rorty dissents from Bloom’s idea that a superior education can help students to grasp the natural superiority of those who are the intellectual leaders of society. Nevertheless, he agrees with Hirsch in contending that the USA does not offer a secondary education that allows children to function as effective citizens in a democracy.

However, both Bloom and Hirsch apparently defend a sexist, ethnocentric, classist and ageist type of culture. Both distinguish a limit between ‘culture’ and ‘unculture’, understanding ‘culture’ as possessing mainstream culture, acquired during youth. They oppose diversity to the extent that it counters the equalising effects of imposing mainstream culture and promotes endeavours such as the effort to have diverse people as students or faculty.

Bloom’s case is clear because his proposal focuses on trying to develop excellence among the elite, preventing, in this way, democratic outcomes that “contaminate elites by forcing them to have contact with the common people”. Hirsch proposes to provide an homogenous culture for everybody, and it becomes obvious that his proposal excludes those who are not male, white, middle/high class and young.

Alternatives offered to the path of homogeneous equality have often taken the form of remedial education, thus attributing cultural deficits to those children from non-mainstream groups, and trying to compensate for them with more mainstream school resources. Attributions of deficits have created negative expectations, and the increased resources simply functioned so as to give them “more of the same” because there was no recognition of students’ differences. Children of underprivileged social groups were considered less motivated and lacking in ability rather than different, a phenomenon that Apple (1993) defines as a labeling effect

- *Diversity as alternative to equality: LOGSE (1990)*

Contrary to the LGE, LOGSE ignores equality by giving priority to diversity. One of the key reference points of many current reforms is to diversity, difference, choice or

any other proposal oriented to distinguish curricular tracks for different groups and students. Often, this option is further legitimated by the relativistic defence of different contexts, persons and cultures.

When these reforms take place society becomes not only diverse, but also unequal. Under the argument of adaptation to diversity, what is offered in reality is the adaptation to inequalities, instead of an attempt to overcome them. A wide range of factors (economic possibilities, contextual expectations, familiar cultures, cultural arbitrariness of schools) oblige educational pathways to be adapted and conformed to criteria such as social class, gender, ethnicity and age. There is then the risk that, in the pursuit of diversity, difference becomes one more of those factors that contribute to social inequality.

If the objective is not to arrive at an approach based on the idea of homogenous learning for everyone, but to respect diversity processes, then one must consider the context of social inequalities to identify how different tracks can result in inequality in educational levels. For instance, many elite schools focus on competitive learning, while many public schools in poor areas focus on spending time as peacefully as possible while trying to get the children learn something. When that happens, we are adapting students, from a very early age, to accept new forms of inequality: the dualization model of the information society between the sector of highly qualified professionals – with high remuneration and social standing – and that of the structurally unemployed – living in second-class social conditions. Highly competitive competencies are required for achieving the highest levels in this scale. On this thesis, the lowest levels of the social hierarchy “should” be accustomed to accept, without aggression, their subordination. Such an attitude focuses on the notion of the need for adaptation to the context, or to the capacities needed by students who are regarded and measured as unequal. Sometimes arguments stressing the need for adaptive attitudes are legitimated by theories that in fact defend the opposite. This is the case with Vygotsky’s (1986) transformative perspective. Vygotsky linked contexts and cognitive developments in such a way that the latter are related to socio-cultural transformations. Instead, his ideas have been used from an adaptive perspective, in such a way that the proposal becomes one of adapting different cognitive developments to current social contexts without any transformative perspective.

Other approaches emphasize vocational education for disadvantaged groups. In an instrumental view, technical skills are seen to have greater relevance to this group than do intellectual pursuits. Students are prepared for manual work rather than academic pathways. Those alternatives have increased and consolidated educational inequalities and social failure among the more disadvantaged.

The Centre for Social and Educational Research (CREA) in Barcelona has contributed to the work of the scientific community by developing and proposing a new approach. This proposal not only reflects some of the latest developments in the Social Sciences i.e. the communicative approach, but also overcomes the risks attached to homogeneity and diversity. As we have already stated above this is the concept of equality of differences. We have elaborated this proposal from our findings and it has been put into practice in the “*Learning Communities*”[2] project. The idea of Learning Communities, a real alternative of equality of differences, is rooted in the dialogue of the whole community in order to put into effect a project that includes communicative

and instrumental dimensions of learning and promotes positive expectations. Respect for differences and solidarity does not oppose, but includes, the objective of learning all the capacities for selection and processing information needed to avoid producing further social inequalities. This is one of the seven principles that support the idea of “*dialogic learning*” (Flecha 2000).

THE TRANSFORMATION OF TERTIARY EDUCATION

- *Structure and Access to Higher Vocational Education*

By the end of mandatory attendance at Secondary School at the age of sixteen, those students who meet the requirements will be granted a secondary education degree: the GES degree. The GES entitles them to enter post-mandatory secondary education stages (either Bachillerato or Middle-Division Professional Training) or, if they wish, they can join the working population. This degree is granted only once. Those who do not meet the requirements and do not obtain the GES have two options: either to work or to seek access to Social Guarantee Programs (PGS). These programs offer young people who lack academic or vocational qualification an alternative type of schooling. Within this program, professional initiation programs, including general and specific vocational training, have been offered covering different sectors and areas, together with specific workshops in which apprenticeships for particular jobs prevail.

Tertiary education starts around the ages of sixteen to eighteen. Those students who are holders of the GES and who wish to continue their studies on a vocational training basis can gain access directly to the Middle Division Vocational Training Courses. These courses are targeted to students who wish to enter the labor market with a recognized qualification and a mastery of specific techniques. The contents of professional training must be determined by the particular profile of the profession that students intend to enter. Professional training includes theoretical and practical contents that are developed in both training centers and the workplace (by means of internships agreed upon with companies). Professional training qualifies students to practise in a profession that requires the use of specialized tools and techniques, directly linked to current demands, and it leads to the degree of “Technician”. Those who are not GES holders, but want to gain access to the Middle Division Vocational Training, need to pass an entrance exam.

Once the Middle Division Vocational Training is finished, students cannot directly access the High Division Vocational Training. They only have two possibilities to further their vocational training. The first one consists in taking an examination and the second one is to study Bachillerato (at least, all the subjects they did not study before) in order to complete their general training.

The High-Division Professional Training will be equivalent to an already existing experimental stage composed of modules. These modules are currently organised in close collaboration with the professional world and require mandatory internships in real companies. Therefore, the High Division Vocational Training will supply students with the required qualifications to practise a profession, as well as the necessary training to take charge of coordinating and programming tasks in that particular

activity. They thus provide students with the knowledge and skills of an intermediate vocational cadre. The degree obtained is that of “Higher Technician”, and entitles students to enter courses oriented to university-level qualification.

To sum up, although it is worth noticing the efforts towards making the educational system closer to the labour market’s requirements, we must still comment adversely on the lack of flexibility and freedom. That is, people who wish to further their vocational training cannot always do it, as they need to fulfil requirements or take examinations. These requirements represent barriers to achieving the idea of a complete lifelong learning society. Similarly, as we shall see below, people who wish to access university must face the same barriers of age and examinations.

- *Structure and Access to University*

Nowadays, there is an important open debate about the organization and quality of the university system. Many policy forums and debates are currently dealing with these issues as they seek to renew and reformulate Spanish universities. Sometimes, the pursuit of high educational and scientific quality is not at odds with opening the doors of university to those considered to be non-traditional students[3].

The formal education system described above lays out the usual routes (based on formally established itineraries) that most individuals must follow in order to enter university. There are several groups linked to Adult Education that are working on innovative proposals based on studies and experiences gathered worldwide. These studies have been marking out the ways through which participants can enter Adult Education, as well as the rights these participants have. However, alternative routes are still scarce in Spain. There is an official recognition of the universal right to access education at any level:

Everybody has the right in the course of their lives to participate in all training processes for no charge and to have access to a supply of education addressed to the acquisition of the entire range of valid degrees in a country’s educational system (FACEPA, 1999)[4].

This principle, which belongs to the Participants’ Bill of Rights in Adult Education, is met at the level of the mandatory education established by LOGSE. However, entrance to higher education is restricted. For instance, the Law of University Reform (LRU) passed in 1983 did not provide the possibility for older students to access higher education free of charge. It did not provide either the granting of loans or other types of financial aid. It only provided the entrance routes laid out within the already existing pathways. The LRU is being currently discussed and proposals for change regarding to entrance routes to university for adult students have been made. Entrance routes, however, also do not only refer to adults who enter university for the first time, but also to adults who, for different reasons, decide to go back to university for a second degree.

There are eight different routes through which adult students can enter university and only one of them is applicable to adults who hold no previous formal degree. It is called “over twenty-five examination” and it consists of an academic examination that evaluates two aspects: a common test in general culture and a subject test, which depends on the school the student wants to apply to. To pass the whole test a minimum score of 50% of the maximum grade possible in each of the two parts is required.

TABLE 2:
ADMISSIONS TEST TO UNIVERSITY FOR PEOPLE OLDER THAN 25
(MARCH 1999)

	ABSOLUTE	PERCENTAGE
REGISTERED APPLICANTS	1,511	100%
APPLICANTS WHO TOOK THE EXAM	1,409	93.25%
APPLICANTS WHO PASSED THE EXAM	385	27.32%

TABLE 3:
ADMISSION TEST BY SUBJECT TO UNIVERSITY FOR PEOPLE OLDER THAN 25
(MARCH 1999)

SUBJECT	REGISTERED APPLICANTS	APPLICANTS WHO TOOK THE EXAM	%	APPLICANTS WHO PASSED THE EXAM	%
Social Sciences and Law	537	494	91.9%	150	30.4%
Educational Sciences	146	145	99.3%	38	26.2%
Humanities	376	354	94.1%	142	40.1%
Experimental Sciences	47	41	87.2%	13	31.7%
Health Sciences	405	375	92.5%	42	11.2%
Total	1511	1409	-	385	-

Data obtained through the Universitat de Barcelona. Servei de Gestió Acadèmica. Bases de Dades.

Every university has the right to set their own entrance examination rules. They can even offer a preparatory course for the test, as in the case of the National Distance Learning University (UNED) or some supporting material, as in the case of Universitat de Barcelona. Since the entrance test was set up, the number of people who have taken it has steadily increased. However, the percentage of applicants who pass the test is very low, certainly lower than that of those who enter university through the traditional examination which is called PAAU[5]. The chart above summarizes the results of the examination for people older than twenty-five years at the Universitat de Barcelona. It also shows how their entrance is distributed by subject.

For people older than twenty-five, success in the examination owes much more to formal learning than to the experience they may have acquired throughout their lives. Therefore, apart from gender and/or ethnic group, socio-economic variables constitute a determining factor regarding adults' access to university.

Up to May 1999, there had been a gap in legislation regarding the number of slots to be reserved for students over twenty-five. In May 1999, the Spanish government approved a decree fixing a standard percentage, but the situation did not improve, as

this decree limits number of reserved slots to this group to a maximum of 3%. Such a low rate has increased difficulties, as adults who now overcome the first obstacle, the exam, they have a second obstacle, to compete for a small number of slots. In this way university, albeit constituting a real alternative for lifelong learning, does not meet the expectations of all adults.

CHANGES IN ADULT EDUCATION

- *The compensatory approach: a mistake within LOGSE's first project*

Research about the “unlevelling” effects of education in Spain is generating a radical change in the Spanish adult education landscape. One of the most outstanding changes was made during the elaboration of the current educational Reform. Chapter XIV of the LOGSE's *Project for Educational Reform* (1987) was still based upon the inadequately supported belief that the growth in the number of students attending primary school would eliminate or decrease the deficiencies in basic education of future adults. It was stated that “basic education must be finished at the right age, otherwise it becomes a compensatory need” (MEC 1987, p.32), thus identifying adult basic with the mandatory schooling adults did not get before.

The former compensatory approach was based on the following five (false) assumptions:

- (a) *Product of the past*: adults who need basic education are those who did not go to school or those who failed in school.
- (b) *Sign of underdevelopment*: some countries “still” have a “problem” in this matter because they remain underdeveloped.
- (c) *Reform as a solution*: future adults are present children, and therefore, the solution is to extend and improve initial education. In this way, basic education will not be necessary in the future.
- (d) *Appropriate age*: Childhood and youth are best suited for learning. During adulthood, people have difficulty coping with formal education and it is therefore better to concentrate efforts on educating younger students.
- (e) *Parallelism with the school system*: adult education needs to adapt to adults' lack of the knowledge and skills taught in the educational system.

- *The Unlevelling Effect*

The new qualification level at the end of mandatory education established by the LOGSE (1990) is that of the Secondary Education (GES). This may be obtained at the age of sixteen. The former Law of Education, LGE, had the mandatory level at an earlier age fourteen.. Students at the end of their studies used to get an accreditation for completion of primary studies (*certificado*) if they did not pass, or the school degree (*graduado*) if they did pass. The current situation in education extends the pre-adult mandatory age and raises the socially required educational level. All young people and adults who studied according to the former mandatory requirement are now below the new mandatory education requirement.

TABLE 4:
PEOPLE AGED 16 OR OLDER BELOW THE MANDATORY SCHOOL LEVEL

1981	1991	2000 (Predicted)
10.840.029 (38.72%)	22.982.522 (75.29%)	19.986.716 (61.58%)

Source: statistics elaborated from the census of the Spanish population in 1981 (INE 1985), 1991 (INE 1994) and from the Del Hoyo & García's population prediction (1988).

TABLE 5:
PEOPLE AGED 16 OR OLDER BELOW THE MANDATORY SCHOOL LEVEL

AGE	1981	1991	2000 (Predicted)
16-24	622.877 (10.03%)	3.472.238 (59.29%)	0 (0%)
25-44	2.908.418 (31.29%)	7.097.680 (65.54%)	7.045.757 (58.71%)
45-64	4.430.867 (53.63%)	7.436.141 (87.62%)	7.491.372 (79.01%)
65 and older	2.877.868 (67.92%)	4.976.463 (92.97%)	5.449.587 (91.21%)
Total	10.840.030 (38.71%)	22.982.522 (75.29%)	19.986.716 (61.58%)

Source: statistics elaborated from the census of the Spanish population in 1981 (INE 1985), 1991 (INE 1994) and from the Del Hoyo & García's population prediction (1988).

Adults and young people who achieved the former mandatory educational level (before the implementation of LOGSE) do not have the minimum level established by law any more. The LOGSE has raised and will raise the number of persons who do not achieve this minimum. These people, mostly young people and adults, will not have the required level for obtaining a job or for being admitted to any kind of program. Therefore, they will be in an underprivileged situation.

Under this new situation lifelong learning becomes even more important. It will be necessary to provide solutions that help people to be involved in the new society.

- *The new approach anticipated in the LOGSE's Title Three*

The assimilation of the unlevelling effect initiates a total change in the understanding of adult education. Title III of the new Education Law is completely dedicated to adult education and its contents marked a step forward in our field. Title XII within the White Paper of the Reform(1989) already changed the five fallacies of compensation

into a new set of correct assumptions, as it can be seen in the definition of basic education: “required by adults to face the present evolution of society” (MEC 1989a, p.193).

The new correct approach is based upon overcoming the former five fallacies:

(a) *Product of the present and future in evolution:*

The need for basic education is not generated because of deficient schooling; it is generated because of current and future evolution. The Information Society (Cardoso 1993) is producing a change in educational needs that are different from the ones adults had some years ago (Castells et al 1999). Therefore, it is important to renew all knowledge because it is impossible to provide all knowledge needed for the rest of one’s life. Some of the assertions concerning this idea within the Title III are the extension of adult basic education (art. 52) and the extension of adult education to the second, non-mandatory grade (High School).

(b) *Essential component of development:*

The more developed the country, the more adult basic education has been adapted to the needs of adults (Jarvis 1992). Less developed countries, particularly those under a dictatorship, are characterized by the adoption of compensatory concept of adult education in which lifelong learning becomes something unimportant in society. The inclusion of social-cultural activities and vocational training (art. 51.5) together with adult basic education is one of the ways by which the idea is asserted in the new approach.

(c) *Educational Reforms produce an unlevelling effect:*

Each new reform raises the level of basic and mandatory education. The LOGSE has set up the level at the end of secondary school finishing at the age of sixteen years. People who had achieved the level before LOGSE are now below the new level. Educational Reforms of the school system increase the number of adults who do not have the socially required level of education. Title III tries to overcome this unlevelling effect by giving priority to underprivileged sectors (art. 51.3) now at risk of social exclusion from the Information Society.

(d) *Any age is good for learning:*

Research carried out during the last three decades concerning adult learning shows the universal capacity to learn at any age. Studies about crystallized intelligence (Cattell 1971) and practical intelligence (Martin & Scribner 1991, Scribner 1988) have demonstrated that any age is good for learning. In this sense, the Center for Social and Educational Research (CREA) has just finished a three year research project on communicative skills. Some of the findings provide great contributions to this field. For example, the concept of *cultural intelligence*, which includes academic and practical intelligence (Flecha 2000). Title III proposes to adapt adult education pedagogy to these learning theories (art. 51.5), thus rejecting those methodologies designed for children and their application to school-like young. Usually, the low results obtained from methodologies appropriate to adults are used to justify assertions that adulthood is not the right age to learn. Instead, Title III proposes appropriate methodologies for adult learning. One of the best adult learning initiatives in Spain is the production of books and materials that extend this practical and theoretical knowledge[6].

(e) *Supply and specific curricula:*

The understanding of curriculum Reform gives importance to the idea of child development. In fact, "education adapted to evolutionary stages is the first basic goal that is present in the curriculum" (MEC 1989b, p.32).

Following the same general criteria, adult education should be adapted to adult development. This principle is over-represented within Title III as it asserts the need for specificity of curriculum proposals (art. 53.2; 52.1), specific centers (art. 53.2 ; 54.1) and specialized professors (art. 54.2 ; 54.3). Along these lines, the search for the specific has led most of the instituted policies and actions carried out by different governments and social movements during the last few years.

- *Adult Education laws in some Autonomies*

It is useful to bear in mind that both LOGSE and LRU are nationwide laws, and, therefore, they affect all the Autonomous Communities. However, Adult Education Laws depend on the governments in each Community. Not all the Autonomous Communities (AA..CC.) have an Adult Education law; only four Autonomies have one: Andalusia, Catalonia, Galicia and Comunidad Valenciana.

ANDALUSIA

The Department of Education in the region of Andalusia became very interested in adult education by giving valuable support to this field and developing some activities. On the strength of this, the parliament of Andalusia approved The Adult Education Law in 1990. Some of its characteristics are (BOJA 1990):

- Relevance to the territory and the community. All adult education activities must be addressed to the cultural needs of people living in the territory. The priorities are for the most needy groups so as to overcome inequalities.
- Co-ordination by: (a) a Commission for Andalusia, with relevant governmental organizations. Its president is the Secretary of the Department of Education; (b) a Commission in each province, with governmental and non-governmental organizations. Its president is the head of the Department of Education in each province.
- Establishment of centers for adult education, with precise regulations. They can be public or private. In public centers, staff are from the Department of Education and undergo focused training. The centers can also employ personnel from other institutions, even without a degree, depending on the activities they carry out.

CATALONIA

In Catalonia, a strong popular movement fought the model of state schools for adults inherited from the dictatorship regime. In the eighties, the movement built a theoretically consolidated agenda for adult education renewal and legislation. For seven years, the Department of Education, strongly oriented to formal schooling, did not accept this

change. In 1988, adult education was transferred to the Department of Social Welfare, and in 1991 the Parliament of Catalonia approved the "Adult Education Law". Some of its characteristics are (DOG 1991):

- The main emphasis on adult education is moved from the school system to educational concerns in community development. Thus, this law is not a regulation of formal education, but a common orientation to different kinds of adult education.
- Co-ordination by: (a) the Governing Cabinet who approves the general program; (b) an Advisory Council, with governmental and non-governmental organizations and specialists.
- Establishment of centers with a common educational project for diverse types of adult education. All educators are integrated in a single team.
- The law does not make explicit the extent of the Department's responsibility towards adult education. This must be decided by the government and can be changed without amending the law.

GALICIA

The Parliament of Galicia approved the "Adult Education Law" in 1992. Some of its characteristics are (DOG 1992):

- Permeability between formal education and non-formal education. Appropriate methodology to the socio-cultural context. Modular structuration of the curriculum. Rationalization of resources: agreement with the organisations, entities and enterprises.
- Co-ordination by: The Galician Council of Education and Promotion of Adults, as an advising council to follow the programs.
- The action programs contents: creation and localization of centers, coordination of actions and promotion of adults.

VALENCIA

In the Community of Valencia, a unique process for the elaboration of a law took place, with an important contribution from the learners. The Federation of Participants' Associations had a key role during the process, jointly with a popular council of social bodies, such as trade unions, city councils and so on. In 1995, the Parliament of the "County of Valencia" approved the "Adult Education Law". Some of its characteristics are (DOGV 1995):

- The formative programs are to be approved in the General Plan by the Government. Courses and activities are developed in public and private centers, in a distant or on-campus mode. Participation is formed by and through the promotion of associations.

Table 6: Adult Education Laws from Different Autonomous Communities

COMMON	ASPECTS	ADULT EDUCATION LAW	SPECIFIC	ASPECTS	Others
Fields	Supply	Autonomies	Dependence/Coordination	Participation	Others
Instrumental and basic education	Specific curricula. Own methodology based on adults	ANDALUCIA 1990	Education and Science Council Commission for Adult Education	Provincial commissions for Adult Education Area Coordinating Association	Significance of the region and community development
All levels of non-university formal education	Specific and ordinary centers Specialized workers	CATALUNYA 1991	-Generalitat de Catalunya -Interdepartmental commission for Adult Education - Local Plans	Advisor Council for Adult Formation Local Agreements	Permeability between formal and non formal education. Modulate structure curriculum done by credits
Vocational training	Rationalization of resources: agreements with different organisms, organizations and companies	GALICIA 1993	Education Council Supra- local Counties	Galician Council of education and Promotion of Adults Counties agreements	Permeability between formal and non formal education
Social-cultural activities	Modalities: presencial, semipresencial, distance, self-learning	COMUNIDAD VALENCIANA 1995	Generalitat Interdepartmental commission Municipalities	Formation Council of Adult Person Local Agreements	Special education for adults. Stimulate association networks and their financing

**TABLE 7:
TOTAL BUDGET 1998 IN EUROS
(IT IS INCLUDED AT STATE LEVEL PROVIDED BY INEM NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
UNEMPLOYMENT; COMPLEMENTARY RESOURCES PROVIDED BY EACH CCAA)**

	INEM		CC. AA		TOTAL
	ACTIONS	COST (Mill)	ACTIONS	COST (Mill)	COST (Mill)
Training					
CCAA	326.250 (81,5%)	559 (63,7%)	191.464 (97,88%)	255 (91,8%)	814 (70,44%)
Workshop Schools & Trade Houses	74.032 (18,5%)	319 (36,3%)	4.145 (2,12%)	23 (8,2%)	342 (29,56%)
Total fund in Training in Spain	400.282 (43,36%)	878 (61,4%)	195.609 (57,48%)	278 (68%)	1156 (62,86%)

Data obtained from National Employment Plan of 1998.

- Co-ordination by: (a) the Interdepartmental Commission; (b) the Council of Adult Education; (c) the creation of a new directive organization.
- A new model of a multiplicity of programs, as opposed to the reductionist unique and imposed model, from a global and social understanding of adult education.

LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS

EXPLOSION OF PARTICIPATION: CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Social actors have much clearer characteristics (Schütz & Luckmann 1973) and are increasingly participating in education throughout their lives. This is the main reason for the present explosion of participation in adult education, which continues and will increase in the near future. This is good news for the field of study and practice. This is also good news for the attempt to promote active citizenship because our power of selection and processing of information could be put to the service of social action.

Learning environments imply not only educational courses but also different cultural activities. Presently, there are plenty of centres, schools, associations, and so on, where people can take courses or undertake cultural activities. Because of the importance of lifelong learning, it is necessary not only to respond to participants and non-participants' needs and motivations but also to create appropriate channels of information accessible to all social sectors (CREA 1996).

Participants in Adult Education have the right to be the protagonists of their own decision to participate or not to participate in adult education. There is no reason to exclude them from the design and evaluation of adult education programs. Furthermore, it is necessary to include their participation in local, national and international organizations. Professionals, practitioners and researchers, have clear contributions to make to adult education but so do participants and non-participants. Their exclusion implies

a clear limitation of the possibilities for developing their active citizenship. Often, corporate and bureaucratic interests of professionals and organizations determine the direction of adult education, and this is one of the main reasons for non-participation.

In reference to the dissemination of educational information, it is stated that any information activity should be centered around the addressees (participants and non-participants) and it must be decentralized. Information must be described in a positive way, and has to arise from the participants' own interests and motivations. Another aspect worth commenting on is that a key information dissemination channel has proved to be by word of mouth, which takes participants' own personal experience as a source of information (CREA 1998).

SUPPORT SYSTEMS

There are many associations and organizations in Spain today connected to the field of adult education. This has been the combined result of both an increase in the overall Spanish Associations' network over the last years and a series of actions undertaken in this context to provide a broader educational and cultural supply to adults. Thus, a number of associations and organizations have created a network in which different groups could meet and join efforts for common ends: to defend a social model of adult education, to define and disseminate information on the rights of adult education participants, and to take into account all interests, both professional and socio-educational.

A wide range of groups involved in adult education take part in these democratic organizations, whose representative nature has granted them recognition as official "spokespersons" at the main local, regional, and national government levels. The variety of motives and interests represented in these organizations makes it possible for different social sectors to take part in the political and legal definition of adult education in Spain. However, this "associationist" movement is identified for a particular understanding of adult education: one that provides space for democratic expression as well as active participation. Many organizations have played a remarkable brokerage role between public administration and social demands with regard to adult education.

A new way of being organized is promoted from these organizations. Their aim is to establish a managerial form of organization in which the people involved in the movement, themselves, are the ones who manage their associations. In order to understand this idea, a distinction needs to be made between "State", "private" and "public" forms of management. Public management is the option that these associations use, and by these means they get people "self-managing" their own associations. This differs from the idea of being organized from the state or privately; instead, all participants take part in the management of the organization and for the organization.

AEPA, a Catalan association of adult educators, provides a good example of the public model. Historically, AEPA has always promoted the self-managing of the participants by themselves, and in their last assembly a workplan was agreed upon to function according to the interests of the Catalan Federation of Participants' Associations (FACEPA).. AEPA takes part in a statewide organization representing Catalonia.

AEPA's history is closely linked to grassroots movements and its insistence on the social model of adult education has led the Catalan regional government to admit its representation into the Advisory Council, a consulting body that provides general orientations to future policies regarding adult education in Catalonia.

The model defended by AEPA, a community development one, promotes the participation of local organizations: women's groups, residents associations, cultural clubs, committees that organize the neighborhood's annual festivals, sports clubs, etc. They can work together in projects aimed at making the community more dynamic – beyond the educational field, towards broader social transformation. Social movements and political protest actions succeed in getting a whole section on adult education included in LOGSE's Title III, which reflects some of the ideas proposed by grassroots organizations.

In order to develop in adult education the new mandatory level established by the LOGSE (the GES or Secondary Education Degree), teacher unions have also played a key role. However, they have done so by defending the interests of the teaching staff, rather than the rights of adult education participants.

In this sense, AEPA and adult education participants have supported actions that allow their voice to be heard and directly represented, with no other intermediaries than the participants themselves. It is intended to ensure that adult education movements will be represented by participants in adult education themselves, since they have been long excluded from the representation, decisions or management of their own associations, in other words, those who are not holders of a university degree and are not paid by adult education. To that end, not only the Catalan Federation of Participants' Associations (FACEPA) was created but also a national federation has been recently founded (FAPEA) to extend this model to the rest of Spain.

From an understanding of education as a tool to fight social exclusion, FAPEA represents those adults most disadvantaged due to their educational level and favors a type of adult education that promotes actions and projects aimed at the groups that are most susceptible to social exclusion such as the illiterate, women and immigrants. FAPEA's actions make political decision-makers aware of the adult education participants' voices. Along these lines, FAPEA organizes an annual conference of Adult Literacy Participants, attended as well by relevant policy-makers in the field of education who want to hear those participants' demands. It also attempts to promote and disseminate information on the *Declaration of Rights of Adults in Education* (FACEPA 1999), discussed with all political parties represented at one autonomic Parliament and agreed upon by participants from all over Spain and part of Europe. This bill of Rights was disseminated and supported by member organizations and individuals at UNESCO.

An example of what is being achieved is offered by the "Grup de Dones" (Women's Group) which, having started at a very local level, is nowadays being established at international level. Feminist discourse must include other approaches that may broaden its stance. "Other women"[7] are also broadening their rights as women to complete the feminist discourse from which they have been traditionally excluded (Puigvert, 2000).

Community development

Transformative alternatives in education have acquired more credibility by discrediting both the reproduction model and the structuralism it was based upon. Social theories have now proved the dual character of action: system and lifeworld (Habermas 1987/1981); human agency and structure (Giddens 1985); systemic and structuralist conceptions are thus challenged, as they consider only one of the dimensions (systems and structures). If society and education are simply consequences of the existing structures, then people and movements cannot do anything at any level. If intersubjective relationships between people (lifeworld and human agency) generate society and education, then political and pedagogical actions must question what orientation they want to give the transformations they inevitably produce. Recent developments in the social sciences correspond to the increasing dialogic nature of relations currently found in the lifeworld. Today, people wish to take greater part in all the decision making processes by means of egalitarian dialogue.

Due to its grass-roots origin, critical adult education has frequently played a part, even a radical part, in the struggle to overcome discriminatory factors (racism, sexism, ageism) that limit the egalitarian principle of dialogue. Thus, a community development approach is present in most of the work developed by democratic learning. Adult education plays a key role in the promotion of active citizenship and especially does so at the community level, not only by promoting social, cultural and educational activities that are directly connected to the community, but also through opening adult education centres' doors to volunteers.

LIFELONG LEARNING POLICY ORIENTATIONS

LEARNING COMMUNITIES

The idea of *Learning Communities* originates in the appreciation that all children have the right to an education that does not condemn them in infancy to fail to complete high school and fail to get a job. With present social structures, the proportion of students who do not obtain the socially required educational levels tends to grow in schools attended by the children of non-academic families (adults who do not have a university degree).

The *Learning Communities Project* [8] aims at promoting equal opportunities for education, which will bring about social development and combat social exclusion. Education is understood as a lifelong learning process that within the information society is constantly in action. This process affects everybody, independently of their age, ethnic group or socio-economic status. Learning processes are seen as global processes, which include different dynamics. Education is not limited to the school system; instead, it is extended to the family context and to the community, from which formative elements are provided. In learning communities, education is in all directions, not only in the traditional sense from teachers to children. All the involved agents are receiving and offering their knowledge. This is a lifelong learning line, not only in terms of individual learning, but also as a lifelong learning understood in a "collective" or "communitarian" sense.

Along these lines, the transformation of an educational center into a learning community becomes a deepening process. The first stage is the training of the professional faculty team. If they agree, it is better if some representatives of the community participate in all the stages of this training. The main subjects to deal with are: information society, dialogic learning and cultural intelligence. Different scenarios are imagined concerning the future development of society and the present situation children live in and the one they will live in as adults depending on the educational opportunities received. There are also comparisons between the education they seek for their own children and the education they are providing to their students. After this training, there is time to reflect and to move to mature decisions, which should be made by consensus of the team. If there is a section of the team who does not accept the project, it is not possible to start with it.

The learning community is developed in order to foster the learning of the children. This process includes the elaboration of the educational project the community and their families want, the tasks to be undertaken in the next one or two years, and the organization in teams which include participation of education professionals and other people such as volunteers, relatives, institutions and enterprises. Each community develops its own project although there are many points in common:

- The previous program of in-service training for teachers is later open to all people and institutions interacting with children. Often teacher training is socialized for questions of the learning and training of children's relatives to educate them in the right attitudes. During and after the transformation, training in matters of learning is a concern of teachers, relatives, volunteers, representatives of associations and enterprises. Also, the resources are considered resources for the whole community: computer rooms and libraries are used by children, their family and other members of the community.
- Because the information society is for all, education in an information society should also be for all children. There is a clear objective in the attempt to overcome school failure and social exclusion. The community mobilizes itself to get the human and material resources to develop such an equalitarian perspective. One of the slogans is "Instead of a school culture of complaint, we want the culture of transformation". If the state does not provide the computers, they ask the local government and, if it does not provide them, they ask for help from enterprises. The aim is not to justify our inaction by saying that the State does not care about socially excluded people, or what is even worse, these families are not motivated for education; instead, the aim is to get real educational opportunities for all. The same path is followed with human resources, cooperating with volunteers and associations in order to open schools during more hours or to have more adults teaching within each classroom.
- There is a contract of learning agreed between the team of professionals, children, relatives and community. This contract is the compromise to care together about the learning environment in all sites where children develop their activities. For instance, the library is a tutorial library, where users can find several adult people directing students in the reading to do, rather than just telling them where the books

are. Also homes are motivated: they become places where children find relatives who ask them what they have done during the day.

The Learning Communities educational model was originated in a center for adult education in a working class neighborhood in Barcelona. The School for Adults La Verneda-Sant Martí is managed by its participants' association, and it is probably due to this democratic management that the center highlights its high rates of participation (1500 adult learners). Since 1978 it is proving that, within the information society, a suitable educational approach contributes to overcoming educational and cultural inequalities in areas "at risk". La Verneda Sant Martí Center has been working in the attempt to overcome inequalities from its origins in an active way. All participants and the whole community have been actively involved, following a concept of integrated, participative and lifelong education. Many former young school dropouts are now adults with university degrees, working as professors, directors of museums or managers of enterprises (Sánchez Aroca 1999).

Later, this social or community approach has been applied to children at primary schools and it is going to be applied as well in secondary schools. In all cases it is based on three basic orientations: accelerated learning, dialogic learning and cultural intelligence. These principles are the main characteristics of the educational projects that appear to be successfully facing the present social changes in Europe.

LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN LIFELONG LEARNING POLICIES IN SPAIN

While a few years ago vocational training was an unsettled issue, today in Spain it is impossible to refer to the latest developments in lifelong learning policies without mentioning vocational training. In this section, we introduce the readers to the latest developments in vocational training measures, which contribute greatly to the Spanish lifelong learning system. All kinds of institutions (local, national, governmental, NGOs, etc), have considered lifelong learning to be a key for the 21st Century, and in this way, the social dialogue with regards to education has acquired relevance as well.

Since 1996, three subsystems within the vocational training system have been differentiated: professional formal training (part of the Education System explained above), occupational vocational training (oriented to the unemployed population) and continuing vocational training (oriented to the employed population). There were several agreements that helped to configure the current vocational training system that is ruled by the II National Vocational Training Program (1998–2002). This is an attempt to instrumentalise private and public training policies in order to adapt professional qualifications offered by vocational training programs to those required by the labour market. The National Program is the result of a social dialogue that has been taking place over approximately the last ten years. The agreements have been the framework that made it possible to define a National Program. They are: the National Agreement for Continuing Vocational Training, The Basic Agreement, and The Tripartite Agreement concerning continuing training signed by the government, trade unions and employers' associations.

The first part of the framework was the National Agreement for Continuing Vocational Training. It was first signed in 1992 and later renewed in 1996. It rules and establishes the whole technical and organizational structure of the Continuing Training Subsystem grounded in the social dialogue and functioning under the responsibility of both workers and companies. It represents a more open, transparent and participatory subsystem. It was signed by CEOE (Spanish Confederation of Employers Organizations), CEPYME (Spanish Confederation of Small and Medium-sized Enterprises), CCOO (Trade Union Confederation of Workers' Commissions), UGT (General Workers Union) and CIG (Galician Inter-Union Convergence). In relation to Lifelong Learning, Education is defined as "*all those educational activities undertaken by companies, employees or their own organizations designed to improve employees' skills and qualifications or retrain them; which allow companies' enhanced competitiveness to be combined with the social, professional and personal workers promotion*" (MEC & MTAS 1996). The Basic Agreement was another element in the national framework. It was also underwritten by the government, employers and trade unions. It draws up the commitment to develop the II National Vocational Training Program (1998–2002).

Due to the signature of the National Agreement for Continuing Vocational Training, the number of workers who have participated in training processes is increasing. In 1996 this meant 15% of the total paid Spanish population. One of the most important objectives obtained by the application of this policy was the creation of *FORCEM* in 1993 (National Foundation for Vocational Training) which is responsible for promoting and disseminating the idea of continuing education among workers and companies, to manage the provision of lifelong learning funds, and to follow up and to control their technical aspects.

FORCEM is financed through Government funds (European subsidies are included in these funds). Public and private centers must apply to *FORCEM* for funds to develop their training projects. The projects are evaluated by the Foundation. A high percentage of the centers that receive funds are organisations that co-operate with the Employment Department or with the National Employment Institute, although it is important to highlight the progressive incorporation of *SMEs* into the training activity.

The first Tripartite Agreement on continuing training was signed in December 1993 by the Spanish government, employers associations (CEOE & CEPYME) and Trade Unions (CCOO, CIG & UGT). This agreement established the hierarchical and financial structures of the aforementioned National Program. Since then, the agreement has acquired a wider and more comprehensive set of norms, in order to be included in the II National Vocational Training Program. In addition, it establishes the proportions of funding which will be targeted on the unemployed and that of the employed workers. The signature of this agreement between three key social sectors in the labor market scene is a clear evidence of the priority given to the promotion of lifelong learning policies.

The II National Program of Vocational Training (1998–2002) tries to improve the quality and the organization of the vocational training system as follows: the creation of a state co-ordination network for training centers; the renewal and development of regular vocational training and of the national centers for practical occupational

training; the development of programs for teachers, job seekers, vocational advisors, for the evaluation of work integration measures, and the certification of qualifications in order to further the free circulation of labor within the European Union.

This Program sets out six basic goals to be reached before 2002, among them the creation of a National Professional Qualifications System in cooperation with the Autonomous Communities that will promote lifelong learning education. Researches on lifelong learning have contributed the development of new forms for the accreditation of prior experiential knowledge[9] (CREA, 1997) which are key to the upcoming creation of the National Qualifications System.

Such a priority is a key step to set up a quality lifelong learning system in Spain. A National Qualifications System will allow a wider group of people to gain access to vocational training by recognizing and accrediting the competencies and skills they have acquired through life experience and non-formal education environments. This National System is based on three main characteristics:

- An integrated view of professional qualifications taking into account those required by national and international labor markets.
- Recognition of different ways to acquire professional qualifications.
- Starting from the skills needed by people and according to those qualifications demanded from the labor market, it is intended to design a vocational training system that integrates both variables.

In order to regulate this newly founded National Qualifications System, a National Qualifications Institute has been also created. The aim of this system is to ensure the mutual recognition of certificates from regular and practical occupational training schemes. In addition, the Institute has to guarantee that social agents and institutional agencies take part in the whole process. This type of agency implication gives the system an advanced direction because it follows the same orientations drawn by recent contributions to social sciences that argue the need to demonopolize expertise systems and to take into account the voices of all participants involved. Another measure that supports this basic program goal consists in creating Professional Observers as a part of the National Qualifications Institute in order to ensure a proper co-operating system among all the organisations involved.

Finally, it is worth highlighting the sixth basic goal of the II National Vocational Training Program (1998–2002), which consists in understanding Spain as part of the European Union. In this way, the European Union Treaty, the conclusions of the 1997 European Council meeting on Employment and the 1998 Employment Guidelines are a basis to start from.

Among training related policies, there are some targeted exclusively to youth labor market integration, by means of vocational training. There is an important program addressed to those under 25: Workshops Schools and Trading Houses[10]. The main goal of both programs is to integrate young adults into the labour market by combining professional practices in public services and their training. These centers, found all over Spain, offer training activities and apprenticeship training contracts to their students, as a means to reduce unemployment.

After the review of the latest developments in Spanish lifelong learning policies, we would like to finish this chapter with a call to participants, researchers, practitioners, politicians, and all those related to lifelong education, to try to become more involved in the process. We need to recognize the plurality of lifelong learning policies which nevertheless still need to be further completed and consolidated. In our opinion, this is the challenge that its own political system poses to Spain. Meanwhile, we have to be aware of all the unsettled issues, for example, the need for a more plural and democratic university system or the extension to all autonomous communities of more and more democratic adult education laws. We should be happy about the latest developments, particularly with the higher relevance of participants' voices in decision making processes. However, we have still a long way to go, for which we need to keep in mind what kind of education we want in order to orient all our research, demands and actions towards the extension of lifelong learning to all.

ENDNOTES:

1. From now on we will call them AA.CC if plural and A.C. when singular.
2. The Learning Communities project is outlined in the last part of the present chapter.
3. We took the definition of non-traditional students from the TSER Project ACCESS AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION in which CREA is the Spanish partner. It has been agreed to consider as non-traditional students those people who seek access to university and who have not previously completed a formal degree course.
4. This is the third Article of the Bill of Rights of Participants in Adult Education.
5. This is the name of the admission examination that traditional students have to take after High School.
6. Both publishing companies El Roure and Popular have published most of these materials.
7. The concept of "other women" refers to those women who have not achieved an academic education level (Puigvert, 2000).
8. This project must be considered as an experience and a reality rather than a mere project. Its results are demonstrating that its aim is being achieved.
9. CREA is currently developing two research projects in this area: APEL and EXCEL (SOCRATES, UE). Concretely, CREA works in order to systematize a model of communicative accreditation of the prior experiential learning.
10. Beside these two initiatives, there are three others, that are not directly labor integrating measures but are still part of the Education System. They consist in providing courses of specific professional training in order to improve young people's chances of securing employment. These are: *Social Guarantee Programs*, *Middle Division Professional Training* and *Upper Division Professional Training*. On these programs see the section of this chapter devoted to Tertiary Education.

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Chapter 3: Lifelong Learning Policies in Transition Countries

ZORAN JELENC

We can generally describe the contemporary world as a world of transitions. But, in this chapter we would like to limit ourselves only to those Central and Eastern European and Baltic countries (hereinafter CEEB countries) which in the last decade, approximately since the year 1989, passed a very special and intensive change of the societal and political order. We are talking about the CEEB countries which can be more reliably identified if we call them European countries with former centrally (state-and-party) guided Socialist (or Communist) order.[1]

Since the breakdown of the Communist rule these states have been undergoing lively re-structuring, not only in policy and administration, in economy, and in employment, but also in their style of life, in national governmental-legal identity, in values, etc. All these changes, of course, do not start to operate in such a way that they could be felt only as positive achievements. On the contrary, the changes tend to bring along transitionally unfavourable states.[2] The search for the way out and for solutions will not be easy. It could not be achieved only with political proclamations and without investments in development and research. A significant help can here be offered also by adult education. Let us see how promising is the situation on these fields in the CEEB countries. The shortest and the most generalised answer to this question is: the situation is rather complicated.

UNFAVOURABLE POSITIONS OF ADULT EDUCATION, RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

As an overall starting point for our discussion we might accept the finding that irrespective of the former tradition and development of adult education all the countries of Central and Eastern Europe after the World War II had to subordinate themselves to the Soviet model of education, which was giving priority to particular fields and contents which were selected according to political and ideological criteria. This was the heritage with which the countries under consideration were passing into the post-Communist period. After the breakdown of the Communist social order in the year 1989 the unfavourable situation in the systemic organisation of adult education was further aggravated by political and social circumstances. The states, for the most part, are treating adult education as a child and a relict of Communism, giving it no support. Governments are failing to see or do not want to see the benefits coming from

adult education (Kulich 1994). The economic conditions are everywhere critical and this is reflected in the strong decrease in the financing of education through public means and here particularly small support is allotted to adult education. This field is being left over to the laws and operation of the free market; for this reason most active are those programmes which are in the interest of either individuals (foreign languages, commercial undertakings, computer technology) or economy (businessmen, managers), or must needs be financed by the state if social unrest is to be avoided (the unemployed). In this way adult education no longer enjoys automatic support of the state and it also remains without broader support from firms and economy. There is a decline in the participation in programmes for general personal needs, for acquiring formal education; there is insufficient support for civic education, etc. Such a situation – very suitably expressed in the statement that “education is among the last priorities of the new democratic government and adult education is the last within education” (Basel in Jelenc 1996: 48) – is most characteristic of the countries which were so far in adult education most developed, such as The Czech Republic and Poland. Rather better is the situation, for instance, in the Baltic countries and Slovenia, where the newly arisen social circumstances (the establishing of the independent state, which may well stimulate the country towards more ambitious developmental projects) have, thanks to the highly active endeavours of experts in adult education, facilitated a comparatively good development also in adult education. In most countries the profession has for the most part lost its position and possibilities for exercising influence.

Studies and analyses show (eg Jelenc 1996) that in all CEEB countries the needs for adult education are similar and that everywhere they are extremely big. These can be classified in a few typical groups, specifically connected with following issues and fields of knowledge: society and democracy; economy; employment; raising education level of population; general non-formal (popular) education; – some specific and relatively independent fields of knowledge (i.e. foreign languages, information and computer technology, ecology, new legislation, administration and systemic regulation etc.); education of target groups (the disabled, migrants, rural population, less educated, elderly etc.). Taking into consideration the intricacy of numerous and complex sociological and psychological phenomena coming up in the period of transition we must with a high degree of probability put up the assumption that a large percentage of the influence inside adult education should be occupied by general and civic education. For another extremely important field, that of Development & Research (D&R) in CEEB countries, we can ascertain the same as for the development of adult education. The only possibility for transitional economies not only to survive but to prosper and grow is to change themselves to innovation societies. Hence it would be reasonable to expect that individual countries will be paying great attention to both fields, to adult education and to D&R as well.

Considering already presented differences and specific ways of creating and implementing adult education policy in particular countries it would be interesting to compare them and to try to examine their readiness and capability for introducing and implementing the national strategy and policy of lifelong learning in their countries in the forthcoming period. Two countries – The Czech Republic and Poland – were already

mentioned as cases of stagnation or even retrogression in the period of transition. But there are rather weak possibilities of creating such a policy, systemic regulation and development of adult education which could in the near future lead to the setting up and/or implementation of a lifelong strategy in The Slovak Republic, Russia, Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia, Serbia, Macedonia, i.e. in the great majority of CEEB countries.

Adult education in the Czech Republic – a country with a long tradition and high quality professional work in adult education in the past – found itself in the deepest crises in comparison with other CEEB countries. While the theoretical bases still exist at the university and in professional associations, there is “absence of a complex education policy which could connect the educational strategies of single educational sectors into one coherent unit”. (Šimek 1999, p.1). The field had a minimal legislative support (a law on adult education does not exist) and was of peripheral importance in state policy (adult education does not lie within the authority of any administrative body). The gradual changes are seen since 1998 in the declared programme of the Ministry of Education whose main aim is “to lay the foundation for a complex educational policy”. (Ibidem). On the other side there is quite a solid potential of institutions offering educational opportunities but they are behaving in accordance with market requirements. In the already mentioned theoretically advanced academic sphere there are attempts to change the existing circumstances. One of them was a big international meeting “The Individual and Society at the Turn of the Century: View from the Both Sides” (West and East – note. Z.J.). The main issue of the meeting was the strategy of lifelong learning. (Šimek 1998). And there are growing initiatives for facilitating learning, among them the project of creating The National Centre for Lifelong Learning. [3].

Approximately the same – or slightly better – is the situation in Slovak Republic.[4] There is a Department of Further Education at the Ministry of Education and the state policy is little bit more active. A special Enactment on continuing education was adopted and came into force in the year 1998. But the main issue of the policy is education connected with employment. Adult education as a comprehensive system is treated within the formal education system. There is still missing a long-term conception on adult education in the country. In Slovakia we can, as in Czech Republic, see more perspectives for future development of adult education as well as the concept of lifelong learning in activities of the academic sphere. In the year 1996 in Bratislava a big international conference on *Lifelong Education – an Important Factor of European Integration* was organised.

In Russia adult education is still treated as a part of so called ‘additional education’ and this can be seen in all aspects of its development. In legislation in the main act *The Law on Education* (1992) there is no word about adult education while a special act does not exist; if the Law on continuing professional education was adopted (in 1998 it was still in process) there is a possibility that the preparation of a special law on adult education will start. A comprehensive state policy and directions on adult education do not exist. Adult education is functioning as a “conglomerate of different educational services, not unified by any concept or another base” (Zmeyov 1998). The slight shift towards improving the situation is the decision of the Ministry of General and Professional Education of the Russian Federation to establish the Federal Centre of Adult Education (opened in June 1998 in Moscow) whose main aim is but rather

narrow – “the elaboration and the approval of modern teacher–aids materials and technologies of learning based on the theory of adult learning for the purpose of increasing the efficiency of continuing education and the training of the adults”. (Ibidem). We do not have information that the situation in other countries successors of the former Soviet Union is in any way different.

We do not have positive information about comprehensive policies on adult education and even less on strategies for lifelong learning in Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia, Serbia, Macedonia, and other CEEB countries which we have not mentioned yet. The most ambitious and advanced among them seems to be Bulgaria, while Croatia and Serbia have a very strong professional tradition and are working more on research projects and studies than on their implementation into practice (here we must bear in mind the consequences of the recent wars and the present political and financial situation as well).

LIFELONG LEARNING – A REALITY OR ONLY A VISION IN CEEB COUNTRIES?

Lifelong learning as a world movement and strategy are going to be in effect recognised only when they are accepted as part of every country’s national policy and even more so when they will become indispensable for every learning city, learning community, learning organisation and for every individual. How far is this an option in the real situation of the CEEB countries taking into account the situation which we described formerly? Could it be even a far reality for these countries? After looking for some general statements on the interrelation between lifelong learning and adult education we will try to answer this question in continuation of this item by describing the concrete facts and situations in CEEB countries.

Firstly, we should state and stress a very close or even indispensable interrelation between lifelong learning and adult education. Schooling and education of children and adolescents in itself does not require a continuation and can be carried out only in the initial period of life. But, on the other side, considering the origin of the idea of and the need for lifelong learning credit undoubtedly goes primarily or even exclusively to adult education. Through the concept of the lifelong nature of learning adult education has been given a practical and, what is especially important, a theoretically irrefutable argumentation for its existence, both as a field of activity and as a specific discipline in the family of educational disciplines. It is a fact, as found out already by Titmus (1989, p.382) that the principle of the lifelong nature of education has triggered off the need for the integration of all educational fields of the system (vertical and horizontal) and that this has speeded up the idea of adult education as a coherent whole, according to objectives, scope, significance, the need for systemic regulation, etc. The treatment of adult education in the context of the lifelong nature of learning is not a new phenomenon; it has its roots in the work of eminent thinkers in adult education in the beginning of the twentieth century, especially of Yeaxley and Lindeman (Jarvis 1987). But, the strategy of lifelong learning has with increased intensity been introduced at the present time.

Secondly, relying on the concept of lifelong learning and appealing to the present favourable circumstances for it to be put into practice (the rapid development of knowledge and its falling into disuse; the rigidity of the school and educational systems and their incapacity to follow up with rapid development; the development of information and learning technology; changed life-styles and the accentuation of the cyclical organisation and interweaving of hitherto separate activities in education and in work, etc.), adult education has in a more decisive sense than formerly started to undertake the initiative in the field of education in general. It puts forward as a demand that adult education also be defined as a coherent system and that it be treated on equal terms in the systemic running and shaping of national educational policies.

Thirdly, there are two approaches needed for the effective creation and implementation of lifelong learning as a leading guideline and principle of all education and learning: (a) professional support: sustained interest and efforts of professionals and institutions having a clear and well grounded vision of the new concept and indispensable changes to develop lifelong learning strategies; (b) national policy: the corresponding statements and systemic regulations approved by state, towards establishing and implementing lifelong learning as a national strategy.

There are in recent times (since the middle nineties) plenty of claims for adult education to be an integrated system and for its setting and integration within the whole educational system and each country's national policy. This was not yet the case in the late 'eighties' to the early 'nineties', the period in which Kjell Rubenson in his study commissioned by OECD (Rubenson 1997)[5] found that there is almost in no country any cohesive policy for adult education, that adult education is as a rule not understood as a cohesive entity and that adult education is in national reports as a rule not adequately defined and dealt with. His analysis shows that, in contradistinction to the emphasis on the significance of principles and strategy of the life-long nature of learning as found in documents defining both national policies as well as policies of inter-governmental organisations in the national reports of participating countries here under discussion, the lifelong nature of learning is completely absent as the leading principle of the whole of education in the concrete implementation of national policies. To the author this finding appears to be absolutely "shocking" (Ibidem, p.12). One of the many recommendations and orientations provided in his analysis, and this one is particularly important for what is dealt with in our contribution, is the idea that adult education should be interconnected within a unified, all-inclusive system. (Ibidem, pp.21-22). If we would like countries to adopt a cohesive policy towards adult education as a whole, then such a statement naturally sounds perfectly logical. Following the results of our research (Jelenc 1993) it could be added (a fairly frequent, if not already the predominating opinion or conviction among adult education experts) that the interference of the state in the development and the systemic regulation of adult education could be also harmful.[6]

In the recent period we are witnesses of the world-wide movement represented by the slogan "Lifelong Learning for All" which initiated the adopting of strategic developmental plans and the development of adult education especially by two international organisations which had included in their programme also the development and promotion of the development of adult education, the two organisations being

UNESCO in its *Medium-Term Strategy 1996–2000* (1995) and in the *Hamburg Declaration on Adult Learning and the Agenda for the Future* (1997) and the OECD with the passing of the *Communiqué of Ministers* (1996). In both of them emphasis is laid on the key role of governments and of state policies for the developing of adult education. OECD brought out the decision that all member-states should ensure that life-long learning become a reality for all their peoples and the principal priority of their policy over the coming five year period. The results of this strategic orientation – the adoption of several national documents on lifelong learning strategy and adult education getting support from the national system – has been ascertained in our survey on national strategies of adult education (Jelenc 1998) where projects from Great Britain, the Nordic countries, Sweden, Finland, and Netherlands have been analysed and where adult education has been treated as a priority task of the state and of its educational and developmental policy, irrespective of the fact that it would be difficult implementing it in practice as such.

In former Socialist CEEB countries we could come to know two extremes: the point at which the state was interfering too strongly in the development and opportunities of adult education and was regulating them in accordance with its ideological and political aims, and the point where the state had removed its hands from the development of adult education, abandoning it almost wholly to be regulated by the brute laws of the market and market economy. The first extreme mentioned was happening in all these countries right up to the year 1989, hence up to the year of great political and societal changes, while the other extreme is characteristic of most of the countries mentioned after the year 1989 and is still continuing.

Is it possible in such a conditions to promote and establish lifelong learning as a national strategy? And, how to bring it into force if national policy does not support it yet? To answer this question we must get a closer look at specific cases of the policy and measures in particular countries of the Central, Eastern European and Baltic region which we are treating as countries in transition. There are, of course, in spite of the similar basic societal characteristics of the transition processes also specific societal, historical, cultural and other circumstances which are the cause of the specific ways in creating the development of a particular field of social functioning and its policy. By virtue of this, the countries vary among themselves in the development of national policies of adult education as well. Besides the majority of CEEB countries where the situation is not very promising there are also countries which are more advanced in creating a lifelong strategy or favourable conditions and a basis for its creation in the near future. Let us examine such cases in some more detail and compare their possibilities for setting up a lifelong learning strategy and policy. We will look over the situation in Hungary, the Baltic states and Slovenia.

Hungary

It is beyond all question that adult education in Hungary is in an intensive process of transformation which is as much as possible following European models and experiences, taking into consideration also Hungarian reality. "Europeanness became one of

the key words in Hungarian domestic policy and one of the determinant elements of legitimacy to define its different relation to the past”, says Janos Sz.Toth, managing president of the Hungarian Folk High School Society (HFHSS), in his comprehensive report (1999, p.2). While this orientation is significantly present also in other CEEB countries which are in process of integration into the European Union it is rather more determining the aspirations of Hungarian adult educators and the development of adult education in Hungary. The entire situation of the society is changing, but instead of the system controlled and monopolised by the state in the past, new and comprehensive structures have not been established or consolidated yet. Society as a whole has undergone a “learning process” and “the institutions of adult education could hardly have exerted influence on this process, even if they had been prepared to do so” (Ibidem, p.3). There is still no co-ordination between the various sectors of adult education such as non-formal, vocational oriented, private, state supported, non-profit, etc. Changes in the field of education commenced at universities as an impact of EU programmes such as Tempus.

Basic institutions and subjects of out-of-school adult education in Hungary are cultural centres. In 1992, there were 2,674 such centres in Hungary (Harangy 1996, p.63) whose main functions are to organise or host study circles, courses, lectures, clubs and events, exhibitions; most of them have a library, some of them run cinemas. Most of general education takes place here, centres are the hub of local communities. The other standard institutional structures comprise: societies for popularisation of scientific knowledge (TIT), folk high schools (residential and day or evening ones), in-school education on different levels, vocational training providers, on-the-job training, distance education, non-profit organisations involved in adult education, etc. and some other special institutions for adult education.

The European dimension has been implemented in adult education through different programs and projects but they were supplemented by a number of American, German, Austrian, Canadian, British, Dutch and Swiss bilateral co-operation programmes. In addition to the already existing institutional infrastructure as a consequence of economic and political transformation objectives were mainly focused on the development of vocational training related to employment and coping with unemployment. An expensive training network in the framework of the so-called Staff Development Programme supported by The World Bank programme started to develop in the various fields, among them adult education and training and foreign language teaching. The programme *Phare* gave initial support to a programme called *The Reform of Vocational Education and Training*. In the initial period of the transformation, laws that determined the framework for training demands that emerged as a consequence of unemployment were passed such as the 1993 Act on vocational training or the 1991 Act on the promotion of employment and provision for the unemployed. Labour market training centres and central support funds were set up.

A very important role not only for the development of adult education but for setting up the broader basis for a lifelong learning strategy in the future was performed in the past ten years by The German Association of Folk High Schools (DVV) and its Institute for International Co-operation (IIZ). It significantly contributed to this development (J. Toth 1999, p.6) by “being the only organisation that had established

comprehensive co-operation in the development of adult education in Hungary with government level support". The project of co-operation did not support preferentially or only vocational education and languages but was targeted to all the participants in practical continuing education, in 'partner organisations' local programmes and provision, and in the fields of education, agricultural, environmental and health education, foreign and cultural provision. It also aimed at serving the particular needs of young people and women, the unemployed and the disabled, in both urban and rural settings. The project therefore set out to work through multipliers. The most important goals and types of work included counselling, initial and continuing training, publications and infrastructure support. The well-proved system of partnership was carefully extended to the state, voluntary and university sectors.

HFHSS and a number of Hungarian adult education organisations became members of the European Association for the Education of Adults (EAEA). Hungary is represented in its executive board and in the executive board of the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE). J. Toth was elected as vice-president of ICAE to represent EAEA. HFHSS established contacts with national EAEA member organisations and took a significant part in the preparatory work for the 5th UNESCO World Conference on Adult Education held in 1997. The adopted recommendations of UNESCO Conference – *Adult Education: The Hamburg Declaration on Adult Learning and The Agenda for the Future* – broadened vision of adult education as a part of the strategy of lifelong learning as well as its important actions such as the 'One Hour a Day for Adult Learning' action, the Adult Learners' Week and so forth, which became the subject of many debates in Hungarian professional circles. The ICAE executive board meeting was held in Budapest where the work of Hamburg Conference was evaluated and the strategy and actions to be taken in the future were discussed. Hungary is one of the founders of The European Symposium on Voluntary Action (ESVA), an international foundation and network of scientific researchers and experts who are interested in the sociological, pedagogical and political questions of civil society. They stress the importance of voluntary actions and associations through which ESVA is trying to exert a powerful influence informally.

Hungary is also trying to develop and sustain particular and intensive co-operation with those countries which "had shared the same fate" in the former period characterised in the last decade as a transition period. The strongest co-operations are Slovene-Hungarian, Polish-Hungarian and Slovak-Austrian-Hungarian. Projects arising from such co-operations were (Toth 1999, p.8) "aimed at placing adult and public education on new foundations and achieving 'Euro-conformity' after the social, economic and political changes that had taken place everywhere". Several discussions also "promoted a sense of competitiveness in the co-operation with organisations of EU member states on the one hand, and strengthened solidarity on the other hand through the exchange and discussion of experiences gained in Eastern-Western co-operation".

Considering these data and indicators of the European dimension of Hungarian adult education a very active policy and suitable systemic measures of the state could be expected in the last decade or in recent time in Hungary. But there is an appreciable difference between the vision and achievements of the Hungarian experts and professional institutions and the situation in the real state policy and the systemic regulation

of adult education and in implementation of the principles and strategy of lifelong learning. Referring to the report of J. Toth (1999, pp.9–11) the processes of changes are rather slow. The most illuminating is a course of events in the process of adopting the new legislation. The government started the preparatory work for a new Act on adult education after the first free elections held in 1990. The initiative which was aimed at the reformation of the 1976 adult education Act had a lot of professional benefits going out in the years following the European adult education legislation with the collaboration of IIZ/DVV and co-operating with UNESCO (Hungarians participated in the global research “The Legislative Environment of Adult Education” conducted by the UNESCO Institute for Education). The preparatory work has been intensified after 1996 and a number of important elements were finally included in the draft of the Act. In the programme of the new government set up in 1998 the further development of adult education and the enactment of a new law based on the concept of lifelong learning were also included; with the assistance of adult educators and civil organisations and on the basis of analysis of a number of foreign laws (of Sweden, Finland and the German provinces, Slovenia and Estonia) dialogue with legislators has been conducted to put forward the new concept, which will contain also non-formal adult learning, not only the labour market and vocational education oriented. The Act is expected to be submitted to Parliament in the year 2000. In addition to the special adult education act the 1997 Non-profit Making Activities Bill and the 1997 Act that regulates the ownership of real property used by civil organisations are of equal importance for strengthening the role of civil organisations which are important institutional structures for adult learning.

In lack of more special Acts for determination of non-formal adult education and learning there are general Acts which are determining adult education in more traditional way. These are The Public Education Act (1993; with a special paragraph on adult education, citing particularly school education) and The Vocational Training Act (1993).

In spite of rather slow processes of changing legislation and other systemic measures in adult education the contents and methods of adult education activities have been changing considerably in the past ten years. There is substantial imbalance between that and the official state policy where a healthy proportion between local, national and international dimensions is still missing.

The State is not assuring funding of adult education in significant amounts. There is as yet no provision for enduring funding of folk high schools from state resources; resources are pretty restricted for other kinds of provision of adult education with the exception of vocational education and education of the unemployed. Financing of community centres is mostly the responsibility of local government; central state allocation to community centres will decline. Although it would be essential for the development of adult education Hungarian adult education has no central institution suitable for the analytical research of practical experiences and the planning and implementation of pilot projects. There is no comprehensive conception nor a national strategic plan of the development of adult education in Hungary.

But, according to tradition, adult education in Hungary is in a significant sense a sub-system of culture and education in culture. This is a undoubtedly a good

starting-point for putting into force the principles, strategy and practice of lifelong learning. Particularly if we bear in mind the international dimension and orientation of Hungarian experts in adult education and the already manifested needs for the development of civil society. As has been stated in the report prepared for the 5th UNESCO conference on Adult education in Hamburg (Benedek 1996, p.17) "in the first decade of the 21st century, adult and public education will re-claim their general and personality development functions which they were compelled to shed at the time of the economic crisis following change of regime. All in all, the humanistic contents and values of adult education – pointing beyond the *homo faber* – will certainly increase."

Therefore it is probably not too optimistic to conclude that Hungary is among the first CEEB countries and countries in transition which is going to accept and implement a lifelong learning strategy as a state and civil society policy in the near future.

Baltic States

Among CEEB countries three Baltic States – Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania – have a very specific place. They all were before 1989 a constitutional part of the former Soviet Union and re-established their independence after the year 1991. State independence and radical changes of political and economic situation connected with this fact have led to a great demand for knowledge and for personally and socially motivated, as well as more qualified and personally and professionally competent people. This is a very stimulating basis for advanced growth and development of adult education as well as for the promotion of a lifelong learning strategy. The geopolitical situation of these countries is also advantageous. They are the nearest neighbours of Scandinavian countries which are among the most developed European countries in adult education and the best examples of the liberal (general non-formal) education philosophy and tradition, education connected with social movements, democratic performance of education (e.g. study circles, folk high schools, etc.) and, in recent times, the implementation of a lifelong learning strategy. All three Baltic countries are receiving substantial professional and financial support from their Nordic neighbours which together with their own developmental impetus makes their situation in adult education and learning much more promising than in most other countries in transition. The adult education crisis is here less conspicuous or even does not exist except for the considerable need for restructuring both the organisation and content of adult education. There is rather intensive professional work in all three Baltic countries and adult education has relatively adequate state support. All the three are also pretty internationally active and open and are involved in several EU and other international projects and associations.

Considering the most urgent needs, the main endeavours are oriented toward the development of adult education and implementation of the state goals in this field while the strategy of lifelong learning exists more as a professional vision and not as a current reality. Let us make a short review of the main achievements and plans in each of the three Baltic countries with special attention to those which could enable the further development of a lifelong learning strategy.

Estonia

- The department of adult education at the Ministry of Education was founded in 1990 where all fields of adult education (general, vocational and popular) are treated.
- The Association of Estonian Adult Educators ANDRAS was established (1991). It is acting as a very strong stimulus and integrative non-governmental professional force for promotion and implementation of adult education.
- At the Tallin Pedagogical University degree and post-graduate courses in andragogy started (1991). The Centre of Continuing Education at the University was established in 1978.
- The Law on Adult Education was prepared for discussion in the Supreme Council of the Estonian Republic. It was the first special Act on adult education in CEEB countries. Besides the general aspects (purposes, basic fields, complementary acts, institutions) The Law – adopted in the year 1993 – is short (17 paragraphs) and in mostly general form determining: guarantees and possibilities of participation in adult education (governmental tasks – legislation, financing, research, co-ordination; municipal tasks – programs, target groups; educational leave); organisation; and financing of adult education.
- The Society for Voluntary (Popular) Adult Education Teachers has been set up (1992).
- The project Estonian National and State Programme for the Education of Adults was launched (1993). The main parts of the Programme deal with: the concept of adult education in Estonia; fields of adult education; the role of formal, non-formal and informal education as specific spheres of adult education and learning.
- Tallin was involved in the Educational Cities project.
- Organising the first Adult Learners' Week in Estonia (1998).
- There is continued work on new methods and forms taking place in the provision of adult education in Estonia.
- Several international meetings have been carried out in recent times. The last was Strategic Bases for the Development of Learning Society: The Course of the East and the Experiences of the West. (ANDRAS 1999).

Latvia

In Latvia similar processes of changes as in Estonia started a little later – in the year 1993.

- A special Division of Adult Education was set up (1993). It started with basic tasks in the reorganisation of adult education in Latvia. But it re-established good contacts between the state administration (Division) and non-governmental adult education associations.
- A Latvian Adult Education Association was established – LPIA (1993).

- As a structural part of LPIA the Adult Education Centre was founded in the same year. It is functioning as a central organisational and methodological body for the development of adult education in Latvia. It is working in close co-operation with the Ministry of Education without too much interference from the Ministry in the Centre's work.
- "The Development of the Adult Education System in the Republic of Latvia" will become a part of The National Programme of Education which was launched in 1994. The sub-programme on adult education consists of 7 areas, those being: Measures for strengthening the work of the Division for Adult Education at the Ministry (expert group, consulting board, public relations); establishing the Department of Andragogy at the University of Latvia; establishing the Adult Education Research and Development Centre; strengthening the LPIA; regional development (four district adult education centres; organisational and legislative support; establishing regional adult education centres in co-operation with LPIA and local governments; satisfying the labour market demand in regions); distance education.
- Those adult education activities which are quoted in the National Programme are basically financed by state.
- Several pilot projects for modernisation of adult education methods and forms of provision, especially in distance education, are being planned.

Lithuania

- The most general features of adult education are defined by the Concept of Adult Education in Lithuania (1993). The task of adult education is to create the necessary conditions for the self-realisation of individuals who have responsibility for the good of the country, and to grant a person's right to employment. The system of adult education gives equal importance to formal and non-formal education. There is notable emphasis on learner's initiative and creating the most informative environment for the self-education and self-development of the participant and ensuring adequate use of the environment.
- Restructuring of the education system is a continuous process which "emphasises the creation of a lifelong learning system in Lithuania". (Beresneviene 1996, p.278).
- After the priority given to the whole of formal education (The Law on Education, 1991) as well as to actual needs such as education connected with employment and vocation (The Law on Employment, 1990; The Vocational Education Law) and some other fields The Law on Non-formal Adult Education was adopted in the year 1998. It comprises: the basic definitions of the terms used; the system of non-formal adult education (goals, directions, forms, providers, participants, social partners and founders); organisation (state council; rights of participants, responsibility of providers, functions of state, counties and municipalities); participation guarantees (for employed and providers); funding (principles and forms, premises).

- There is a special project on creating a strategic plan for the development of distance education in Lithuania. The guidelines were established by a special work group and the outline of the strategic plan was worked out in 1999.
- In financing special attention is given by the state to two types of formal and non-formal education: adult education directly connected with the requirements of the labour market and the education of those target groups which the Government is particularly interested in. Those are: the unemployed and employer initiated employees training. The state finances the general secondary education of adults, while other kinds of education (further education, updating of professional skills, non-formal education, etc.) are only partly or not financed by the state.

From this short description of the main directions in the development of adult education and changes of its systemic regulation in Baltic states we may conclude that they are rather similar. And, in comparison with Hungary, which has been described above, the system in these countries (especially in Estonia and Lithuania) “*de jure* remains centralised” (Caillods 1995, p.2).

Slovenia

In a small country such as Slovenia the optimum use of its human resources is of crucial importance for its further development. The possible way to achieve this goal is to bring into force a lifelong learning strategy and to try to become a learning country. For the realisation of such a goal two complementary approaches are needed: (a) developing and encouraging the culture of learning in society, which can be realised only with projects on the national level, being implemented in local communities (city, village, local communities); (b) accepting a lifelong learning strategy as a part of state development policy.

In the period of transition adult education in Slovenia has not experienced such a crisis as other states in transition. Even on the contrary: since 1991 – this being the year in which Slovenia had become an independent state – adult education has had financial support much greater than it had previously and the continuous development of adult education has been feasible owing to other systemic measures undertaken by the state. But these changes would not have been possible without the very intensive work of Slovenian experts in adult education which begun in the eighties and was even strengthened in the nineties. Several studies dealing with theoretical definitions of adult education taking into account the need for its redefinition; technical groundwork for the systemic regulation of adult education; needs for adult education and learning; models of organising adult education and developing new methods of adult education and learning have been carried out during the period of 1988 to 1991 and continued with Governmental support up to the year 1996, working out the integral conception and the strategy of adult education development based on the principles and strategy of lifelong learning.

In the year 1991 the following systemic measures were raised by the Government: special funds for adult education in the state budget; a special unit (having had

overgrown in the following years into a Sector of Adult Education) within the Ministry of Education and Sport; a special umbrella Act concerning adult education has started (approved in the year 1996 together with several other Acts concerning adult education as well in a so-called 'school legislation package'); a special professional institution for the development and promotion of adult education in Slovenia – Slovene Adult Education Centre – established; an expert basis for an adult education master plan named 'The National Program of Adult Education' financed; a special and relatively autonomous adult education study program was offered by the Faculty of Arts at the University of Ljubljana.

The task of promoting and accelerating adult education development has been transferred after the year 1991 largely over to the Slovene Adult Education Centre (SAEC) which has been founded and is being largely financed by the Slovene Government.

The policy of adult education in Slovenia has been based on the following basic principles and aims (declared in the White Paper on Education in the Republic of Slovenia, Ministry of Education and Sport, 1995): teaching and learning of adults as a component of the strategy and concept of life-long learning; equal and holistic consideration of all needs; links within the system; variety and flexibility of educational opportunities; interconnection and equal standing of education and learning; partnership in administration and financing; innovations in addition to positive traditions; international comparability; developmental strategy: thoroughness and gradual implementation of the concept. These principles have been commonly incorporated in the main Acts dealing with adult education whereas the education of adults is in practice still not treated consistently as a field entitled to equal status and equal rights within the entire system of education and the basic principle in regulating the educational system is still not represented by the philosophy and strategy of lifelong education.

Among six Acts of the so-called package of 'school legislation' (adopted 1996) there was also The Adult Education Act – the umbrella Act which defines and regulates the main issues concerning adult education and learning with special emphasis on non-formal education. One of the main achievements of the Act is the master plan – The National Program of Adult Education. It defines in its general starting-points: the aims, priority areas of adult education, activities needed for providing adult education and the global amount of public financial means for the realisation of the program. For the implementation of the master plan the Government adopts each year a yearly program which determines: the extent and kind of activities and the extent of public financial means which should be assured in a state budget for its realisation. The state is ensuring the implementation of the program, but local communities are being stimulated to adopt their own programs. The programs and activities determined in the master plan are: general basic and primary education; basic programs of vocational education for those who finished elementary education; programs for continuation of elementary education for those who do not continue education on the secondary level; programs of non-formal education for general personal and cultural needs, for continued education for work and vocation and programs for prosperous personal and societal (civic) activities. The master plan determines also developmental infrastructure (development, research, counselling) and other activities (information, publicity,

network of public providers, standard and norms setting, staff development, international co-operation, etc.) for the realisation of the plan. The Plan is still in preparation but its technical basis has already been adopted and published.

Within the further systemic regulation of adult education in particular, a delimitation of competencies between the state and local authorities (communes) is needed. A great problem has been caused by the fact that local authorities in Slovenia have practically no role in furthering the development of adult education. By the current legislation the state still has the main competencies in administration concerning adult education and the local community is not obliged to take big responsibilities for its development – except for a few of them (investments, material expenses, implementation of programs stated in a yearly program) for those providers whose founder is the municipality. The National plan should help this situation to be changed in the future. After adopting the master plan the financial means for those educational programs for adults which are in the interest of the state and/or local communities will be determined by the yearly program. But of course, all these changes, among them also the mode of funding of the adult education, are being implemented in practice rather slowly.

The traditional network of adult educational institutions (folk high schools and municipality centres, adults' schools, educational centres in enterprises, centre for correspondence education, university extension etc.) has been widened by new institutions, forms, methods and programs after the year 1991. Gradually, as a result of developmental projects, innovations have been launched embracing *institutions* (self-directed learning centres, learning exchange centres, distance education centres, private enterprises, centres for project learning for the young adults; summer adult education school for community education; information and counselling centres), new *forms* (study circles, non-formal education and learning), *methods* of provision (open learning, distance learning, group learning, project learning, certification system) and *programs* (for the young and elderly people, for the local community, for democracy, for quality assurance – for increasing functional literacy, citizenship education/learning etc.) have been introduced and the variety of educational modes for adult learners has been increasing in the last couple of years. A great support for such a development is the national project 'The Lifelong Learning Week' which stimulates learning for all people throughout life, life-long and life-wide, which has been successfully carried out since 1996.

We can speak of a democratisation of adult education in practice as well. The process of democratisation of adult education is in Slovenia going on above all through processes of interaction among developmental projects, predominantly started by SAEC, and their implementation in practice. Here it is especially important that people in communes and in local communities identify themselves with the projects as well as how in practice they see them as their own activity. With particularly favourable reception in practice the following projects have been met: the introduction of study circles; the establishment of learning exchange centres; the development of centres for fostering independent and self-directed learning and for evaluating and accreditation of prior knowledge.

Even though Slovenia is a country with strong school traditions, which make it difficult for people to accept the educational opportunities outside schools, there have been

signs showing that a systematic, persistent policy and strategy could work wonders – a surprising turn-about. Though people in Slovenia consider learning as a very private matter, they respond fairly well to the organised learning opportunities offered by their local surroundings which could be seen also in the quantitative data found out in the evaluations carried out by SAEC in the recent years. The following figures might illustrate how in the period of five years since 1992/93 in Slovenia new possibilities of non-formal education and learning have risen up to this day: a network of “*study circles*” covering all parts of Slovenia (88 different localities); in five years about 500 study circles have been established, having all together approximately 5000 participants; 7 “*learning exchange*” centres grew into a well connected and co-ordinated computerised information network (demand and supply of individual learning possibilities); about 7.000 people (over 9000 demands) have been registered either as seeking or as offering help; 34 *self-directed or open learning centres*; the growing interest of enterprises has been perceived in the recent time; in 17 places in Slovenia the activities of the “*University for the Third Age*” are being provided; possibilities for people to be included in the *education for quality assurance* (for decreasing functional illiteracy) and to participate in so-called citizenship education (learning) etc. are growing; there is a considerable interest in new possibilities which are still in the stage of initiation: *information and guidance centres*; *project learning centres for young adults*; *centres for assessment and accreditation of prior learning*, etc.; four years of implementing the project *Lifelong Learning Week* show that each year the extent of activities and participants has redoubled.

These are the reasons why there is no exaggeration in setting the goal to grow Slovenia into a “learning country”. It is not only a slogan aimed to promote the idea of lifelong learning and learning society but exists already as a plan of comprehensive developmental strategy and a project – the so-called ‘target development–research project’ – in which financial means from various ministries are being merged with the means of the Ministry of Science and Technology. For this project, the fact that Slovenia is so small could even be an advantage.

Adult education in Slovenia develops within the context of highly intensive and close international co-operation. Of course all these new orientations and changes will bring a drive for radical changes in the current comprehensive education and school policy.

COUNTRIES IN TRANSITION IN THE CONTEXT OF LIFELONG LEARNING RESEARCH PARADIGMS

Furthering (advancing, promoting) lifelong learning theory as well as its strategy and implementation in practice became in the last decade and especially in the second half of the nineties the subject of numerous theoretical studies, researches and developmental projects. They challenged many scientists and scholars not only in the field of education and adult education but also from other fields and scientific disciplines.

For our hypothetical questioning of possibilities for the implementation of lifelong learning philosophy and strategy into the policy and practice of CEEB countries it

would be illuminative to select some focus points of the paradigms proceeding from lifelong learning researches in the recent period.

At the OECD conference in Paris on 16 and 17 January 1996 25 education ministers from different parts of the world reached agreement on a “paradigmatic shift ‘from education to learning’ and on a comprehensive package of measures for committed efforts to realise lifelong learning as the primary goal of worldwide education reform that is necessary for survival”. (Dohmen 1996). Among the many strategic focal points brought forward in the conference’s documents (OECD 1996) there are seven of “particular relevance to an education policy-directed implementation of the ambitious goal of ‘lifelong learning for all’”:

- to improve the “capacity” of the *largest possible number of people* (emphasised in this and following paragraphs)
- to interlink the diverse kinds of skill development through *informal as well as institutionalised learning*
- the foundations for lifelong learning must be laid during the individual’s *childhood and youth*
- relating school-based learning to open learning will require educational facilities in order to be able to *individualise and modularise learning*, increase its flexibility and cross-disciplinary relevance
- *counselling services* must be expanded in order to facilitate and support widespread use of various learning occasions and opportunities
- the institutions, teachers, counsellors, and partners must deliberately focus their activities on the creative, practical realisation of *‘lifelong learning for all’*
- of special importance is joint development and testing of *various investment initiatives and mixed financing systems*.

At various points in the comprehensive synthetic study written by the German scholar Günther Dohmen in the year 1996 under the title *Lifelong Learning – Guidelines for a modern education policy*[7] we can find the following statements which are the most relevant for our purpose (Dohmen 1996: I, 5, 7, 32): in a cognitive society which we are approaching besides technical skills *social qualifications* are also becoming increasingly important; the most important goals of the new type of society can be achieved only when *broad sections of the population are willing to learn on a lifelong basis*; – *independent learning* that is aimed at developing skills constitutes the focal point of existing approaches and concepts; educational institutions must be considered as one *single extensive network* that encompasses a variety of learning locations, formats and aids; considering individual educational institutions alone (schools, universities, vocational and general education facilities) does not do justice to the demands of lifelong learning; – in the future *various providers of education* have to provide education and learning in a more *‘lifelong’ context* and have to enable learners to make use of all the situations, environments and opportunities for learning; educators and politicians have a *one-sided focus* on the ‘official’ learning they organise and control and have to move away from this narrow orientation; – learning in institutionalised formats throughout the entire course of everyone’s life is not viable; vitally

needed lifelong continued learning must be practiced to a large extent as self-directed learning; learners need help and guidance to be successful and effective in their learning; the manifold stimuli and opportunities for learning must be interlinked and developed; even in a pluralistic world, a *formal value-orientation* is a minimum requisite for lifelong learning; lifelong learning will shape *educational reforms* in the future; school reform alone is not enough.

A well-ordered overall lifelong learning concept is needed. For Dohmen (1996: 94–95) there are six basic views that can fit together to form a convincing education policy concept. These are:

- to cope creatively with pressing crises arising from societal transformation the most effective approach is the *comprehensive mobilisation of skill-developing learning* by as many people as possible
- *task related learning* in situations that involve new challenges is the most effective kind of learning for developing the skills needed
- the objectives pursued by responsible, adult learners demand a form of *self-directed learning* that is more active and open to real life; using traditional forms of instruction as the primary format for literally lifelong learning is neither feasible, affordable or desirable
- more self-determined lifelong learning that takes place within life's diverse contexts requires *broader impulses* and more *open support in a learning environment* that has a large number of real and virtual learning sites
- traditional educational institutions of the future will be just *one among many typical types of learning sites*
- the most important change targeted by this integrative policy approach to lifelong learning is a *change in people's attitude* toward learning.

K. Rubenson (1997) found significant differences between two periods of introducing lifelong learning as a master concept and principle. Differences are so big that for the author "it is relevant to speak of first and second generation lifelong learning" (p. 3). During the first generation (in the late 1960s and 70s) the concept was promoted by two international organisations (pp. 4–6):

- Within UNESCO, "conceptual work stressed that the evolution of lifelong learning involved the horizontal integration of education and life". "A precondition for lifelong learning was said to be a changed conceptualisation of education, encompassing formal, non-formal, and informal settings for learning." Besides the personal development of people the main goal of the lifelong learning philosophy was the democratisation of education which is not possible without the democratisation of society. "Within a humanistic tradition, proponents of lifelong learning claimed it would promote a better society and quality of life...".
- In contrast to UNESCO's concept of lifelong learning the OECD "carried a less humanistic and more pragmatic accentuation". The main philosophy was recurrent education which was "commonly promoted as a system that would yield economic gains, benefit the labour market ..." and "would be achieved by spreading the long

period of education over individual's life-cycle...". It "emphasised education rather than learning as the organising principle"; the focus was the higher educational system and, to some extent, secondary education.

In the late 1980s after nearly two decades of stagnancy lifelong learning reappeared in full force. The second-generation concept is now bringing learning into force as a way of life. It is universally promoted across all sectors and in many issues different from the first-generation (a broader idea of lifelong learning has replaced concepts of recurrent education; the most important prerequisites are knowledge and competencies; society is characterised by a culture of learning; changes in the nature of work; needs for citizens to be involved in lifelong learning; the business sector in the forefront; focus on training and educating adults; a front-end model of educational policy etc.). In the policy debates it "emphasises the importance of highly-developed human capital, and science and technology". But, as Rubenson stressed in his study (1997), the new paradigm is still not adequately articulated in national policy documents.

Putting the question of adults' readiness to actively engage in learning for all, we can find several contradictions in "the discourse surrounding lifelong learning and a lack of serious interest in who benefits" (Rubenson, undated: 1): among them particularly, promoting lifelong learning seems to be a solution for economic and social problems facing society but serious attention needs to be given to several serious questions such as: what influences adults' readiness to engage in learning; why are large groups excluded from the emerging learning society; what is the relation between everyday learning and participation in organised forms of adult education and training.

New and contradictory pressures are taking shape as well within the context of globalisation which is characterised by "radical restructuring of the economic, political, cultural and social life around the globe" (Walters 1997: 1). It means a transition of the world "from one paradigm to another". There are questions of the changing nature of the state, market and civil society and their impact on adult education and training practices. Among the key challenges for national policies and adult education policy within it are: "to build solidarity in a context of competition"; to "provide the space to rethink the social purposes of and strategies for adult education and training", to put into effect the slogan "think, feel and act globally and locally" (p. 4); to "reshape the traditional dichotomies and distinctions between home-life and work-life" (p. 5), to understand democracy as a "process involving decision-making in family, the community, the workplace and the state" and to "increase the participation of the majority in all aspects of society" (p. 6); to ensure that in adult education "the human-capital and technicist views ... with its narrow utilitarian purposes... do not become predominant" and to give priority to "economic and social development which recognises the interrelatedness of society and the economy where human values – not human capital – predominate" (pp. 8–9). All these items are attempts to overcome a sharp separation between two worlds (following Habermas's concept) – the system-world and the life-world.

Like everywhere, in any particular circumstances, not only in countries in transition, the role and opportunities of adult education are dependent upon social circumstances and the motives of adults for education. Likewise in countries in transition the

elements from the one side interweave with the elements from the other side; in this confrontation there come up or do not come up interconnections determining both the extent as well as the intensity of the activity pursued in the field of education or adult education.

Taking into consideration the focus points and paradigms mentioned above there are in CEEB countries several societal and other conditions which are not favourable for developing or implementing a lifelong learning policy and strategy. We can itemise as less advantageous the following characteristics of the CEEB countries:[8] in many important dimensions (eg politically, economically, societally, culturally) less ready for changes.

- In the last 40 or 50 years state policy used to be extremely centralised, giving almost no attention to an individual initiative and/or to the development of the voluntary sector and non-governmental organisations as well as to the autonomy of local communities.
- The processes of democratization, if the CEEB countries are to radically embark on societal renovation, are running rather slowly. They would require a broad conception of social activity involving the corresponding priorities and as much as possible people participation.
- The state needs better technically and professionally qualified cadres, but their education certainly must not be narrow and one-sided if they want to assert themselves successfully in the present world and adequately cope with technological and other kinds of changes. In the realization of the programmes and in inclusion in education the relation between education that is “market-oriented” and general education, catering for the personal needs of people, is decisively in favor of the former.
- People are in conflict with themselves. In the preserving and the developing of this conflict they are aided also by society and topical politics. Almost all the investigations performed on the needs and motives of people in connection with education in countries in transition (eg Belarus, the Czech Republic, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland) show that people are voicing the need for personal development and self-realization, but in the course of realizing this need they encounter economic and market pressures determining the real ground for living, also increased stressing of social priorities, these being management, international economic success, banking, financial businesskeeping, and, in the sphere of education, the acquisition of appropriate job qualifications and skills.
- The countries under investigation are characterized by an inherited rigidity of the system and its operation. But the new circumstances – over a small period of time almost everything has changed, and what has not been yet been should be changed – call for a quick and flexible operation of the system, its institutions and people. In the field of education the solution will be found in a speedy implementation of non-formal education and various alternative possibilities rather than through supporting the rigid traditional set-up. The decisive support of the philosophy of lifelong learning is needed. But in the endeavors for more reliable

and more readily accessible solutions the state supports the old rather than the new.

- There is no adequate support for the intellectual, cultural, and creative potential of the people; the entire social system is directed primarily toward material prosperity, paying no regard to moral and civic aspects.
- New social circumstances, economic efficiency, and democracy cannot be developed in the absence of people. But people living in countries in transition are sociologically and psychologically burdened with the legacy of old times. There is no doubt that they need help both to overcome the unfavorable remains of this legacy as well as to establish new values, attitudes, and behavior. This is the task of civic education or – to use words indicating the activity – education for democracy.
- Civic education however urgently needed, paradoxically neither enjoys state support nor takes a sufficiently important place in the consciousness and perception of people. The target group here should be in fact the entire population. One could rather say that such activities of people are declining and they even reject the extended opportunity for receiving civic education.
- Another paradox is also the fact that the operation of various educational and cultural institutions is now almost wholly liberalized while people's interest in them is – for reasons already referred to – on the decline; an exception is represented by those selling “hot” subjects.
- It is certain that many of the mentioned contradictions and difficulties are being caused by economic hardships and the lack of money in countries in transition.
- The contradiction requiring no special comment is: in the constitutions of most of the countries under consideration education is claimed to be a general right of people.

When dealing with the question whether countries in transition are ready for changes – and here we are specifically interested in whether they are able to adopt and implement changes in the field of education and especially of adult education – it is not possible to consent to the thesis that we should first wait for society to become economically and politically developed for the reason that only then it will be ready for these changes. Adult education cannot be isolated from the current development as a kind of “superstructure” (this is reminiscent of the former socialist and Marxist ideology) but must be an active agent in the middle of the changing processes, hence an active change agent. Since it is obvious that the current state of affairs as regards the participation and the possibilities for adult education to influence development is not satisfactory it will be necessary to speed up its development and the activating of its influence on society.

If we paraphrase Rubenson's statement (undated article: 5) that “lifelong learning for all can only be achieved in a society that actively engages and make demands on the literacy skills of all its citizens” we would say: “lifelong learning for all can only be achieved in a society that actively engages and makes demands on the *learning* skills of all its citizens”. But it is of utmost importance that *society and the policy actively engage!*

THE IMPORTANCE OF CREATING NATIONAL POLICIES

These short descriptions of the situation and development of adult education and learning in CEEB countries calls our attention to the significant and decisive role of the state and state policy for this area of societal functioning. It comes from both cases: those where we found relatively successful development and those where the development of adult education can be described as a deep and continuous crisis. Although one might agree on the possibility that the functioning of adult education may be left over to the care and initiative of individuals, on the other hand, it has to be realistically pointed out that the satisfying of the need for education and learning is significantly dependent on the opportunities as they are – through its planned policy and systemic solutions – actively implemented by the state. A positive proof of this statement is the fact that among the CEEB countries there are several cases (such as the Czech Republic, Poland, Serbia, Croatia) which had a very strong professional and theoretical reputation in adult education and still have very strong professional staff at academic level (universities, institutes) and in professional associations but are rather unorganised and unsuccessful in practice. On the other hand it is also true that the most successful implementation of the national strategy is possible only in a good co-operation of the state administration with the experts (the best proof of this statement is the case of Slovenia). Causes for the disfunctioning of adult education and learning can be in all cases found in non-adopted and non-elaborated state policy and strategy concerning a new situation of adult education and demands for a lifelong learning strategy which emerged recently.

If we attempt in some greater detail to define the tasks to be performed by the state in promoting the development or rather the revitalisation of adult education in CEEB countries, they can be classified into the following groups:

1. Definition of state policy and adoption of appropriate strategy as to the development of adult education understood as a factor of broader and comprehensive developmental policy in the country.
2. Working-out of an adequate conception of adult education in the state, which must be based on the assumption that the education and learning of adults represents a part of the strategy in the life-long nature of learning and that the entire education system is made up of two equally important and systematically entitled to equal rights spheres (subsystems), which are: initial education or the education of children and youth; and continuing education or adult education. Both spheres are entitled to equal systemic concern on the part of the state.
3. Systemic regulation of adult education, which includes the following fields: administration (at the national, regional, and local level); legal regulation of all important issues and in all fields of adult education; organisation of the network of providers and programmes of adult organisation; financing of adult education; developmental infrastructure for the education and learning of adults (research and development centres, information and communication activity, staff development).

4. Preparation of the national programme of adult education. In this programme the state defines its special national interest in the developing and implementing of adult education which is to be shown particularly through the requirement that the state, in accordance with its aims envisaged in the policy adopted (Item 1) and conception (Item 2), specifies those providers and/or programmes in which it is, according to the existing social circumstances and opportunities, especially interested and which it is prepared entirely or by a significant percentage to finance or co-finance. Within this interest belongs also the establishing of basic standards for the carrying out of such programmes and of criteria for the recognising and measuring of their quality.

It follows from the outlines presented here that we attribute to the state, at least to the group of CEEB states, a considerable role in the implementation and development of adult education. This understandably opens up difficulties indicated at the beginning of our contribution (too high a degree of regulation, systemic narrowing-down of activities, etc.). In order to prevent this, it is necessary to ensure:

- An intensive co-operation of experts should be promoted not only in the elaboration of the adult education conception (Item 2) but also and especially in the shaping of the policy and strategy, as in the shaping of basic attitudes for systemic regulation and the national programme. Both approaches – the states' and the experts' – should be created, if possible, simultaneously strongly supporting each other.
- Balance between *central (state governmental)* and *local (local authorities)* dimensions in creating and implementing the strategy.

Both items stated above are the most important and crucial for making a suitable balance in the realisation of an effective national policy.

Although every country should perform its own programme, following ideas which have already been itemised in this paper, it could be helpful to look at good examples, similar and useful experiences, models, solutions etc. from other CEEB countries, and from other parts of the world as well which develop and foster a strategy for the development of lifelong learning and gradually establish learning societies or countries. Yet co-operation between CEEB countries (starting with the project of UNESCO and ESREA named Adult Education Research: World Trend Analysis and continuing now as a project The Role and Organisation of Adult Education in Countries in Transition, the main initiator of which has been the Slovene Adult Education Centre, Ljubljana) has a special meaning and should become a priority task. In connection with the developing of adult education in CEEB countries it must be said: "It would be wrong to think that CEEB countries can be helped merely through providing them with the insights so far, with models developed in other countries or with patronage over how such plans prepared outside a particular country are here implemented. The countries in question will first have to help themselves: they will have to look for their own ways out of the crisis, as they also themselves differ in their economic, cultural and other kinds of development as well as in the specific kind of their social circumstances. But it is also

true that they themselves, without any help, will not be able to cope with the exacting tasks to improve adult learning and education...". (Jelenc 1996, p.103).

ENDNOTES

1. It is stated by J. Polturzycki (1993, p.348) that in this so called Socialist or Eastern Bloc of Europe there are 21 nations taking up as much as 68 percent of the territory of continental Europe, and making up 49 percent of the entire European population. Their share is accordingly – at least as regards the quantitative aspect – far more significant than it would appear at the first sight.
2. As these characteristic features are comparatively well and generally known, they will here not be described in any greater detail. Let us only stress the fact that all these countries have been pushed to such a historical turning point for the second time in last fifty years. For more detailed description of the situation and changes see Jelenc 1996.
3. Mentioned in the article "Notes on the lifelong learning of people in business of the Czech Republic" by Miroslav Pivoda from Brno.
4. Following data are taken from a short unpublished description (1999) of the actual situation in adult education in Slovak Republic by Dr Julius Matulik, professor at the Comenius University in Bratislava.
5. The study was commissioned by the ministers of the countries members of OECD in order to help them identify priority fields of national educational policies in these countries and to determine characteristics of the operation of their educational systems. The study covered the period from the late eighties to the early nineties and the author of the study used in his analysis national reports elaborated during the 1990–1996 period. Reports from the following countries have been taken into account: Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Ireland, Hungary, Mexico, Holland, Norway, Poland, Sweden, and Switzerland, all together 15 countries
6. This has come out clearly in the study *Outstanding Experts on Adult Education* (Jelenc, Krajnc & Svetina 1993), as well as at the international conference on the theme *Rethinking Adult Education for Development* (Jelenc & Svetina 1993, 1994) in experts' answers to the question whether adult education can be taken as an integrated system or it is not. In support of such standpoints, especially when stating pros and cons as to whether adult education can be taken as an integrated system, they point out: "that one of the most significant characteristics of adult education its variety and plurality", ... and that it "should be maintained and even fostered and not in any way hindered"; that "adult education must preserve its independence from existing structures"... and if it "subordinate to official structures, it would become dependent on them"; that "adult education as a field of activity is characterised by exceptionally dynamic growth and flexibility, with the result that it is very difficult to foresee its developmental course"; that "in adult education, there are reflections of the historically determined differences, traditions and social context in which it arises".
7. Professor Günther Dohmen was commissioned by the German Federal Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Technology to analyse existing practical and theoretical concepts and considerations of lifelong learning and to formulate their possible consequences for education policy. The study was the contribution of Germany as a chairing state of EU in the year 1996 and to the EU project *The European Year of Lifelong Learning* being marked in 1996. In the study an all-embracing insight into theoretical questions as well as developmental strategies has been achieved.
8. We can only talk about the prevailing majority but, there are of course a few exceptions which we already described in the former parts of this text.

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Chapter 4: Trends in and Objectives of Adult Higher Education in China

ATSUSHI MAKINO

INTRODUCTION

The Chinese always say “We walk on two legs” to describe their educational system. The expression has been used to describe the parallel existence of formal schools and informal adult education, two systems (the regular school and the work-study system) corresponding to two working systems. Recently it has also been used to refer to the coexistence of public schools and private schools. Closely involved with these, Chinese adult education has developed as one of the two legs and independently supports the Chinese educational system. What is more, adult higher education, a constituent of the adult education system, is rapidly developing as the Chinese economy develops, while also drastically changing its role and objectives. Thus, it is increasingly essential for us to keep track of Chinese adult education, especially adult higher education, to understand the evolution of Chinese education or even Chinese society.

Further, such trends in adult education in China are interlocked with movements in the neighboring East Asian area. East Asian countries and regions are currently in a serious economic crisis which has brought the economic improvement of people’s lives to a standstill; however, they still account for three of the “Four Little Dragons of Asia”, along with China, which the World Bank sees as a latent superpower of the 21st Century. They still attract international attention as one of the most powerful growth centers in the world and, even in the current economic crisis, show a great potential for growth.

The East Asian area owes its high economic growth to the formation of a strong market-economy triangle of Japan, the Asian Newly Industrializing Economies (NIES) and China; the latter came about essentially as a result of China’s adoption of a “Reform and Open Door” policy and its successful development. In the period of high economic growth, these East Asian countries and regions sought to improve the quality of their manpower and develop their school systems. As academic background-oriented societies developed in these countries and regions, school education spread, manpower was improved, unified domestic markets were formed, and economies developed, all in a happy virtuous cycle. Through this period also, there was a change in the quality of their adult education: this developed from its traditional function as a supplement to school education to that of an integrated part of a lifelong learning system, which includes school education.

In Korea, for example, the rapidly growing educational obsession in society drove students to study only for admission exams, and primary and secondary education sectors almost lost their initial function of fostering new citizens. To remedy such a state of affairs, proposals were made to move to a lifelong learning system and, as early as 1980, the country's new constitution called for the introduction of a lifelong learning system. Such a system was defined as another "educational system", separate from the school system, which the State must develop; now, lifelong learning is a national system proclaimed in the constitution. Ever since that time, Koreans have worked for the systemization of lifelong learning. This goal has been realized in the form of: (1) the integration of continuing education into the higher education system, (2) the development of a recurrent educational system, (3) the creation of culture facilities for the young and adults, (4) the development of a broadcast educational system[1].

In Taiwan, under the rule of Japan, "social education" was introduced and practiced. This approach has developed since that time as a supplement to school education, consisting essentially of literacy programs for adults. However, rapid economic growth in recent years has required improvement in the quality of manpower, vocational education to better people's lives and, further, lifelong learning for the self-fulfillment of the people; this approach has begun to satisfy such needs. This trend is most noticeable in Taiwan's efforts to upgrade adult education. Especially, since the creation of the Open University in 1986, social and adult education in Taiwan has developed as part of lifelong learning, essentially in the field of higher education linked to the training of a higher level of manpower. The strength of this commitment in Taiwan is evidenced in comments by the former President, who often referred to lifelong learning and strongly supported the efforts of the Ministry of Education in this direction[2].

In Hong Kong, while the government's financial funding has rapidly been reduced following its return to the People's Republic of China, it was claimed that, to maintain economic growth and improve people's lives, it was urgent to improve the quality of the manpower available based on the market mechanism. Facing the return to China, Hong Kong proceeded with a rapid restructuring of its schools, especially transforming its higher educational institutions into universities. This inclined higher educational institutions to think that one of their major roles is to actively contribute to lifelong learning, especially the re-education of workers, and that this active contribution is also necessary to maintain fair competition between them based on the market. For these institutions, educational reform was a trigger for a new struggle for survival between themselves[3].

Thus the evolution of Chinese adult education is in parallel with recent trends in East Asian countries and regions towards the political and institutional reform of adult education as an integral part of a lifelong learning system as well as towards its sophistication, especially regarding adult higher education. This is one more reason why it is essential to understand the perspective of the trends and objectives in adult education, especially adult higher education, in China, which opened a new horizon in the East Asian area with its "Reform and Open Door" policy, which in turn supports the economic growth of the area.

Few studies in the world have focused on Chinese adult education, especially adult higher education, except for some fragmentary presentations[4]. This is also the case

even in China, where serious studies on the subject are hardly to be found and are far behind situational developments[5]. All in all, it could be said that studies on Chinese adult education are far behind what has been happening on the ground, compared to the importance and scale of its development.

Considering the current stage of understanding, this paper presents a study on the trends in and objectives of Chinese adult education, especially adult higher education, which has shown drastic changes in recent years. This could provide insight into what should be higher education and lifelong learning in the East Asian area, and then proceed to some preliminary discussions[6].

DEFINITION OF ADULT HIGHER EDUCATION

Until very recently, the term “adult education” had not been used in China. Since the foundation of the People’s Republic of China, the term “adult education” had been informally used from time to time until around the end of the 1950s but never in official government documents. It was in only in 1981, by the formation of the Association for Adult Education, a council of educators and other parties in the field of adult education, that the term was used for the first time publicly. It was the “Decision of the Central Committee (CC) on the Reform of the Educational System” published in 1985 by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) that defined the educational reform then to be undertaken and its orientation; in this the term “adult education” was used and, for the first time, defined in an official government document. This document stated that the Chinese education system consists of four major fields: basic education, vocational education, regular higher education, and adult education, and announced that “adult education is an integral part of our educational system”[7]. Later, in 1986, the National Conference of Organizers of Adult Education was held for the first time since the establishment of the People’s Republic, and emphasized the importance of adult education in view of the national strategy for development. In the next year, 1987, the “Decision on the Reform and Development of Adult Education”, which laid the basis for today’s adult education system, was implemented after ratification by the PRC State Council. This decision emphasized the importance of adult education as a national policy and laid it down that “adult education is a prerequisite for the development of our society and economy and the progress of our science and technology”[8]. Ever since that time, adult education in China has shown rapid changes in its scale and content.

This does not mean, however, that the Chinese government had not attached any importance to adult education until the mid-1980s. As early as 1912, the year the Republic of China was born, the term “social education”, supposedly introduced from imperial Japan, was officially used, and the Section for Social Education was created within the Ministry of Education, the central organ of the educational administration at the time. The Chinese were 12 years ahead of the Japanese in the adoption of the term in the name of an administrative body[9]. The Section for Social Education had jurisdiction over eight fields, which were related to: (1) Popular learning circles and lectures, (2) Museums and libraries, (3) Concerts, shows and theaters, (4) Art museums

and expositions, (5) Popular-book libraries and travelling libraries, (6) Editorial offices for social education books, (7) Surveys and statistics, and (8) The preservation of historic sites[10]. Incidentally, Lu Xun, the writer, worked in the Section for Adult Education for some time (1912–1926) as an official and then as the head of its first office in charge of cultural affairs (1918–1926)[11].

The major objectives of social education at the time were to supplement the national education system (school system), established on the lines of the school system of imperial Japan, to shape people into a nation working for a modern nation state called the Republic of China, by promoting anti-illiteracy campaigns and raising the consciousness of the people as a nation. These objectives were based on the government's policy to seek the development of national wealth and the power to repel the penetration of the European powers and also to establish an independent nation. With the New Culture and the May Fourth Movements started at the end of 1910, a new educational movement for the creation of a nation led by students and educators promoted nationwide anti-illiteracy and other campaigns. The Chinese Society for Promoting Educational Movement for Creating the Nation, founded in 1923, played an active role in this process. This society was a nationwide organization led by an executive board representing twenty provinces of the country. Following its foundation, the society was organized at provincial, municipal, and county levels, and the movement developed on a national scale. The "Textbook for Basic Literacy for the People" used in the movement spread to 300,000 users in 15 provinces in seven months and 400,000 in 20 provinces in ten months and finally attained a total of 3.6 million copies[12]. Later, the movement for the creation of a nation based on anti-illiteracy campaigns was brought to rural villages as a village reform movement, but Japan's invasion from the mid-1930s and the subsequent war between the Nationalists and Communists prevented it from full development until the birth of New China.

When the People's Republic of China was proclaimed in 1949, the People's Political Consultative Conference, the national parliament at the time, published a "Common Platform", which aimed at "reinforcing the 'spare-time' education of the workers and the education of cadres in office"[13]. In December of that year, the Ministry of Education called the first National Conference of Education Organizers, which decided to open the doors of schools to the children of workers and peasants. It also called for the creation of a People's University, the opening of crash-course secondary schools for workers and peasants, the opening of continuation classes and evening classes for workers nationwide, and the launch of nationwide illiteracy campaigns in 1951.

In September 1950 the Ministry of Education and the All-China Federation of Trade Unions jointly held the first National Conference for the Education of Workers and Peasants, where the Minister of Education, Ma Xu-lun, proposed the education of workers and peasants as an important agenda of the national educational activities. At that conference, directions for worker-peasant education were defined and the establishment of an administrative hierarchy for worker-peasant education was confirmed from the Center down to local levels. Later, the central government published a report on this conference and defined worker-peasant education as a prerequisite for the development of people's democratic dictatorship, national defense, and the national economy.

Thus, the approach of social education so far employed to raise the consciousness of the people as a nation was transformed into a class-conscious educational system for workers and peasants to develop human resources for socialist construction. At the time, worker-peasant education comprised three fields: (1) the education of cadres (the training of leaders in various fields at various levels), (2) the education of workmen (the education of urban workers), and (3) the education of peasants. In this last, the emphasis was placed on promoting literacy programs for illiterates who accounted for 80% of the population at the time, for raising the political awareness of people, and for transmitting the vocational knowledge and skills needed in the fields concerned.

The development of this worker-peasant education, however, was prevented by successive political movements that followed: the antirightist campaign which started in 1957; the Great Leap Forward which started in 1958 that forced an estimated 20 million people to starve to death; and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which started in 1966 and ravaged the country for the following decade putting it into complete chaos (1966–1975). Worker-peasant education thus remained in its initial stage of development, far from showing any significant effects.

Thus, adult education in China has been modeled in accordance with the national objectives and privileged by the policy-makers of the time from the very start of their efforts to construct a modern state, but has been prevented by various factors from achieving its objectives. If adult education has showed a rapid development from the mid-1980s, it has been because the emphasis of national management passed completely from politics to the economy; the government stabilized the political situation; and political directions began to match the people's aspiration for better lives. When people found adult education indispensable for the improvement of their life and started to use it, the policy of adult education began to be instilled into their minds. An official from the adult education administration recalls how this occurred at the time:

“For some time [following the end of the Cultural Revolution], public order was not restored, and young people did not know what to do. They went to town and hung around all day, playing poker or chess. Then, when the economy began to improve and adult education was reorganized, they all scrambled to study at the evening classes or cultural continuation schools. Typical of the time is an article in a local newspaper, which said, ‘Here in Guangdong, learning is now a big fad among the young people – at six or seven o’clock in the evening, they come en masse to evening classes’”[14].

In addition, in the mid-1980s, after ten years of ideological and political readjustment following the end of the Cultural Revolution, where political orientation towards economic development had begun to take root among the people, the government gave a stronger orientation for educational reform and adult education. When people saw this materialize in the form of policies directly linked to economic and human resource development, their expectations for adult education almost exploded.

In the first National Conference of Organizers of Adult Education held in 1986, Li Peng, then vice-chairman of the National Council, stated in his keynote speech, entitled “Reform and Develop Our Adult Education”

“Adult education is an essential part of our educational activities. Our educational activities may be roughly classified into four parts: basic education, vocational education, regular higher education, and adult education. The former three are education that trains reserves for our great enterprise of socialist construction, while adult education aims exclusively at workers already engaged in agricultural and industrial production and other working people”[15].

Thus clearly defining and locating adult education *vis-à-vis* regular school education, Li Peng pointed out that adult education comprised the following five areas: (1) in-service vocational training for employees, (2) compensatory education for inadequacies in basic education, (3) academic qualification education (equivalent to those given to the graduates of special and regular courses in universities and those of secondary vocational schools, hereinafter called collectively academic qualification education), (4) continuing education (refreshment of knowledge and skills for those who had higher education [university regular courses]), (5) liberal arts and other cultural education. In particular, Li Peng emphasized the importance of in-service vocational training for employees [1] and academic qualification education [3] [16]; this was predictable considering how he had defined adult education previously.

This definition of adult education was overtaken by the 1987 decision referred to above, which stated that “adult education is a prerequisite for the development of our society and economy and for the progress of our science and technology”.

Later in 1993, the central government, on the basis of the educational reform and economic development realized in the ten years of the “Reform and Open Door” policy applied after the end of the Cultural Revolution, published conjointly in the name of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the National Council the “Basic Program for the Reform and Development of Education in China”, which defined the basic orientation and objectives of its educational activities for the rest of the 1990s and the 21st Century. In this “Basic Program”, adult education was given a new definition: “adult education is a new educational system which develops traditional school education into lifelong education”[17]. Given the wide spread of school education and adult education’s own development, adult education was no longer to be regarded as a supplement of school education, but a key system constituting a lifelong education system: it was now a system based on a national policy.

Thus, while taking over Li Peng’s definition of the five areas, the “Basic Program” intends to upgrade adult education by adding continuing education [4] to the areas of privilege previously mentioned (in-service vocational training [1] and academic qualification education [3]).

In 1995, China enacted the Education Law of the People’s Republic of China as the fundamental law in this field. In this law, the definition of adult education was further developed. The law prescribes in Article 11 that “the State shall improve and expand the lifelong education system”, and in Article 19 that “the State shall put in place a vocational education system and an adult education system”[18]. On the basis of the spread and institutional improvement of school education, especially nine-year compulsory education, the adult education system was defined as a chief pillar of the lifelong education system which plays a role distinct from that of the in-service

Table 1: Comparison between “Adult Education” and “Vocational Education”

	Adult Education	Vocational Education
Object	Adults above school age (including senior people)	Adults of working age
Time	Lifetime	During employment
Opportunities	Offered to everyone	Offered as necessary
Content	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Liberal arts and other cultural education – Political and democratic legal education – Technical and skill training 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Vocational ethics education – Technical and skill training
Effects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Development of the society and economy – Solution of major social problems 	Promotion of industrial development
Means	Formation of a learning society	Establishment of a training system
Objective	Promotion of the full development of the people	Improvement of professional ability

Source: Prepared on the basis of information from Dong Mingchuang, “Strategy and Management of Adult Education”, 1998, Wenhui Press, p140.

vocational training for employees. An official in the central adult education administration analyzes the relation between adult education as defined in the Education Law and vocational education as shown in Table 1[19]. One might say that the Education Law presented directions for the restructuring of adult education: it excluded vocational training [1] from the five areas previously mentioned to concentrate on areas of a higher level (academic qualification education [3] and continuing education [4]) and, at the same time, reached out towards education for the population (liberal arts and other cultural studies [5]). The Chinese qualify these directions as (1) extension to the whole of life, (2) modernization, (3) socialization, (4) individualization and (5) the autonomization of adult education.[20].

As shown in its history outlined above, adult education in New China was given two key objectives (raising people’s political awareness and training human resources for economic development) reflecting the policy-makers’ ambivalence and oscillation between political movement and economic development. However, as the latter received more and more attention after the end of the Cultural Revolution, especially after the implementation of the “Reform and Open Door” policy against the background of a relatively stable domestic political situation and international environment, the emphasis on adult education has progressively shifted from the initial objectives of literacy programs, remedial programs, and the transmission of professional knowledge

and skills to those of in-service vocational training and academic qualification education and, as school education has spread and improved, to further continuing education, where it is defined as a key system constituting the lifelong education system.

The relation between the institutionalization of adult education and the development of the lifelong education system may be summarized as follows: the institutionalization of adult education implies standardization, legislation and systematization of the areas composing adult education. Such areas of adult education include: an in-service vocational training system; a continuing education system; a literacy, scientific and technical program system; an adult education completion certification system; a professional qualification certification system; an in-house education system; a self-education examination system; an evaluation system for adult education institutions, and so forth. The standardization of, legislation for, and the widespread use of these systems contribute to the formation of a learning society, which will in turn contribute to the development and improvement of a lifelong education system[21].

In this perspective, the characteristics of the trends in adult education in China since the mid-1980s, when the "Reform and Open Door" policy was established and China passed what might be called "the point of no return" – the stage beyond which it was impossible to return to a politics-oriented society – might be summarized as a development toward a key system supporting a lifelong education system and a shift to higher levels of adult education. The more China turns to a learning society, the more this tendency will be confirmed.

Based on the spread, improvement and extension of school education, adult higher education in China is now defined as a pillar of the learning society and the lifelong education system.

Table 2 shows the situation of adult education in China as of 1995.

CONTENT AND SIGNIFICANCE OF ADULT HIGHER EDUCATION

In considering adult higher education in China, it can be argued that the emphasis in the period of the "Reform and Open Door" policy has shifted to: (1) academic qualification education, (2) in-service vocational training, and (3) continuing education. As described above, academic qualification education is an area of adult education leading to the award of diplomas for a special (three-year) university course and a four-year university regular course level to those adults who missed the opportunity to attend regular colleges and universities. Initially, this academic qualification education was created and designed to develop scientific, technological or other experts who had not been adequately trained previously in regular higher education institutions which were brought to a standstill or interrupted during the Cultural Revolution.

Through the ten years of ideological and political readjustment following the end of the Cultural Revolution, efforts were made to institutionally improve adult higher education, especially centering on academic qualification education. Later, as demands for academic qualification education were essentially satisfied as Chinese society passed the point of no return, emphasis was shifted to other areas of higher education not designed to award diplomas. The emphasis was thus placed on in-service vocational

Table 2: Situation of Adult Education in China as of 1995 (Unit: Ten thousand)

	Number of schools	Number of graduates	Number of students admissible	Number of students	Number of staff members (full-time)
Total	79027	8680.46	7071.88	6729.42	110.13 (48.84)
Adult higher education institutions	1156	63.61	91.38	257.01	21.34 (9.82)
Workers' colleges	694	8.59	10.75	31.39	8.48 (4.04)
Peasants' colleges	4	0.02	0.05	0.10	0.03 (0.01)
Institutions for administration	166	4.63	6.24	14.77	3.37 (1.46)
Educational colleges	242	8.83	7.77	21.37	4.47 (2.23)
Independent correspondence colleges	4	0.41	0.48	1.35	0.14 (0.07)
Radio/TV universities	46	15.68	19.35	54.16	4.50 (2.04)
Regular higher education institutions		25.44	46.74	133.87	
Secondary adult education institutions	409721	7851.52	6298.87	5694.17	71.02 (33.27)
Secondary adult vocational schools	4904	89.34	125.24	290.79	21.29 (11.27)
Adult secondary schools	6020	63.99	61.17	74.23	4.30 (2.33)
Adult technical training schools	398796	7698.19	6112.46	5329.15	45.43 (19.67)
Adult primary education institutions	168151	765.33	681.63	778.25	17.77 (5.75)
Workers' primary schools	1078	11.29	12.23	14.52	0.31 (0.16)
Peasants' primary schools	167073	754.04	669.40	763.73	17.46 (5.59)
(of these, literacy classes are:)	117031	476.13	393.47	487.63	12.34 (3.57)

Source: Planning Department, National Education Commission, the People's Republic of China, "Statistical Yearbook of Chinese Educational Activities", People's Education Press, 1996.

training and, from the mid-1990s, on continuing education. In other words, during the twenty years following the end of the Cultural Revolution, the emphasis of adult education has shifted successively every ten years to academic qualification education, to in-service training education, and then to continuing education.

Despite the shift of emphasis between them, these areas remain the three major constituents of adult education in China and may be outlined as follows:

ACADEMIC QUALIFICATION EDUCATION

Academic qualification education in adult education is carried out exclusively by specialized institutions, i.e., adult higher education institutions. Currently there are 1,156 such institutions nationwide attended by 2,570,000 students. These institutions for adult higher education can be roughly classified into six groups:

- **Workers' Colleges (or Workers' spare-time colleges):** Established by State enterprises solely or jointly by the local authorities concerned with the relevant industrial sector, there are about 700 workers' colleges nationwide. The students are workers who have graduated from senior secondary schools (equivalent to high schools elsewhere) and attend professional skill, in-service training or other courses equivalent to university special and regular courses. Upon graduation, students are given "certificates of professional training" (in-service professional training certificates), "certificates of completion of single courses", or "diplomas". To obtain national "diplomas", however, students must pass uniform admission examinations for adult higher education and attend "academic qualification education" courses at university special or regular course level.
- **Peasants' Colleges:** Organized by local governments, peasants' colleges receive peasant cadres and technical experts at town level (leaders) to teach them the sciences and skills needed in agricultural and stock farming, and to provide them with qualifications for regular colleges' special course levels. However, as in the case of workers' colleges, students must first pass national uniform admission examinations to attend these colleges and gain special course degrees. Given this relative difficulty, it is not surprising that there are currently only four peasants' colleges in the country.
- **Institutions for Administration:** Established by the central government's ministries or local governments, these higher educational institutions are designed to train leaders in the fields of administration for central and provincial governments. Students are future cadres working in these governments, and are given technical or continuing education in their respective fields. So far, the institutions have awarded diplomas, but recently have shifted emphasis to continuing education. There are 166 such institutions nationwide.
- **Educational Colleges:** Designed to re-educate teachers of secondary schools still in-service, who do not have the academic qualifications required by the central or provincial governments, these colleges give the qualifications for teachers' colleges' special and regular course levels. Operated by provincial education administrations, there are 242 such colleges in the country. As more and more teachers at secondary schools satisfy the qualifications required, these institutions are being transformed into those for continuing education for teachers.

- **Independent Correspondence Colleges:** These give education and guidance through various kinds of publications and printed matter mailed to distant students. They are independent organizations devoted to this mode of education, and do not include correspondence courses operated by regular universities and colleges. They educate mainly by correspondence, but regularly organize schooling and have complementary guidance stations nationwide to pay as careful attention as possible to the students. Upon graduation, students gain the qualifications of university special course level. To attend these colleges, however, they must pass national uniform examinations. There are four of these colleges in the country.
- **Radio/Television Universities:** This is a broadcast education network formed by the central and provincial broadcasting stations. Through radio and television educational programs, the networks offer broadcast education of the higher education levels to the audience by various means, such as radio/TV programs, self-study, (mailed) correspondence, schooling, and so forth. There are 46 radio/TV universities nationwide. To attend these universities, students must pass national uniform admission examinations, but are awarded diplomas and qualifications of university special course level.

Other than the higher education institutions described above, the Chinese organize *Zixue Kaoshi* (higher self-education examination). There, self-taught students may take examinations for different courses and, if successful, are given corresponding credits. When they accumulate the required number of credits defined to their specialties or majors, they receive the corresponding diploma from the State. Candidates for these examinations are various – some work for enterprises or governments, others are those who failed the admission exams for full-time higher education institutes. A large part of about 1,200 “private universities” operating nationwide today are prep schools for candidates for this examination. These “private universities” have no authority to issue diplomas or certificates, except for some schools that are authorized to do so.

In addition, there are adult education schools operated by full-time higher education institutions that give diplomas in adult higher education to graduates of senior secondary schools and college special courses (this subject will be discussed in greater detail below).

Further, in the area of adult higher education, where more and more emphasis is placed on continuing education as shown above, there have recently been new developments, notably in such large cities as Shanghai and Beijing. More and more people in the cities are seeking a higher academic background but face the inability of the government to admit all of them into regular higher educational institutions due to the limitations of its policy (admission numbers to universities are limited until the year 2000). Therefore, many graduates of senior secondary schools are opting for adult higher education institutions for qualifications of university special or regular course level. There are two classes of such people: one is graduates of senior secondary schools who have failed the admission examinations to regular colleges and universities; and the other is graduates of senior secondary vocational schools who have failed to find a job, or who want to receive higher education for a better job and have found the door to regular colleges and universities closed. A remarkable phenomenon in

recent years is that the graduates of senior secondary vocational schools, for whom there has been such a large demand until recently and who could always find jobs, no longer enjoy such demand because their schools no longer satisfy the social and technological requirements in an age of rapid economic growth and industrial restructuring. This is why they want higher education for a higher level of knowledge and skills in expectation of finding a broader market.

Still further, in Shanghai and other cities, where more and more students seek a higher academic background, the number of candidates for admission exams to colleges and universities has rapidly increased. This has made graduates of junior secondary schools back away from senior secondary vocational schools, and made entry to senior secondary normal schools more competitive, which has in turn led more children to fail in such examinations. To remedy this situation and satisfy the people's demands for admission to higher education, some organs at the lowest administrative level offer bypasses for higher education – the ward adult education schools took the initiative to open senior secondary classes of their own to accommodate such children and give them a senior secondary education, and the ward education administration qualified them and gave them opportunities to receive adult higher education[22]. There have also been cases where, as people have tended to back away from senior secondary vocational schools, the policy-makers have tried to transfer workers' colleges (which were set up by State enterprises, but have been reduced or consolidated in recent years in connection with the recent reforms of these enterprises) to local governments and affiliate them with senior secondary vocational schools as vocational colleges to link the vocational education in school education to adult higher education so as to provide more opportunities for academic qualification.

It is against such a background that the role of academic qualification education in adult higher education is now being reviewed.

IN-SERVICE VOCATIONAL TRAINING

In-service vocational training is the education/training for employees of an enterprise to acquire knowledge and skills needed for their assignments. As economic reform and development got under way in China and society passed its point of no return, especially since the mid-1980s, enterprises came to find many problems in their management systems, and placed emphasis on in-service vocational training for their managerial staff. Since in-service vocational training for such managerial staff is often of a highly professional or technical level, training is most often conducted by teachers or researchers from regular universities. This is why in-service training is integrated into and is an important part of adult higher education.

Most often, the nature and curriculum of such in-service vocational training is determined through discussion between the enterprise organizing such training and the university teacher or researcher conducting it. Since the training usually seeks practicality and quick effects, its curriculum is usually determined according to the enterprise's needs and the teacher's specialty. The modes of organization are various: the teacher comes to the enterprise and conducts classes outside working hours; the

enterprise gives paid holidays to employees, who attend in-house training; or employees temporarily leave the enterprise and attend the university of the teacher.

Even before the Cultural Revolution, large state enterprises had their own education/training systems ensuring the training of workers, and their workers' colleges offered education/training equivalent to those offered recently by in-service vocational training. During the Cultural Revolution, political campaigns rapidly multiplied the number of these workers' colleges. After the end of the Revolution, however, the excess was corrected and colleges were reorganized or, in connection with the recent reforms of these enterprises, reduced or consolidated, with some even being transferred to local governments. Such colleges that are now operated by local governments are also part of in-service vocational training.

CONTINUING EDUCATION

Continuing Education, or post-higher education, is classified in China not into regular school education but into adult education and is referred to as "post-university". Students finishing this education do not receive a diploma ("non-academic qualification" education). This education is conducted by the colleges or graduate schools of universities.

Full-time, relatively large-scale universities in China generally have, in addition to undergraduate (regular course) and graduate schools, independent institutions called adult education institutes, continuing education institutes, etc. Such institutes, however, do not have their own faculty and facilities. The organization of the institutes exists rather for administrative and managerial purposes, and the classes are conducted by undergraduate schools and through the post-graduate courses of the university. Adult education institutes take charge of the part of adult education which offers academic qualification education and "non-academic qualification" education to graduates of the senior secondary schools and special courses of a university. In academic qualification education, they conduct the education at the university regular and special course levels. They also give the same education to students attending "non-academic qualification" courses, but these students are not awarded any credits nor do they receive a diploma upon graduation. Usually, these students are awarded only certificates of completion for such courses. Students who wish to attend academic qualification courses must pass a national uniform admission examination to adult higher education institutes. The curriculum of an adult education institute is determined by the undergraduate schools and postgraduate courses concerned according to national unitary standards, and the classes are conducted by the teachers of such schools and courses. Such administrative work as the enrollment of students, the collection of tuition fees, the calculation, control, and announcement of the students' results, the approval of credits, and class composition, etc., are ensured by the adult education institute. Payment of remuneration to teachers is also carried out by the institute according to the number of classes and students they have.

Continuing education institutes are similar organizations. They take charge of "non-academic qualification" post-higher education, which is given only to graduates of

university regular courses. In principle, the curriculum of a continuing education institute is determined by the undergraduate school and post graduate courses concerned in view of their specialty and academic consideration and according to the demands formulated by the administrative offices, businesses, or enterprises who request the university to organize such courses for their staff or employees. Classes are conducted by the teachers of such schools and courses. In an extreme case, a particular teacher may determine the curriculum and conduct classes, or he/she may, without organizing new classes, allow students to attend existing classes or courses of the graduate school he/she conducts. In such cases, the students in continuing education study together with regular graduate students. Similarly to an adult education institute, a continuing education institute takes charge of such administrative work as the enrollment of students, the collection of tuition fees, class composition and the control of the students' results as well as the payment of remuneration to the teachers according to the number of classes and students they have.

In both adult and continuing education institutes, the lessons are given by the staff of the undergraduate schools and the graduate schools' post-graduate courses of the universities. Independent organizations are in place mainly to fulfil the administrative and managerial functions.

The creation of independent institutions for adult education is motivated by the universities' intentions to satisfy the social demand for learning and study and, at the same time, to link such study and education to developments in society. It should be noted, however, that this is also due to the fact that the allocated budgets are only enough to pay the operating expenses and the basic salaries of the teachers, and that the institutions must find other stable financial resources themselves.

Other than continuing education institutes operated by regular universities, there exist in China many centers and organizations which can be classified as designated for continuing education and as a part of the adult education system, such as in-service training centers for teachers and enterprise management training centers. Without a faculty, facilities or equipment of their own, these centers are annexed to existing universities and use the available human and material resources to conduct a variety of professional training. In this sense they are, one might say, of the same nature as the adult and continuing education institutes described above. They are different, however, in that each is organized with a specific purpose and segmented much more than the other institutes according to the specificity of the training. Currently, there are about 8,600 such centers nationwide.

In addition to continuing education, the concept of "recurrent education" has recently been spoken of in China, but it is understood as something similar to continuing education, and a significant difference is not found in practice. Among university organizations and institutions, there are no "recurrent education institutes"; the concept is included in the continuing education institutes (sectors)[23].

NEW TRENDS IN ADULT EDUCATION

So far we have outlined the place and nature of adult education in China. Now, with the rapid social changes brought about by recent economic development, new trends are being observed in this field. The following are some examples of such trends:

(1) Regular Universities and Adult Higher Education – The Case of Beijing University

Like the other universities described above, Beijing University[24] also contains an institute of adult education and an institute of continuing education. It has also an institute of overseas education, which accepts trainees from overseas and foreign students for short periods, offering them opportunities for study. This Institute is also outside the regular curriculum of the university and classified into the category of adult higher education. All three of these institutes have their own separate organizations, which are not for education or research purposes, but strictly for managerial and administrative purposes. Their major functions are to recruit students, conduct admission exams, collect tuition, compose classes, design curricula, control students' records and achievements, issue certificates of completion, and so forth, while the classes are all conducted by the teachers of undergraduate schools or graduate schools' post-graduate courses.

Classified by their attendance, these institutes can be defined as follows. The Institute of Adult Education receives the graduates of senior secondary schools and university special courses and conducts adult education at the university regular or special course level. The Institute of Continuing Education receives the graduates of university regular courses and conducts adult education at the graduate school level, i.e., post-graduate "non-academic qualification" continuing education. The Institute of Overseas Education does not receive regular foreign students but accepts overseas trainees on short-term training courses and foreign students staying for short periods, offering them opportunities for learning.

In principle, all classes held at Beijing University are open to the public. Citizens who wish to broaden their knowledge and education but do not need credits or a diploma may attend without examination if they have the required level of education (of senior secondary school or university special course level). All that applicants have to do is to check the curriculum guides and syllabus, select classes according to their interests and needs, fill in application forms, and pay tuition fees corresponding to the number of classes selected; they can then freely attend their chosen classes.

However, those who wish to gain a certificate of completion and academic qualifications must take and pass a uniform national admission examination to adult higher education institutes, held by the State. After admission, they must attend the required and optional courses, take examinations held during such courses, and earn credits. That said, for students studying for these qualifications, the school register and academic achievements are controlled with some flexibility in consideration of the students' constraints such as if they are in service, whether it is difficult for them to study continuously for a long time, or whether it would be difficult for them to graduate within the required time, etc. Generally, there are no limitations on the term of study. Students receive qualifications and are awarded a diploma when the credits earned reach the number required for each course. Administration and school affairs are controlled by the Institute of Adult Education.

Further, at Beijing University, courses at the graduate school level are open to the public. Once through the formalities of attendance via the Institute of Continuing Education, a worker or an employee can attend classes in the evening or as a part-time

student to develop his/her studies or deepen his/her knowledge. To gain a degree at a graduate school, however, the prospective student must take a regular admission exam to the graduate school and be enrolled as a graduate student. Admission exams to graduate schools are not through a uniform national examination. Since Beijing University admits those who are in service to its graduate schools, and gives credits, as well as holding evening classes for part-time students, such students can learn and study as regular graduate students and earn a degree while working.

Still further, Beijing University organizes many short-term training courses in various fields and in various forms to satisfy the demands for learning of the people in work as well as the staff of enterprises, institutions, and the civil services who wish to refresh their knowledge and skills. These short-term training courses are generally organized at the request of enterprises and the civil services, under joint auspices with such an enterprise or administrative department, which usually bear the related expenses and tuition. Such classes include training courses for lawyers, the legal staff of the civil services and the managerial staff of enterprises, or courses for computer-based training. They are usually full-time, held for six to twelve months and are attended by those who are dispatched from enterprises or the civil services who pay the students' salaries during the courses. In most cases, the Institute of Continuing Education takes the responsibility for these courses, and although it does not give any academic qualifications, it awards certificates of completion.

In addition to those described above, Beijing University offers various cultural, artistic, and scientific courses to satisfy the various demands for learning of the citizens. Most of these are intensive evening courses or ten-week weekly classes, and in principle are free of charge, except that in some cases a small amount is collected to cover the teaching material costs or attendance fees.

Thus, at Beijing University, adult higher education is conducted in various forms and ways. Teachers find that adult students attending these courses and classes are highly motivated to study, and that their positive attitude in learning has a good influence on the regular students in the full-time courses. High-performance, high-profit enterprises are particularly eager to educate their employees but, instead of educating them in-house, they organize such education in a social context. They encourage their employees' learning and pay their tuition; they also develop education programs jointly with the Institute of Adult Education and the Institute of Continuing Education. The motivation of workers and employees is very strong. The number of those who attend evening classes voluntarily and independently of their employers is rapidly increasing. Of the 24,000 students (including graduate students) of Beijing University, 7,000 were such adult students in 1997.

Now, one might ask, why has such a learning fever developed among adults in China? The main reason is that, as the economy has now, by and large, passed from a planned economy to a market economy, a labor market has been created in the country, and employment no longer depends on state-planned distribution but on the volatile supply-demand relation for manpower. Workers and employees have realized that learning and refreshing their knowledge and skills through adult or continuing education is very effective for job-hunting and promotion. This is the source of their

motivation. If they come in large numbers to attend regular full-time universities, it is to organize themselves for a better life.

With the development of economic reform and growth, private enterprises are also feeling the increasing need for promoting technological innovation and business management, and their owners and executives are learning at these adult higher education institutions to improve their management skills. For example, at the Guanghua Institute of Economics and Management at Beijing University, many businessmen come to attend evening courses driving in Mercedes-Benz cars.

Further, other modes of education similar to recurrent education are rapidly increasing, where graduates of university special courses return to the adult education institutions of universities to become qualified as a regular course graduate while working. This is called in Chinese “*zhuan-sheng-ben*” (upgrading a special course [*zhuan-ke*] to a regular course [*ben-ke*]). In the case of Beijing University, since credits previously earned in a special course are recognized automatically, students can obtain qualifications as a graduate of a regular course once they have taken the subjects and earned the credits to make up those required for the regular course.

(2) Higher Self-education Examination [Zixue Kaoshi], Academic Qualification Examination [Xueli Wenping Kaoshi] and Private Universities

As many people know, since 1983 China has had a system of examination that allows people to be qualified in higher education called *Zixue Kaoshi* (higher self-education examination). The system is designed to allow people who have not had opportunities to learn at a regular higher education institution to have that opportunity and to obtain academic qualifications by studying by themselves and passing this examination. Twice a year, the State Higher Self-education Examination Center holds this uniform national examination. Candidates take examinations in the subjects specified by the field or major in which they wish to gain degrees, and when successful, they earn credits; when the total thus earned has attained the number required for the specific field or major, they are qualified as “graduates”, i.e. they are given academic qualifications in their respective field or major, and awarded certificates to that effect by the State. The system is also designed to create a bypass for people to enlarge their opportunities to obtain academic qualifications, since the national education authorities know that they are unable to quickly improve the infrastructure of higher education to satisfy the people’s demands because of financial difficulties etc.

This year (2000) the examination is 17 years old. In 1996, the examination awarded degrees in 425 majors and the academic qualifications given now extend to university regular course and secondary vocational school levels, yet, when the examinations started, they were only for university special course level. Of those who were qualified as “graduates” in 1996, 87.28% attended university special courses, 4.52% university regular courses, and 8.21% secondary vocational schools. Majors included subjects in literature, the sciences, technology, agriculture, medicine, law, education, and the economy. The total number of those who have thus earned academic qualifications to date exceeds 1,680,000 [25]. In 1996, the cumulative number of candidates reached

9,600,000, of which 4,200,000 earned their credits (passed their examinations), and 250,000 were given academic qualifications (as graduates) [26]. The figures show that the gate to academic qualifications is rather narrow.

Receiving nearly ten million candidates every year, this examination system for self-taught people has, one might safely say, taken root among the people. The institutions closely related to this examination are private universities.

In China, the number of so-called private universities, or those known to the State Education Commission, reached 1,218 in 1996. These private universities are classified into three groups: (1) those which are chartered by the State and authorized to give academic qualifications and certificates of graduation (20 schools), (2) those which are authorized to hold academic qualification examinations, which we will discuss later (89 schools), (3) those which, despite their appellation as “universities”, are not authorized to give any academic qualifications but are classified by the State Education Commission as “other higher education institutions” (1,109 schools). All of those in the third group are private educational institutions that aim at supporting their students through the higher self-education examinations mentioned above by giving them systematic preparatory lessons. Although the system of the higher self-education examination is an official system of academic qualification devised by the State, the State has not installed a system of supplementary education for it. It simply expects individual citizens to teach themselves and for society to encourage such efforts. With this position of the government and the development of an academic-background-oriented society in China, a large number of private universities has emerged nationwide to satisfy the people’s aspirations for higher academic qualifications.

The development of private universities in China has roughly followed four phases[27].

- Birth (1978–1982): The demands for private schools, which were non-existent in China, increased. Non-communist democratic parties and social organizations started working to create these. The Beijing Zixiu Daxue (Beijing University of Independent Study) opened in 1980 and the Zhonghua Shehui Daxue (China Social University) opened in 1982 and were two of the first such schools.
- Development (1982–1986): The new constitution ensured the people’s right to receive education, declaring that education should rely not only on the government’s initiative but also on that of “social forces”, i.e., the funds and initiatives of the private sector. The Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on the Reform of Educational System emphasized the necessity to rely on private-sector initiatives. Subsequent developments on the policy front accelerated the mobilization of private sector initiatives and, in response, private universities were opened around the country.
- Adjustment (1986–1992): People came to realize that many of the universities opened in the development phase were “three-short” universities as they were without any funds, facilities or a faculty despite their appellation. What is more, these “universities” issued their own certificates of graduation, and many private enterprises accepted them to be valid, so there was great confusion in the higher education system, especially in the labor personnel system. This pressed the

government to reinforce its restrictions on such universities, while forcing them to comply with regulations, or reducing or consolidating them.

- New development (1992–present): Deng Xiao-ping’s speech during his tour of Southern China in 1992 accelerated the shift of the Chinese economy to a market economy. When market mechanisms began to affect the labor and personnel system, a labor market was formed, and then the people’s demands for academic qualifications exploded. Private universities have been successively opened. Instead of the central government which has been in financial difficulties, local governments have involved themselves in the establishment of these universities. Their involvement is intended also to prevent the indiscriminatory establishment of private universities, improve quality, and ensure job opportunities for graduates. It is in this way that the so-called “privately-operated and publicly-supported” universities and the “privately-supported and publicly operated” universities have been created nationwide.

Today, at the 20 private universities authorized to give academic qualifications mentioned above, graduates receive qualifications of university special and regular course levels as well as certificates of graduation. The recruitment of students, however, follows the State’s normal higher education plan and the number of students admissible is defined by the State. Those who wish to enter such universities must take and pass the State’s uniform admission examination. Currently, an admission of 14,000 students is allowed to these 20 private universities as a whole. Most of these regularized private universities take the form of “privately-operated and publicly-supported” universities.

The second group of private universities that are authorized to hold academic qualification examinations include 89 schools nationwide and were able to admit a total of about 51,400 students in 1996. Since they are not registered in the State’s higher education plan, they can apply their own criteria to their admission examinations. They must behave correctly and satisfy the State’s standards, however, if they want to retain their licence to hold qualification examinations. The graduates from such universities receive certificates of completion which, however, do not officially prove any academic qualifications. Graduates must take and pass a higher self-education examination to earn the necessary credits (with a 30% allowance) and obtain academic qualifications. In 1997, the number of this second group of private universities was experimentally increased to 153.

The third group, private universities classified as “other higher education institutions”, numbered 1,109 in the same year, of which 89 were correspondence schools teaching 510,000 students, and the remaining 1,020 schools conducted classes for 570,000 students. Although they are classified as “higher education institutions”, they can apply their own rules to their admission and education methods, since they are completely outside the State’s education plan and are not authorized to give any official qualifications. Their graduates must take the State’s higher self-education examinations to gain academic qualifications, since these universities are forbidden to issue any certificates of “graduation” or “degrees”[28].

The private universities outlined above are increasing in their number and influence in society from year to year. The initial purpose of the academic qualification examination system was to prevent private universities from turning into problem factors in the country's higher education system, while also standardizing the academic qualifications for their graduates under the State's control and protecting the students' interests[29]. The State found it necessary to create such a system, as it knew that not a few of these schools were lacking full-time teachers and staff, low in educational quality, and harmful to the students' interests[30].

The academic qualification examination system may be outlined as follows[31]. Universities are reviewed and assessed by the State and, if successful, are authorized to hold academic qualification examinations. The requirement for the authorization is that, after establishment, the percentage of those qualified as "graduates" through higher self-education examinations, i.e., those who receive academic qualification of the university special course level, always exceeds 40% of the total students who have completed their courses. When this percentage exceeds 40% as required, the university is considered to be of a quality equivalent to that of full-time higher education institutions and is authorized to hold academic qualification examinations.

In such cases, the examinations are held as a graduation examination of the respective university. Questions are asked by the university itself and they must be for less than 30% of the credits required to earn the qualifications in each discipline or major. Questions are selected from the subjects of the student's disciplines and majors which are not shared by other disciplines and majors, such as technology, skills and applications. To gain the remaining 70% of credits, students must take a higher self-education examination and earn such credits upon completion of their courses. Subjects for which the students must take the higher self-education examination are mostly of a basic nature, such as the subjects for each discipline and major, or subjects common to other disciplines and majors. Half of the questions are asked by the State's Higher Self-education Examination Center and the other half by the examination center of the provinces or the directly administered cities concerned.

The students add the number of credits earned at their own university (30%) to that earned at the higher self-education examination held by the State and provincial examination centers (35% each), and when the total number of credits thus earned reaches the number required for the discipline or major, the respective academic qualification by the State is given and a certificate awarded to that effect. For the time being, the State is giving only qualifications of the university special course level.

From among the private universities, those at which the number of students qualify as "graduates" (that is to say given academic qualifications of the university special and regular course levels) exceeds 60% of the total number of students finishing their courses, are authorized to issue "certificates of graduation", and the applicable students are qualified as "university graduates" by the State. Such private universities are defined as full-time regular universities and integrated in the State's higher education plan, as well as being controlled by the State concerning the number of students and the curricula taught.

(3) Examples and the Evaluation of Private Universities

Now, we might enquire, what is the nature of these private universities? The following is an outline of two private universities the author had the opportunity to visit. These universities are Beijing Peili Vocational University[32], which is authorized to hold academic qualification examinations, and Beijing Haidian University[33], which is authorized to give official certificates of graduation as a regular full-time higher education institution.

(a) Beijing Peili Vocational University: This private university was chartered by the Beijing Municipality in May, 1983 with financial aid from New Zealand and Pakistani businessmen. From June, 1984 to September, 1992, it was sponsored by the All-China Association for Industrial Joint Ventures, but has been separated from this association since 1992. Now it is operated as a private university under the supervision of the Beijing Adult Education Bureau.

The university started only with ten major subjects of the two to three-year university special course level, but by 1996, it had 23 majors of this level and two majors of the university regular course level. The courses available at the university special course level include financial accounting, business management, economic information management, financial services, international trade, secretarial work, English for trading, Japanese for trading, law, civil engineering and architecture, electronic information, computer literacy, Chinese medicine, arts and crafts, etc.; the courses of the university regular course level include majors in financial accounting and law. Since the university is not registered in the State's higher education programs, these majors are defined on its own initiative, but reviewed every two to five years to improve the graduates' job opportunities in view of the results of market research and requests from parents and students.

The students recruited are mainly those who have failed the entrance examinations to full-time universities and wish to gain academic qualifications of the university special and regular course levels. In 1996, a total of 2,403 students attended the 23 major courses mentioned above. The number to be recruited may be determined by the university on its own initiative since it is not registered in the State's higher education programs, and varies slightly from year to year according to the number of candidates. This university tries, however, to limit the number so that the ratio of teachers to students is kept to around one to ten, since it must enroll good students and maintain a high quality of education to keep its license to hold academic qualification examinations. On completion of their courses, the students become eligible for these examinations. In addition to the university's own graduation examination, they must take one of the uniform academic qualification examinations, held by the Beijing Municipality in January and July every year (a local version of the higher self-education examinations), and one of the uniform higher self-education examinations, held by the State in May and October. Peili Vocational University was authorized in 1993 to hold academic qualification examinations and was one of the first to have such an authorization. Measured by the results of the five academic qualification examinations held from 1994 to 1996, it was one of the top three of all the universities of Beijing. Except

for some who return to their hometowns, students find jobs related to their majors at firms and companies in Beijing, particularly at foreign-affiliated enterprises.

Further, for graduates of junior secondary schools who wish to enter the university, it has opened a preparatory course and offers education of the senior secondary school level and specialized education, as well as admitting entry to the university to those who have finished such courses on a priority basis.

On average, tuition costs amount to about 3,000 yuan a year (the sum varies between 2,800 and 3,200 yuan according to which majors). This amount is not expensive in view of the fact that the tuition costs for the courses at Beijing University outside the State's programs amount to 5,000 to 6,000 yuan a year for students in the humanities and about 10,000 yuan for those in the natural sciences. Boarding students must pay an additional 1,000 yuan a year for room and board.

As of 1996, there were more than 300 teachers, of which about 130 were full-time, and about 170 were part-time (including those from other institutions); these numbers vary by semester or the subjects offered. The chairpersons for each major course and the faculty advisers are all full-timers. Most of the full-timers are those who have retired from full-time universities or senior secondary schools. Dual-institute and part-time teachers are those from such first-class universities as Beijing University, Quighua University, and People's University. Their salaries are, in principle, paid from the tuition fees of the students and vary from about 1,000 yuan a month for full-timers to 25 yuan a period (of 45 minutes) for dual-institute and part-timer teachers.

As for facilities and equipment, the university does not have its own buildings but rents them in eight locations around the city. It has its headquarters on the premises of People's University Secondary School and uses the classrooms there. Two thirds of the 2,403 students study at the headquarters. The university also rents dormitories from enterprises for boarding students. The equipment there is its own (e.g. 20 desk-top type computers), but the university thinks it is essential to have its own buildings for its future development.

In principle, curricula are drawn up based on the higher self-education examination plan published by the Beijing Municipality on the grounds that the university is authorized to hold academic qualification examinations and that the students must take a higher self-education examination upon completion. Since students have failed admission exams to full-time universities and must take a higher self-education examination to acquire their academic qualifications, they are pressed and tense, and very eager to study. The teachers are also enthusiastic in their classes because the effects of their efforts are reflected directly through the results of the higher self-education examinations, and then on the evaluation of themselves by the university (including their salary). This in turn leads to satisfaction among the students.

(b) Beijing Haidian University: Preparation started in 1983 and the university was chartered in 1984 by the State's Education Commission and the Beijing Municipality. This private, regular, full-time university aims at training human resources for working in the market economy. The history of its establishment is as follows.

From the early 1980s and with the end of the Cultural Revolution and the implementation of the "Reform and Open Door" policy, cries for reform at the existing full-time universities grew louder day by day. The reformers discussed the recruitment of

students, what kind of education should be given etc., and took various experimental measures. Also at Qinghua University, which trains elite technocrats, experiments were attempted to shift its mode of recruitment and education from the traditional boarding school system based on the State's programs to one which partially adopts the day-school system and accepts paying students (who would be outside the State's programs). These experiments proved that the mode of learning should be different between boarding students and day students. It was also evident that, between the boarding students who are under the State's human resource control (and destined for the State's programs of personnel assignment after graduation) and the paying students who are not bound by such obligations, the motivation for and purpose of learning is very different, and thus, the traditional mode of education which had focused on students being restricted to the State's programs could no longer properly satisfy the needs of the day students. In fact, the day students were a new type of human resource suited to the market economy.

Thus, the necessity arose to establish a new day-school university operated on the principle of market mechanisms. Subsequently, the government of Haidian Ward, where Qinghua and many other elite universities are located, and the management of Qinghua, Beijing and People's Universities agreed to open a private university of the day-school type. The founder would be Haidian Ward, to which the three universities would extend cooperation. However, since the central government was not ready to charter a private university at the time, it was Haidian Ward that chartered it on its own initiative. It was in such a context that the preparatory committee for the establishment of the new university was formed.

According to the initial plan, the university would receive some 800 students, Haidian Ward would finance it with 120,000 yuan, Qinghua University with 50,000 yuan on condition that it would take the Presidency, and People's University would offer its unused facilities and equipment. In 1984, the new university opened its first courses in a schoolhouse of a branch school in Haidian Ward it rented from a primary school. It enrolled 200 students.

Later, with the development of economic reform and growth, Haidian University developed successfully and received 703 enrollees in 1988. The number of enrollees declined to 500 in 1989 in the wake of the Tiananmen Square event of June fourth. From about this period, people at the university began to consider the need to seek the charter of a regular full-time university. The executive board requested the State to approve it as such (with special courses), but the application was rejected on the grounds that the university was not adequately supplied with facilities and equipment. At the time, while its students had to take the uniform national higher self-education examinations equally with the students of other private universities, the percentage of those gained academic qualifications exceeded 60%, which is the criterion for approval for a private university as a full-time university. It was judged, however, that it had too few educational facilities and too little equipment to be qualified as a regular university.

So, Haidian Day University obtained a loan of 10,000,000 yuan from the local business community in the name of the President, another loan of 8,000,000 yuan from the State with Haidian Ward as its guarantor, and secured rent-free land from the State. It

started the construction of its own campus in 1992, completed it in 1994 to its current state, and was approved as a regular full-time university by the State. Taking this opportunity, it changed its name from Haidian Day University to Beijing Haidian University. Currently, the campus comprises two classroom buildings and other buildings with a total floor area of 23,000 m², including a library with a floor area of 3,000m² and a planned 500,000 books, two language laboratories, an audio-visual center, and practical-training rooms for computer literacy, financial accounting and land surveying, plus a students' dormitory. The establishment expenses of the university were borne as follows: the land was leased from the State free of charge, the loans comprised one from the State with the Ward as guarantor and another from the local business community with the university as guarantor, the facilities and equipment were purchased with borrowed money, and support donations were collected from enterprises and organizations on a private basis. The public subsidies, borrowing by the university, and donations from individuals each accounted for one third of these expenses. Universities established in such a manner are called "privately-supported and publicly-operated" universities.

In 1997, the university enrolled 1,200 students and offered 43 majors at four institutes. The four institutes are those of science and technology, economic management, Chinese traditional culture, and international language cultures. The majors include computer sciences, architecture, mechanical engineering, electronic engineering, clinical medicine, secretarial work, banking, accounting, market research, business management, law, business English, business Japanese, business Russian, Qigong (Chinese traditional aerobics), and Chinese traditional medicine.

Further, as a fifth institute of the university, an institute for preparation for higher self-education examinations was opened and recruits 2,500 students annually. While the former four institutes are approved by the State as at the regular full-time university (special course) level, the fifth institute retains traces of the university's initial attributions, that is to say, a preparatory school for higher self-education examinations. The term of completion for the fifth institute is about two to two and half years. Its courses correspond to the disciplines in which candidates take qualification examinations and these courses are reviewed and re-designed each time students complete their courses and leave.

As for the recruitment of students, the former four institutes require candidates to pass the uniform national admission examinations according to the State's uniform recruitment rules. The fifth institute receives senior secondary school graduates who have failed such an admission examination to a university, and gives them examinations of its own. The students of the fifth institute can select their courses according to the disciplines in which they wish to pass examinations. One student takes 13 to 17 courses.

Tuition costs are 5,000 yuan a year for a normal (special) course, according to the application guidebook for admission. The amount is comparable to that of a paying student at Beijing University and is said to be bearable for an urban family of today. A student of the fifth institute will need about 4,500 yuan a year to pay tuition fees according to the number of courses chosen.

As for job-hunting after graduation, the students are subject to the mechanism of a free labor market to find a job. The university has a placement center to support their efforts and to increase job opportunities.

In 1997, the faculty included 95 full-time teachers and more than 300 dual-institute and part-time teachers. Many of these full-time and dual-institute teachers are connected to Qinghua, Beijing, or People's Universities because of the circumstances in which the university was opened, but there are also experts invited from the Beijing University of Aerospace Engineering, the Institute of Geology, the University of Science and Technology, the Institute of Linguistics, and so forth, thus constituting 70% of the faculty of teachers from the state's strategic educational institutions. As for their salaries, dual-institute and part-time teachers are paid 44 yuan a period (45 min.).

In addition, a Research Institute of Private Higher Education has been opened on the premises of the university to study the management and development strategy of private universities as well as what should constitute educational reform. The institute regularly publishes a "Journal of Educational Practice of Haidian University".

Further, to help its management, the university has established and operates a university-run enterprise "Haida Securities Company". In 1996, the enterprise financed the university with 2,000,000 yuan from its profits.

(c) Assessment of Universities[34]. In China, a regular full-time university is subject to a comprehensive assessment for compliance to its chartering requirements five years after its establishment (when its first graduates enter the business world). The assessment is based on such criteria as the university's educational conditions, the educational material, methods and level, the faculty's quality, the graduates' employment rate, the students' academic achievements, and the nature and level of their graduation thesis, etc. If the university is assessed unfavorably, it will receive a warning for it to improve. It must stop recruiting new students and improve the situation during a reprieve period of one to two years. Then it will be assessed again, and if judged still below the standards, it will be ordered to close.

A private university is also subject to a comprehensive assessment five years after it has been chartered, and to an assessment of its specific subjects afterward. This assessment of a university's specific subjects is made every year on such matters as the educational conditions, the graduates' employment rate, and the students' academic achievements. The purpose of this assessment is to encourage universities to improve or maintain the levels of their management, and to select and honor the so-called model schools.

Such assessments of universities is performed as an enforceable act of the central government. The Ministry of Education organizes a group of experts and dispatches them to a university. The assessment is made in two phases. In the first phase, the university assesses itself and, in the second phase, it is assessed by the experts. The experts' assessment is based on the self-assessment made by the university in the first phase according to detailed criteria defined by the Ministry of Education. A university assessment laboratory established in the ministry defines these criteria, applies them to some universities experimentally, improves them, and presents them to the universities as the final criteria for self-assessment.

If it is given a warning to improve itself, a university is also given the order to stop recruiting students for one or two years as mentioned above, and is required to improve its situation during such time. It is assessed again at the end of this period of correction for a decision on continuation or closing. For example (and this is not the case for private universities), in 1993, a total of 103 public secondary vocational schools (of university special course level) were assessed and 11 of them were given warnings to improve themselves.

CONCLUSION

Problems Facing Chinese Adult Higher Education

So far, we have outlined recent trends in Chinese adult higher education. From this it is clear that some unsettled questions remain. The largest of these would be the two disparities observed concerning adult higher education. The first disparity is the one that exists between adult higher education institutions. As we have seen, there are more than 1,200 private universities around the country as well as many other adult higher education institutions (such as the institutes for adult education operated by regular full-time higher education institutions). From among these institutions, some are recognized by the State as regular higher education institutions and authorized to issue certificates of graduation, and they receive students through the uniform national examination for adult higher education who seek academic qualifications. However, all the other institutions are preparatory schools for candidates for higher self-education examinations or training institutions that are not authorized to give any academic qualifications. Among the latter, the level of management and education greatly varies from institution to institution. In the case of private universities in particular, not a few of them are operated simply for profit; given this prime motive, the risk cannot be entirely avoided that some aspects of their operation might be likely to harm their students' interests and even adversely affect the sound development of adult higher education more broadly.

The administrative measure taken to deal with such a problem was the academic qualification examination. That system was designed to control and standardize the level and quality of the education given by private universities, by taking advantage of the purpose and objectives of these universities which was to get students through higher self-education examinations. By allowing those universities that have a high percentage of students who have gained academic qualifications to divert a part of the credits earned at the higher self-education examination to the universities' graduation examinations, it was intended to encourage more private universities to participate in this system. It was also intended to weed out low-quality private universities by showing to candidates the difference in levels between them, i.e., those that are authorized to hold academic qualification examinations and those which are not. The aim here was to protect the interests of the students.

To further standardize adult higher education and stabilize the system, the central government is now studying a plan to define a control standard applicable to all adult

higher education institutions, to reexamine these institutions against such a standard and to weed out those that do not satisfy the standard.

The second disparity is that double standards are used for the same academic qualifications. As for the academic qualifications of the university regular and special course level, there are those that are given through full-time higher education and those that are given through adult higher education. Although the value of these two qualifications is officially supposed to be equal, the marks required for admission are lower for adult higher education than for full-time higher education. In terms of the quality of the lessons given and that of the teachers also, the political and administrative requirements are defined lower for adult higher education than for full-time higher education. This makes it easier to acquire qualifications through adult education than through full-time education. As a result, in such large cities as Shanghai and Beijing, administrative measures are taken to use adult higher education as a bypass not only for those who have failed admission exams to universities, but also for those who have failed admission exams to normal senior secondary schools, thus giving the students opportunities to acquire qualifications of the university special and regular course levels.

To deal with such disparities and double standards, Beijing University, for example, distinguishes qualifications of the regular and the special courses given by full-time universities from those given through adult higher education. For the latter, the certificates indicate clearly that they are issued by the university's Institute of Adult Education. On the other hand, to stimulate the motivation of students in adult education and to reduce as much as possible the disparity in quality, Beijing University experimentally transfers the top five percent of the most successful students to full-time courses. The university is also studying the possibility of increasing this ratio of transfer from 5% to 10% [35].

However such measures are nothing but symptomatic therapy separately given by some of these universities. As long as there is no distinction in the State system, the problem of a double standard will not be solved. Those responsible for full-time higher education institutions consider this disparity as a problem that is likely to undermine the system of academic qualification and are voicing their strong disapproval.

Facing such a situation, the central government is studying the possibility of unifying academic qualification education into a single system by integrating the relevant parts in adult higher education into full-time higher education. This means that, whatever its nature, all academic qualification education will be conducted solely by regular full-time education institutions. These institutions will also be responsible for continuing education as long as such high level of education is required. Non-academic-qualification education will remain the responsibility of adult higher education institutions.

However, these plans may be falling behind events, as most of the private universities, attended by 1,200,000 students, are preparatory schools for higher self-education examinations and, practically, it may be difficult to consolidate these institutions. In addition, as we have seen so far, adult education is defined by laws, regulations and policies as a key part of the lifelong education system that must be developed toward

a higher level of education, i.e., continuing education, while being distinct from vocational education and training.

In adult higher education, reality is rapidly advancing before appropriate philosophies, theories and systems can be built up. How will the Chinese deal with the situation to standardize this field of education, promoting it as a key part of the lifelong education system, while protecting the students' interests? How will future policies develop? The outcome deserves attention.

ENDNOTES

1. Umakoshi(1995); Pak(1997).
2. Wang(1997); Huang(1997); Lee(1997).
3. Liu(1997).
4. On the subject, even the work cited above edited by Hatton (ed.)(1997) which reviews recent policy for and the trends in lifelong learning in the APEC countries contains only one article: Wu(1997) and Ye(1997). Studies in Japan include: Otsuka(1983); Ichimi(1995); Otsuka(1995); Kurauchi(1977); Division of Social Education, School of Education, Saga Univ. (ed.)(1995); Division of Social Education, Tokyo Gakuji Univ.(1993); and a series of works by the Society for the Study of Social Education in Tokyo, Okinawa, and East Asia(1996,1997).
In the author's recent work which reviewed China's current problems and recent trends in reforms, (Makino(1995)), the author focused on school education and did not address the question of adult education at all.
5. In China, there have been published works that present theories or general views on the subject by discussing what is adult education, what should be done, etc., in an abstract way. To the best of the author's knowledge, however, studies have not been published to date that identify the characteristics and objectives of adult education based on the empirical analysis of realities. In recent years, nevertheless, there have been attempts to study adult vocational education in the area of studies on vocational education(b)
(a) Some works of good quality of this kind are: Chen(1995); Dong(1997).
(b) For example: Lu(1996).
6. The insufficiency of the space given, however, obliged the author to limit the discussion to very restricted subjects. Serious discussion on Chinese adult education will be held on another occasion.
7. C.C. of the C.C.P.(1985).
8. State Education Commission(1990), pp. 367-373.
9. It was in 1924 that Japan restructured the Fourth Division of the Regular Education Office of the Ministry of Education into the Social Education Division. China was twelve years ahead of Japan in the use of the term "social education" in the organization of its government.
10. "*Drafts of the Regulations for Government Offices, Ministry of Education, the Republic of China*", Jiaoyu Zazhi [Education Journal], Vol. 3, 12th Stage (Appendix), March 1912, pp. 63-65. For the characteristics of and changes in the concept of social education at the time, see the detailed discussion in Ueda(1997).
11. Zhu(1985) and other publications.
12. Tao(1924), pp. 22; Kobayashi(1989), and others.
13. "*Common Programs of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference*", People's Daily, April 30, 1949.
14. Dong, op. cit., p. 37.
15. Li(1992), p. 275.
16. Ibid., pp. 275-276.
17. "*Guidelines for the Reform and Development of Chinese Education*", Guo(1995), Qija and Lei(1995), Xian (gen. ed.).

18. "Education Law of the People's Republic of China", *ibid.*
19. Dong, *op. cit.*, p. 140.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 143–144.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 130.
22. Makino(1997).
23. Interview with Mr. Yu Yueqing, Vice Director of the Institute of Higher Educational Sciences, Beijing Univ., held with the author on May 3, 1998 at the institute.
24. As for the following information about Beijing Univ., the above interview and information were acquired during the author's visits to the university (Nov. 15–26, 1997 and May 1–3, 1998).
25. State Education Commission(1997a), p. 8
26. State Education Commission(1997b).
27. Interview with Ms. Jin Yiping, responsible for private schools, State Education Commission, held with the author on Nov. 18, 1997 at the Commission in Beijing.
28. *Ibid.*
29. The system is called "Xueli Wenping Kaoshi" in Chinese. In principle, it is a system of examinations designed to replace part of the examinations for evaluation of academic qualifications by the State with graduation examinations of the private universities. Since there is no suitable or established translation for it, it is temporally translated in this paper as "academic qualification examinations", which means "examinations to satisfy the conditions (requirements) for the acquisition of academic qualifications".
30. Author's interview with Ms. Jin Yiping.
31. For the following discussion, *ibid.*, and the author's interview with Mr. Yu Yueqing.
32. For the following discussion on Beijing Peili Vocational Univ., the information acquired was gained during the author's visit to the university (Nov. 17, 1997) and from his interview with Mr. Xu, the President, and the "Beijing Peili Vocational University in Development", *Beijing Adult Education*, June 1994 (article on the inside cover).
33. For the following discussion on Beijing Haidian Univ., the information acquired was gained during the author's visit to the university (Nov. 21, 1997) and from his interview with Mr. Fu Zhengtai, the President, and Mr. Chen Baoyu, Vice President, and at the Haidian University for Day Students, "Haidian University Studies", 1st and 2nd terms, 1997.
34. Author's interview with MM. Yu Yueqing and Jin Yiping.
35. Information acquired during the author's visit to Beijing Univ. (*op. cit.*).

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Chapter 5: Lifelong Learning and the Leisure-Oriented Society: The Developments and Challenges in the Far East

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INTRODUCTION

In 1990, the Japanese education authorities were invited to participate in one of the activities of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) on “lifelong learning”, which was to carry out international comparative research on strategies, policy directions and measures in its member countries. According to the Secretariat of the OECD, a crucial reason to involve Japan in the activity was the fact that the lifelong learning movement in Japan seemed to have somewhat different features, compared to other developed countries. Hence the international comparative research would be enhanced by the participation of Japan. In more concrete terms, Japan’s lifelong learning movement and the major part of relevant educational policies were more to cope with the advent of “leisure-oriented society” than to enhance economic developments. The lifelong learning movement in Japan can be taken as a strategy to ensure “spiritually higher quality of life” for the people living in a “matured society”, while that in a number of other countries can be interpreted as a strategy for human resources/capital development for economic purposes. While this may be an oversimplification, it is argued that there seems to be a considerable difference between Japan and other countries in terms of the “image” of the term/concept of lifelong learning. These differences appear to apply to beliefs of the general public as well as to the major purposes and “rationales” of the education authorities, especially local education authorities, to promote lifelong learning and make use of public resources. Such differences will be described in the present chapter, through the focus on the case of Japan. Incorporated in this description is the nature of a lifelong learning movement focused on leisure-oriented society.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

Economic and Non-Economic Image of Lifelong Learning

In November 1990, the OECD Education Committee met at Ministerial level in Paris to discuss the issue of lifelong learning under the overall theme of “High Quality Education and Training for All”. The discussions at the Ministerial meeting and the communiqué adopted at the end of it clearly highlighted the importance of lifelong learning as a means

to cope with the economic problems of Member countries in the coming decade. This approach, which was to consider lifelong learning as a means for economic purposes, was reflected in the following phrases in the Ministerial Communiqué: “in the decade ahead, OECD countries will be confronted with new economic challenges in which knowledge, skills, values, attitudes and exchange will play a central part. The potential contribution of education and training is thus of critical importance the ‘human factor’ is fundamental to economic activity, competitiveness and prosperity”. (Note: The words “values” and “attitudes” after “knowledge, skills” were added at the strong request of the Japanese Delegation.) A number of people in Japan, however, are quite often surprised, and sometimes even shocked and/or embarrassed, encountering this kind of economic-oriented approach to the issue of lifelong learning including the above phrases in the Ministerial Communiqué, i.e. lifelong learning as a means for economic purposes. The prevailing image of the term/concept of “lifelong learning” among the general public in Japan is totally different from the above. “Lifelong learning” reminds the Japanese of various cultural and/or sporting activities to be enjoyed by people with a view to improving the mental/spiritual quality of daily life, filling spare time, meeting intellectual curiosity and just having fun and pleasure, rather than serving economic benefits for the learners or the country/economy. This is the reason why the officials in charge of lifelong learning measures and policies in the national/local education authorities in Japan have problems in answering such a question asked by a number of overseas visitors: “You have remarkably well-developed enterprise-based education and training systems in a number of private companies. What else do you have to do by putting additional emphasis on lifelong learning?”

Wider Range of Activities Covered by Lifelong Learning in Japan

Theoretically, the concept of lifelong learning is considered in Japan as a “master concept”, which encompasses an extremely wide range of learning activities including school education, higher education, non-formal education, informal education, professional/vocational education and training and cultural and sporting activities. However, since the “image” of lifelong learning has been inclined to culture/sport-oriented and leisure-oriented activities, such practices as enterprise-based education and training for economic benefits are quite often unconsciously excluded from the scope of lifelong learning. This approach to lifelong learning is also reflected in various policy discussions on this issue in Japan. The major parts, if not all, of the purposes and rationales of the public sector, especially the local education authorities directly confronted with the demand of community people, to promote lifelong learning activities presented in policy statements are usually focused on the spiritual quality of life rather than on contribution to the economy or human resources/capital development. Typical key phrases that describe the purposes and rationales of the promotion of lifelong learning are *cultured and enriched mind*; *the quality of life*; *self-fulfillment*; and *satisfaction with daily life*. Such a trend was boosted by the overall social climate in Japan in 1980s to try to switch the goal of the government’s policies and the people’s efforts from “economic richness” to “mental/spiritual richness”. Partly because of this, the range of so-called lifelong

learning activities to be promoted seems to be much wider in Japan than the range in a number of other countries. Typical activities in Japan include music, fine arts, literature, sports, recreations, outdoor activities, hobbies and volunteer activities.

Background: Japanese Attitude toward Education

The above-mentioned features seem to have something to do with the longstanding attitude of the Japanese toward “education” itself. These attitudes may have a broader base in other parts of East Asia. The first attitude is a keenness towards education and learning as well as various other activities for intellectual and spiritual development. Japanese people set a high value on such practices and “enjoy” learning. Secondly, they put more emphasis on such aspects of education as spiritual development and character building than on the acquisition of knowledge and skills or other practical aspects. The following is Article 1 of the Fundamental Law of Education of Japan which officially provides for the purpose of education.

Article 1 (Purpose of Education) Education should be done, aiming at the completion of character building of each individual, to nurture mentally and physically sound Japanese citizens who adore truth and justice, respect values of individuals, honor working and responsibility, and have a positive attitude as members of the peaceful country and society.

This article, which clearly reflects the Japanese attitudes and values in terms of education, is extremely interesting not because a lot of beautiful words are written but because one cannot find any such words as “knowledge” or “skills”.

The general attitude of the Japanese towards education embodies a belief that education, which should be of sacred and spiritual nature, should not be done nor discussed in connection with any economic issues. Therefore, for example, it took Japanese education experts a long time to accept the concept of “human resources development” as an aspect of education because this expression sounded too improper and vulgar to them. Even now not a few education experts in Japan refuse to discuss the relationship between education and the economy and education’s contribution to the economy. Some of these experts even hate to use economic terms such as “demand”, “supply” and “market” in any education policy discussions. For overseas experts, it may be helpful to consider education in Japan as a “religion” with a view to understanding unique feeling and emotion toward education shared by a number of Japanese.

Lifelong Learning as “Investment” and “Consumption”

The nature of the lifelong learning movement in Japan is often difficult for foreign experts to understand, especially those with educational background in economics. The Japanese approach may sound mysterious or even religious in some cases. Some experts in Japan have been trying to explain the nature of the Japanese approach by

calling it “lifelong learning as consumption”; those in a number of other developed countries “lifelong learning as investment”. Though an oversimplification, this explanation seems to be effective, at least to some extent, for those who have some knowledge of economics.

In a number of countries, learning activities are carried out by individual learners as “investment”. This means that these learners participate in such activities for economic or other benefits and returns in the future. Also, for the educational authorities, which promote lifelong learning activities in such countries, making use of public resources, the relevant policies and measures are planned and carried out as “investment” for economic gain in the future. On the other hand, in Japan, a number of learners, if not all, participate in learning activities, by paying some money if necessary, just to enjoy them. In economic terms, this practice should be called “consumption” rather than “investment”. However, this never means that lifelong learning as consumption is economically less meaningful and important than that as investment.

There must also be a “market” for lifelong learning activities as consumption. The market is composed of a wide range of “demand” and “supply”, and therefore, there must also be a wide range of possibility and necessity for educational authorities to intervene in the same manner as in the case of lifelong learning as “investment”. However, this investment/consumption theory does not apply to the purpose of governmental policies. Even though a considerable part of learning activities can be seen as lifelong learning as consumption, policies and measures of national/local authorities should never be for consumption but investment for the future. The policies and measures to promote lifelong learning as consumption are planned and carried out, making use of public resources, for the better future of the society and/or community by, for example, keeping and developing the vitality of the population through such activities.

WHY LIFELONG LEARNING?

According to the national education authorities of Japan, lifelong learning has been promoted nationally and locally with a view to coping with the following three necessities: (i) the necessity to overcome the “diploma-oriented society”; (ii) the necessity to provide learning opportunities to the growing demand for leisure-oriented learning activities; and (iii) the necessity to continue learning to cope with social, economic and technological changes. The following paragraphs will discuss the major points and issues in terms of the above three reasons. Emphasis is placed on the second one, which is deeply related to the leisure-oriented nature of the lifelong learning movement in Japan.

Necessity to Overcome the “Diploma-oriented Society”: The Most Crucial Reason Forgotten

The first and the most important reason to promote lifelong learning in Japan seems to be unique, compared to other developed countries. Lifelong learning started to be discussed

seriously in the 1980s in Japan, mainly with a view to mitigating the over-enthusiasm and overestimation among the Japanese toward diplomas of initial formal education. The value of those diplomas varied with the status of each university or college. Problems deriving from such a situation are called those of “diploma-oriented society”, and it was planned to encourage continuing learning after initial formal education and, more importantly, the evaluation/appreciation of the outcomes of such continuing learning (rather than the diplomas of initial formal education). Although the majority of the Japanese believe that this is an educational problem, it is actually a labor market problem. As is confirmed in some reports prepared by the Ministry of Labor, the “permanent employment system” continues to be one of the prominent features of the Japanese labor market, at least for newcomers.

The majority of new graduates of high schools and colleges/universities are employed based on the unique system of so-called “simultaneous recruitment of new graduates”. The fiscal/academic year of Japan starts on April 1 and ends on March 31, and therefore, all students graduate on March 31. On the very next day, April 1, all of them should be employed at the same time with no interval, and if one fails to do so, he/she will suffer from a serious handicap in the labor market all through his/her life. To succeed in this system all students waiting for graduation should visit a number of employers for interviews and exams, starting some 10 months before graduation. If a student fails to find a job before graduation, he/she usually stays in his/her college or university, trying to catch another chance in the following year, in order to avoid the interval between graduation and employment, which means a handicap.

These systems also cause a lot of problems to employers. Because of the permanent employment system, employers should anticipate how each candidate (of eg 22 years old) will work at the age of 40 or 50, which is impossible. Usually they can never employ anyone by way of trial. Also, because of the simultaneous recruitment system, all employers should rush for interviews with their candidates during summer each year so as not to be behind other employers, trying to catch good students. They can usually spend only half an hour to select students, who should work there for good. Under such circumstances, it is the most efficient and effective way for the employers to select the candidates based on the names of their universities and colleges. The employers know that students from so-called good and prestigious universities are not always good; however, this is the best way to maximize the probability to have good ones with minimum costs. Therefore, although most Japanese believe that this is a problem of employers’ attitudes and psychology, it is actually a cost/benefit problem caused by strange labor market systems. Against the above background, all high school students rush to compete in the entrance exams of prestigious universities, which are prepared by each university individually. All junior-high students rush to compete in entrance exams of so-called good high schools to have a better chance to go to a good university in the future. Also, it is argued that Japanese College students in social sciences or humanities courses are not so keen on studying because they have already got a passport for the labor market. Another problem is that, after the first employment, the future of the employee is almost fixed by the name of his/her university, no matter what he/she may learn after the employment.

With a view to mitigating such problems, the Japanese education authorities considered that the excessive emphasis on initial formal education as well as on the name of the university/college should be overcome by promoting other and continuing learning activities and, more importantly, by establishing new systems to appreciate the outcomes of such other/continuing learning. This is why the definition of "lifelong learning society" in Japan emphasizes not only the provision of learning opportunities but also the appreciation of a number of outcomes.

A "lifelong learning society" means a society in which one can freely choose various learning opportunities anytime in one's life and the outcomes of such learning are appreciated properly. The biggest problem with this first reason now is that only few people still remember that this was the first and most important reason to pursue a lifelong learning society. Education authorities in Japan are continuing efforts to overcome the above problems. However, as these are mostly labor market problems rather than educational ones, there have been no remarkable developments. Also, in front of the overwhelming emphasis on leisure-oriented activities, a number of people have forgotten this aspect of the lifelong learning movement.

Necessity to Provide Learning Opportunities to Cope with the Growing Demand for Leisure-oriented Learning Activities

The second reason to promote lifelong learning in Japan is the necessity to expand the supply of various learning opportunities to be enjoyed by Japan's people. This viewpoint was based on the perception that the demand for such learning activities among the general public had been increasing in line with the "maturing" of Japanese society. The "maturing" here has been a result of various social and economic developments such as increase in income, increase in spare time, expansion of higher education, expansion of life expectancy. These changes have made the Japanese more interested in various learning activities to be enjoyed for intellectual curiosity and a spiritually higher quality of life. Although this was just one of the three reasons to promote lifelong learning in Japan, this aspect of lifelong learning draws more attention of the people in Japan than the other aspects. This took place partly because "lifelong learning" was a new and convenient concept to encompass a wide range of activities (including leisure-oriented activities), and partly because this approach matched the general mood among the Japanese in the late 1980s. Japanese people were seeking for something new in an economically affluent society. They wanted to improve the spiritual quality of their daily lives, to increase mental satisfaction with their daily lives and to fill their intellectual curiosity and cultural aspirations. This viewpoint, which was to consider lifelong learning as something to be enjoyed and to be done for fun, e.g. as "consumption" in economic terms, contributed strongly to the diffusion of the concept of lifelong learning and to the development of a positive mood among the general public to support the movement and to participate in various activities. However, a negative outcome of the enthusiasm for such a viewpoint was that such culture/sport-oriented and leisure-oriented learning activities have become almost a "synonym" of "lifelong learning" itself. It even seems that the first and the third reasons for the promotion of lifelong

learning, which were at least equally important, have almost been neglected. This is why not a few people in Japan, including some prominent education experts, still have the misunderstanding that such activities as formal education at schools and enterprise-based education/training are not included in the concept of lifelong learning.

The viewpoint described above also brought about a confusion in terms of the range of "learning" covered by "lifelong learning", which caused serious problems in discussions for policy making. "Learning" is different from "learning activity" at least in the Japanese language. The former means any acquisition of knowledge, skills, attitudes and values including so-called "incidental learning", which takes place only by chance. On the other hand, the latter means activities to learn something intentionally, therefore excluding various other activities (virtually all other activities in one's life) which may cause incidental learning. When the national education authorities of Japan tried to cover all cultural and sporting activities by the new concept of lifelong learning, they faced this problem. In particular, a number of cultural and sporting activities, which they wanted to promote, were done not for learning anything intentionally but just for fun and pleasure. In other words, they were not "learning activities". The national education authorities then expanded the concept of "lifelong learning" from "the master concept to cover all learning activities" to "the master concept to cover all learning (including incidental learning)". By this new definition, it was announced that all learning in cultural, sporting and other activities were included in the concept of lifelong learning because something may be learnt in such activities through incidental learning. However, the majority of the people in Japan took this announcement as meaning the following: all cultural, sporting and many other activities are covered by the concept of lifelong learning even if nothing is learnt in such activities.

The new definition worked well to mobilize people to cultural and sporting activities and to expand financial resources for such areas. However, the activities which may bring about "incidental learning" are not limited to cultural or sporting activities but cover almost all activities in one's life including such activities as gambling, drinking, smoking and fighting. People may learn, and often do learn, through such undesirable practices. Therefore, a serious question is now asked: "What does it mean to promote 'lifelong learning' (including all activities which may cause incidental learning) by public resources? Does this mean that the government should promote even such activities as gambling and drinking because they may cause some incidental learning?"

Necessity to Continue Learning to Cope with Social, Economic and Technological Changes: An Internationally Common Reason Almost Ignored by the Education Authorities in Japan

The third reason to promote lifelong learning in Japan is similar to those in a number of other countries. It is the necessity to continuously renew and redevelop the knowledge and skills of people to live in a rapidly changing society. Examples of such societal changes are increasingly rapid development of science and technology, structural changes in industries, internationalization in various aspects of the society, and the advent of an information society. As such changes take place increasingly rapidly,

knowledge and skills acquired through initial education become obsolete easily, and continuing learning becomes increasingly important. The majority of learning activities carried out for such purposes can be considered as “investment” for future benefits. However, partly because the image of lifelong learning among the Japanese has been more leisure-oriented, and partly because the Japanese generally hate to relate education with the economy, this aspect of lifelong learning has not drawn the attention of Japanese people until recently.

There are two other interesting points, which should be mentioned here. Firstly, there seems to be an inclination among the Japanese that, even for the learning activities to cope with social, economic and technological changes, they think more of non-practical aspects of relevant activities. For example, a number of learning activities are planned and provided by the local education authorities to cope with “internationalization”, but most of them are more leisure-oriented ones (e.g. those to make friends with local foreign residents) than practical ones (eg language education for business). Secondly, a number of practical learning activities to cope with social, economic and technological changes have been planned and carried out in many places in Japan, mainly within the framework of enterprise-based education and training. However, in many cases the Japanese do not consider such activities as part of lifelong learning, partly because they are not covered by national/local education authorities, and partly because the Japanese hate to relate education issues with economic issues, a point established earlier in the chapter. Therefore, if a Japanese says, “Lifelong learning in Japan is done mainly for leisure-oriented activities and not really for the economy,” this is likely to be a misleading comment based on a different definition or image of lifelong learning.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND CHANGES

Overseas Expansion of the Japanese Approach?

The leisure-oriented or cultural/spiritual approach to the issue of lifelong learning seemed to be unique to Japan in the late 1980s and early 1990s, but this concept now appears to be understood in a number of countries and followed by some of them. The first example is the interest shown by some Nordic countries, by people involved in social welfare rather than by those involved in education. It is widely known that social welfare systems for senior citizens are well developed in Nordic countries, but some experts in this field in such countries are now much interested in the lifelong learning movement in Japan, especially learning activities for senior citizens. Some of them say that the social welfare systems in Nordic countries are well developed, but they focus mainly on economic aspects such as money, housing, food and clothes, and ignore spiritual and mental quality of life. On the other hand, the Japanese authorities are rather more focusing on this aspect, and, more importantly, this aim is pursued by “learning”. It is said that an increasing number of visitors and observers come from such countries to observe relevant activities in Japan.

The second example of the overseas expansion of the Japanese approach to lifelong learning is the movement in East Asian countries. The emphasis on cultural and

spiritual aspects of education and learning is a unique feature of Japan among developed countries; however, it is shared by a number of East Asian countries. There have been a number of different hypotheses of the backgrounds of this cultural similarity such as Confucianism, rice-making culture and agricultural social structure but there has been no definite answer. Countries in East Asia have been economically poor developing countries until recently, and hence were unable to share a lot of resources for cultural and leisure-oriented learning activities. However, some of such countries have already “taken off”, enjoying better economic situations, compared to 20 years ago. These countries are now tackling the new challenge of lifelong learning for leisure, and some countries are sending missions to Japan to learn relevant national/local policies and measures as well as practices.

New Movements Caused by Economic Problems

Approaches to lifelong learning policies may be classified into the following three models: (i) A Western European model with an emphasis on continuing education/training of the labor force for economic purposes, (ii) A developing countries' model with an emphasis on literacy and/or vocational education for adults to compensate for low graduation rates in basic/initial schooling and (iii) The Japanese model emphasizing learning activities for the spiritual/mental quality of life. However, the situation in Japan has been changing gradually to one which places more value on aspects of the Western European and developing countries models. The reason for this is the recent and continuing economic problems in Japan. Here the unemployment rate has already reached 5%, and bankruptcies of private firms and companies have been increasing rapidly. Also, it is argued that “job shortages” coexist with “skill shortages”, for which education and training should have crucial roles. This has made lifelong learning policies at the national level shift from the leisure-oriented approach to the employability-oriented approach involving practical skills and human resources development to cope with economic problems. Such words as “career development”, “employability” and “learning for qualification/credential” are quite often found now in the government's policy papers and statements. Also, so-called “qualification business” is now flourishing in Japan.

The lifelong learning movement in Japan was initiated *inter alia* to overcome the problems of the “diploma-oriented society”, and this was why the aspect of “evaluation/appreciation of outcomes of continuing learning” was emphasized in the Japanese definition of the term “lifelong learning society”. Education authorities have been trying to highlight this aspect in vain, partly because it is deeply related to labor market systems rather than educational systems. However, just a few years of economic recession easily changed the situation. College/university students are now rushing to specialized training schools for courses such as foreign languages and computing, which is called the “double-schooling phenomenon”. Students know that the name of the university/college is becoming insufficient to win employment in the shrinking labor market. Also, a number of people, including those already employed and students, are taking exams for qualifications in practical skills to avoid layoff and

unemployment. Some say that economic problems seem to be much more effective than governmental educational policies in changing a diploma-oriented society to one with a broader concept of lifelong learning.

One of the biggest obstacles to change in policy direction to cope with the new situation is the prevailing image of "lifelong learning". As a number of people in Japan believe that lifelong learning is a synonym for leisure-oriented cultural or sporting activities, it is not easy to find new resources to promote learning activities to cope with economic problems within the framework of broader lifelong learning policies. New policies which one can easily envisage are, for example, paid leave for education and training and scholarship for adults for continuing learning. However, for people who think that lifelong learning is a synonym for leisure-oriented activities, and unfortunately this group includes officials of national and local financial authorities, such economic ideas are out of the question.

CONCLUSIONS

While the Japanese concept of lifelong learning in the 1980s and 1990s focused on a leisure-oriented society and on a spiritually higher quality of life, and this approach was accepted nationally and created considerable international interest, recent economic problems in Japan have led to a national reappraisal of this stance. Firstly, the range of learning opportunities directly provided by the public authorities calls for further discussion. In Japan, for example, more than 17,000 "Community Learning Centers (Kominkan)" have been established by the 3,300 local (municipal) educational authorities all through the country. These Community Learning Centers are non-formal educational institutions composed of relevant experts, instructors and counselors as well as physical facilities, and have played the major role to encourage learning activities among the general public. These activities have excluded economic- or vocational- or professional-oriented ones. However, as the lifelong learning movement expands and develops, it is now virtually impossible for such centers to provide the range of learning activities to cope with the demand. Also, profit-making private firms to provide culture/leisure-oriented learning activities have expanded rapidly, establishing so-called "culture centers". This provokes the serious question: "Which part of learning opportunities should be provided directly by public authorities, making use of public resources, and also often damaging the interests of relevant private firms in the market?"

Secondly, the range of learning activities, which should be promoted by public authorities also, needs further discussion. As the campaign by the national and local education authorities has succeeded in encouraging the people to participate in leisure-oriented learning activities, an increasing number of people are now participating in such activities. However, the range of such activities is also rapidly expanding as different people feel differently in terms of the areas of learning activities, which may augment their spiritual quality of life and mental satisfaction. Such areas can never be identified nor designated by the public authorities because they depend on one's taste and/or creed. Another serious question should be asked here: "Which part of an

extremely wide range of leisure-oriented learning activities of all people should be promoted (if not directly provided) by the public authorities?"

Thirdly, taking into account the above two points, a more fundamental and philosophical question is actually asked: "Should the public authorities continue to be involved in leisure-oriented activities, and if so, in which way?" There could be a strategy that the public authorities limit themselves, in terms of the relevant policies in this area, just to supplying some money to potential learners who are not rich enough to buy learning opportunities, carrying out no other policies such as the direct provision of learning opportunities nor the promotion of learning activities in this area. All of these open questions arise ironically from the success of the government's policies and campaign to promote leisure-oriented learning activities but the public educational authorities are all facing the new challenge for the next step – the incorporation of a broader conception of lifelong learning that includes activities of economic benefit, and the balance in provision between the traditional Japanese approach to "lifelong learning" and the demands of changing circumstances.

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Chapter 6: The Swedish Adult Education Initiative: From Recurrent Education to Lifelong Learning

KJELL RUBENSON

INTRODUCTION

The recent *Adult Education Initiative* (AEI) in Sweden has brought adult education to the fore of the public policy debate. Policy makers are once again looking at adult education as an instrument in addressing the major challenges facing today's society. By all international comparisons the AEI is an impressive undertaking. Between 1997 and 2002 the state will allocate \$Can. 3 billion for the project that has, as a target, to reach 15 percent of the labour force. The purpose of this chapter is to briefly present the background to the AEI, the policy strategy and provide some critical reflections on some of the successes and unresolved issues. The AEI has to be viewed in the broader context of adult education in Sweden. As Carnoy (1990, p. x) points out, there are crucial differences in what adult education attempts to do and can do in different social-political structures. Since the 1960s adult education has had a high profile in Sweden and been a central instrument in economic and social policy. Thus, it is not surprising that in a comparative perspective participation in adult education in Sweden is high (OECD, 1997). However, despite its international standing recent challenges to the Swedish Model have questioned the adequacy of the existing system and resulted in a discussion of the need for a major reform of Swedish adult education. The experiences gained from the AEI will form the base for this reform. As a background to the discussion of the AEI the analysis will start with some observations on how the system has emerged since it became a critical policy area in the late 1960s. Of particular interest is how decisions taken regarding the structure and governance of adult education set boundaries for the coming reform.

THIRTY YEARS OF SWEDISH ADULT EDUCATION POLICY

The 1960s: adult education becomes a central policy area

The 1967 Adult Education Reform signified a radical change in the educational landscape and confirmed that adult education had become a central issue in Swedish educational policy. Despite the fact that Sweden has had a long and important tradition of adult education dating back to the breakthrough of the popular movements at the end of the nineteenth century it was not until the 1960s that adult education became central to Swedish educational and labour market policies.

There are interesting similarities between the issues facing the 1967 reform and the problems that the AEI is struggling with. Both focus primarily on formal adult education and can be seen as a response to the dramatic changes that have occurred in the educational level of the population and in working life.

The 1960s reforms were heavily influenced by contemporary human capital theory that was broadly embraced within policy circles. The economic concerns are understandable, as Sweden in the early 1960s had an educational attainment in the population that resembled Portugal's and a labour market equivalent to that of West Germany. The strong economic impetus for the 1967 reform should not hide that it also aimed to compensate for earlier inequities in the educational system. The very selective, hierarchically organized parallel school system was seen as a bastion of the old class system that the Socialist Government set out to erase. Adult education should provide a second chance to those that had been denied that opportunity earlier. The argument, particularly within LO (Swedish Trade Union Federation) but also within TCO (The Swedish Central Organization of Salaried Employees), that the people who were paying for the increase in primary and secondary education should have their share of the increasing educational resources, grew stronger (TCO, 1964; LO, 1969). Research had shown that there was a large "educational reserve" of adults who had not been able to pursue education when young but who had the intellectual ability to do so. These people became the target group of the reform. Thus, the 1967 reforms can be seen as an attempt to tackle what Cross (1981) termed institutional obstacles to participation, and thereby to help transform the demand for adult education into actual participation. Neither psychological nor structural obstacles to participation were addressed in 1967.

While there was a general broad agreement on creating new opportunities for formal educational opportunities for adults there were sharp differences regarding what institutional forms this should take. At the time there existed a well-developed sector of popular adult education in the form of folk high schools and study associations. However, according to its tradition and statures it did not deal with formal education. One proposal was to create new special adult education centers outside the regular school system that should be responsible for all formal adult education, both general and vocational as well as the labour market programs. The argument was, this would integrate different programs and, further, that it would promote the development of an adult education culture. The fear was that if the regular school system got the responsibility the education would look too much like the regular school. The idea of adult education centers was rejected and instead municipal adult education boards were established to offer elementary and secondary education for adults. These were under the auspices of the school boards but funded by a special grant from the state. As a result of such changes, adult education became differentiated: popular adult education was displaced from its former unique position and became part of the overall "system" of adult education. No longer was adult education a marginal activity. As a result of the creation of special departments of adult education within the Ministry of Education and the National Board of Education, as well as a separate post in the national budget, adult education became a distinguishable and separate part of the educational system.

The 1970s: From formal adult education to a concern for equality and democracy

It quickly became evident that the new opportunities for adult education were being used primarily by those already well prepared to study. In order to change the existing patterns of participation, LO demanded high priority be given to measures aimed at neglected groups. The LO demand for action in the adult education field was not an isolated event but an expression of the general radicalization of the trade union movement at the end of the 1960s. In order to bring about cultural changes to parallel the changes in working life, the trade unions called for measures to democratize political and cultural life. The government reacted promptly to the demands and announced that in further reforms of adult education one of the most important issues to be addressed would be how to reach those who have little or insufficient education (Government Bill 1970: 35: 1). Government strategy during the seventies was to attempt to come to terms with the bias in the recruitment to adult education through a comprehensive package of actions that covered several sectors of society. In addition to measures within the adult education sector itself, this strategy included social benefits for adult students and the introduction of subsidies for outreach activities. In contrast to the 1967 reforms, then, it was not the institutional but rather the situational and psychological obstacles to participation that came to the fore in Swedish educational reform policy in the 1970s. The problem was generally characterized in terms of the balance between targeted and general measures, given the knowledge that the consumers of adult education were generally those with ample resources of all kinds. The complete package of measures consisted of the laws on the right to study leave, on the position of shop stewards, on state subsidies for outreach activities.

Officially the goals for Swedish adult education have not changed fundamentally since the 1975 Bill and redistribution is still supposed to be one of the central aims. However, in reality it is a different discourse that came to inform the future development of Swedish adult education. The changes are caused by a new political as well as economic and fiscal reality. The strategies affecting participation in adult education became more general in nature and contained fewer selective measures than previously. Further a larger share of the growing adult education budget was being allocated to municipal adult education and a smaller share to popular adult education. The actions or lack of actions have resulted in a gradually growing discrepancy between reform ideology and policy strategy. This inconsistency is reflected in the amount spent on earmarked subsidies for the target groups and that adult education, particularly popular adult education, no longer receives preferential treatment in the budget (Rubenson, 1996).

The 1980s: Fiscal crises and issues of overlap and co-ordination

Adult education policy during the 1980s was to a large extent shaped by deteriorating government finances. Consequently much of the focus was on making the system more effective and how to eliminate duplications. Report after report gave serious attention to closer co-ordination between regular high school education and municipal

adult education, where adults could complete the equivalent education (SOU1986: 2). Similarly the link between municipal and labour market training was studied. The demand for a comprehensive policy strategy for the whole adult education sector stood in strong opposition to the dominant policy strategy that was decentralization.

The view underlying demands for a comprehensive strategy is embedded in an administrative technical rationale which does not recognize fundamental cultural differences between the forms of adult education that are supposed to be closely brought together. Under the guise of pedagogical reform and innovation the main purpose was to save money. Rather than trying to force a marriage between all forms of adult education the solution became to move the responsibility of municipal adult education to the municipalities and thus force a closer integration of these two forms of education. Further popular adult education was moved out of the National Board of Education and given its own independent board under direct control of the popular movements while labour market education came under the auspices of the Ministry of Labour. Through the emphasis on closer co-ordination adult education had ceased to be an independent policy area, which was reflected in the fact that there was no longer a special post for adult education in the budget and no adult education unit in the revised National Board of Education. These changes were in line with a new accent on child and youth education as opposed to adult education. However, while the publicly supported adult education sector stagnated there was a dramatic explosion in employer supported activities. This together with concerns about the future of the Swedish economy and the need for a highly educated workforce necessitated discussions on further reforms of the adult education sector.

The 1990s: The economy takes precedence again

Initially education was increasingly presented as a crucial instrument to promote the competitiveness of the Swedish economy. The ambition was to increase the competitive sector of the economy and to decrease the public sector.

As data started to be available in the late 1980s on who received employer sponsored education and training it became evident that it was very unevenly distributed and that the LO collective was not well represented. This resulted in a debate similar to what had occurred in the late 1960s with the unions demanding state intervention (LO, 1991). The 1990 Parliamentary commission on competencies was struck and presented a national strategy for how to improve the human capital (SOU:1992:7). The focus of the Commission was primarily on employer-sponsored education and training. The Commission presented a series of reforms, some of which involved a stronger presence of the state in employer sponsored education and training. In a time of deregulation of the labour market this suggestion was rejected and the whole proposal fell.

Up until now the Swedish discussions on education and training to improve the competitiveness of the Swedish economy had taken place within a full employment situation. But labour market conditions quickly eroded in the early 1990s resulting in an unemployment rate that, in a few years, had gone from under two percent to 8.5 % with another four percent in special labour market programs. As a consequence the debate shifted from

employer sponsored education and training to how to attack unemployment while at the same time make Sweden more economically competitive. As a response, in 1995 a new Commission, with the task to present a comprehensive strategy for adult education and training was formed.

The Adult Education Initiative

The Adult Education Initiative (AEI) is a five year program for adult education established in 1997 in which all municipalities participate. The project comprises some 110,000 new educational places for adults, mainly at upper secondary level. The target group is in the first instance adults who are unemployed and who either completely or partially lack 3-year upper secondary school competencies. However AEI also focuses on the needs of employees with a low level of education.

The aims of AEI are strongly influenced by the current economic concerns. Thus, it is informed by a conviction that adult education is an instrument for providing better opportunities to get and/or change work. The unemployed, who lack upper secondary education, need education to secure a stronger position in the labour market. This is seen as particularly important to those working in sectors that are adversely affected by the state of the economy and structural changes.

Another goal of AEI is that it shall act as a vehicle for reforming adult education. According to the terms of reference the AEI should also contribute to the development and renewal of adult education both in terms of content and working methods. The pedagogy and working methods of adult education should be developed as well as the exchange of ideas and experience between municipalities and educational organizers. The goal is that over the five- year period, adult education will be reformed and developed so that it will be better able to meet the challenges that the individual, working life and society will be facing in the new millennium.

The reform initiative stresses the need to more clearly put the individual in the center of the planning and organization of adult education. Individual desires, needs and preconditions should be instrumental in steering and shaping the form and content of the activity. Education must be planned and organized to provide great scope for individual solutions in terms of orientation, structure and accessibility in time and place. This will demand better co-operation between municipalities, county councils, the popular adult education sector and other adult education organizers. Further co-operation between upper secondary adult education and labour market education needs to be strengthened. New forms of activities, unconventional solutions, information technology and new pedagogical approaches should be applied. The supply of vocational oriented courses will be increased in order to meet the requirements of the new groups. Workplace training and apprenticeship training can be arranged as well as a combination of studies and labour market policy measures.

While AEI is a joint task for the state and the municipalities it is financed via a special state grant. Distribution of state grants for AEI is based on three criteria:

- Unemployment and level of education in each municipality

- Orientation and scope of the municipality's program in orientation courses, general courses and vocational courses
- Quality of the municipality's program for renewal and development of adult education as judged against the terms of reference for the AEI.

The state grant is submitted as a total sum to the municipality. By means of the state grant the municipality should attain the goals as regards the orientation, scope and quality of the education specified in its application to the National Agency for Education. The municipalities are responsible for organization, planning and implementation and can choose between organizing the education themselves or in conjunction with other municipalities or adult education organizers. Implementation will be followed up and evaluated on the basis of the goals of the AEI. Each municipality will be responsible for following up and evaluating their own activities. The National Agency for Education will regularly monitor, follow up and evaluate all municipal adult education.

In the AEI municipalities have received increased and overall responsibility for drawing up an organization and infrastructure for adult education. New forms of cooperation between municipalities, national employment offices and the partners on the labour market will be developed.

In order to reach persons with little or no experience of adult education and help them to start studying more targeted recruitment and information activities are put in place.

Under the AEI there are a number of different ways for students to finance their studies. For the majority of students the most advantageous study support is the special education grant which was introduced at the same time as the AEI. The grant is primarily intended for unemployed persons who have not completed a 3 year upper secondary program and who intend to study at compulsory or upper secondary school level. Persons between 25–55 can apply for the grant. The grant is equivalent to the amount a student would have received in the form of unemployment benefit and is available for a maximum of 12 months. Students can also apply for the special study assistance for adults that is intended for those with a short previous education.

Findings

The evaluation effort surrounding the AEI is most impressive with several national evaluations being carried out by several university departments and national agencies. The purpose here is not to go into any details of the yet preliminary results but just to point to some general findings.

- There is overwhelming evidence that AEI has been very successful in reintroducing adult education as an area of public policy. It is of interest to note that the impact has been particularly strong in those municipalities where the political level got involved.
- Success was identified almost exclusively in quantitative terms, that is the number of students recruited.

- It was difficult to recruit middle aged and older males.
- The evaluations have shown that despite some general talk there are few examples of pedagogical renewal. Special targeted initiatives are needed in this area.
- The special state funding is a key to the success of AEI and the experiment has shown the need for a centralized cohesive effort. There is a danger that when the experiment is over, unless some earmarked funding is identified, the system will revert back to what it was before the initiative.
- The AEI has been more successful in creating co-ordination between the labour market training system, which is under the state and municipal adult education, and the vocational programs in high school than with employer sponsored activities.
- It has become evident that in order to recruit those groups not interested in a formal adult education more use needs to be made of the popular adult education system in ways similar to the 1970s.

Final Commission recommendations

In its final report, *Building on Experience – Life-long Learning 2000* (SOU 2000:28) the Commission presents its proposals for the reform of adult education. The Commission recognizes the consequences of the shift from the concept of recurrent education to the broader idea of lifelong learning. A fruitful strategy for lifelong learning for all is as much an issue of labour market policy as of educational policy and other policy sectors e.g., health and welfare also have to be taken into account. Consequently the Commission raises the idea of a working commission on lifelong learning within the cabinet secretariat.

At the level below Government the Commission would like to see two kinds of public authorities, those whose purpose it is to control the developments toward life-long learning for all (e.g. quality assurance and evaluation) and those authorities whose purpose it is to stimulate and facilitate these developments (e.g. finding forms for prior learning assessment, staff development and research). The Commission stresses the benefits of allocating these functions to separate authorities.

The Commission's recommendations bring up crucial issues surrounding the relationship between the state and its citizens and raises questions about what understanding of democracy should inform state intervention into adult education and training. Amartya Sen (1982) introduces the concept of basic capability equality, referring to the need to take into account, among other things, differences in those abilities that are crucial for citizens to function in society. Nussbaum (1990) discusses the fact that people living under difficult conditions tend to come to accept their fate, as they are unable to imagine any reasonable alternative. She argues that it is the duty of the state, with due respect to individual rights, to see to it that citizens are in a position to make well-considered choices. With regard to education and training, this would imply a policy strategy directed as much at creating a demand among groups on the periphery of the Learning Society, as responding further to demands from those already practising lifelong learning. This idea is partly expressed in the recommendations.

Students needing special support should have the right to a more in-depth individual syllabus and extended remedial teaching. The Commission also proposes that adult education should have access to the expertise of remedial teachers and that the Government should fund the costs of educational interpreters to the deaf and people with hearing impairments. Intellectually disabled people should have the same rights as other adults.

Further, the Commission stresses that an improved system of adult study support is crucial and suggests modification to the existing system. According to the Commission's recommendation there should be different levels in order to reach those most in need of improving their education:

- a new grant level of 100% for studies at the elementary level
- a grant level of 82% for priority groups studying at the upper secondary school level
- a grant level of 34% for other studies at upper secondary school level.

According to the Commission's proposals, the municipalities should bear the main responsibility for carrying out the reform. The Government will channel funds to the municipalities from the general Government grant and equalizing of costs system. The principles on which the recommendation is based are the rights of the individual, access to an efficient infrastructure for adult learning and education in the municipalities and at folk high schools. Adults should be entitled to study in the municipalities all the way through to the upper secondary school level and they should have the right to choose all upper secondary school programs. In addition, they should be permitted to include previous education as part of their qualifications, have the right to start their further education within three to six months and be entitled to remedial teaching and supervision.

In its report, the Commission sets targets for the long-term level required to meet the needs for adult education at the upper secondary school level. Based on the experiences from the five years of experiments the Commission recommends that only half of the needed spaces be allocated to the formal system municipal adult education (57,000) places and folk high schools (10,000) while the other half be open for different organizations to bid on. The system will be phased in over a period of five years with gradual changes as of 1 July 2002.

A lesson from the experiments is that there needs to be access to an efficient infrastructure for life-long learning in the municipalities. The Commission recommends programs in which prospective students would be actively recruited and provided with counseling services. Further a system with individual syllabuses should be introduced, and to assure relevance there should be closer cooperation between educational organizers, municipal administrations, business and industry and employment offices.

To mould the different elements of life-long learning and all the new offerings that evolved during the experiments into a coherent strategy, the Commission proposes that a plan for a comprehensive strategy comprising all sectors should be drawn up.

The Commission stresses the need for pedagogical renewal in the area of adult education. The state should take responsibility to assure a more rapid expansion of

web-based course offerings and proposes an infrastructure for web-based developments. Another area that is seen as central to a culture of lifelong learning, is a new support system for continuing development of those teaching in adult education. The national Board of Schooling is being asked to assess the need for continuing education for those working in adult education. The Commission also recommends a substantial increase of resources for research and development in the area of adult education to be allocated by the Humanities and Social Science Research Council.

One criticism that can be raised against the Commission's recommendations is that they do not directly address one of the key issues in a Swedish strategy for lifelong learning, education and training of the existing workforce. Swedish data on participation in organised adult education confirm an influence perhaps best characterised as "the long arm of the job": the increased importance of adult education and training as investment. The increase in employer-supported activities is a dramatic change that has radically altered the landscape of adult education over the last two decades in Sweden. As stated above there are concerns both about the actual amount of training as well as the fact that those with the greatest need for further education and training are least likely to benefit from employer-sponsored education and training. However, it should be noted that a special commission *The Commission on Individual Learning Accounts* was established to address this issue. It is worth noting that this commission is under the auspices of the Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communication and not the Ministry of Education. The Commission has already presented its first report *Individual Learning Accounts, IKS- a Stimulus for Lifelong Learning* (SOU 2000:51). The recommendation is that for each individual there should be an opportunity through tax subsidies to contribute funds to an Individual Learning Account which can then be used for the individual's competence development. These accounts should not replace other measures for financing the competence development of adults, but should complement these. The Commission recommends that the ILA be supplemented by contracts and agreements involving the participation of the employer. Employers who wish to contribute to an individual's Learning Account will be allowed to do so. Employer contributions entitle the individual to tax relief on earned income in the same way as their own contributions. For the employer the contributions are comparable to payment of salaries and are neutral from a cost viewpoint. For the individual, employer contributions enable both contributions and the amount subject to tax relief in the annual income tax return to be increased. In this proposal the state subsidy accounts for the largest component by means of a reduction in taxes.

The reform strategies put forward by the two commissions, *Adult Education Initiative* and *Individual Learning Accounts*, will stimulate a serious discussion on lifelong learning in the 21st century. They provide a fruitful base for implementing measures to ensure an efficient and just knowledge-based society in Sweden—a knowledge-based society that is accessible to all.

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Chapter 7: Towards New Lifelong Learning Contracts in Sweden

KENNETH ABRAHAMSSON

LIFELONG LEARNING AS RIGHT OR DUTY

In most countries, compulsory school attendance is regulated by law, Denmark being an exception with its teaching obligation, which permits private tutoring in the family. Compulsory schooling in Sweden goes back to 1842, when the public school, *folkskolan*, was implemented after political decisions. Lifelong learning comprises the right to broader access and utilisation of learning options over the life span. In no country, as far as I know, is there a formal obligation for lifelong learning. You cannot be condemned to lifetime imprisonment in formal education or lifelong learning. Lifelong learning is neither an obligation nor only a matter of personal preferences, but a growing necessity in the new economy with its high level of job-turnover and new demands for flexibility and almost continuous life-transitions. Thus, learning and adaptation is an ongoing lifelong process. Individual incentives for self-directed learning must be promoted, institutional and psychological barriers eliminated and a broad provision of learning options adapted to different life-stages; needs and flexible life-patterns have to be delivered. Rights and duties, obligations and voluntary activities, options and challenges have to be transformed into lifelong learning contracts.

Adult schooling traditions in Sweden emanate from the mid-19th century and popular literacy tradition goes back to the end of the 18th century. Broadly speaking, Swedish adult education development can be described by three periods. The first period, mentioned above, has strong roots and driving forces in popular movements aiming at self-education in a more collective sense and lasted until the late 1960s. The second period is characterised by stronger state intervention in the infrastructure of adult education. The basic institutional structure for formal adult education was set up in the 1970s. It comprised various supply and demand oriented measures such as a new law on educational leave of absence, the introduction of municipal adult education, new forms of study finance and a policy of recognising work experience in higher education (Abrahamsson, 1992).

This period culminated in the Adult Education Initiative from the late 1990s and the experiment on advanced vocational education started at virtually the same time. During the early 1990s another period started emerging in the form of stronger market influence illustrated by a more diversified provision of learning opportunities, new private mandators as well as new forms of distance teaching and e-learning. Finally, new policy developments in lifelong learning cannot be discussed without reference to Sweden's membership of the European Union.

EXPANDING LIFELONG LEARNING HORIZONS – A PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

The notion of lifelong learning often refers to post-school or post-compulsory learning. The question of how long “lifelong” is and what kind of learning counts is not easy to answer. We cannot recognise only formal education, we also have to pay attention to various patterns of non-formal and informal learning contexts. In societies where people tend to live longer with an average life expectancy of over eighty, new dimensions are given to lifelong learning. They include not only post-compulsory learning, but also post-work and post-retirement learning excursions.

Let me start this overview of current policies and future trends in lifelong learning in Sweden with personal experiences from my family. My mother, Henny Ellida Fridenberg Abrahamsson, was born in February 1907 and passed away in May 2000. She almost lived a whole century, but her contribution to educational statistics was virtually insignificant. She started school in 1914 and her formal schooling lasted for only four to five years. As most sons and daughters of small farmers of her generation, she had to work at the age of 13 or 14. Her first job was as a helping hand at another farm. It was hard work for a young girl, walking a long distance from home and long working days with a low salary and a work environment that cannot be satisfactorily described in modern occupational health language terms. In the mid-1920s she moved south from Sundsvall in the north of Sweden to Stockholm to work as a housemaid and from the mid-1930s as a waitress in various restaurants.

During the major part of her working life, she belonged to the category of the workforce with loose but regular labour market connections which she combined with responsibility for family and household. In fact, she got her first position at the age of 57 and her career continued until the age of 75. At the time when she became a widow in 1964, she had brought up four children, all of them embarking on academic professions or education. With the exception of a few study circles in her eighties, her first personal contact with adult education after schooling occurred at the age of 92, when she joined a two weeks’ folk high school course for older adults with visual impairments. Ironically, she told me that she did not really like the learning climate, because the “old age” learners were treated as children with little experience.

She lived a long life but did not participate in formal education after early schooling. She did not read many publications, never embarked on the senior-Net-surf-track, and her information was mostly collected from radio, television and newspapers. She had, however, a remarkable memory for everyday events and she kept in contact with distant relatives until almost her last days on earth.

In a formal sense, my mother was not a student of lifelong learning, but was very efficient in collecting, ordering and navigating from her personal experiences. Her major contribution to educational attainment statistics came through her children, two of her sons taking doctoral degrees, another son was trained at the Royal School of Art and her only daughter became a teacher at upper secondary level. Her case illustrates the complex relationships between educational attainment and lifelong learning. This life story dating from the last century in Sweden also highlights the important

distinction between learning for coping with everyday life and learning for change, development and increasing life-mobility.

NEW CONTEXTS FOR LIFELONG LEARNING

During her life span, fundamental changes have taken place in the educational landscape of Sweden and other countries. The most significant change with regard to educational attainment is that the *education gap* in society has decreased. At the beginning of the last century, the gap between ordinary people with five to six years formal schooling and a learned person with fifteen to sixteen years of schooling could be more than ten years. At the beginning of this century when most young people start with twelve years of schooling, this gap has been significantly reduced. Still, of course, there are new groups lagging behind and not adapting to the knowledge and skill requirements of the new knowledge economy. As a result formal schooling has been prolonged, the public sector and various types of citizen's services have expanded considerably, fundamental changes have also occurred in the labour market and the organisation of work, especially for women whose work force participation reaches the same level as men. Another dramatic transformation is the new information and knowledge environment. Professional and personal travelling also creates an expanded space for gathering experience.

The new information infrastructure, the Internet, databases, e-mail and a daily flow of new communication tools is a major challenge, or a threat, to the human brain and lifelong learning. It is, of course, difficult to anticipate how the information and knowledge environment will develop during the present century. Independently of what development routes will be chosen, questions of the balance between education-based and experience-based lifelong learning will be of crucial importance.

Furthermore, total life span has increased in most modern countries; women on average live longer than men in Sweden and in many other countries too. The metaphor of older citizens reaching the age of more than one hundred years and straddling three centuries was illustrated in some Swedish publications at the start of the new millennium. Today, many nations are being transformed into both third and fourth wave societies including growing sub-cultures of both active and functionally retarded older citizens. As a consequence, long-life learning will play a stronger role in a future system of lifelong learning.

It is of importance to discuss what kind of learning counts during the different stages of a lifelong learning journey. If we only include formal education, most countries are still far away from being lifelong learning nations. It would seem relevant to incorporate not only formal, but also non-formal and informal learning experiences. There is also a need to analyse various forms of core skills or key-qualifications used in lifelong learning and to discuss the borderlines between explicit and implicit knowledge, universal and specific as well as private and professional.

To sum up, two main theoretical and conceptual challenges are embedded in this anecdotal evidence. Firstly, we must ask ourselves what is the impact of years of schooling – and patterns of distribution or redistribution over the life span – on the life-span journey of learning? Secondly, and this relates back to traditional life-span development psychology, what roles and functions are played for various patterns of life

transitions and “developmental tasks” on lifelong learning excursions. A more challenging issue lies in the intersection between the two perspectives. This challenge to lifelong societies can be described in the following matrix:

Determinants of lifelong learning	Low level of life-mobility	High level of life mobility
Short period of formal schooling	One-job, one-place, one-family, type of persons. Individuals with restricted context for learning and development getting deeper into a specific and local experience setting	Migrants, labour-market flexible people and local entrepreneurs. Individuals in an open learning space, adapting to new skill expectations, cultures etc
Long period of formal schooling	Social class and culture reproducers. Individuals taking on the professional career and living context of parents and relatives.	Straight-line rejecters and social career switchers. Individuals combining high level of formal training with a mobile life pattern, edu-trotters confident in various cultural contexts

It is, of course, an oversimplification to say that the first category has a low-stimulating learning context. Life transition from childhood, youth, early adulthood and family-setting, retirement and old-age living could be quite different for various individuals in similar local contexts. As a learning context, however, a one-place-one-job-one-family-person copes with fewer new skill requirements and needs for adapting to new challenges, than a person in a high-mobile life style. According to my own preferences, it seems more interesting to look at straight-line rejecters and persons adapting to the mainstream and the type of life choices made by the majority.

MORE THAN A CENTURY OF ADULT EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT IN SWEDEN

Adult schooling traditions in Sweden emanate from the mid-19th century and popular literacy tradition goes back to the end of the 18th century. Broadly speaking, Swedish adult education development can be described by three periods. The first period, mentioned above, has strong roots and driving forces in popular movements aiming at self-education in a more collective sense and lasted until the late 1960s.

The *universalisation of adult education and learning* originated from the popular movements and was accessible to people through folk high schools, study circles and early proponents of extramural university courses with their roots in the British University Extension Movement. (Abrahamsson, 1993).

The Swedish access-tradition in adult education goes back to the mid-19th century and is symbolised by the creation of the folk high school, a residential school for adults, with its focus on social and geographical access.

The provision of study circles has almost doubled each decade from the beginning of the last century to the late 1970s and from that time consolidating on a high level of provision. Data on folk high school participation from the 1870s and onwards show a slow increase until the 1950s and 1960s, when a dramatic expansion occurred, due to new and more generous grants. One interesting observation is that women became the majority as early as 1915.

Study circles and folk high schools represent more than a century's tradition of collectively oriented adult learning within the framework of popular movements. It is a tradition that Olof Palme once labelled "Swedish study circle democracy". Around twenty five to thirty percent of the adult population participates in study circles.

Another pillar of Swedish adult education is represented by employment training and learning at the workplace. Educational initiatives for the unemployed were in fact provided as early as in 1918. The modern system of labour market training has its roots in the late 1950s and has been significantly transformed and oriented to the market during the last decade.

The second period signifies a stronger state intervention in the infrastructure of adult education. The basic institutional structure of formal adult education was set up in the 1970s. It comprised a policy basket of various supply and demand oriented measures, such as a new law on educational leave of absence, the introduction of municipal adult education, new forms of study finance and a policy on the recognition of work-experience in higher education.

Learning at the workplace and especially employers' sponsored programmes has expanded dramatically over recent decades and now reaches more than every third employee in the workforce. The percentage of the work force receiving employers' sponsored programmes has increased during the 1990s and inequalities of access and participation between blue-collar workers, white-collar workers and professional groups have in fact decreased. This period culminates in the *Adult Education Initiative* in the late 1990s and the experiment with advanced vocational education starting at almost the same time. These new initiatives as well as the policy for individual learning accounts will be referred to at the end of this chapter.

The growth of formal adult education goes back to the late 1960s and was supported by the increasing demand for adult learning, as well as the growing amounts of public money spent on that field. Formal adult education – *komvux* – was constructed as a parallel school system for adults.

It provides adults with education leading to formal qualifications in individual subjects or to the equivalent of a complete compulsory school or upper secondary school leaving certificate. *Komvux* thus includes vocational education, corresponding to the vocational programmes of upper secondary school, and in addition it includes certain vocational courses which are not available in the youth sector. *Komvux* is available in practically every municipality in Sweden, but the smaller municipalities offer only a very limited selection of courses.

The subject-course system makes for great flexibility and gives students an extensive choice of subjects and subject combinations. Studies can be pursued on a full-time, part-time or leisure-time basis, students can take one or more subjects and they can pursue intensive studies in one subject or parallel combination studies. One impact of these teaching and learning conditions is that we can find a mixture of young students and adults in the same class or teaching group. This age mix creates both risks and options.

The reforms of the 1970s in adult and higher education led to a growth in adult participation in all kinds of programmes and courses. In the mid-1980s adults were in the majority in short-term courses and also in some degree programmes. In general, fifty percent of the population take part in some kind of adult education study, mainly in study circles and employer sponsored training.

The proportion of adults in higher education has declined in recent years mainly due to a new admission system introduced in the early 1990s. The majority of students were admitted through formal channels and upper secondary school grades in combination with the university study aptitude test. The hidden link between adult and higher education is not so visible in current higher education policies. Young students are increasingly using *Komvux* as a second entry point to higher education.

So far, there has been no major evaluation of the Swedish experiment with recurrent education from the 1970s. It was designed to increase access among adults to higher education; e.g. giving admission merits for work experience for young students and creating a second chance route for older students (the so called 25:4-scheme), broader provision of shorter vocational courses, increased geographical distribution as well as redesigning some degree programmes into a more flexible educational ladder. The unanswered question is whether the right to – or the option of – recurrent education turned into a right to postpone one's educational career instead of acquiring as much education as possible at the first stage. Empirical evidence includes the dominance of shorter degree courses among higher education graduates and a strong trend for young people to pursue an educational "come back" mission in *komvux*. New recognition and admission policies are, however, being discussed again in the government and recently suggestions for increasing access by new ways of validating informal learning have been launched.

RECURRENT EDUCATION – A TOOL FOR EDUCATIONAL EXPANSION OR POSTPONEMENT?

The aim of promoting recurrent education was a central element of modern Swedish educational reforms from the early 1970s. Nowadays the model of recurrent education has been more or less abolished in preference for the broader concept of lifelong learning. In practice, however, the major shift in the educational landscape comprises an extension and a variation of the educational career by expanding the educational route both at the starting point (adapting to the European early school start), and also postponing or delaying the point of educational departure. This development is in sharp contrast with models based on recurrent education where learning is distributed over the life span of an individual (Abrahamsson, 1992).

The expression “lifelong education” or, as it is sometimes referred to, “lifelong learning” has not only been used to characterise adult education, but rather to spell out the lifelong learning potential of youth education. The reforms in upper secondary education designed in the late 1980s and implemented during the 1990s have been supported by the idea of lifelong learning.

The early 1990s can be characterised by a significant shift in education values and ideas. The role of working life orientation and preparation was redefined in the new national curriculum for the compulsory school and for upper secondary schooling and municipal adult education. More attention was paid to quality of subject content and academic preparation at the expense of working life orientation. Today, the “school-to-work” metaphor is once again being intensively discussed by educational policy makers and social partners on the labour market.

Traditionally, transition from school to work was valid in a labour market context where pupils completing compulsory school could still get a job on the open labour market. The next step represents the situation in Sweden during the 1970s, when work experience prior to higher studies was recommended in many policy quarters. During the 1990s, unemployment and competition for study work programmes resulted in a shortage of relevant work experience options. Last year the government initiated a new task force to look at school-to-work relations.

Thus some students from the 1990s might live in educational “quarantine” for almost twenty years until the age of 25 and with the accompanying problems of finding a job. The general policy view in Sweden tends to focus on educational upgrading as a means of preparing for a future labour market with a number of job-shifts and growing uncertainty. This search for more generic knowledge and skills – in Sweden reflected through the system of core subjects in upper secondary education – also has its price if the connection with work does not function in practice.

Independent schools have started or are opting out from the compulsory school system and from upper secondary education. In volume this shift only represents a few percent of the total population of pupils in youth education. The changes are more evident in adult and higher education. The national provider of employment training in Sweden, the *Employment Training Group* (AMU-gruppen) has also been transformed into a state owned private enterprise competing with other agencies on the competence market. Commissioned adult education is now quite common both in municipal adult education and popular adult education, especially folk high schools. In summary, these changes represent an ongoing institutional shift in Swedish education by creating more scope and options for the municipalities as leading mandators of adult education and for independent schools within the field of publicly financed education and also an increasing market orientation for adult education in general.

BASIC SCHOOLING AND UPPER SECONDARY EDUCATION AS A BASIS FOR LIFELONG LEARNING

In order to describe the context of lifelong learning in Sweden, it is necessary to introduce some basic facts about the system of education. The compulsory and semi-compulsory

education part of the life span is 9+3 years for youth education, and additional time for adult and higher education. More than 98% of Swedish formal education belongs to or is financed by the public sector. The new choice-profile of schools comprises an increase in options within the public school system, at school, programme and subject level. Sweden has put great emphasis on focusing on access and equity/gender. There is no early streaming or tracking in the system of education. Educational reforms in Sweden have promoted comprehensiveness and avoided early differentiation. Thus, Swedish education today is built on a:

0+9+3+x –formula

In addition to nine years' compulsory schooling from the age of seven, a year zero has been introduced before the start of compulsory school. The early school start is still an option and no decision has been taken up to now to extend compulsory schooling to ten years. The reforms in upper secondary education from the early 1990s aimed at greater integration between theoretical and vocational programmes and also an extension of all vocational programmes from two to three years. In practice, this means that three-year upper secondary education is a reality for the great majority of pupils leaving compulsory school. The transition to higher education is low in comparison, only about thirty percent after three years; the political goal is to increase it to 50%.

In the autumn of 1992, the new three year upper secondary school was introduced in around seventy of Sweden's two hundred and eighty municipalities. From 1996 to 1997 the reform was implemented all over the country. In total, seventeen national programmes replaced the previous thirty "lines" and numerous specialised courses. All national programmes confer general eligibility for further studies at post-secondary level.

At least 15% of the teaching hours in the new vocational programmes should be provided as workplace training and other forms of learning taking place at work. The goal of the vocational programmes is not to provide a complete set of skills and combination of subject knowledge needed in a specific vocation. Rather it aims at a more general or generic platform with good learning opportunities both at work and in further studies.

A follow up study by the *National Agency for Education* (1996) shows that almost ninety percent of pupils were satisfied with the new form of work-connected learning with respect to the utilisation of subject knowledge from the school. An even higher percentage is satisfied with the options for learning at the workplace. The problems in recruiting and administering options for workplace learning have, however, been more substantial due to local patterns of co-operation between school and business. Pupils are also very positive about the new options for choosing subjects and alternatives and also in influencing their teaching and learning conditions.

Another field of policy interest is the motivational aspect concerning the extension of the vocational programmes, as well as the increasing scope of general core curriculum subjects. There is now growing empirical evidence indicating a drop-out trend for male students not feeling at home in a core-curriculum culture that is too strong. Thus, the creation of new teaching and learning methods in vocational programmes forms a crucial development field for the future.

Curriculum reform has been combined with the introduction of a new system of grades, built on the knowledge structure and hierarchical organisation of the subject in question. The reform in the system of upper secondary education is to a large extent based on an individual choice of course models. In practice, these courses are spread out over a certain period that is not necessarily a term. This means that feedback from grades will occur when the course has been completed. Also in this field, there is no evidence so far of the learning impact of this system.

To sum up: the three-year vocational programmes focussing on the core curriculum were seen as tools to support and facilitate lifelong learning in Sweden. Current policy discussion tends, however, to be much more concerned with problems than opportunities. Firstly, the rate of pupils leaving compulsory school without a complete set of grades is increasing. Secondly, there have been severe dropout problems from some of the vocationally oriented programmes at upper secondary level. Thirdly, the individual programme, which is of a remedial character, has expanded more than expected or originally intended. Finally, rates of transition to higher education have fallen, especially for boys. Before summer year 2000, the government appointed a new Parliamentary Commission with the objective of reviewing the programme structure of upper secondary schooling and to discuss how it could be better adjusted to the needs of the changing labour market and new options for further learning.

EMPLOYMENT TRAINING AS A ROUTE FOR LIFELONG LEARNING

The purpose of employment training is, by means of rapid and flexible educational influence, to adapt the qualifications of job seekers to the demand for labour. This training provides a form of support for persons at a disadvantage on the labour market, while at the same time making it easier for employment offices to fill vacancies. Employment training often takes the form of bottleneck training, i.e. training programmes for key areas where there is a shortage of skilled labour.

Some employment training takes the form of support given to employers for the training of employees. This also gives the Employment Service the opportunity to refer replacements for the person who is being retrained or in some other way obtaining a "quid pro quo" from the individual company for the training grant paid.

Specially organised employment training at *AMU centres* has been reorganised a number of times in the last ten to fifteen years. Today, it is operated on the principle of contractor-provision. Public investments in employment training are channelled via the Swedish Labour Market Board and its regional labour market boards. The former National Employment Training Board, nowadays renamed to "Lernia", is just one of many providers of employment training competing on the training market.

The dramatic changes in the Swedish economy during the first half of the 1990s called for increased attention to the choice between competence strategies over different time perspectives. One of the problems was to find a good mix between short-term, very acute or emergency oriented strategies on the one hand, and to develop long-term strategies on the other. The first problem concerned dramatic changes on the labour market and growing unemployment levels. The more urgent challenge is the

question of who should get access to employment training and labour market education.

Open unemployment levels rose to 8.4% of the work force in the mid-1990s and were reduced to 5% at the turn of the century. This placed the employment training institutions and the competence market under extreme pressure. In spite of steadily increasing resources through the labour market policy budget, the relative chance for each new unemployed adult of getting retraining or employment courses was decreasing.

During the unexpected unemployment boom, a new priority was given to traditional labour market education ("AMU") due to the need for more theoretical upgrading and less vocationally specific knowledge and skills. Youth employment programmes accounted for a major part of the resources used for educational initiatives by the *National Labour Market Board*. Traditional labour market education came in second place. The so-called "employment development programmes" – a kind of work-study programmes for unemployed adults and used as a preparatory step towards employment later on – were increasing. The training or retraining for a "job-waiting" situation or a temporary non-job situation is more a dilemma than a new educational challenge ("working life development programmes"). Initiatives were also taken at corporate level. Paradoxically, some enterprises invested more money in competence upgrading for "leavers" than for "stayers" due to downsizing and restructuring of business.

Finally, the increasing use of customised adult education and the growing market for different providers has resulted in a quite new mixture of mandators for employment training. Thus the increasing market-orientation of employment training has also led to a structural transformation and a rationalisation of the *AMU centres* and their provision of vocational programmes and courses.

FINANCIAL INCENTIVES AND STUDY SUPPORT TO PROMOTE LIFELONG LEARNING

Returning to education in adulthood is not only a question of study motivation and educational preparation, but also a far-reaching financial investment for the individual. There has been a broad range of different study support options for adults since the late 1960s. The most common are: *special adult study support (Svux)*, *special adult study support for unemployed (SVUXA)* and *study allowances*. A new form of study support was introduced for adults, *special educational grants (UBS)* in connection with the start of the Adult Education Initiative.

Study finance in Sweden is administered by a special authority, *The National Board of Student Aid (CSN)*. Today approximately 590,000 persons receive study support from CSN.

SVUX is for adult studies at compulsory and upper secondary levels. In order to receive SVUX, applicants must have been gainfully employed at least four years. The major part of the support is provided in terms of grants, rising to 65% of the unemployment benefit to which an applicant is entitled, however, a maximum of SEK 8,280 per month. In addition a student can borrow a maximum of SEK 2,850 per month.

The number of students receiving study support (budget year 1999):

Study allowances, upper secondary level:	109 700
Study allowances, post upper secondary level :	307 200
Svux:	25 500
Svuxa:	41 300
UBS:	109 100
Total:	592 800

SVUXA is for adult studies at compulsory and upper secondary level. The basic condition for receiving SVUXA is that the applicant is wholly or partially unemployed immediately prior to the onset of studies and aged at least 20 during the year when starting studies.

UBS is for adult studies at compulsory and upper secondary levels. The applicant must be at least 25 and a maximum of 55 years of age when studies start. Support is granted only to applicants who do not possess three years upper secondary school competence or its equivalent. Exceptions can be made if there are special reasons eg a particularly long period of unemployment in combination with an obsolete upper secondary education.

Study allowances can be granted for studies at higher education level or other post secondary education as well as for folk high school, municipal or state adult education or other forms of upper secondary education. The upper age limit for this support is 45, but if exceptional grounds exist, study allowance support can also be granted after the age of 45.

For many adult students, the repayment scheme for study loans, could be an almost lifelong reminder of the costs of formal education at upper secondary and higher education during young adulthood. Ironically, CSN is the only educational agency that has been successful in developing a genuine lifelong contract with former students. At present, there is little information on employers' willingness to permit adult education during paid working hours. Shorter in-service training programmes will usually take place during working hours, while longer programmes could comprise a combination of corporate and individual payment schemes. The individual's costs for lifelong learning is another field where there is a lack of comprehensive and accurate data.

OVERVIEW OF VOLUME AND GENDER PROFILES IN SWEDISH ADULT EDUCATION

Adult education in Sweden comprises a number of different mandators with various objectives, target groups and forms of teaching and learning. It is, of course, difficult to formulate general indicators of access and educational attainment due to the wide variation of factors such as content, length and function. The table below gives a broad picture of the volume of adult education, in-service training and other forms of on the job-learning not included:

Different organisers of education for adults

	Number of participants, during a week in autumn 1998)	Proportion of females (%) (1998)
Adult Education Associations	2 815 679	57
Folk high school (191 290 according to FBR)	104 530	60
Municipal Adult Education	237 510	68
Municipal education for adults with learning disabilities	4 137	44
Swedish Tuition for Immigrants (Sfi)	20 460	61
SSV (distance education)	111 862	66
Labour market training	41 899	46
University colleges and universities (undergraduate education)	305 581	58

Source: Statistics Sweden, Yearbook of Educational Statistics, 1998 (SCB)

IN-SERVICE TRAINING AND TRAINING MARKETS AS CONTEXTS FOR LIFELONG LEARNING

In the labour market of today, people with high levels of education receive much more in-service training than adults with low levels of education. In-service training in this context is regarded as that which is funded by the employer. Of those with at least three years of higher education, 68% participated in in-service training during the first half of 1999, whilst the corresponding figure for those with less than nine years compulsory school was only 25%. Civil servants, middle age and full-time employees were all groups who receive comparatively more in-service training than other groups. On average, 43% of the labour force participated in in-service training the first half of 1999; women on average somewhat more than men do.

Thus, in-service training or personnel training is unevenly distributed. Senior executives received twice as much education and training as manual workers. These differences are greater if the duration of educational training is also taken into account. The number of persons taking part in personnel training is greater in the public sector than in the private sector. In-service training is more widespread in service enterprises and authorities than in industry. Policies from the national labour market board to expand corporate education or employment training within enterprises have not been successful.

In overall terms Sweden has a high proportion of in-service training compared to other OECD countries. However, Sweden has a higher proportion of short in-service

training courses compared with other EU countries, the USA and Canada. In total, in-service training amounted to 2.8% of annual working hours.

Sweden has a growing number of education enterprises. These corporations offer not only education, but also consultancy and information technology services. There are also educational institutions providing education for manual workers. Education companies too are very much concerned with the training of senior executives. Education companies, however, account for a relatively small share of the total volume of corporate educational activities. Various surveys have indicated that only a third of this volume is provided by external educational organisations. The major part of in-service training is both supplied by and paid by the employer. The annual cost of in-service training in Sweden has been assessed at SEK 43 billion or somewhat more than ERU 5 billion.

WORKPLACE LEARNING AND THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL FUND OBJECTIVE 3

The European Social Fund (ESF) is the EU's financial instrument for investing in people. Since 1957, the ESF has used a joint-funding principle to add to what Member States do to improve people's job prospects and help develop their skills.

The European Social Fund channels European money into helping Member States meet the goals they have jointly agreed on to create more and better jobs. Its mission is to help prevent and fight unemployment, to make Europe's workforce and companies better-equipped to face new challenges, and to prevent people losing touch with the labour market. Special attention is given to skill development for those who face particular difficulties in finding a job, staying in work, or returning to work after an absence.

One of the top priorities for this strategy is the fight against unemployment, and the need to improve the skills of the workforce so as to improve people's prospects and the competitiveness of the EU. It is recognised that a crucial component is to reduce the skills gap: the need for people to develop the right skills to get jobs, and for companies to develop the right expertise to create growth and jobs, particularly in new sectors.

The European Union has focussed its political will on turning this situation into a strong mandate – in the Treaty of Amsterdam – to tackle unemployment, and into an effective strategy to link European and national employment and economic policy into a rolling programme for more and better jobs – the European Employment Strategy.

The Strategy involves fifteen Member States working within a common framework to increase their capacity to create good jobs, and to provide people with the skills to fill them. Each year, Commission and Member States agree on a series of guidelines for action under four main headings:

Employability

Helping people develop the right skills

Entrepreneurship

Making it easier to start and run a business, and to employ people in it

Adaptability

Developing new and flexible ways of working in a fast-changing world

Equal opportunities for women and men

Equal access to jobs for everyone, equal treatment at work

All Member States work towards these goals within their own yearly employment action plans. With the Commission, they review the progress they and their partners have made over the year.

The year 2000 will mark the beginning of a new seven-year period for the European Social Fund, in which its own potential is to be fully integrated – in both policy and management terms – into what is done by Members to put the European Employment Strategy into practice.

The Swedish state will provide half the financing for the European Social Fund Objective 3 over the period 2000 – 2006. The programme aims at developing human resources in working life and has a total budget of more than SEK 10 billions. The target groups are employees, the self-employed and the unemployed. Competence development should be job-related and the initiatives taken should be directed to employees and based on joint action plans or agreements between employers and employees at the workplace. The Objective 3 measure differs fundamentally from the underlying aims of the initiative in individual competence development, since its principal aim is to bring about a long-term system giving individuals greater influence over their own competence development. This initiative does not need to be related to activities at the work place. There are also linkages between the two measures. For instance increased job-related competence development can create greater interest in individual competence development. Its predecessor, Objective 4, reached out to more than 25,000 SMEs in Sweden and hundreds of thousands of individual learners between 1995 and the year 2000.

The *Swedish Work Environment Fund*, SWEF, the predecessor of the *Swedish Council for Work Life Research* published in 1994 the report *Learning at Work*. It comprised a study on learning organisations, which gave a theoretical review of the concept of learning organisations as well as numerous examples of practical applications of new learning ideas in various corporations both in the public and private sector.

The SWEF programme on learning organisations focused on five different learning issues: core competencies, practical knowledge, continuous business development, functional and cultural integration, managing and motivating learning and competence development. The processes and methods used vary from company to company. The programme mentioned comprised around thirty-five case studies from industry, commerce and the public sector and was in operation from 1989 to 1995.

One of the most well known examples in Sweden is the ABB T-50 project, which aims at a total reorganisation of the production system in order to reduce production time by fifty percent. The success of this project is to a large extent dependent on a new perspective on the work organisation, and multi-skill requirements of employees within the context of lower production.

It has to be remembered, however, that many Swedish frontier projects relating to learning organisations result from the structural transformation of the enterprise with a great reduction in the percentage of employees, especially older groups with low

education and a non-Swedish background. Thus, it is not infrequently the case that there is a social price – or a social deficit – for organisational transformation aiming at increasing efficiency and effectiveness.

NEW SUPPLY ORIENTED MEASURES FOR LIFELONG LEARNING

One typical characteristic of Swedish educational policy is to extend education rights and options to groups that have been neglected in former reforms or rejected due to social, economic and geographical barriers. Two such examples will be mentioned below. The first is the *Adult Education Initiative* launched in 1997 to provide educational opportunities in core subjects at upper secondary level for adults who were unemployed or at risk of losing their jobs due to structural changes on the labour market. The second example is the development of a new system of *Advanced Vocational Education* oriented towards occupationally active individuals wanting to upgrade basic skills and learn more about new technology and new professional methods in their own field.

BACKGROUND AND FOCUS OF THE ADULT EDUCATION INITIATIVE (*KUNSKAPSLYFTET*)

The *Adult Education Initiative* (in Swedish '*Kunskapslyftet*') is a five-year programme of investment and development in adult education initiated by the Swedish government in July 1997. Across the country intensive work was carried out with the aim of ensuring that the hopes and expectations placed on the programme by those taking part in the education and training, by public authorities and by industry can be realised.

During the first year a special '*Adult Education Initiative Delegation*' (*Delegationen för Kunskapslyftet*) was charged with looking after the contacts between the state and the municipal authorities in matters concerning the programme. Since 1 July 1998 this responsibility has rested with the *National Agency for Education*.

The "Take-Off" has to be seen in a broader political context as a Swedish response to a European strategy towards unemployment and structural transformation. Instead of supporting a low-wage structure on the labour market, this policy gives high priority to the educational upgrading of the labour force. The purpose is not only to raise the employability of unemployed individuals, but also to support retention strategies at work and to help employees adapt better to meet new skill requirements and new production methods or business ideas. In short one can also say that the AEI-mission aims at a more comprehensive policy relating to labour market developments, to the infrastructure of adult education and training as well as supporting a fairer distribution of wealth and economic growth.

The Adult Education Initiative can also be conceived as a crucial component in a policy of lifelong learning. The Ministers of Education of the OECD countries highlighted three cornerstones. These were: a good standard of basic education as the foundation for lifelong learning; increased opportunities for switching between study and

work throughout working life; and a clarification of the roles of, and the distribution of responsibility between, the different parties involved. If the goal of enabling individuals to continue furthering their education throughout working life is to be achieved, then this will have far-reaching consequences for the state.

The principal target-group has been and is unemployed adults lacking three years of upper-secondary school education. The aim is to enable people to acquire greater self-confidence, increase their employability and enable them to make use of opportunities for furthering their own development in their work. The programme is designed to assist participants in achieving the necessary qualifications and competence levels to study at a higher level, and to lay the foundations for lifelong learning.

The responsibility for creating conditions, which can enable these objectives to be reached, lies with the municipal authorities, which are charged with building up an infrastructure for learning which corresponds to the needs of the individual and society.

The municipal authorities are charged with the task of implementing the Adult Education Initiative; the state contributes funding to their work in this regard to the tune of SEK 3 billion per year. In total, the AEI-mission comprises a hundred thousand adult students per year.

School education in Sweden is governed by certain national-level policy documents, the most important of which are known as “goal” documents (which lay down the goals school education is to achieve) and “steering” documents’ (by means of which education can be steered towards attaining those objectives). The goal documents for adult education are the Education Act, various ordinances, the curriculum, and course syllabuses (which include the criteria for awarding grades). At the local level schools/colleges draw up their own timetable and work plans.

The curriculum which applies to all adult education is designated “Lpf 94” (national curriculum for upper secondary and adult education). The curriculum lays down the value-base and tasks of adult education; there are certain specific targets which adult education is charged with working to achieve: it is to:

- reduce discrepancies in the level of education and training between individuals, thus contributing to greater equality and social justice
- enable students to increase their ability to understand, assess and participate in cultural, social and political life, thus contributing to democratic development in society
- provide adults with training and education which equips them to carry out varying work tasks; the programme also aims to provide an input to the process of change in the conditions of working life, and to make a contribution to the attempt of attaining full employment, thus promoting development and progress in society
- meet the wishes expressed by individuals for expanded study and training opportunities, and make it possible for them to supplement the basic school education they had as children.

Adult students’ knowledge is only to be supplemented to the extent that, when they have completed their programme of study, their knowledge is equivalent to that gained by young people on their courses.

The goals in terms of the level of knowledge to be attained are the same for both adults and young people, but the content, scope and areas to which emphasis is given do not have to be identical.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADVANCED VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AS A TOOL FOR LIFELONG LEARNING

The "Take-Off" mission is targeted towards adults with short education and a weak labour market position. The new programme of advanced vocational education will reach twelve thousand adults by the end of year 2002. It is composed of both generic knowledge and specialised vocational and technical knowledge at higher education level.

A pilot project involving *advanced vocational education* (AVE) was carried out in 1996. AVE is a new form of post-secondary education in which one third of the time is spent on the advanced application of theoretical knowledge at a workplace. What this entails is not the traditional traineeship period, but active workplace learning and problem-solving in an overall educational context. The courses are based on close co-operation between enterprises and various course providers (higher education, upper secondary schools, municipal adult education and companies). The courses provided should correspond to real needs in the employment market. However, there are no restrictions in terms of sector or the enterprises in which AVE is to be provided. The courses will be open both to individuals coming directly from upper secondary school and to people who are already gainfully employed and wish to develop their skills within a defined area.

The education is post-secondary, in the sense that completed upper secondary education or equivalent knowledge is required for eligibility. The subject matter is taken from the employment market, courses in higher education, upper secondary, supplementary and advanced courses. The aim is that the courses should combine a practical orientation with in-depth theoretical knowledge. The interplay between theory and the workplace is important both for course quality and to meet the needs of the employment market and the students. Courses may be divided into terms, or conducted continuously with no such division.

AVE emphasises workplace learning. For one third of the course, students will be occupied at workplaces, honing their analytical abilities, applying comprehensive and system approaches, and assuming responsibility. If this process is to work properly, advanced supervision must be available. A further requirement is that the workplace itself should be organised so as to make learning feasible. Although the aim of training is to impart familiarity with an occupation or vocational area, it must not be so narrow as to be in essence a form of in-house company training. There are many areas in which AVE is conceivable.

The Commission on Advanced Vocational Education has been directed by the Government to run the AVE pilot project. This remit is based on *Government Bill 1995/96:145* on Advanced Vocational Education and on the resolution of the *Riksdag* (Swedish Parliament) concerning the Bill. An independent evaluation of the pilot

project has been carried out, for which Luleå University of Technology has been responsible. Aspects of the vocational courses that have been evaluated include whether they correspond to employment market needs and whether the students have received education of a good quality and of relevance to future employment. On the basis of the experience gained to date, the Commission has drafted a proposal for how courses of this kind can be organised in the future. The Government intends to make a decision on the future development of AVE on the basis of the experience accumulated.

FROM HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT TO ECONOMIC GROWTH AND NEW REGIONAL GAPS

The structural shock in the early 1990s on the Swedish labour market with rapidly increasing unemployment has led to a number of different labour market programmes aimed at reducing unemployment. This has concerned both the supply and the demand for labour. The major programme in the educational field was, as described above, the *National Adult Education Initiative*. Its general goals were to raise the educational level of the labour force and help individuals to become more flexible on the new labour market.

The Adult Education Initiative covering core subjects in Swedish, English, Mathematics and Social Sciences at the upper secondary school level is a significant initiative. Secondly, the experiment with advanced vocational education has been mentioned. But these initiatives are far from meeting the demands of the future. The expansion of higher education in order to have a transition rate from upper secondary level of fifty percent of an age cohort calls, of course, for more fundamental transformations of institutions of education in Sweden. Thus the nation is slowly moving from a structurally determined unemployment crisis to a long-term oriented knowledge supply crisis.

The publication *Future jobs – choosing occupation in the 21st century* from the *National Swedish Labour Market Board* is a comprehensive survey of the future labour market. Supply and demand for labour is described in different sectors up to year 2010. The number of persons retiring after the turn of the century increases considerably. In some occupational areas, half of the occupationally active people will leave the labour market. An example of such an area is education, which is expanding and will need to increase the number of its employees. Also in the health care sector the need for labour will very likely increase since the proportion of elderly people will increase, especially those over 80 years. The building sector is also affected by demographic fluctuations that can lead to a shortage of building workers. Thus, the institutional context of the reproduction of the labour force tends to be one of the biggest challenges for lifelong learning and educational upgrading.

The report criticises the use of stock phrases about the demise of the industrial sector. In 1997 around eight hundred thousand people were employed in industry and in 2010 the number employed will be slightly lower. On the other hand, the demand for persons with higher education will increase in several industrial areas. The need for employees with higher education in the sciences and technology will also increase. Already today there is a shortage of qualified persons with a university degree and over

the coming thirteen years there will be a shortage of around one hundred and thirty thousand persons with higher education. There are obvious distortions in the balance between supply and demand.

The *National Swedish Labour Market Board* has in various studies showed that ninety percent of employers require applicants with some education and one third of jobs reported to employment exchanges require higher education. A comparison between applicants showed only thirteen percent had a higher education and every third person had at best a compulsory school education. Converted into absolute figures, this means that around one hundred and sixty thousand applicants with low education levels without work in the summer of 1998 were competing for around three thousand six hundred low qualified jobs.

The gap between the education and competence levels of unemployed and the increasing demands of the labour market is leading to a new competence paradox. The outcome is, of course, a situation where high rates of unemployment are combined with a shortage of labour in new dynamic growth areas. This Swedish paradox in the competence area has both long-term and short-term significance. In the short-term we face a situation with both a high rate of unemployment and a high demand for labour. In the long-run, it is necessary to give the reproductive context of the labour force new policy attention.

FROM HALVING OPEN UNEMPLOYMENT TO THE GOAL OF EIGHTY PERCENT LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION

In 1995 the Swedish Government launched a policy that unemployment should be halved before the year 2000, but subsequently this was changed to the end of the year 2000. This proposal has generated a wide-ranging discussion on how unemployment should be measured, the difference between open and disguised unemployment, and the effects of different educational measures. Looking backwards, unemployment has decreased significantly in Sweden the last years. In a new Government policy statement delivered by Prime Minister Göran Persson to Parliament in October 1998, a new goal was set up, namely that employment should increase to eighty percent of the working population by the year 2004. Reaching this goal requires that between 60,000 and 70,000 new jobs be created each year up to 2004. This new challenge also creates new demands for research. Even though there may be reasons to study in more depth the supply and demand for labour in traditional labour market models, there is also a greater need for more penetrating, detailed analysis of how jobs and companies come into existence, grow, decline or are phased out.

Usually new jobs represent either more jobs or an increased demand for labour. Future jobs are probably created more by an increase or transformation of existing jobs than by a huge supply of completely new jobs. Not everyone can become web site editors, IT business or multimedia developers. On the other hand, it is likely that the increase in jobs will take place in the service sector or through a combination of industrial production and service activities. New jobs are also created in the zone of temporary jobs, filling in for people on leave of absence, job agencies and casual

employment. There is a dynamic interplay between the creation of new jobs and the elimination of old jobs.

The labour participation rate has decreased from 80% at the end of the 1980s to around seventy 5% today, which means that some groups, such as immigrants, youths, persons with functional handicaps and people with little education have difficulties establishing themselves on the labour market. To promote economic growth and increase employment requires more entrepreneurship, especially within the private sector. Today high expectations focus on the function of small and medium-sized companies as a resource for creating new jobs and increasing employment. The connection between industrial policy and labour market policy is the focus of attention.

INDIVIDUAL LEARNING ACCOUNTS AS A NEW LIFELONG LEARNING CONTRACT

In December 1999, the Government appointed a Commissioner to analyse and design a system of *individual learning accounts*. The Government in its Budget Bill for year 2000 (prop. 1999/2000:1) proposed that special funds be set aside to stimulate continuing individual competence development. The financial frame set out for individual competence development in the Bill amounted to SEK 1.35 billion for the year 2000 and thereafter SEK 1.15 billion annually.

The task for the Commissioner was to submit proposals on how budget funds set aside for individual competence development could be most effectively utilised. The Commissioner should present a system flexible enough to provide scope for limiting and expanding the financial frame in the future. The tasks of the Commissioner include the following:

- the most important proposals and existing models for a system of individual competence development as well as submitting a recommendation on how such a system could be structured and organised
- an analysis based on the perspectives of effectiveness and growth as well as on redistribution policy
- attention to the question of how the proposal can stimulate other agreements and insurance solutions on the labour market
- what the relationship should be between the proposal and the study support system and other public funding for education, in addition to the possible impact of the proposal on the supply and demand for education and the labour market, as well its impact on other forms of savings.

The Commissioner is to present a final report by January 2001 at the latest. The growing need for competence development is spelt out in the Directives as follows (*Gov.Commission Directives:1999:106*).

A greater emphasis on competence development in working life is of vital importance for Swedish companies to be able to strengthen their position on international

markets that are becoming increasingly competitive. We live in a society subject to continuous change, due especially to the pace of development in IT, and this creates high demands on the flexibility of companies. In many cases a company's success is dependent on its capacity to quickly change its production systems, vary its supply of goods and services, and this in its turn leads to high demands on the competence of the work force. Continuous competence development of employees improves a company's stability and position on the market, which reduces the risk of redundancies. The employer has a greater responsibility for job-specific competence development, whilst the individual and society have responsibility for competence development specific to the individual.

One of the major ideas behind individual learning accounts is that the individuals themselves should be better trained and prepared to navigate themselves through the lifelong learning society and "be able to steer their own competence development." By getting relevant competence the individual's self-confidence in their ability to strengthen their position on the labour market will be stronger, i.e. supporting or upgrading employability. The rationale from society's point of view is that learning accounts – in combination with other measures – could mean more favourable conditions for increasing growth and reducing the costs of unemployment. The practical payment model for the individual is built on the principle of tax exemption.

The arguments and ideals from the policy making level are well-expressed in this quotation from the directives (*Gov. Commission Directives 106:10*):

A system of individual competence development aims to make readjustment easier and create opportunities for individuals to build up knowledge over their life-span and thereby counteract the dilution of knowledge that can adversely affect those who have been working for a long time. By taking pre-emptive measures with respect to shortcomings in competence, the productivity of individuals increases over their life span. At the same time competence development strengthens the position of the individual on the labour market, which facilitates structural transformation. An important reason for the state's involvement is to make it possible to link resources for individual competence development to the individual so that they may be used even when changing employer.

Another important dimension of this idea is its connection to social partners and negotiations between employers and unions. It is the hope of the government that a system for individual competence development "can stimulate new collective bargaining solutions between trade unions and employers, direct agreements between wage-earners and employers, as well as for the competence development of the self-employed." According to the hidden rules of the Swedish labour market system, the state should not intervene too much in workplace learning.

The mission of renewal at the work place in the promotion of new work organisations, new patterns of learning and a better utilisation of skills and competencies should be a challenge for social partners. Negotiations about learning time or redistribution of learning time should be as common as wage-setting policies, policies for flexible

working hours or retirement schemes. Thus, the *individual learning account model* calls for a new lifelong learning contract with stronger involvement of all parties, the state and the municipality, the corporations and the market, and last but not least, the individual. The suggestion also focuses on the need for general competence up-grading and more narrow and corporate-specific knowledge. It is the hope of the Government that companies will not under-invest in competence development because of their perception of a risk that employees will change jobs as a result of such competence development.

COLLECTIVE COMPETENCE AGREEMENTS AS ANOTHER FORM OF LIFELONG LEARNING CONTRACTS

The idea of the individual learning accounts should be seen in a broader educational and political context as the *Adult Education Initiative*, the new Objective 3, the *European Social Fund*, the modernisation of employment training, the system for advanced vocational education, as well as the further development of popular adult education in Sweden. It should also be related to various efforts to enhance competence development between the social partners in particular, and in new agreements between state and market in general. A number of trade union organisations, political parties and companies have proposed the introduction of competence accounts in some form or other.

There is more or less a hidden curriculum in Sweden to the effect that the state and government should not intervene in the climate of competence and work place learning developed by the social partners. Instead of stronger law enforcement and anti-discriminatory legislation, the government strongly supports active work place learning initiatives in conjunction with the social partners.

The Swedish Trade Union Federation has recently reviewed the presence of collective agreements on in-service training and competence development at work. Only four or five trade unions out of around twenty unions in the federation do not have collective agreements on competence development at work. The content of these agreements varies significantly. For some unions, the agreements stipulate that a certain time or volume of in-service training and work place development should be provided. Other agreements focus on the equity dimension and equal access to work place learning. The union in the retail sector has recognised the idea of learning accounts. The Union of Metal Workers has also given a high priority to competence agreements and has also been active in the policy discussion on the connection between individual learning accounts, corporate training and the individual's own investments. Some unions have also given attention to the connection between competence development and the wage level. The Swedish Trade Union Federation, LO is now promoting the idea of union representatives for competence development ("kompetensombud") to support the competence development strategy at work and to inform, orient and stimulate members to take part more actively in work place learning.

Mr. Sture Nordh, president of the Confederation of Professional Employees, TCO and also a leading spokesman for a revitalised competence strategy has underlined the

need for broad support for work related competence development in Sweden (*British Council, Work Identity and Culture, Stockholm March 2000*).

The social partners are in agreement about the crucial importance of knowledge development for growth, and also agree that the content of knowledge development should be determined in close co-operation between the partners at the local and central levels.

Nevertheless, an individual company's investment in expensive training for its employees is, when all is said and done, an extremely uncertain investment. This is why companies are under-investing. The contribution made by the State is therefore vital in determining what resources can be allocated to training in the companies.

Broad and extensive investments in competence development in companies and administrations must now be made. It is time for less talk and more action, and without the bureaucracy and complications that risk killing off the interest of many companies.

Thus, the social partners play a crucial role in defining and implementing the new life-long learning contract in Sweden.

REGIONAL GROWTH AGREEMENTS – A NEW LIFELONG LEARNING CONTRACT AT SOCIETAL LEVEL

In the spring of 1998, the Swedish Parliament (the Riksdag) approved the Government Bill "Regional Growth – for Employment and Welfare" (1997/98:62). The Bill contains a proposal for a regional industrial policy.

The point of departure for this regional industrial policy was the potential that exists for accelerating economic growth in Sweden by making better use of the resources available in all regions. To succeed in this endeavour, industrial policy will have to be adapted to regional and local conditions. Regional industrial policy should also build on close co-operation between different actors and sectors of society, for example, the business community, the parties to the labour market, the educational sphere, etc.

The overall objective of the new regional industrial policy is as follows: "On the basis of the unique features of each region, sustainable economic growth should be stimulated which will contribute to a larger number of expansive enterprises and to an increase in employment."

Agreements on regional growth were one of the principal instruments for co-ordinating and adjusting the policies of the various sectors, and also for exploring new approaches to the promotion of regional and local industrial development. The aim was to launch the programmes at the beginning of year 2000.

At the regional level, the Government has offered the county administrative boards and the regional councils of Gotland, Kalmar and Skåne the opportunity to co-ordinate the drafting of an action programme, which will serve as the platform for the agreements. All 21 counties in Sweden have decided to participate.

“Regional partnerships” – groups comprising representatives of municipalities, local business associations, universities and colleges, and regional authorities – are expected to play an active role in the drafting and implementation of the action programmes. County administrative boards and regional councils will act as co-ordinators and catalysts.

These regional partnerships are to conduct an analysis of the potential for and threats to economic growth and industrial development in their respective region. On the basis of these analyses, programmes of measures designed to take greater advantage of the opportunities identified will be formulated.

The participation of the private business community was considered to be a prerequisite for the success of the programmes. Regional public actors were encouraged to enter into discussions with representatives of local and regional business communities to ensure that their views and needs are integrated into the action programmes.

The EU Structural Funds Programme has served in part as a model for the structure of the action programme – the basis of the agreements. Furthermore, it is expected that the EU structural funds programmes will be integrated with the regional action programmes in the next EU budget period, which commences in year 2000. The model of regional growth agreements represents a new bottom-up strategy in regional planning in Sweden. Before summer year 2000, *the regional growth agreements* were assessed for their potential in further policy development and political action. Broadly speaking, regional growth agreements can also be seen as a compact for learning and regional development, or to frame it according to the theme of this article, a new form of lifelong learning contract built on regional partnership and broad involvement of different actors.

REFLECTIONS ON EQUITY AND ACCESS IN A NEW SWEDISH ENVIRONMENT FOR LIFELONG LEARNING

The purpose of this chapter has been to review education in Sweden from a lifelong learning perspective. In this effort, formal schooling, post-compulsory education and new learning environments have to be seen in an overall context. In the mid-1980s, a new discussion started in Sweden about future adult education strategies. The major adult education reforms of the 1970s had taken the old compulsory education system (*folkskola* and *grundskola*) as a basis for recognising educational gaps in society. The reforms of the 1990s should, in terms of this discussion, take core subjects at upper secondary level (Swedish, Civics, Mathematics and English) as a point of departure for future educational reforms. This discussion was promoted in the public debate by two books published in 1986 and 1988 (Abrahamsson & Rubenson, 1986, eds. and Abrahamsson, ed. 1988). The first publication sketched the further development of adult education in Sweden in four dimensions: a raising of general education levels in Sweden, an increased polarisation above average education standards, new groups lagging behind, growing educational and learning needs beside work

The second book was built around a prediction of education structure in Sweden up to the year 2010. Albert Tuijnman, Stockholm University and Sven Sundin, Statistics

Sweden did this study. One of the issues analysed was the nature of the compensation strategy between generations. It would be impossible from an economic, organisational and social perspective to offer the old generation four to six millions of lost years of education in order to reach equality. Would it be more beneficial to validate and recognise prior experience and add necessary and situational competence? Or should the focus be more on advanced and technological knowledge and skills or alternatively is the major challenge to increase transition rates between different levels in the system of education?

Four different models of compensation strategies were touched upon in the first publication. The first model is built on the idea of offering adults the same education as that provided for young pupils, the second model is to give adults an education similar to that young persons receive, but at the same time recognise the knowledge, experience and social context of adults. Thirdly, we suggested a model using the metaphor of the individual portfolio of competencies and to start from the individual's working and living context. Finally, we recommended a model in which popular movements and popular adult education would give a new content to the traditional idea of collectively organised self-education.

Looking ahead, it is necessary to make forecasts about strategic issues for lifelong learning over the decades to come. It is not sufficient or even constructive to choose more of the same strategy by prolonging formal education with an earlier start to schooling and more years in educational "quarantine". New education and skill requirements cannot always be translated into years of formal schooling. In order to reflect on the effort of analysing the new redistribution pattern, my observations are as follows:

- Educational expansion naturally leads to higher standards of education in the labour force, but, if we take into account the forthcoming demographic turbulence due to high levels of retirement, we could also foresee a high level in loss of competence.
- The polarisation and differentiation over the average level of education has to be analysed at a deeper level with special focus on new combinations of general and specialised competence, as well as a new pattern of interaction between formal schooling, tacit knowledge and IT-skills.
- Further we can anticipate new groups lagging behind, such as refugees with low education and traumatic social experiences, new dropouts from youth education as well as adults with a low level of life-mobility or who are locked in to the same vocation over too long a period of time.
- Finally, it is necessary to focus on the growing educational needs besides or in addition to work. The major challenge lies in the longlife learning mission in a population with a higher proportion of elderly persons and in the new provision of learning tools and adventures over the Net.

What conclusions can be drawn for the future development of the learning society in Sweden? In order to compensate for competence loss due to increasing retirement and to meet new skills, it seems reasonable to recommend increasing the volume of adult and continuing education, as well as providing more options for lifelong learning. Furthermore, learning options at work have to be facilitated and expanded. A more

fundamental problem is, however, the Swedish love and passion for supply-oriented measures and not enough recognition of the problem of increased demand and commitment to learning from the corporate sector or from individuals themselves.

Current statistics and inquiry show that Sweden can be characterised as having a rather low level of mobility and weak learning incentives (Nutek, 2000). During the implementation period of Swedish adult and higher education policies in the 1970s and 1980s, there were no strong incentives for wage earners to embark on lifelong learning due to the existence of relatively high wage-levels and a postponed structural transformation of the economy. The unemployment shock in the early 1990s led to a fundamental transformation of the economy and a new spirit for adult learning. Still, however, the Government's policy is more on the supply side than on the demand side.

A lifelong learning society cannot only be built on a continuous expansion of formal education in huge compensation schemes for different generations. It must also promote skill utilisation at work and leisure as well as supporting the individual's own spirit of learning in a lifelong context. The need for a revitalisation of the pool of talents, to support the mission of anti-discrimination and to facilitate the learning environment at work has recently been analysed in a policy study presented by the Ministry of Trade and Industrial Development (Ds 2000:49).

Although Sweden is taking a frontier position on the information highway, there are various risk-scenarios with increasing information gaps in society. The Swedish Trade Union Confederation recently published a study "The use of Internet in the homes is steadily increasing" (LO, 2000) It showed that 57% of the LO members have access to computers in their homes. In only five years the number of LO members with access to computers in their homes has almost quadrupled. Internet access varied widely between the three major unions in Sweden; 41% of LO members also have access to Internet which can be compared to 63% of the TCO members (white-collar workers) and 73% of the SACO members (academics).

The differences between the sexes are also great and the differences are still greater between the generations. For example, 55% of LO men aged between 25 and 29 years have used the Internet during the last twelve months and 37% of LO women. The information gap seems to increase with gender and age; Internet use for the age group 50 – 64 years was 18% for men and only 13% for women. Of all employees in Sweden, about half the number – 51% – have used the Internet in their homes during the last twelve months.

Thus current and future knowledge gaps in society will no longer only be related to educational attainment levels, but also to the individual's capacity to utilise new information technology and to understand public pronouncements and the implications of the new knowledge economy.

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Chapter 8: How to Make Lifelong Learning a Reality: Implications for the Planning of Educational Provision in Australia

PHILLIP MCKENZIE

INTRODUCTION

“Lifelong learning” has become one of the most frequently used terms in education and training circles in the late 1990s. Policy documents at national, state and institutional levels are increasingly being framed from a lifelong learning perspective. At international level lifelong learning has been adopted as the key organising concept in the education and training programs of the European Union (1995), the OECD (1996) and UNESCO (1996). In Australia recent reports on the future shape of higher education (West, 1998) and the national strategy for vocational education and training (ANTA, 1998) have been framed in terms of the need for continual learning over the life span.

Lifelong learning is a response to the increasingly rapid changes underway in modern societies. Those nations, enterprises and individuals who are not able to anticipate and adapt to change – to continue learning – face bleak futures in an increasingly competitive world. The need to equip young people to be active and engaged learners over their adult lives is widely recognised, as is the need to provide retraining and updating opportunities for adults on an on-going basis.

This paper focuses on some of the key policy issues for furthering the goals of lifelong learning. The paper addresses five main questions.

- What is lifelong learning?
- What are the key elements of the policy agenda?
- What are the highest priorities?
- How much will lifelong learning cost?
- How can investment in lifelong learning be stimulated?

WHAT IS LIFELONG LEARNING?

Although not a new idea, lifelong learning has brought together a number of important strands and developments in educational thinking. Some have even suggested that lifelong learning represents as significant a social and economic shift for the late 20th century as the introduction of compulsory schooling had been for the late 19th century.

Lifelong learning is an all-embracing concept that encompasses personal, social and economic objectives, and national policy debates generally reflect the multiple dimensions involved. However, it is interesting that the OECD (1998a) has characterised Australia as one of the countries where discussions on lifelong learning tend to emphasise skills training and retraining for improving employability and economic competitiveness. Japan, by contrast, is seen as paying relatively more attention to the potential contribution of lifelong learning to citizenship, and a better enjoyment of life, especially in light of that country's ageing population.

The breadth of the concept is captured in the definitions used by the European Lifelong Learning Initiative and the OECD:

Lifelong learning is a continuously supportive process which stimulates and empowers individuals to acquire all the knowledge, values, skills and understanding they will require throughout their lifetimes and to apply them with confidence, creativity and enjoyment in all roles, circumstances, and environments. (cited in Kearns, 1998)

Lifelong learning is far broader than the provision of second-chance education and training for adults. It is based on the view that everyone should be able, motivated, and actively encouraged to learn throughout life. This view of learning embraces individual and social development of all kinds and in all settings: formally, in schools, vocational, tertiary and adult education institutions; and non-formally, at home, at work and in the community (OECD, 1997a).

Three features of lifelong learning are considered to distinguish it from earlier concepts such as recurrent education (OECD, 1998):

- the centrality of the learner and learner needs, reflected in an orientation towards the demand side of education and training
- an emphasis on self-directed learning, and the associated requirement of "learning to learn" as an essential foundation for learning that continues throughout life
- a long-term view that encompasses the life cycle.

The very breadth of the lifelong learning concept is both a weakness and a strength. Concepts as broad as this are hard to analyse and express in operational terms. Almost anything could be considered to come within the lifelong learning ambit, but the lack of precision can make it difficult to judge whether progress is being made, and expectations may be unduly raised. On the other hand, ideas of this scale can be important for focusing attention on the inter-relationships between learning, the economy and society, drawing disparate interest groups into a common cause, and lifting people's horizons about long-term societal goals.

Yet, unlike a system of compulsory schooling with its teachers, buildings and curriculum, lifelong learning does not exist in concrete, readily identifiable form. Lifelong learning is most appropriately thought of as a long-term planning strategy rather than as a ready-made, implementable alternative to the present education and training

system. The key policy objectives are to ensure that all individuals are motivated to continue learning, that they have the skills and knowledge to do so on a self-directed basis, that they have access to the necessary opportunities, and that they have appropriate incentives to participate.

KEY ELEMENTS OF THE POLICY AGENDA

Perhaps the most extensive discussion of the purposes of lifelong learning and the policy instruments needed to bring them about is provided by *Lifelong Learning for All*, the document endorsed by OECD Education Ministers in January 1996 (OECD, 1996). The key idea underpinning this document is that while everyone is able to learn, all must become motivated to learn, and should be actively encouraged to do so throughout life. While this notion of lifelong learning was already experienced by certain groups in society – especially those with high levels of initial education and training – the Education Ministers argued that steps needed to be taken to make lifelong learning a reality for all.

The policy framework developed by the OECD to do this has five main elements:

- strengthening the foundations for lifelong learning by improving the accessibility and quality of initial education
- improving the pathways and transitions between formal and non-formal learning and work over the life span
- re-thinking and clarifying the roles and responsibilities of the various ministries and levels of government, community organisations, employers and trade unions for policy development and implementation
- creating incentives for individuals and enterprises to invest in lifelong learning by increasing the benefits and decreasing the costs, and facilitating access to finance
- developing the capacity to monitor progress in achieving the goals of lifelong learning, and evaluating the impact of policy instruments.

A significant feature of the meeting of OECD Education Ministers was the recognition that achieving the goals of lifelong learning will involve far more than education policies alone. The Ministers stressed the need to “deepen co-operation with their colleagues in the areas of social, labour market, economic and communications policies, in order to make sure that policies which affect education are coherent and cost-effective” (OECD, 1996). This was a notable departure from the debate on recurrent education during the 1970s which, given its focus on the redistribution of formal education provision over the life span, was largely confined to education circles.

A landmark development in the broadening of policy interest in lifelong learning occurred in October 1997 when OECD Labour Ministers endorsed the concept and agreed that facilitating lifelong learning formed part of their portfolio responsibilities. The background document prepared for that meeting argued that the debate about lifelong learning is relevant to Labour Ministers in three respects: (a) the absence of effective lifelong learning opportunities, or lack of access to them, contributes to

unemployment and low earnings; (b) the lifelong learning perspective adds a longer-term, preventative dimension to labour market programmes; and (c) labour market policies have an important role to play as part of cost-effective lifelong learning strategies (OECD, 1997a).

THE HIGHEST PRIORITIES

The key policy objectives are to ensure that individuals are motivated to continue learning, that they have the skills and knowledge to do so on a self-directed basis, that they have access to the necessary opportunities, and that they have appropriate incentives to participate. Many people can already be considered to be active lifelong learners. In the main, such people have relatively high levels of initial education and training, access to job-based training, and the opportunities and motivation to participate in a wide range of non-formal learning opportunities.

Within this broad framework there seem to be two main priority areas: reducing early school-leaving; and assisting adults with low levels of education.

Reducing Early School Leaving

It is well established that those who do not complete secondary school or its vocational equivalent face relatively high risks of unemployment and low earnings (Ainley & McKenzie, 1999). As well, such people may lack the necessary general education skills and knowledge to anticipate and respond to changes in the labour market and wider society. Early school-leavers tend to spend less time in employment and thus gaining access to on-the-job learning in the first five years after exiting education than their better-educated peers, and this effect is particularly evident for young women (Table 1). Completion of Year 12 or its vocational equivalent would seem to be the minimum necessary foundation for successfully accessing jobs and maintaining long-term employability and social adaptability.

From a lifelong learning perspective, the longer and more fragmented process of school-to-work transition now experienced by many young people poses three main challenges for policy makers: (a) how to ensure that the extended period of initial education provides skills and competences that enhance employability; (b) how to minimise the risk of some young people being excluded from the labour market on a long-term basis; (c) and how to ensure that learning continues during and after the transition process, and is subsequently recognised for employment and educational purposes. Suggestions for strengthening policy initiatives in these regards are contained in the report of the OECD review team that visited Australia in March 1997 (OECD, 1997b).

The report argued that in addition to continuing to broaden the curriculum to increase its employment-relevance by adopting a more applied learning approach for *all* students (and not just those undertaking vocational programs) there were three

Table 1: Distribution of Time Spent Employed over the First Five Years Since Leaving Initial Education, by Educational Attainment and Gender, Australia

Highest Educational Attainment	Years spent employed (% of group)						Total %	Average years, weighted
	Never employed	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years		
Lower secondary								
Women	37	13	7	5	8	30	100	2.2
Men	8	7	14	17	16	37	100	3.4
Upper secondary								
Women	6	6	6	10	19	53	100	3.9
Men	4	5	6	15	17	52	100	3.9
Tertiary								
Women	2	11	8	13	13	52	100	3.8
Men	5	4	4	8	13	66	100	4.2

Note: The data are based on the Australian Longitudinal Survey, and focus on young people who made their permanent entry to the labour market around 1989–90. The analysis is based on dating labour market entry as the first interview in which individuals report that they are not in education, and then retaining these people in the analysis so long as over subsequent periods they do not report being enrolled in education. The reporting of employment status is taken at the time of each annual survey. Thus, the number of persons with some months employed is understated, and the number with some months unemployed is overstated. Persons leaving education at different stages will vary in their age, for example the difference in leaving age between those who leave after compulsory schooling and those who leave after university could be 10 years or more.

Source: OECD (1998b).

broad policy requirements needed to meet the needs of at-risk young people in Australia. (OECD, 1997b):

- the development, especially in communities serving large numbers of at-risk youth, of ‘full-service schools’
- the creation of networks of smaller scale, alternative secondary schools for those young people whose educational and developmental needs are unlikely to be met within the structure of a typical secondary school
- the development of an education and training entitlement that young people who leave school early could use to purchase approved education and training programmes from public or private providers at times and in forms that are best suited to their needs.

Assisting Adults with Low Levels of Education

A little over one-half (53 per cent) of Australians aged 25–64 years have completed at least upper secondary education (Table 2). In this respect Australia ranks 17th among the 25 OECD countries for which comparable data are available. Although many adults with low educational qualifications perform well in the labour market, the evidence suggests that low qualifications are associated with lower levels of labour force participation, a greater probability of unemployment, and lower earnings.

Despite the rapid rise in Australia's education participation rates over the past 15 years, Table 2 indicates that it is the 25–34 year-old age group where the gap between Australia's educational attainment and the OECD average is most marked. This implies that if present levels of education participation among the young continue, Australia's relative ranking in educational attainment may slip further over the next 20 years. Some sense of the challenge facing Australia is that there are around 4.4 million 25–64 year-olds who have not completed upper secondary education. This number is almost as large as the total enrolments in all forms of education and training in 1996 (ABS, 1997a).

Adults who have not completed upper secondary education perform substantially worse on tests of functional literacy than those who finished secondary school or had some tertiary education (OECD and Human Resources Development Canada, 1997). Low literacy levels raise questions about the capacity of the people concerned to adapt and acquire new skills in the face of economic change.

Table 3 records the levels of adult literacy in Australia relative to a group of other OECD countries on the document literacy scale. Document literacy is the ability to locate and use information contained in materials such as tables, schedules, charts and maps. Five different literacy levels were identified in these data.

Level 1: people at this level have very poor skills and could be expected to experience considerable difficulty in using many of the printed materials they may encounter in daily life.

Level 2: people at this level could be expected to experience some difficulties in using many of the printed materials they may encounter in daily life.

Level 3: people at this level are able to cope with a varied range of material found in daily life and at work.

Level 4: people at this level have good literacy skills, and display the ability to use higher order skills.

Level 5: people at this level have very good literacy skills, and can make high-level inferences.

Based on these data, Australia is a middle-level performer in terms of adult literacy levels. Overall, in 1996 about one-sixth of (17%) of Australians aged from 16 to 65 performed at the lowest level of literacy (Level 1), whereas another one-sixth performed in the highest category (Levels 4 and 5 combined). This distribution was broadly similar to that applying in Canada and the French and German speaking parts of Switzerland. In all, Australia had around 45% of 16–65 year-olds performing at either literacy levels 1 and 2, which are performance levels judged to pose considerable difficulty in daily work and community life. Australia had considerably more adults performing at these low literacy levels than the Netherlands (36%) or Sweden (25%).

Table 2: Percentage of the Population Who Have Completed At Least Upper Secondary Education by Age, Australia, and Relative to the Average for OECD Countries, 1995

Age (years)	Australia (% of age group)	OECD average (% of age group)	Number of countries in the comparison	Australia's ranking
25-34	57	71	25	19
35-44	54	63	24	17
45-54	51	53	24	16
55-64	43	41	24	13
25-64	53	60	25	17

Source: OECD (1997c).

Table 3: Country Comparisons of Document Literacy Scale, People Aged 16-65, 1994-96

	Level 1 (%)	Level 2 (%)	Level 3 (%)	Level 4/5 (%)
Australia	17	28	38	17
Canada	18	25	32	25
Germany	9	33	40	19
Netherlands	10	26	44	20
Poland	45	31	18	6
Sweden	6	19	39	36
Switzerland (F)	16	29	39	16
Switzerland (G)	18	29	37	16
USA	24	26	31	19
Average	18	27	35	19
Australia's rank	5 th	5 th	5 th	6 th

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics (1997b)

However, it performed markedly better than either the USA (50%) or Poland (76%) in this regard.

Table 4 indicates that the 45% of 15-64 year-old Australians who performed at only literacy levels 1 and 2 on the document scale was equivalent to about 5.3 million people. This was higher than the number of 15-64 year-olds who had not completed upper secondary education (earlier estimated at 4.4 million), and slightly higher than the total number of enrolments in all levels of education and training in 1996 (ABS, 1997a), which further indicates the size of the task involved in equipping all Australians to perform at literacy levels appropriate to the demands of modern society.

Table 4: Number of Australians by Literacy Level and Age, 1996 ('000s)

	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Levels 4/5
15-24	269	754	1091	469
25-44	735	1450	2242	1148
45-64	1008	1132	1194	474
Total ('000s)	2012	3336	4527	2090
% of 15-64 year-olds	17%	28%	38%	17%

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics (1997b)

WHAT WILL LIFELONG LEARNING COST?

The OECD (1996) has provided some initial, broad cost estimates of the resource costs involved in extending lifelong learning opportunities to the least qualified adults (namely those who have not completed upper secondary education or its vocational equivalent.) The costs were very approximate and were only made for a few countries (not including Australia). The estimates indicated that around 3% of GDP per annum would be necessary to lift the minimum level of educational attainment among the adult population to upper secondary education or its equivalent.

On the other hand, since there are typically more adults performing at low literacy levels than there are adults with low educational qualifications, the OECD (1996) estimated that the costs of extending lifelong learning to low-literacy adults would be more likely to be around 5% of GDP.

It should be emphasised that none of these estimates involved Australia, and that they should only be considered as very approximate initial starts on a complex area. Yet, when they are set against the fact that OECD countries, including Australia, typically spend around 5% of GDP on formal education, and that Australia's current level of educational attainment is relatively low, and that the costs of meeting the learning needs of disadvantaged adults are likely to be relatively high, these estimates give some indication of the magnitude of resources that would need to be marshalled before significant progress towards the goals of lifelong learning is likely to be achieved.

STIMULATING INVESTMENT IN LIFELONG LEARNING

The future pace of economic and social change is likely to generate demands for new learning, especially by adults with low qualifications, on a scale that will require the mobilisation of substantial new resources. Public authorities have an important role to play in this regard, not just through financing lifelong learning opportunities for disadvantaged groups (perhaps by the establishment of entitlements to education and training opportunities that are weighted in favour of target groups), but by creating an environment in which individuals and enterprises have more incentive to invest in themselves.

As Wurzburg (1998) has noted, this will require policy action on two broad fronts:

- increasing the benefits and decreasing the costs of continuing education and training to ensure that that investments in lifelong learning are *economically viable*
- easing liquidity constraints so that current investments in learning can be financed from future earnings, that is, making lifelong learning *financially feasible*.

In simple terms, individuals and enterprises will not invest resources in lifelong learning unless they have reasonable confidence that the benefits of the investment will exceed the costs. Public authorities have a role to play in both these regards.

The benefits of any form of education or training will be greater the higher the quality of the learning that ensues. Public authorities can clearly do much here by establishing standards for evaluating program and teaching effectiveness, improving the flow of information about effective programs, and in ensuring that adequate guidance and counselling services are available to assist people in making appropriate choices. Perhaps even more importantly, public authorities have a key role to play in ensuring that the skills and knowledge gained through lifelong learning opportunities are visible, portable, and able to be linked to career paths. In this respect, Australia has already made considerable advances through developments such as the Australian Qualifications Framework, credit transfer, and recognition of prior learning for entry to tertiary education.

In terms of reducing the costs of learning opportunities, and thereby broadening access to them, public authorities can do much by encouraging analyses of the costs of different forms of learning provision, disseminating knowledge about particularly cost-effective programs, and enabling new forms of provision and provider to readily add to the supply of learning opportunities.

For those with only limited educational qualifications and access to capital resources, a significant barrier to education participation is the need to outlay resources before the benefits are reaped. In this regard public authorities have a particularly important role to play either by subsidising participation by disadvantaged groups, guaranteeing loans or income-contingent repayment schemes (such as Higher Education Contribution Scheme), or by introducing entitlements that provide access to learning opportunities when and where individuals choose.

Enterprises also face liquidity constraints which limit their capacity to provide learning opportunities for employees. Changes to government taxation regulations which would allow the deduction of training costs plus a premium (such as now happens with investments in research and development), or the treatment of training costs as an investment that could be amortised over time would help in this regard.

CONCLUSION

The current intense period of interest in lifelong learning at national and international levels clearly reflects a widely felt need for the reorientation of education and training policies. Changes in technology, the economy and the labour market are occurring at such a pace that individuals cannot rely just on their initial education and training to

maintain their employability, but need to acquire new skills and knowledge on an on-going basis. Some groups in society are already well positioned to do this, but there are major segments in the youth and adult populations at risk of further social and economic marginalisation.

The concept of lifelong learning for all has considerable potential in this regard. Although not a new idea, it is able to draw together and perhaps accelerate developments that are already underway in society. Viewing the policy agenda through the lens of lifelong learning reinforces the necessity for initial education and training to provide a sound foundation for further learning, and for learning opportunities during adulthood to be available to all who want them.

The risk is, though, that the potential benefits of lifelong learning can be over-sold. Lifelong learning, even if somehow made a reality for all, is not a panacea for low economic growth and high unemployment. Macro-economic and structural policies are needed to ensure adequate demand for labour and to facilitate adjustment. However, a greater emphasis on learning opportunities throughout the life span can help to ensure that productivity and growth rates are sustained, and that the benefits are more evenly spread among the population.

The estimates provided in this paper suggest that there are around 4 or 5 million Australians aged 15–64 years who, because of their relatively low educational attainment and/or low literacy skills, are likely to face considerable risks of economic and social marginalisation in coming years. A widespread and sustained program to lift their knowledge and skills would require substantial new resources to be allocated to education and training programs – perhaps up to 5% of GDP per annum. Resources of this magnitude are most unlikely to come from public sources. However, public authorities can play a significant role in creating an environment in which individuals and enterprises have greater incentives to invest on their own behalf.

NOTE

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Chapter 9: Lifelong Learning: A Monitoring Framework and Trends in Participation

ABRAR HASAN

INTRODUCTION

In adopting the goal of “lifelong learning for all”, OECD Education Ministers signalled a major departure from the narrower 1970s concept of recurrent education for adults (OECD, 1996). The new approach is a true “cradle to grave” view. It encompasses all purposeful learning activity undertaken with the aim of improving knowledge, skills and competence. It gives weight to building foundations for lifelong learning as well as to remedial second chances for adults. And it recognises that not only the settings of formal education but also the less formal settings of the home, the workplace, the community and society at large contribute to learning. Successful participation in lifelong learning may be said to display four characteristics: individuals are *motivated* to learn on a continuing basis; they are *equipped* with the necessary cognitive and other skills to engage in self-directed learning; they *have access to opportunities* for learning on a continuing basis; and they have the financial and cultural *incentives* to participate.

The very comprehensiveness of lifelong learning opens it up to multiple interpretations. Is the concept precise enough to be a useful guide for education and training policy? This chapter argues, first, that lifelong learning can be given operational meaning. Second, it provides evidence to suggest that Member countries are converging on an espousal of lifelong learning in its broader sense. Third, a proper assessment of progress on lifelong learning goals requires a more extensive set of indicators than is currently available, and the chapter outlines an organising framework for its development. Finally, even though available indicators are limited, an analysis of participation data shows that lifelong learning is a reality for a significant proportion of the OECD population. But much remains to be done to make it a reality for all. The present analysis makes a start in developing a framework in which progress towards this goal can be measured in the years ahead. Its aim is to inform the work both of the OECD and of others who seek to monitor the progress of lifelong learning, at both national and international levels.

LIFELONG LEARNING AS A POLICY GUIDE

Despite its all-embracing nature, the new concept of lifelong learning has several features that give it an operational significance for education and training policy in distinction from other approaches:

- the centrality of the learner and learner needs: that is, an orientation towards the “demand side” of education and training rather than just the supply of places
- an emphasis on self-directed learning, and the associated requirement of “learning to learn” as an essential foundation for learning that continues throughout life
- a recognition that learning takes place in many settings, both formal and informal
- a long-term view, that takes the whole course of an individual’s life into consideration.

These features have important implications for some of the key parameters of education and training policy: for its *objectives*; for the *structure of provision*; for the *content, quality and relevance* of education and training; for *resource provision* and management, and for the roles and *responsibilities* of different partners and stakeholders.

Public and official views differ on the emphasis to be given to one or another of a wider range of *objectives* for education and training. A frequent bone of contention is whether education should pay more attention to meeting labour market needs or to preparing individuals for citizenship. Lifelong learning recognises the multiple missions of education and training – fostering an independent spirit of enquiry, personal development and fulfilment, preparation for working life and citizenship, enrichment of social and cultural life, and so on. The key here is the emphasis on developing within individuals the motivation and capacity to learn, which at different times can serve personal goals and those of employers, the community and society at large.

The concept also provides a framework in which diverse goals can be mutually reinforced. The need for a broad-based education seems to be increasingly emphasised by all with a stake in education – individuals, families, educationalists, enterprises, governments and society at large. This provides a way of harmonising what have been considered as competing objectives of education. A 1993 survey carried out in 12 OECD countries shows that the public at large expects schools to teach students qualities such as self-confidence, the skills and knowledge needed to get a job and the ability to live among people with different backgrounds (OECD, 1995). The public attaches to these general learning objectives greater importance than the learning of specific subjects. Within the working world, a range of generic skills – communication, linguistic abilities, creativity, team-work, problem-solving, familiarity with new technologies – are emerging as key attributes for obtaining employment and for adapting rapidly to changing work requirements. These skills need to be developed across school curricula, and are equally relevant for promoting a range of missions of education – good citizenship, individual fulfilment, an independent spirit of inquiry, awareness of social rights and responsibilities, as well as job readiness.

The recognition that learning takes place in diverse settings suggests a “systemic” view of the *structure of educational provision*, one which treats different forms of learning as part of a linked system. This raises several important questions for policies to address. Viewed over the lifetime, is the structure of provision, both formal and informal, matched properly to the structure of learning needs? Are there appropriate linkages and pathways between learning opportunities among the diverse settings and ways in which learning takes place? Are the resources, public and private, allocated to

different sectors or providers appropriate in this perspective? The systemic approach puts a special responsibility on providers to recognise linkages to other sectors of provision and to what is happening in society more generally. No learning setting is an island.

With regard to the *content, quality and relevance* of education, the lifelong learning approach requires that a learning activity be evaluated in dynamic terms – it should not only contribute to new learning but, especially in early phases of an individual's life, also equip and motivate individuals for further learning, much of which will need to be self-directed. Individual motivation needs to be fuelled by the relevance of the learning activity to one's needs and interests and preferred methods of learning. These factors emphasise the role of the learner in defining content and methods. One reason for high rates of early school leaving, for example, may lie in the poor match between the learning content and methods favoured by pupils and those chosen by the schools. Existing curricula are weak in building cross-curricular competencies and deficient in catering to students who are most suited to experiential learning. In the case of adults, studies have shown the importance of contextual learning and the need to tailor pedagogical approaches to suit older learners.

Existing approaches to *resources for education and training* are typically cast in sectoral terms. Resources devoted to the pathways and combinations of education and training actually undertaken by learners are not usually considered. Nor are the resources devoted to informal learning. The lifelong learning approach offers a different optic – a systemic life-cycle approach that examines the resource requirements and the mobilisation of resources among providers and across sectors, both formal and informal. The costs and benefits of education and training, to the individual and to society, need to be evaluated in a way that is mindful of the timing of individual's engagement in different types and stages of learning over the lifespan, and of the links between them.

The wide range of activities that come under the rubric of lifelong learning makes it clear that the interests of a large range of stakeholders are involved. Strategies for lifelong learning highlight co-operation among different actors – operating at different educational levels and across sectoral boundaries which increasingly are blurring – and wider horizontal linkages between education policies and other domains of public policy. Such an approach requires that *roles and responsibilities* are shared. This is important both for mobilising resources for lifelong learning and for sharing the benefits that arise from it.

These parameters illustrate the type of policy guidance that the concept of lifelong learning can provide. They also explain the popularity of the approach. The lifelong learning approach responds to the needs that have arisen as a result of the structural changes sweeping the OECD countries – changes spawned by forces including sustained periods of economic growth, technology, globalisation, deregulation of markets, demography, and the emergence of new economies. These pressures have significantly increased the importance of the “knowledge-based economy” as a determinant of social and economic advance. There is a convergence between the economic imperative, dictated by the needs of the knowledge society and of the labour market,

and the societal need to promote social cohesion. Lifelong learning offers a credible response to these economic and social pressures.

The economic rationale for lifelong learning comes from two sources: from a need for continuous updating of skills – essential for structural adjustment, productivity growth, innovation and effective reallocation of human resources – and from change in the composition of skills demanded in the labour market. Employer requirements are less and less shaped by Taylorism, which focused on low-level repetitive skills. They increasingly demand a higher level of generic skills, of the type referred to above. Continuing learning, under these circumstances, is a productive investment, not simply a cost item – as important as physical capital, if not more – for the enterprise, the individual and the economy.

The distribution of learning opportunities is, however, quite uneven. There is well-documented evidence to show that initial education is a critical determinant of future training and learning, accentuating its effect on lifetime earnings. The education and training endowments of an individual serve as important determinants of the nature of employment, unemployment and earnings experience. Yet even though completion of secondary education is now close to universal in many countries, and participation in tertiary education a reality for half or more of a generation in some OECD countries, the social divides have not been satisfactorily breached through the educational and training process. Policies for social cohesion must therefore aim to ensure that conditions are in place to encourage and enable everyone, young and mature, to participate and learn in education and training.

COUNTRY PERCEPTIONS

The broader concept of lifelong learning proposed by OECD Education Ministers is receiving wide support. It has been endorsed by their ministerial colleagues: Ministers of Labour (1997), Ministers of Social Affairs (1998), and by the Ministerial Council (1996, 1997). International organisations, such as UNESCO and the European Commission, have published reports espousing their ideas of the concept, at the same time as the OECD published its report *Lifelong Learning for All* (OECD, 1996). The European Union celebrated 1996 as the year of lifelong learning. New associations and non-governmental organisations have sprung up as have new academic journals dedicated to the concept and to the experience of strategies intended to foster its implementation.

Within individual countries, there is an emerging attempt to define and operationalise lifelong learning. Few countries have produced official national statements that set out comprehensive policies for lifelong learning but a number have issued Green and White Papers, commission reports and official statements pertaining to aspects of their education and training systems which can be considered part of a lifelong learning strategy. Some others are in the process of preparing official statements. Table 1.1 gives some illustrative examples. A number of patterns emerge from a review of these documents, and from the formulation of policy more generally with regard to lifelong learning.[1]

First, lifelong learning is increasingly conceptualised in the broader terms described in the preceding section. Few countries still use it to refer only to adult learning (Hungary is one exception); most have adopted the “cradle to grave” view. There is in particular increasing recognition of the twin importance of building foundation skills and providing opportunities later on, and of formal alongside informal opportunities. In Japan and in Scandinavia, the broader view of lifelong learning is already well established.

Table 1.1. Lifelong Learning: Definitions and Objectives in Key Country Documents

AUSTRALIA		
Document	Context	Main elements
<i>Learning for Life: Review of Higher Education Financing and Policy</i> (DEETYA, 1998).	While there is not yet a formal government policy on lifelong learning, this and other reviews and papers have created an active debate, revealing widespread support for the overall principle (Candy and Crebert, 1997).	Suggests that in its various forms (structured and unstructured), lifelong learning can provide individuals of all ages and backgrounds with skills and knowledge enhancing job chances and personal enrichment.
AUSTRIA		
Document	Context	Main elements
Working and Coalition Agreements of governing parties (1990, 1994, 1996)	Education is a key part of the programme of Austrian governments, for economic and cultural reasons and to guard against extremism.	Working agreements since 1990 have used lifelong learning to refer to education and training of workers. Educational expansion is a priority in order to upgrade worker qualifications. The 1996 agreement established <i>Fachhochschule</i> (FHS) programmes to workers on unpaid leave. It also aimed to give adult education equal status with training, to make movement between tracks easier, to improve partnerships, to make apprenticeships less narrow, to expand counselling and to give schools more autonomy.

Table 1.1. Lifelong Learning: Definitions and Objectives in Key Country Documents (Cont.)

<p>Advisory Council for Economic and Social Issues, (<i>Beschäftigungspolitik</i>) 1997</p>	<p>This body incorporates the views of the social partners on educational matters.</p>	<p>A framework for lifelong learning in which initial training concentrates more on providing fundamental skills and knowledge on which later activities can build.</p>
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EUROPEAN UNION

Document

Learning and Training: Towards the Learning Society (European Union, 1995).

Context

A framework document for the European Year of Lifelong Learning, 1996.

Main elements

An important dimension is the role of education in constructing active European citizenship, recognising different cultural and economic approaches but also the commonality of European civilisation. Broad objectives also include acquisition of knowledge, new learning; school-business partnerships; fighting exclusion; language proficiency; equal treatment of human capital and other forms of investment.

FINLAND

Document

The Joy of Learning: a national strategy for lifelong learning, (Ministry of Education, 1997).

Context

One of the few countries that has published a national statement outlining its vision of lifelong learning.

Main elements

Promotion of broadly based and continuous learning, combining “learning careers” with activities in communities where people live and work. Policy objectives relate to personality, democratic values, social cohesion and internationalism as well as innovation, productivity,

Table 1.1. Lifelong Learning: Definitions and Objectives in Key Country Documents (Cont.)

		and competitiveness. Specific objectives include: strengthening learning foundations; providing a broad range of learning opportunities; recognising and rewarding learning regardless of where it takes place; building learning paths; improving teachers' and trainers' skills; and involving all relevant jurisdictions and players.
FRANCE		
Document	Context	Main elements
Framework Law on Education (1989).	Established education as the top national priority.	Sets objective of educating 80% of youth population to upper secondary completion within 10 years, also addressing pre-school education. Five-year Law of 1993 adds right of young to vocational education.
ITALY	Context	Main elements
Labour Agreement, 1996.	Lifelong Learning in Italy hitherto restricted to "right to education" of workers – 150 hours per year.	Recognises central role of human resources in production; envisions lifelong learning as fundamental incentive for competitiveness, supported by a balanced social model based on citizens' rights. Aims: to redefine the whole formative and learning system and the roles of institutions and individuals; to implement united national strategy administered by districts under national

Table 1.1. Lifelong Learning: Definitions and Objectives in Key Country Documents (Cont.)

		direction; to foster motivation to learn; to develop alternative tertiary institutions.
JAPAN		
Document	Context	Main elements
<i>Report on Lifelong Learning</i> (Central Council for Education, 1981), <i>The First to Fourth and Final Reports on Educational Reform</i> (National Council on Educational Reform, 1985–1987).	Japan was one of the first countries to express a comprehensive view of lifelong learning, for example in these documents.	Offered a concept of lifelong integrated education in which the entire education system would promote lifelong learning of individuals. The later document clarified that this meant free choice of individuals according to their own self-identified needs through life. Adult education based on hobbies and individual fulfilment is clearly delineated from occupational training. Lifelong learning aims to remedy problems arising from the pressures of a “diploma society”, relating learning less to school achievement and providing spiritual enrichment and better use of leisure time.
KOREA		
Document	Context	Main elements
<i>Education Reform for New Education System</i> (Presidential Commission on Educational Reform, 1996).	Recognised the need for a national framework of policies and infrastructure.	Learning opportunities should in particular promote access, support services, and arrangements for credit transfer, that open up study to people at times and places that meet their needs.

Table 1.1. Lifelong Learning: Definitions and Objectives in Key Country Documents (Cont.)

NETHERLANDS

Document

Lifelong Learning: the Dutch Initiative (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 1997).

Context

An official government statement emerging from a year-long national Knowledge Debate, providing an Action Program to implement lifelong learning.

Main elements

Recognises broadest meaning of lifelong learning, in which "initial education forms a major link". The rationale is both social and economic. Economically, people cannot be permitted to drop out of the labour market or hold marginal jobs. For social reasons, they should be given opportunities to prepare themselves adequately in various stages of their lives. The Action Program revolves around the employability of workers and job applicants; the employability of teachers; and the prevention of educational disadvantage through reorientation of education from the pre-school years.

NORWAY

Document

The New Competence (Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs, 1997).

Context

Policy paper on reforms of adult and continuing education.

Main elements

The broader view of lifelong learning embracing youth and adulthood is well established. Priorities include initial education for young and for adults who need it, co-operation between government and social partners to meet workplace learning needs, and evaluation and

Table 1.1. Lifelong Learning: Definitions and Objectives in Key Country Documents (Cont.)

		recognition of learning wherever it takes place.
UNITED KINGDOM		
Document	Context	Main elements
<i>The Learning Age: a Renaissance for New Britain</i> (Department for Education and Employment, 1998)	Green Paper setting out broad strategy of new administration, seeking consultation on a range of issues.	Advocates a regard for learning at all ages, from basic literacy to advanced scholarship, including formal and informal learning. Learning is seen as the key to prosperity and the foundation of success. Development of spiritual side of individuals and of citizenship considered important alongside economic objectives; the Green Paper stresses preparing citizens for active participation in all spheres. Government role seen as enabling citizens to take responsibility for themselves. Proposals include expanding further and higher education, creating "University for Industry", setting up individual learning accounts and promoting post-16 education, adult literacy, higher skill levels, and better teaching and learning standards.
UNITED STATES		
Document	Context	Main elements
President Clinton's Ten point plan for education (Delci, 1997)	The closest to a national mission statement in a country with multiple formulations of objectives which have mentioned	Includes spirit of lifelong learning in many respects. Programme includes strengthening of teaching, independent reading by

Table 1.1. Lifelong Learning: Definitions and Objectives in Key Country Documents (Cont.)

lifelong learning for at least 20 years (e.g. College Board, 1978)	students by 3 rd grade, parental involvement in early learning, making two years of post-secondary education the norm, improving adult education and skills and connecting every school and library to the Internet by 2000
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Other countries are beginning to recognise the need to restructure the school system to meet the requirements of a new economy and to prepare individuals for complex social roles. The Czech Republic presents an example of this approach.

Second, there is a shared view across countries of the main reasons for lifelong learning. Most recognise that there is both an economic and a social imperative, and a number of countries as well as the European Union put a stress on citizenship. Countries that have most explicitly tried to formulate a comprehensive strategy, such as Finland, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, have taken care to stress a balanced approach. However, there are differences in the emphasis placed on the economic and the social: Japan puts particular stress on spiritual development and a better enjoyment of life, while countries such as Austria, Australia and Canada emphasise skill training for improving employability and competitiveness, at the same time as recognising the importance of learning to personal development and citizenship.

Third, within the broader umbrella of lifelong learning, countries are operationalising the concept in different ways and differ in the emphasis placed on various aspects or sectors of lifelong learning as there are country differences in the urgency of perceived needs. Some countries have made specific commitments to apply the goals of lifelong learning to the strengthening of teaching and learning at the school level. Others are putting the accent on improving post-secondary and adult training opportunities.

Fourth, despite this diversity there are, across countries, a number of common elements on which lifelong strategies are being based. These include: a diversification of learning options, accompanied by a search for a quality guarantee; extension of the certification and recognition system, including easier credit transfer; greater emphasis on the responsibility of individual actors and stakeholders, with governments responsible for providing a common framework; decentralisation of the delivery of services; and partnerships that draw on the interests and resources of stakeholders.

Finally, the logic of lifelong learning strategies, and the arguments supporting them, are often phrased in calls for creating a “culture” of learning, an ethic of learning and an environment that is supportive of learning in all its forms. With the demand for such society-wide changes, which is a long-term project that must involve the participation of all stakeholders and citizens, a contradictory trend can also be observed. On the one hand there is a limited recognition that a commitment to lifelong learning involves

major, not simply incremental, changes. On the other hand, there is also some evidence of a resistance to change.

ELEMENTS OF A MONITORING FRAMEWORK

In agreeing to implement strategies for lifelong learning, OECD Education Ministers invited the Organisation to “monitor progress” towards the realisation of this goal (OECD, 1996). Given the sheer scope, volume, and variety of lifelong learning, this is a complex task that includes at least three elements: an evaluation of whether policies point in appropriate directions; an assessment of the impact of the policies and programmes; and the development of indicators that assess whether various targets are being met. Policy reviews and impact studies of lifelong learning require a much more extensive data and indicators set.

A framework is needed to determine which of the existing indicators remain useful, which need to be re-interpreted in the lifelong learning perspective and what new indicators must be developed. This framework will, in particular, need to consider the following areas of lifelong learning: its *scope or coverage*; the variety of *perspectives*; types of resources or *inputs*; nature of learning *outcomes*; nature of *processes* that mediate between various actors, and between inputs and outcomes; and the *context* in which learning takes place.

The *scope or coverage* of available indicators needs to be broadened to cover all purposeful learning in various phases of the life-cycle. Full coverage needs to be given to the “lifelong” aspect: existing data are particularly deficient with respect to learning in early childhood and among older adults. Another element is sometimes described as the “life-wide” aspect: it concerns the variety of both formal and informal learning that takes place in each life-phase. The new emphasis on informal learning highlights the need for data on experiences outside educational institutions, which are particularly lacking. By their nature, these experiences are harder to record and quantify, but there is nevertheless scope to develop improved assessments of such activity.

A range of perspectives: Lifelong learning involves a wide range of stakeholders, each with different types of information needs for decision-making. Individual learning outcomes remain at the centre but the whole structure of provision needs to be taken into account from the perspectives of individuals, providers, governments (at different levels), employers, families and society at large. The information needs of different stakeholders differ from each other. Governments require for example information on behaviour patterns of other stakeholders – not least the learners – who both provide input to and impinge on the outcomes of learning activity, in order to consider the full consequences of policy decisions. They also need different types of information for making various decisions with different time horizons: some policies and programmes can be applied in the short and medium-term but often results can only be evaluated over the long-term. Other stakeholders like employers and providers have different information needs. Information for individual learners on the array of learning opportunities, their forms, costs and intended or likely outcomes, is uneven and not easily accessed; this is seen as a crucial element in a lifelong learning approach which

relies on informed choices of learners and their families and envisages the match between backgrounds and interests and the types and forms of learning options as a key to successful learning.

Existing indicators on *inputs* – human, financial and technological, including methods of teaching and learning – are probably strongest, but new information is needed on informal learning as this area increases in importance. More information is required on the effectiveness of different approaches to teaching and learning. The rapidly changing technology of learning may alter the cost, availability, and effectiveness of different modes of teaching and learning. The role of teachers, and of the learning environment, may also be significantly changed. These aspects need to be captured in any monitoring of the realisation of lifelong learning.

Information gaps are arguably most pressing in the area of *outcomes*. Some outcome measures, such as educational attainment, are well known and widely available, but there is a great dearth of information on assessment of skills and competence acquired as an outcome of the learning process. This is especially the case with informal learning. Measures to identify, certify and recognise such learning are needed. A broader definition of outcomes includes attitudinal and motivational behaviour. While critical for lifelong learning, information in this area is especially deficient.

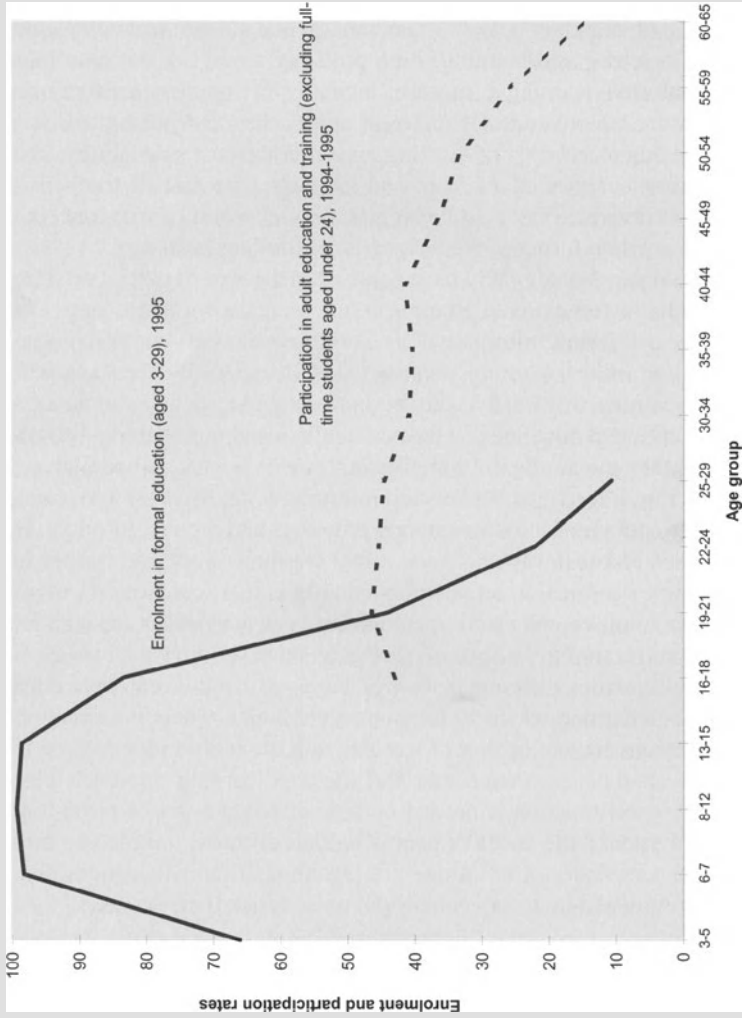
A monitoring effort needs to develop information on *processes*, revealing the links and interfaces between levels and among providers and sectors. Information on transition processes and pathways between initial learning, work and further learning are key. So, too, is information on complementarity and articulation of programmes and learning opportunities, and on co-operation between the various stakeholders involved in teaching and learning. Indicators need to be developed on such issues as the flexibility of choice among different pathways, barriers to and incentives for learning, and the impact of the processes on motivation and attitudes, where information is sparse.

Finally, the nature and quality of learning is profoundly influenced by the learning *context*. Given the importance that the lifelong learning approach places on the systemic view, information is needed on how different types of provision are linked together and cater to the needs of people in their different life phases. Information is needed on the attributes of a “culture” of learning, attitudinal changes that contribute to such a culture, and how they can be given institutional expression.

PARTICIPATION IN LIFELONG LEARNING

A monitoring framework that captures all of these areas of lifelong learning would be complex. Work continues in the OECD’s INES programme to examine the conceptual and empirical bases for developing a more comprehensive set of indicators which can be used to assess progress towards the realisation of lifelong learning for all. Recently-developed indicators shed light on one important aspect of lifelong learning, namely participation in learning activities. The available data do not cover all age groups, do not touch on quality aspects and are not available for all Member countries. Nonetheless, they reveal several patterns and trends from the perspective of participation in learning activities over the life-span.

Figure 1.1 Participation in education over the life-span
 Percentage of age cohort enrolled in formal education (age 3 to 29), and participation in adult education and training (age 16 to 65), unweighted mean, for 10 countries, 1994-1995



Sources: OECD Education database and International Adult Literacy Survey. Data and notes for figure 1.1, page xx. Full country data, see data for figure 1.3, page xx.

First, lifelong participation in learning is already a reality for a significant minority of the OECD population. This can be observed from Figure 1.1, which brings together enrolment information in formal education (the solid line) and participation in adult education and training (broken line), for the nine OECD countries for which both sets of information are available. These data combine two very different concepts and coverage, one based largely on full-time education, and the other on largely part-time participation. Virtually universal education up to age 15 is well-known, testifying to the rapid progress of OECD countries over the last three decades. What is less well-known is the frequency of participation in adult years: measured over the preceding twelve month period, more than 10% of the age-cohort is engaged in some form of education and training even at age 60–65 (OECD and Statistics Canada, 1997).

Second, the heavily front-loaded pattern of participation is evident. After age 3, participation in formal education increases sharply, reaching close to universal coverage in primary and lower secondary years. Participation begins to decrease around age 15, relatively moderately at first and sharply after 18. The decline continues at age 20–21 but by this age a substantial number are participating in adult education and training. By the age initial formal education commonly is completed, over two-thirds of adults (aged 25–34) in the average OECD country have gained upper-secondary qualifications, and about one-quarter have completed tertiary education (OECD, 1997a, Indicator A2).

Third, participation in organised education and training continues to fall during adulthood. The proportion of respondents who reported having participated during the 12 months before being questioned in the International Adult Literacy Survey (OECD and Statistics Canada, 1997) peaks at age 21 (at almost 40%) and declines gradually. The decline is particularly noticeable after age 40, with an even sharper decline after age 50.

PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION OVER THE LIFESPAN

Figure 1.1 summarises participation trends over the lifespan by combining data on the proportion of young people in formal education with estimates of the proportion of adults who undergo some type of education or training in a given year. This serves to illustrate the pattern of learning over the lifecycle. However, the juxtaposition of the two data sets should be interpreted with caution, for two reasons.

First, they relate to different types of learning. The youth series is drawn from national records of students enrolled in educational institutions, mainly full-time. The adult series is based on a question in the International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS) about whether the respondent has participated in any organised learning activity for any length of time during the previous twelve months. The question includes for example workshops, on-the-job-training and recreational courses.

Second, some clarification is needed about data coverage in the age-range in which the two data series overlap. In order to avoid counting young adults still in initial education as undertaking “adult education”, all full-time students aged 16–24 are left

Figure 1.2 The sexes and lifelong learning

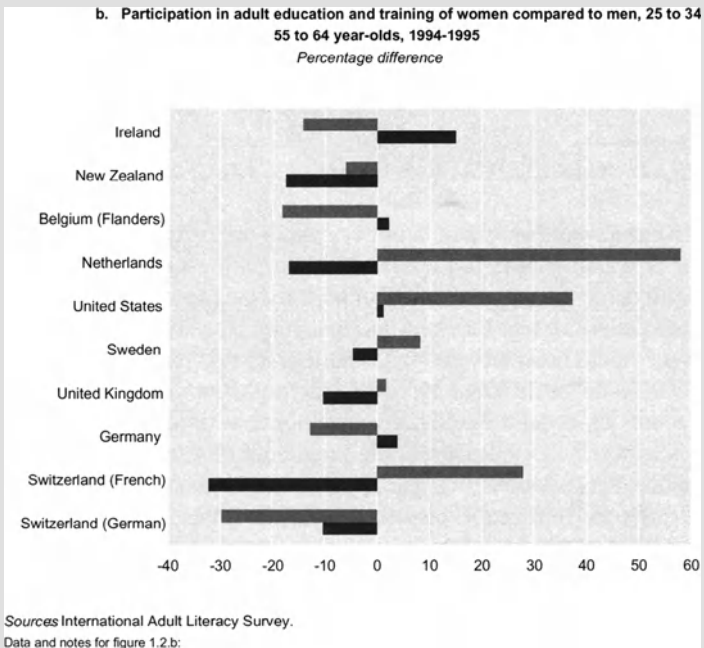
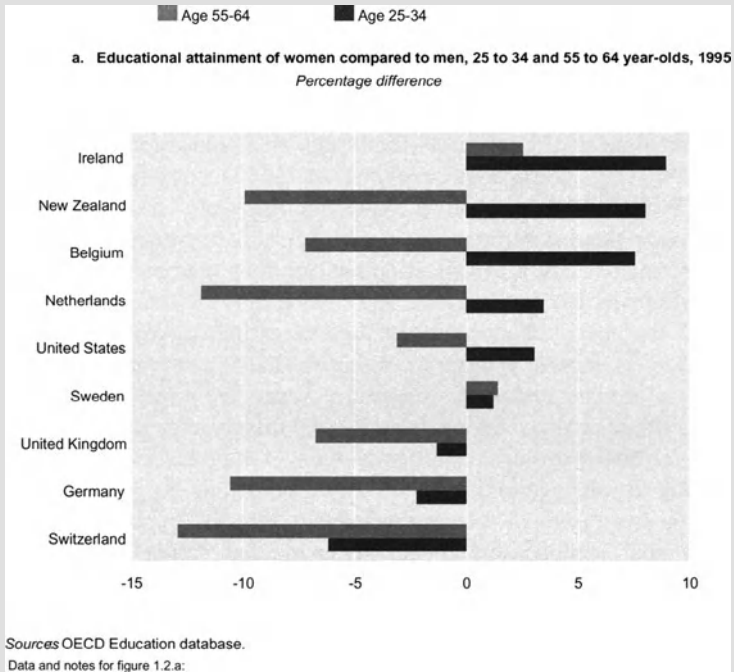
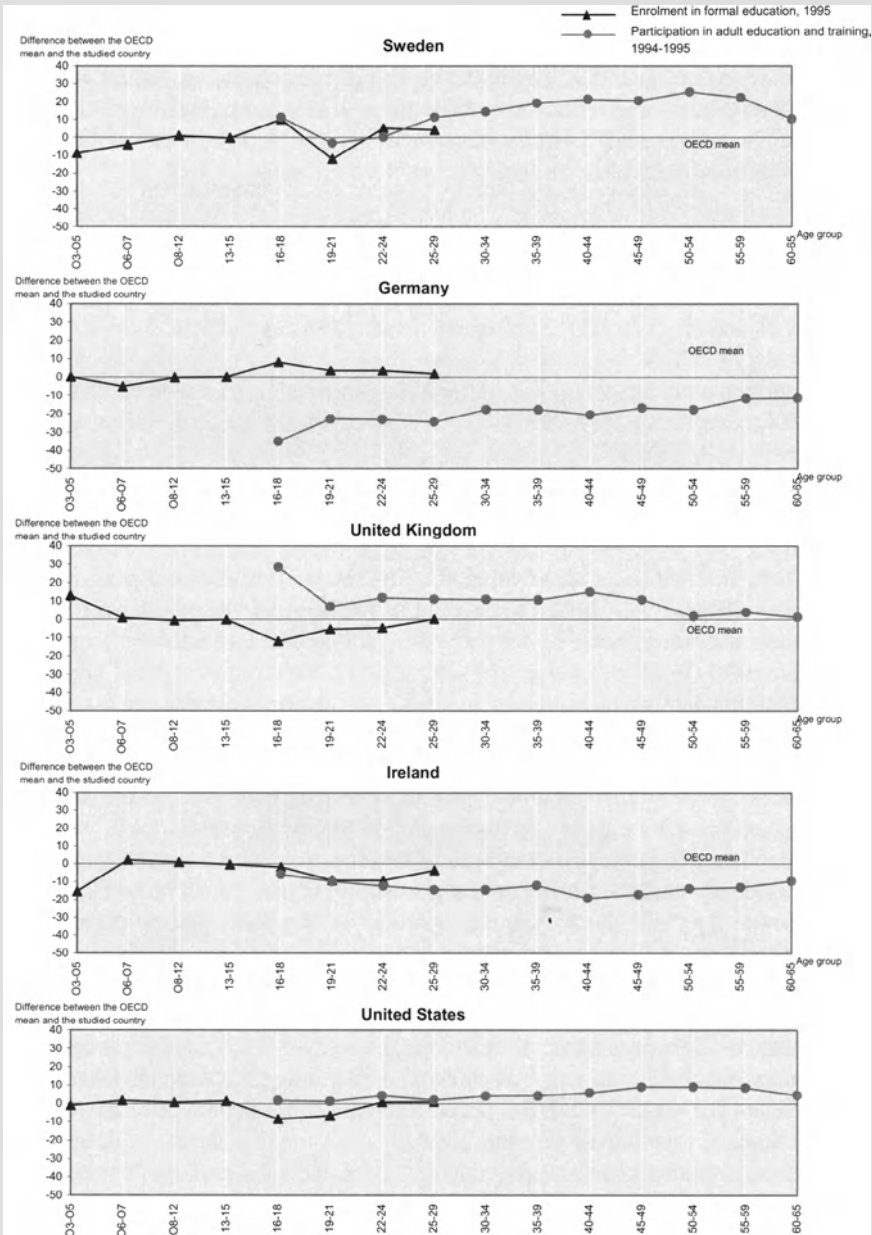


Figure 1.3 Participation over the life-span: country variations



Sources: OECD Education database and International Adult Literacy Survey.
 Data and notes for figure 1.3, page xx.

out of the calculation of adult participation rates in IALS. So for this age-group, the broken line represents mainly a different group of people from the solid line, showing them as a proportion of all non-students (so the two participation rates cannot be added together). For everyone aged 25 and over, the broken line shows the total of all people studying, including those who remain in or have returned to formal education. Thus the solid line, which looks at students in formal education up to the age of 29, effectively represents a subset of the broken line for the final 4 years shown.

GENDER AND LIFELONG LEARNING (Figure 1.2)

1. Educational attainment of women compared to men, 25 to 34 and 55 to 64 year-olds, 1995
2. Participation in adult education and training of women compared to men, 25 to 34 and 55 to 64 year-olds, 1994–1995

PARTICIPATION OVER THE LIFE-SPAN: COUNTRY VARIATIONS (Figure 1.3)

As a proxy for participation in all learning activity, the information in Figure 1.1 is clearly an underestimate. The broken line would lie further up, indicating higher rates of participation, if account could be taken of the unorganised and informal learning experience that takes place in a variety of settings, on which, unfortunately, internationally comparable data are currently not available. As informal learning increases in importance, through the wider use of the Internet for example, the hidden level of participation can be expected to rise further. Detailed information on the quality of training is not available, but its duration can be used as one proxy. A large proportion of the training obtained is for a very limited period. In four of nine countries for which comparable data are available, less than 30% of workers receiving training spent two weeks or more doing so.[2] What Figure 1.1 also shows is that, for most post-school age groups, more than two-thirds of the population do not participate in organised learning activities each year.

Fourth, the high participation in initial education, shown in Figure 1.1, should eventually drive a rising rate of participation in adult education. Consider the following two indicators. First, on present graduation trends the proportion of 25–64 year olds with upper secondary education will rise from 60% to 73% (unweighted country average) between 1995 and 2015 (OECD, 1997b). Second, people with superior education levels are far more likely to participate in adult education and training: adults with upper-secondary education (but not tertiary) were between 32% and 38% more likely to participate than those with only lower-secondary, in every country surveyed except Sweden where participation is high for all educational groups (OECD and Statistics Canada, 1997). So as today's young, better educated cohorts grow older, adult learning rates are likely to rise substantially, even if the form, frequency and duration of learning activities in adulthood may be expected to evolve. Moreover the rising trend in participation in full-time education will, in itself, increasingly extend the solid line in Figure 1.1 to the right

as an increasing proportion of mature adults are coming back to both secondary and tertiary level education.

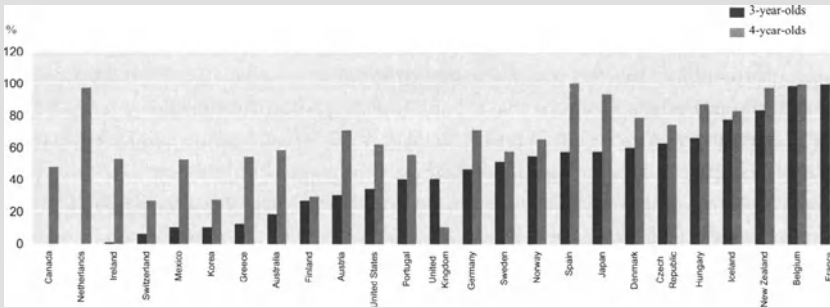
Fifth, even though women are now about equally represented, on average, at all stages of formal education, there are significant differences in participation and attainment across the life cycle. Examples of two significant types of difference are shown in Figure 1.2. This graph looks at the differences between the sexes among adults of particular ages, both in terms of levels of initial education and in terms of whether they have participated in organised learning over the previous twelve months. Greater equality in initial education in the past 20 years has meant that in a majority of countries, women aged 25 to 34 have completed more years of initial education than men of the same age. But men are more likely at this age to be currently engaged in learning; they receive for example a disproportionate share of training at work. For an older cohort, aged 55–64, women in half of the countries have completed fewer years of initial education than men. But interestingly, in the majority of countries, they do not in this age-range participate on average less than men, probably because work-related learning has by this age become relatively less important.

Sixth, there are marked differences among OECD countries. Figure 1.3 shows examples of how youth and adult participation rates in individual countries compare to the average for nine OECD countries. First, in Sweden, it can be seen that participation is high at almost every age beyond early childhood – including young people in upper-secondary education aged 16–18, those continuing in formal education in their mid-20s and adults participating at all ages. Second, in Belgium (Flanders) there is a high staying-on rate for young people, but a low rate of participation in adult education and training. Conversely, in the United Kingdom staying-on rates are low but adult participation is high.

In Ireland participation in both respects is below average outside the compulsory years. Finally, the United States is about average on both counts. High youth participation and high adult participation do not tend to go together. Canada, New Zealand and Switzerland are similar to the United Kingdom in combining low youth with high adult rates.[3] So the Swedish and Irish cases seem to be the exception. For some countries, there appears to be a compensatory difference between enrolment in formal education in the early phases of life and participation in adult learning activities later on.

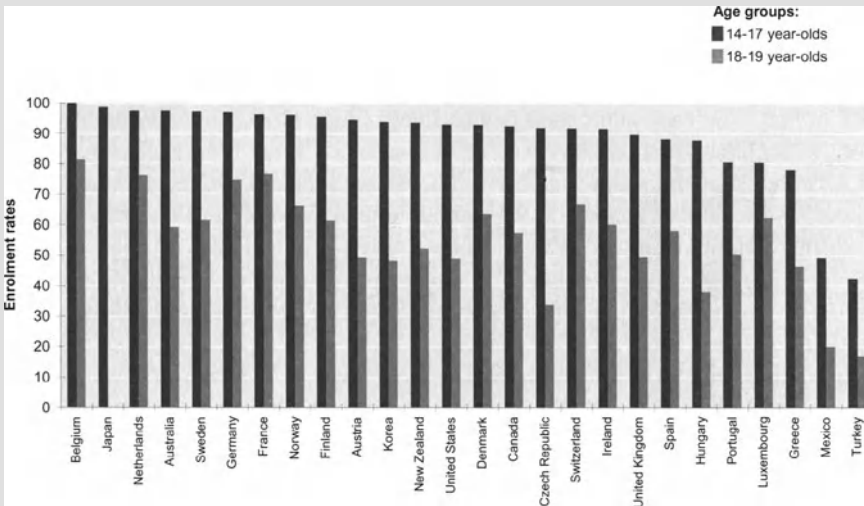
Looking more closely at country differences in participation in education, the most important differences come just before and just after compulsory schooling. At age 3, for example, six of the 25 countries reported enrolment rates in pre-school education of less than 20%, at the same time as six others reported rates over 60%, with virtually universal participation in France and Belgium (Figure 1.4). Differences at age 4 are not as sharp but still very large. Country differences again manifest themselves as full-time upper secondary education ends. For the age group 14–17, in seven of the 26 countries participation rates were reported to be below 90 per cent. Turkey and Mexico ranked the lowest with rates less than 50%. By age 18–19, nine of the 25 countries have enrolment rates (upper secondary and tertiary combined) below 50% (Figure 1.5).

Figure 1.4: Pre-school participation, 1995



Source: OECD, Education database

Figure 1.5: Teenage participation, 1995



Source: OECD, Education database

After age 19, there is a steady decrease in participation in education, as shown in Figure 1.1. By age 22, nine of the 22 countries report participation rates above 30% while three have rates below 15%.^[4]

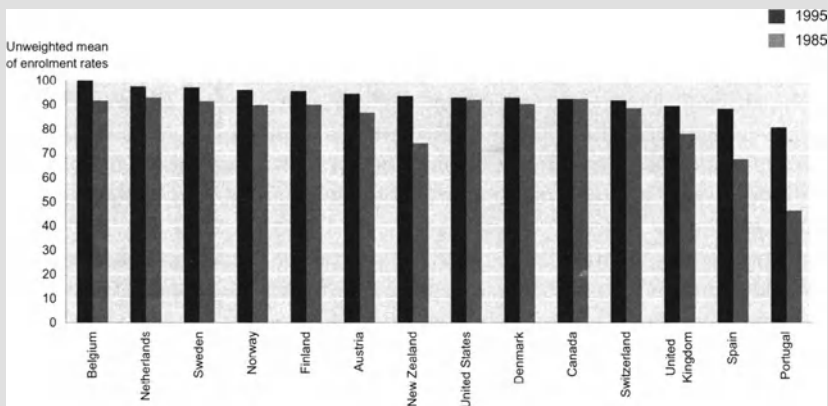
Seventh, there has been some reduction in inter-country differences over the past decade. Enrolment in secondary schools increased virtually everywhere, with large increases especially in those countries where participation rates were comparatively modest in 1985 (Figure 1.6). Increases have been most marked in Portugal, Spain, New Zealand and the United Kingdom.

This observation is further supported by the information on country trends in participation in tertiary education. The proportion of the age group going on to some form of tertiary education has increased over the ten year period, in some cases substantially

(OECD, 1997b and 1998a). Country differences, while still large in 1995, are less than they were in 1985. The increase has been particularly notable in a few countries: Canada, Norway, Spain and Sweden. Enrolments in tertiary-level institutions have expanded in some cases to 40% of the age group leaving secondary schools. The expansion of participation in tertiary education is one of the major educational and social developments of the past twenty-five years. Further increases in participation rates seem likely, both in countries that have led as well as those that have lagged behind this trend.

Finally, there are large within-country differences in participation. These can be best illustrated with reference to the data on adult education and training, which are particularly unevenly distributed.[5] A high proportion of opportunities are organised through employers, so unemployed individuals, those who work in small enterprises or those who enter the labour market with low qualifications have less access to adult education and training opportunities. These patterns indicate where policy should be focused if the gaps are to be filled.

Figure 1.6: Towards universal participation of youth, 1985 and 1995
Percentage of 14 to 17 year-olds enrolled in education



Source: OECD, Education database

IDENTIFYING THE GAPS

The data on participation can help identify where more attention needs to be given to the provision of organised learning opportunities, even though this is only one part of the life-long learning framework. They do not show the quality of learning experiences, the incidence of informal learning or the degree to which various opportunities link together into a coherent framework for learning that builds over the life span.

The data show that lifelong learning is already a reality for a segment of the OECD population, but there is clearly much to be done to make it a reality “for all”: more than two-thirds of the adult population do not participate in organised learning activities

each year. In some European countries more than half of the working-age population has received little education beyond primary schooling. There are important gaps in coverage and examples of inequities in the distribution of education and training opportunities, in both formal education programmes and adult learning.

In about half of countries supplying data, only a minority of children participate in formal pre-school programmes before the age of 4. But the variation among countries is substantial: early childhood education is virtually universal in a few countries, but others have a long way to go in opening up learning opportunities for young children. While there is clearly an emerging consensus on the importance of providing stimulating environments for very young children, there is considerable debate across OECD countries on whether enrolment in organised and formal provision outside the family is necessarily the best approach for the very young. A key question concerns the quality of provision on which, unfortunately, data are lacking. Policy choices must take into account the competition for public and private resources and how the relationships between families and schools are affected by an expansion of pre-primary education.

Several countries now retain nearly all young people in secondary school until age 17, but there is less than full retention in upper secondary education. Early school leaving and high failure rates are important problems, as those without full secondary education confront more limited and poor labour market prospects. Weak school performance has been shown to be associated with low socio-economic status, so the problems are both more concentrated and difficult. Reforms of school curricula to foster greater motivation for learning and a better integration of vocational and general studies and work-related experience seem to be particularly promising approaches to bring these learners up to a minimum level of education but also to equip them for continued learning in later life.

Continued growth in participation in tertiary education raises new challenges, opportunities and dilemmas for policy. These include how to provide a range of tertiary-level learning opportunities to a more diverse population of learners at this level; how to define and maintain quality across the range of study programmes and options; how to ensure coherence and transparency while meeting diverse learning needs and interests; how to mobilise resources and improve efficiency in the light of high volume participation; how to respond to the needs of those who do *not* participate in tertiary education.[6] It is now being recognised that the boundaries between establishments and programmes among and within levels should be seen as flexible and to some extent overlapping. The distinction between vocational, professional and general education at secondary and tertiary levels is one of degree and emphasis. The bypassing of sectoral boundaries in an effort to reinforce the continuity of learning is emphasised in a lifelong approach.[7]

CONCLUSIONS

The concept of lifelong learning has been significantly broadened since the 1970s. As an all-embracing and comprehensive concept it can mean very different things to different people. This chapter illustrates the ways in which the broader concept can be useful for guiding education and training policy, and provides evidence to suggest that

OECD countries are adopting it. The chapter has also shown how the lifelong learning approach can be useful for identifying the indicators needed for monitoring progress on both the policy objectives and more narrowly defined targets.

A framework that monitors progress towards lifelong learning in a comprehensive way will be a complex system. It will need to take account of different perspectives – of individuals, of providers and of societies. Old indicators have to be re-interpreted and new ones need to be developed. Too little is still known about early childhood education, motivation to learn, informal learning and learning in older age. Information remains deficient on what is the most effective pedagogy for different groups of learners. In examining the structure of provision, information on pathways, standards and certification has high priority.

Monitoring progress will be a difficult and always imperfect exercise: it will never be possible to construct fully adequate indicators of all the informal learning that occurs in people's lives. But it will nevertheless be possible to build on our present understanding as an aid to policy development. Already it is possible to show that only a minority of the OECD population is participating in education and training on a life-long basis. There is a considerable distance to go in making learning a reality "for all", even without considerations of content, quality, and relevance. Attaining the goal would be costly but it is also an investment. It is a realisable ambition, if it is pursued as a long-term effort to which all partners contribute.

ENDNOTES

1. This text draws upon working papers developed as part of the OECD's activity on financing lifelong learning. Twelve countries have described policy strategies and provided detailed information.
2. Detailed country data are provided in the statistical annex, Table I.A, page 78. Over time, it is not evident that training of short duration leads to less learning. Improvements in the foundations provided in compulsory schooling through the first years of tertiary education could equip individuals to be more efficient learners, enabling the realisation of learning objectives in a shorter period of time.
3. Data for nine countries are presented in a statistical annex.
4. See OECD (1997a and 1997b). Complete country data of enrolment in formal education by single year of age are provided in a statistical annex.
5. Detailed country data are provided in a statistical annex.
6. See OECD (1997b and 1998b).
7. On patterns of participation in the first years of tertiary education, see OECD (1997b) and OECD (1998b).

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Section 3

Structures and Programs in Lifelong Learning

JUDITH CHAPMAN– SECTION EDITOR

Chapter 1: Schools and the Learning Community: Laying the Basis for Learning Across the Lifespan

JUDITH CHAPMAN AND DAVID ASPIN

INTRODUCTION

In this Chapter we propose a set of agenda for schools in the 21st Century, arising from the notion of the learning community and acknowledging the importance of schools as having a key function in the provision of an enduring basis for learning throughout people's lives. Drawing on our analyses of policy documents emerging from the work of inter-governmental agencies and national authorities, our study of the application of new thinking in social and political theory to the development of educational policy, and our analysis of data collected in the course of an investigation of "best practice" in schooling, we identify new directions in educational policy and practice and propose a set of agenda for schools committed to the idea of lifelong learning. We argue that the aims of this undertaking may be realised through the implementation of such important objectives as:

- The provision of educational opportunities throughout life that adhere to such principles and policy objectives as: economic efficiency and advance; social justice, social inclusion, and democratic participation; and personal growth and fulfilment.
- The re-assessment of traditional school curricula and pedagogies in response to the educational challenges posed by key economic and social changes and trends associated with and arising from the emergence of those developments coming to be known as the "knowledge economy" and "learning society" of the new "global age" of the 21st century.
- The re-appraisal and re-definition of places in which learning can take place and the creation of flexible learning environments that are positive, stimulating and motivating for a far more extensive range of learners and which overcome the constraints of standardised curricula, age- and subject-divisions, narrow timetables and rigid approaches to pedagogy.
- The acceptance of the importance of the idea of "value-added" learning consisting of increased emphasis on individualised instruction, the development and monitoring of personal development plans, assessment of success in achieving personal learning targets, and the development of cross-curricular competencies integrating cognitive growth and the emergence and the cultivation of moral awareness and the capacity for moral judgement and action.
- The awareness that, whilst schools may be starting to be seen as less important as primary authorities for and sites of the acquisition of knowledge, they are

becoming more important in the socialisation of young people and the nurturing of young people towards the development of a sense of moral understanding and a movement towards an acceptance of civic responsibility and the need for community involvement and service.

- The evolution of inter-connected learning pathways among and between schools, further and higher education institutions, employers and other education providers, impacting on the formation of relationships between schools and a wide range of constituencies and stake-holders in the community having and interest in and a concern for the education of citizens for tomorrow.
- Promoting schools as learning communities and functioning as centres of lifelong learning catering for the widest possible range of needs and interests among all members of the community.

In the revitalisation of schools, we argue that the school committed to the idea of lifelong learning will be strengthened in its mission through the development of:–

- a clearly articulated strategy for change built around a unifying concept
- a re-conceptualisation of the place and function of schools in the community
- a preparedness to re-culture the school
- a readiness to invest in people
- a willingness to adopt an evidence-based approach to change
- an expansion of the outreach of the school to the local, national and international community
- a commitment to maintaining the momentum of change, sharing good practice and celebrating success
- a commitment to the idea of leading for learning

AN INTEGRATED MODEL FOR LIFELONG LEARNING – IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY, GOVERNANCE, FUNDING

As we enter the 21st century consideration is being given to the range of purposes that have been hitherto articulated and instituted for education and the models that have been developed and applied for the provision of educational opportunity throughout life and the place to be taken by schools in such provision generally.

Policy

At a time when policy-makers and educators are beginning to examine anew some of the principles for educating children to prosper and grow in a changing social and economic environment, a number of questions are being addressed. If governments adhere to such principles and policy objectives as economic efficiency and effectiveness, social justice, democratic participation, social inclusion, equity, and personal growth, what implications arise for the provision and style of education for children

during the period of compulsory schooling? In respect to equity, for instance, gaps continue to exist in the provision of educational services for some young people labouring under disadvantage; school organisation, curriculum, teaching and assessment practices are not always favourable to the necessity of engaging all students in a broad-based achievement-orientated and complete cycle of compulsory schooling; and a divide remains between academic and vocational education and differentiated status persists between such programs and those emerging successfully from them. Questions also remain as to how new and still emerging technologies of learning are to be introduced in such a way that all students, irrespective of their socio-economic background, can enjoy the benefits of access to a high quality and empowering curriculum and experience educational success.

Considerations of policy documents issued by international agencies such as OECD and UNESCO, the European Parliament, the Nordic Council of Ministers, the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation Forum, and governments in countries including Australia, Canada, Japan, Norway, the Netherlands, Singapore, Taiwan, the United Kingdom and the United States of America confirm the place of schools as vital elements in the whole spectrum of educational undertakings and initiatives in societies committed to realising the vision of lifelong learning for all their citizens.

A number of themes runs through the work of these international and governmental organisations. These include: the emergence of an awareness of the importance of the notions of the knowledge economy and learning society; an acceptance of the need for a new philosophy of education and training, with institutions of all kinds, formal and informal, traditional and alternative, public and private, having new roles and responsibilities for learning; the necessity of ensuring that the foundations for lifelong learning are set in place for all citizens during the compulsory years of schooling; the need to promote a multiple and coherent set of links, pathways and articulations between schooling, work, further education, and other agencies offering opportunities for learning across the lifespan; the importance of governments providing incentives for individuals, employers and the range of social partners with a commitment to learning to invest in lifelong learning; and the need to ensure that emphasis upon lifelong learning does not re-inforce existing patterns of privilege and widen the existing gap between the advantaged and the disadvantaged, simply on the basis of access to education (Chapman and Aspin 1997, p.16).

These most recent commitments from governments are based upon a new and integrated model for lifelong learning. In this the focus is on: lifelong provision – insofar as educational provision is available across the lifespan – from cradle to grave; new approaches to learning – providing learners with the skills and capacities by which they can learn according to their own learning styles, needs and purposes; and learning that is accessible to all – insofar as learning should be socially inclusive and providing all learners with the confidence to engage in learning at each stage in life [Longworth 1997, p.5].

This more holistic, seamless and integrated approach to lifelong learning constitutes a significant departure from traditional models of educational provision. Such models were characterised by:

- sharp divisions between sectors and providers
- compartmentalisation of territory and remit between different institutions operating in the provision of academic and professional/vocational courses and programs
- an emphasis upon on-campus attendance with little attention to the possibility of off-campus course availability or multi-mode delivery
- a distinction between the acquisition of knowledge and the development of generic lifelong learning skills and competencies, such as: self-starting curiosity, doing research, managing information, taking independent action and initiative in problem-solving, working with teams in the achievement of common goals, communication and literacy skills, adaptability and flexibility in response to challenge and change, and building and deploying creativity and imagination
- the assumption of sharp cognitive demarcations between discrete forms and categories of knowledge, distinctions between disciplines and subjects, and separations between theory and application.

By contrast, the core principles underpinning new approaches to lifelong learning provision [Fryer 1997, pp.28–31] reveal a commitment to:

- coherence as an overall education strategy for government
- equity in providing learning for the many, not the few
- valuing people before structures as the focus of policy and good practice
- providing variety and diversity
- acknowledging the need for quality and flexibility
- building upon effective and inclusive partnerships
- incorporating shared responsibility
- building on a multi-faceted “whole” government approach.

Governance

The issue of governance and management in this more integrated approach adds an important dimension to the question of the implementation of lifelong learning and the place of schools in educational provision. Governments tend to prefer to work on policies that can be broken up and distributed for responsibility. The missions of lifelong learning, however, cut across government departments and administrative bodies and divisions.

In response to this, governments might be well served by considering the creation of an over-arching Ministry of Lifelong Learning. It should be pointed out, however, that there are dangers inherent in establishing some kind of ‘super Ministry’ of lifelong learning in which the interests of the schooling sector might be subsumed.

It is interesting to note that some of the most effective attempts to apply lifelong learning policies and schemes have occurred in those settings, eg. in Japan and some Scandinavian countries, where there are strong traditions of municipal levels of government and genuine political power at the local level for initiatives to take effect and succeed.

It appears that economies and dis-economies of size and scale constitute a factor in determining approaches to lifelong learning governance and management, particularly at a time when governments will be assuming the role of facilitator and mediator rather than monopoly provider of educational services, incorporating a wide range of educational providers, both public and private.

Funding

The debate regarding the best model of provision and hence of funding for lifelong learning is still in train and the issue still unresolved. The key question is, what are the alternative models for the provision and funding of learning across the life-span, that will best address and cater for the whole range of learning needs, provide the right start for all young people in their lifelong learning endeavours, and at the same time be economically efficient, socially inclusive and ethically just? Some maintain that, so important are the imperatives for the continuance of access to learning opportunities throughout individuals' lives, the provision of funding and other resources should be an ongoing charge upon the public exchequer. Others argue that, so burdensome would be the costs of providing that sort of access on a continuing basis, the government can do little on its own and would need to enter various forms of partnership with a range of other providers and operate in a mixed economy of funding provision. Yet others believe that, once one individual's basic learning needs have been attended to at a minimal level of public provision, they should then make their own decisions about what kinds of further learning they need and what pathways of cognitive advance they wish to explore, and for what reason, and seek to secure the further education and training they need, with funds raised out privately of their own resources.

The issue comes down to this. It is widely agreed that, with the increasing need for education across the life-span, the provision and funding of the whole process of education, from cradle to grave, cannot be met from the public exchequer and from government sources alone. Many people argue in response that the whole issue of educational provision should therefore be opened up to the forces of the market place. Against these, however, there are those who argue that, in a society committed to social inclusion, social justice and democracy, governments have a responsibility, at the minimum, to ensure that all young people – and particularly those from marginal or disadvantaged parts of society, where a strong and supportive safety-net of equitable social provision might be needed – have access to an empowering education during the compulsory years of schooling, which will provide them with a strong basis for their lifelong learning endeavours later on. Those of this persuasion argue that governments must, at the very least, accept primary responsibility for educational provision during the compulsory years, if all members of society are to have the knowledge, information and skills required for them to participate effectively in the processes of democracy and the opportunities of economic advance, as well as seeking ways and means of raising the quality of their own personal life-styles.

Such arguments are, of course, a function of people's and groups' deepest moral, social and political preconceptions and commitments. Among and between such standpoints it is clear that there are major and, in some people's eyes, irreconcilable differences. Such

differences are not likely to be settled quickly or easily and so the debate about the provision of and funding for lifelong learning is one with which educators and policy-makers, at local, national and international levels, are going to have live for many years yet. The resolution of this debate will have broad implications for the place and future of schooling.

THE PLACE AND FUNCTION OF SCHOOLS

In this debate on lifelong learning, there is presently emerging a discussion on the need for a new concept of obligatory or compulsory schooling, which is more flexible than that which has had pride of place hitherto. Schools are increasingly coming under pressure from a variety of sources. Many of the policies pertaining to schooling are contradictory: some policies are weakening schools, some are strengthening them. Some pundits outside education are of the view that there will be no need for schools in the 21st Century, at least in the form in which they have been conceived and constructed in the past, and that the technology is now available to make it possible for schools of the past to be dispensed with.

Questions to be addressed

In the debate on the place of schools in the 21st Century, there is now a serious need to make the case for the indispensable place and function of schools in the community. In these considerations a number of questions need to be addressed. Among them, for example, are such as the following:

- What are the best responses to people's learning needs, in a world where the concept of learning is changing, where many learning needs do not get satisfied, and where there are many unreached potential learners?
- What is the meaning and importance of learning in society?
- What happens if schools are not the universal institutions of education that we know them to be today?
- If schools are to exist at all, what sorts of places do we want them to be?
- What particular tasks and responsibilities do we see them as being charged with, above and beyond the imparting of information and skills that can be obtained by other means and in other fora?
- With respect to the other models of education and training that have been put forward, such as home schooling, what are the actual individual and social costs to set alongside the claimed benefits?

The Case for the Indispensability of Schooling

It is our contention that, whilst schools may be becoming less important as primary sources and repositories for the acquisition of knowledge as traditionally conceived,

they are becoming more important in the socialisation and acculturation of young people and the nurturing of young people towards the development of a sense of moral awareness and a movement towards an acceptance of the requirements of civic responsibility and the need for community involvement and service.

There are many other reasons for our insistence on the point that there will continue to be a vital need for the place and functioning of schools in the next century. From the point of view of communication and employment, it is clear that the role and significance of information technology will grow at an almost exponential rate and that communicative competence will remain and increase as a major requirement for all members of a society and a productive economy. But not all members of the community have access to PCs and the Internet at home or even in Cyber-Cafes and to the extent that they do not have such access so much are they disbarred from emancipation into the wider society operating by such modes of communication. There will therefore be a need for some young people to learn such communication by being given access to IT hardware and software and to do this in an environment in which they make advances, without any sense of pressure or threat, with the necessary guidance and support, and in a group of peers who will function as a kind of family support group.

Moreover, as Ackermann has insightfully shown [Ackermann 1980, 1989], such communication can only take place in a group setting, where conversations are underpinned by the need to observe certain norms and conventions a good many of which are moral in character. Schools are excellent places in which young people can be helped to develop a sense of moral awareness in a social setting and, through their conversations and communications, to begin to have some awareness of the importance of the idea of moral obligation towards one's fellow-members in the community. In school it will be possible for the citizens of tomorrow to be helped along the road to moral maturity. This will both make possible and involve them in learning under guidance to weigh moral issues, to make judgements, and to engage in courses of action, the responsibility for the consequences of which they gradually come to see the necessity of their becoming bearers. This will be especially important at a time when the Internet offers students access to untold possibilities of both beneficial and harmful things, when there are, in some parts of the world, increasing threats of social instability and personal insecurity, and where in many parts of the world, they are required, as future members of participative democracies, to give their opinion on matters of vital national and international importance and consequence.

This kind of learning cannot be picked up from a file-server or an impersonal set of instructions on a VDU: children and young people need more mature people to model appropriate forms of social and moral conduct to them on a daily basis, for it is only through living in such an atmosphere overtly concerned with the institutional expression of education as a moral concept that they will acquire the necessary knowledge and understanding of the requirements of moral conduct and community obligation by a process akin to a form of moral osmosis (see also Aristotle 1934, Peters 1968). The best place for this is, of course, in a family; but a vital and indispensable part is also that which is played by the requirement for young people to have to live in and among a supportive range of significant others, beyond the family. This is an argument for the indispensability of schools as centres for the learning of good inter-personal relationships in the wider community and of the principles and practices necessary for good citizenship.

The necessity of seeing schools as places for students to engage in learning to be a good citizen and member of the community has been stressed by Professor Michael Barber, in the United Kingdom [Interview with J. Chapman May 1998; see also Barber 1996]. On the importance of schools in this respect, he has commented as follows:

“You can’t learn how to get on with people different from yourself, sitting in your home, you can’t learn the rules of community life sitting in your home, and you can’t learn about participating, arguing, fighting your corner, standing up for yourself. I think school is absolutely the fundamental building block of communities”.

There is, also, a further argument to be made for the indispensability of schools as agents of community education. Young people need to be introduced to the widest possible range of activities and pursuits, from among which they make their own selection for constructing a satisfying and enjoyable set of life-options for themselves. If we value individual growth and extended personal development, we shall want to offer our young people some vision and experience of those things that will conduce to the enrichment of their sense of identity and self-worth and will lead to the increase of their autonomy. Such a wide range of forms of activity, pursuits and interests are unlikely to be found solely in the home: children and young people often prove to have interests, abilities and aims that are either unfamiliar in the home setting or impossible to cater for there. Schools do not have a monopoly of such provision in a wide range of sources for personal satisfaction (the arts and sports and outdoor pursuits come to mind here) but schools can provide access to these and many more such pursuits, in abundance. More: they can also give young people help and guidance in learning how to discriminate between them and the various benefits they confer as well as the various problems they might betoken. Helped by the counsel of more mature leaders, young people can begin to make decisions as to taking up activities that will, upon reflection, bestow upon them sources of satisfaction that will act as well-springs for their continuing personal enrichment throughout their lives (see also White 1982).

All these activities, ends and ideals demonstrate the need for the continuance of people’s access to opportunities for adding further increments to their existing knowledge and skills throughout their lives: for economic advance, for democratic participation, for sound inter-personal relationships and for personal growth and increased autonomy. This is the argument, not only for the indispensability of schools for getting young people started on the right path to these learning gains, but for their learning to be able to extend their learnings in these and other realms throughout their lives, and to acquire the stable and settled disposition necessary for engaging in such learning and taking up such opportunities.

EDUCATIONAL REFORM: THE LEARNING COMMUNITY IN THE NEW GLOBAL AGE

As we stand at the turn of the millennium, people are thinking of new ideas and new approaches to current and emerging social and economic problems and issues. At this

time there is a political will among governments and their ministers to consider lifelong learning as an answer to some of these problems. At such a time, there is also an increase in the type, range and sophistication of information technologies to make possible the articulation and application of new solutions to such issues and problems. All these factors provide us with a set of enabling conditions propitious to undertaking a consideration of the reasons for embarking upon programs of educational reform.

The Need for Educational Reform

Some key social and economic developments and trends pose a large number of educational challenges. Future projections indicate the likelihood of a growing diversity of learning needs and opportunities.

The OECD *Study on Sustainable Flexibility* [OECD, 1997a] argues that, in the new information- and knowledge-based economy of the 21st Century, with rapidly changing technologies and markets for products, work will be transformed, which in turn will alter expectations regarding the kind of worker required. This transformation, the authors argue, will be characterised by flexibility and networking, in which there will be a complex interplay between more highly educated workers prepared to learn more quickly to take on new tasks and to move from one job to another, and best-practice firms promoting increased flexibility through general training, multiple-task jobs, and employee decision-making [OECD 1997a, p.34]. The authors suggest that the need to develop workers who have higher order problem-solving skills and who can help organise more learning has profound implications for schooling:

First it means that the standard forms of vocational education organised around specific skills for specific jobs are almost totally anachronistic, except in the sense that they can be used to teach problem-solving and organisational/teaching skills to students who have been alienated from more academic approaches to learning. Second, it suggests that learning in schools should be increasingly organised in a co-operative fashion, where students study in groups, present group work, and often get evaluated as a group. Third, the curriculum should include the development of networking, motivational and teaching skills, so that students develop a clear understanding of human behaviour and the understanding of group processes. In the learning-centred environment of the Information Age the process of learning and the motivation to learn should become endogenous to curriculum itself [OECD 1997a, p.35].

As industry and commerce are repeatedly transformed by new technologies and changing economic circumstances and demands, many skills and occupations are becoming obsolete. As Gray comments:

In future, people will need to be willing to re-skill themselves ... not just to keep pace with change in one occupation, but also to replace it when technology has destroyed it. But it is idle to suppose that most of us can evolve from being job-holders into portfolio persons, without the assistance of well-crafted public policy [Gray 1997, p.83].

The risks of high and continuing unemployment, low self-esteem, possible marginalisation, and low wages have been identified as the likely outcomes and costs of the lack of access to, or success in, learning. Curricula and pedagogy in schools of the future will

need to address the imperatives of promoting confidence in students of all kinds to engage in learning, a readiness to take up and capitalise upon opportunities for learning, and the skills of adaptability and flexibility to learn throughout life. Pathways from school to the worlds of further learning and work must be opened up to and made easy of access to all.

Changes in society are also having an impact upon the provision of education in schools. Changes in family structure and relationships are occurring contemporaneously with an increase in longevity. As people are now living longer and as non-salaried discretionary time increases, new and varied demands for personal fulfilment are emerging. It is vitally important that schools offer all young people the requisite education to give them access to a wide range of life choices and the development of a sense of self-worth, a capacity for developing positive and fulfilling interpersonal relationships, and an awareness of the importance of being involved in and committed to the responsibilities as well as the benefits of membership of the various communities of which they are a part. This will necessitate a reassessment of the traditional school curriculum, especially in respect of education for personal development and well-being, for social and community service learning, a renewed commitment to overcoming the feeling of failure experienced by a considerable number of students in today's schools, an attempt to eliminate the various dysfunctional factors and phenomena which militate against the increase of students' interest and enjoyment in learning, and the provision of proper counselling, guidance and support, especially for those students who may be in danger of dropping out or being in other ways at risk of losing out on educational achievement.

In an age of rapid economic change, increasing technological sophistication, and the growing number of elements proliferating in societies undergoing continual transformation, which have inherent in them the dangers of fragmentation and the emergence of a substantial underclass, fundamental reform in education is a necessity. Only if societies undertake educational reform will it be possible for them to maintain the capacity for economic advance in an increasingly competitive global economy at the same time as maintaining social order and stabilising social cohesion. As has been pointed out [Gray 1997, p.28], however, the goals of maintaining social stability and an inclusive approach to the distribution of social goods in society can be in tension with increasing pressures brought about by the push towards economic globalisation in what has been described as "the new 'global' age"[OECD 1997b]. Even more tellingly, Etzioni [1996, p.81] questions:

"How far can a society tolerate public and corporate policies that give free rein to economic interests and that seek to enhance global competitiveness without undermining the moral legitimacy of the social order?"

GLOBAL, REGIONAL AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES OF LEARNING

The Global Community

In responding to the opportunities generated by the rapidly changing and globalizing world economy there is a growing impetus for internationalisation of many policy

issues, which were previously more domestic in character. As the authors of the 1997 OECD Report *Towards a New Global Age* [OECD 1997b, p.36] suggest, countries are increasingly confronted with a common set of policy problems and in this context, a range of international institutions and intergovernmental agencies such as the OECD is working to develop policies that promote economic prosperity, political security (through measures such as increased economic inter-dependence) and sustainable development.

The challenge, however, is that the global economy involves a widening range of actors that often operate in ways that are not amenable to government or inter-governmental control. Globalisation in the economic domain is largely driven by the private sector in the activities of the great multi-national corporations, through their global strategies, movements of capital, labour, finance, exchange, production, goods and services, and the global flows of information and culture that these precipitate [OECD 1997b, p.37].

This phenomenon constitutes a major challenge for individual national and state governments, particularly at a time when they face increasing pressure at home on the funds they have available for the provision and running of such major services, utilities and societal necessities as education, social welfare, health and safety, and public order and national defence. At a time when many governments are withdrawing from the role of monopoly providers of education, particularly in the years of compulsory schooling, and are moving towards a position of "steering from a distance", a number of challenges is posed for the provision of schooling. One challenge is to identify ways in which schooling can respond to national and international imperatives created by or emanating from global flows, forces or pressures, at the same time as being expected by governments on the domestic front to function with greater autonomy and much wider responsibility to generate funds to support their operations. Another challenge is to provide an education for all young people, that gives them access to a global society, in regard to employment opportunities, cultural literacy and sensitivity, and intercultural understanding, adaptability and flexibility, when access to an internationally orientated education that will confer these benefits is going to come only at considerable financial cost, both to its beneficiaries and to its providers. A third challenge will be to ensure that national cultures and traditions, and a sense of community identity can be sustained and perpetuated, at the same time as countries and their citizens are being prepared for functioning in increasingly international and global settings and are increasingly coming under the pressure of international and global trends.

It is perhaps significant that, at a time when the dangers of the loss of a sense of identity and the diminution of the sense of significance and worth residing in local cultures and traditions, betokened by the seemingly irresistible onset of internationalising tendencies and the impulse towards globalisation has become evident, that there has been growing interest in and attention paid to the re-instatement of the importance of the idea of the community as a central feature in discussions about political, social and individual life. In that part of the public policy debate on education reform, this has found expression in addressing the task of realising lifelong learning for all by focusing on communities as key sites for identifying the changes necessary to encourage and enable people to adopt learning as a way of life. This in turn has led to an emphasis on

the learning region, the learning city, and even the learning suburb and “housing estate”.

Learning Regions

Florida [1995] shows how regions are becoming focal points for knowledge creation and learning in the new age of the knowledge-based economy. Such learning regions “function as collectors and repositories of knowledge and ideas and provide the underlying environment or infra-structure which facilitates the flow of knowledge, ideas and learning” [1995, p.527]. Regions are seen as being able to build their economic advantage through their ability to mobilise and harness knowledge and ideas through regionally based complexes of innovation and production. Manufacturing infra-structures, providing a network of regionally-based firms that produce goods and services, human infra-structures, that provide labour markets from which firms can draw knowledge-workers, and physical and communication infra-structures, upon which organisations can deliver goods and services and communicate with each other, are identified by Florida as some of the characteristic features to be found in “learning regions”. Florida concludes [1995, p.535]:

“The industrial and innovation systems of the 21st Century will be remarkably different from those that have operated for most of the 20th Century. Knowledge and human intelligence will replace physical labour as the main source of value. Technological change will accelerate at a pace heretofore unknown: innovation will be perpetual and continuous. Knowledge-intensive organisations based on networks and teams will replace vertical bureaucracy, the corner stone of the 20th Century. The intersection of relentless globalisation and the emergence of learning regions are likely to erode the power and authority of the nation-state – the paradigm of 19th and 20th century political economy.”

Learning Cities

Linked to the notion of learning regions is that of “learning cities”. These are conceived of as cities that stimulate and energise the learning opportunities for people who live and work there. In the promotion of the idea of learning cities it is acknowledged that people learn from a vast range of learning opportunities, sites and environments, beyond formal education systems and institutions and the workplace. Cities and their structures and infrastructures are seen to influence the values and attitudes of their inhabitants as well as providing the opportunities, places and occasions for people to learn. In the United Kingdom the cities of Liverpool, Southampton, Edinburgh, Sheffield and Glasgow have declared themselves to be “Cities of Learning”. Gothenburg, Bologna, and Barcelona in Europe and Ballarat in Australia are also moving in this direction. It is now increasingly accepted that the cities that will succeed economically in the next century will have a diverse economy, strong links with knowledge-based

organisations, a well-educated workforce, and a commitment to expanding learning opportunities for all citizens. The European Conference on Learning Cities [Southampton 20–23 June 1998] saw the articulation and formation of an action plan for learning cities, incorporating the view of a learning city as: a provider of community vision; an economic development policy-maker; a surveyor of community learning needs; a uniter of opportunity; a recogniser of learning achievement and excellence; and a motivator of its citizens for learning.

The Report of the OECD Meeting held in Paris in 1998 on “Learning Cities and Regions” [OECD1998, p.4] identified the following as characteristics of learning cities:

- a clear and sustained commitment from public authorities, private enterprises, education and research institutions, voluntary organisation and individuals to set learning at the heart of the city’s development through partnerships
- a development strategy encompassing the whole range of learning from early childhood education to adult education
- creating globally competitive knowledge-intensive production and service activities; improving human and organisational capacities and creating environments conducive to learning, innovation, creativity and change:
- a specific purpose and identity implying shared values and networks
- social cohesion and environmental issues as an integrated part of the city’s development.

Within the concept of the learning city, deliberation about the provision of education in schools takes on a range of new concerns and meanings. Of particular importance is the notion of the learning network in which schools interact with an expanding range of institutions, agencies and sites for learning spread widely across the community.

Learning Suburbs

The notion of the learning city has recently been subject to more specific definition, leading to considerations of the idea of learning suburbs and even learning housing estates. This kind of definition has recently found expression in proposals and schemes for the establishment and promotion of suburbs and estates as “learning communities”. There are, however, some caveats to be entered here. The notion of learning communities, learning cities, learning suburbs and learning estates can have a downside. One point to be made is that such a notion can very easily slide into the status of being merely a slogan, which is then attached to a number of enterprises or purposes, not all of which are targeted upon the positive aspirations of those framing and forming plans for the establishment and/or expansion of lifelong learning for all. The adoption of the language of “learning community” by some property developers, for example, has inherent in it certain risks. The quest to develop new suburban estates as marketable commodities, with images of desirable residential properties, a suitably “green” environment, and a prosperous, well-to-do and upwardly mobile set of people being

prepared for the challenges of the 21st century in an environment such as those often depicted in sales or other brochures designed to attract people to buy in, often overlooks those aspects of lifelong learning objectives that are associated with social inclusion and social justice. At the same time as it must be acknowledged that some of these new estates being marketed as learning communities are adhering to many of the principles of lifelong learning, the danger is that such estates may become “walled-in” and available only to those with the resources to be included on their inside. Whilst it could be argued that, from one perspective, such “beacon” communities could provide models – even paradigms – of educational provision for the 21st century in learning surroundings rich in openings and possibilities, the question must be raised as to the nature and amount of the cost to the broader society and larger community in which such “privileged” estates are being located and developed.

For these and other reasons, it is highly important that we note the danger of the easy adoption of parts or the whole of the language of lifelong learning and the learning community for marketing purposes. For this may result in the emergence and use of a series of slogans, which then become totems for the exploitation of particular economic interests and social aspirations, directed towards a particular range and class of “consumer”.

THE NOTION OF COMMUNITY AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

Characteristics of communities

It is important to emphasise that the notion of community is associated with a social and political philosophy, of a far deeper provenance and weightier significance than the idea of the market that dominated so much of the thinking and policy-making pertaining to educational provision during the course of the 1980s. Notions of the community, as articulated and developed by such writers as Sandel, McIntyre, Etzioni and Gray, have been enormously influential in revitalising and re-directing social and political thinking in recent years, to the point at which those seriously concerned to advance educational policy along the lines of the learning community must be informed by their work.

The development of a philosophy around the notion of community has laid the basis for the establishment and elaboration of new ways of thinking about political morality, public policy and social relations, and the creation of new social forms, structures and interactions, that have wide-ranging implications for education and its institutions. Proponents of this philosophy – sometimes called communitarians – argue that community provides people with history, tradition and culture, all of which are deeply imbued with values and upon which versions of and approaches to agreements about the common good can be cast. As Etzioni sees it [1996, p.127]:

“Community is defined by two characteristics: first, a web of affect-laden relationships among a group of individuals, relations that often criss-cross and re-inforce one another (rather than merely one-on-one or chain-like individual

relationships), and second, a measure of commitment to a set of shared values, norms and meanings, and shared history and identity – in short, to a particular culture.”

The concern, as articulated by Etzioni, is to achieve a balance between individual rights and social responsibilities, individuality and community, and autonomy and social order [Etzioni 1996, p.5]. To mediate between such considerations, Etzioni proposes a new “Golden Rule” to operate at the macro, societal and personal levels:

“Respect and uphold society’s moral order as you would have society respect and uphold your autonomy” [Etzioni 1996: xviii]

BALANCING INDIVIDUALITY AND COMMUNITY

John Gray [1997] highlights the way in which the philosophical perspective focussing on the community:

“can aid thought on the central dilemma of the age, which is how revolutionary changes in technology and the economy can be reconciled with the enduring human needs for security and for forms of common life. As it arises in the context of a liberal culture, this dilemma can be expressed as that of balancing the interests in choice and autonomy, which are thought – often mistakenly – to be promoted by free markets, against the benefits, responsibilities and duties of community.” [Gray 1997, p.15]

Gray [1997, p.17] makes three claims regarding the importance of the common life of the community, without which individual well-being would be impoverished or impossible: (1) individual autonomy presupposes a strong public culture in which choice and responsibility go hand in hand and which is realisable only as a common good; (2) market exchange makes no inherent contribution to autonomy and market competition must be limited in contexts where its impact on individual autonomy may be disabling rather than enhancing; (3) fairness demands the distribution of goods and responsibilities according to their common social meanings in particular contexts thereby excluding market forces from domains such as education, where they violate such common understandings. Gray argues:

“The aim being pursued [by communitarian ways of thinking] is that of containing the centripetal forces of market individualism so as to reconcile them with the renewal of common life. The key insight of the communitarian liberal perspective [is] that human lives conducted within a public culture, that is desolated and fractured, are impoverished, no matter how many individual choices they contain.” [Gray 1997, p.47]

Individual autonomy, from this perspective, is established and developed in a context of a set of cultural traditions and institutions which affirm the dependence of that autonomy on a strong network of reciprocal obligations made intelligible and possible within a framework of shared meanings, understandings and purposes.

This is not to suggest, however, that the concept of community should be used as though it were a force for uniformity. As Etzioni points out [Etzioni 1996: xix], “the concept of community with which communitarians are working “... entails a combination of social order and autonomy. Without the first anarchy prevails, without the second communities turn into authoritarian villages, if not gulags or slave colonies”. The important point underlying this view is that it acknowledges the values of diversity and pluralism, including the idea of “communities within community”.

The notion of pluralism advanced and embraced by writers such as Gray accepts conflicts among fundamental goods, and diversity within and between cultures and traditions as a permanent condition to be lived with and enjoyed in modern democracies. Accordingly Gray (1997, p.19) points to the need for developing common institutions, in which practitioners of different cultural traditions can co-exist; protecting common institutions whose ethos is not that of market exchange from the near hegemony of market values; and balancing the need for common life with the reality of deep cultural diversity.

According to the communitarian view, a stable society cannot do without norms of fairness. Such norms are considered essential but they must be local and contextual, rather than universal or global and reflect shared understandings expressed in the common culture. [Gray 1997, p.39].

THE CONFLICTING DEMANDS OF FAIRNESS IN A PLURALISTIC SOCIETY

Judging fairness is a complex matter, insofar as there are hard choices to be made arising from the conflicting demands of fairness, both between and within particular contexts [Gray 1997, p.40].

As this relates to educational policy, the complex nature of fairness requires those concerned for advancing the development of community to accept some policies, which hitherto were also supported by proponents of the market. Gray argues [Gray 1997, p.40] that meritocratic policies in state schools, for example, can be defended as offering an aid to equal opportunity, when widening income inequalities allow growing numbers of people to opt out of the state system. Insofar as such policies would diminish the incentives to opt out and thereby increase the inclusiveness of state schooling, they would accord with the sense of fairness regarding educational opportunity, which informs the common culture in a country such as Britain today.

As the example of incorporating meritocratic policies in the provision of state education reveals some education policies, which emerged in the period when the ideology of the market was dominant, will still have a place in educational provision predicated on a concern for community. Judging the relevance of such policies to reform efforts predicated on a concern for community, however, will entail discriminations between underlying values and ideologies upon which justifications of a different kind will be based. To assist us in making discriminations Gray identifies [Gray 1997, p.77] three disabling illusions in neo-liberal ideology, which we note impacted on education in far-reaching ways during the course of the 1980s and 1990s in many countries. The illusory features of that ideology he claims to be:

- the nature of the human subject in which individuals were taken to be “primordial natural facts on which the life of society stands”. Social institutions were understood as means to the achievement of the purposes of these individuals and society itself was seen as little more than a voluntary association of such individuals;
- the perception of markets in which markets were privileged over all other social institutions, because market exchange was seen as the purest embodiment of human freedom;
- the neglect of reciprocity and fairness as conditions of social cohesion in which the ethical life of society was embodied in the mutual recognition of rights, rather than in a reciprocal acceptance of duties and rights [Gray 1997, p.78].

In regard to the first point, thinkers such as Gray and Etzioni reject the view that society can be conceived of as merely an artefact of individual choices. Etzioni argues [1996: 26] that “not only are human beings social by nature but also that their sociability enhances their human and moral potential ... Communal attachments and individuality go hand in hand, enrich one another and are not antagonistic”. Thus social institutions are conceived of as expressions of tradition and continuity in society, without which the lives of individuals lose meaning and become impoverished [Gray 1997, p.81].

In regard to the second point, it can be argued that markets may serve human freedom but they can just as easily deny it. A culture of excessive individualism, it is claimed [Gray 1997, p.81], is too slight and shallow a form of ethical life to sustain the institutions of society for long. The “good society” requires a balance between social order and individual autonomy. That order, however, needs to be voluntary and limited to core values, rather than being imposed or pervasive, and individual autonomy needs to be contextualised within a social fabric of bonds and values, rather than being unbounded [Etzioni 1996, p.28; see also Krygier 1997]. According to this view, the development of policy would need to be based on the belief that people should be able to pursue their individual and economic interests only with due consideration for their interests and responsibilities as members of a community, enmeshed in networks of personal relationship, moral obligations and social engagements.

In regard to the third point, those concerned for community engagement and development accept deep diversity in styles of life as a necessary precondition for the cultivation of a richer common culture {Gray 1997: 81}. In Gray’s view, community:

“means the cultivation of common institutions within which people of different traditions and practices can co-exist in peace. It means reforming the central institutions of the free market so that they are friendlier to vital human needs for security and autonomy. It means preventing social exclusion by enabling all to participate in the productive economy. It means developing institutions countervailing or complimentary, to those of the market, which foster common life, where the workings of the market risk further exclusion. It is concerned with contriving such a common framework of institutions within which diverse communities can live, not with any ideal of a single all-embracing community [Gray 1997, p.81].”

As Etzioni points out [1996, p.189], the complexities of implementing the communitarian point of view in a pluralist society are to achieve pluralism within unity and order and autonomy among communities. Dangers exist if individual communities limit their moral concerns to members of their own community; "... just as individual rights must be balanced with a commitment to a shared core of values, so the commitment to one's community (or communities) must be balanced with commitments to the more encompassing society" [1996, p.191]. The image that Etzioni employs to symbolise a society in which various communities maintain their specific identities, traditions and commitments at the same time as recognising that they are integral parts of a more encompassing web of communities, is the image of the mosaic (see also Aspin 1986).

The concept of a "community of communities" is advanced by Etzioni to provide a framework for the idea of tolerable diversity within a set of shared substantive core values which most people in a society find compelling and upon which the wider social order is able to sustain itself. Such substantive core values might include: a commitment to democracy; a set of "layered" loyalties; concern for tolerance, respect for others and reconciliation; the provision of society-wide dialogues; and an acceptance of the moral norms and conventions of civility and courtesy they rest upon and presuppose.

The challenge that follows from this is twofold: firstly, how to create forms of the good society and common life based on a moral and social order that is considered legitimate by their members; secondly, how to accommodate different forms of common life in shared common institutions. The challenge of creating forms of the good society and common life and the need to accept the tolerable co-existence of different forms of common life in shared common institutions has wide implications for educational policy-making and for institution-building, repair and renewal in the education sector.

SCHOOLS AS COMMUNITIES COMMITTED TO LIFELONG LEARNING

Drawing on the work of Etzioni, Gray and others, and drawing on our analysis of data generated by a study of educational reform, particularly pertaining to schools in Canada, England and Scotland, Germany and Australia, we point to ways in which schools may become learning communities, making more possible the realisation of the aim of life long learning for all. In particular we wish to highlight the need for the following:

PROMOTING THE NOTION OF SCHOOLS AS CO-OPERATIVE LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS

Redefining Schools As Places To Learn

In the last century, when, in most Western societies, free and compulsory education became mandatory for all, schools were designed upon the basis of what was then

believed and accepted about the nature of institutions, the functioning of the mind, the processes of learning, effective learning environments, and the nature of work and society. The world-view of the late 19th and early 20th centuries stressed the idea of learning as linear, sequential, generalisable and mechanistic, and organised approaches to learning were predicated upon that idea. Schools became characterised by organisational structures designed along the lines of rigid divisions and departments in the arrangement of efficient learning; learning was compartmentalised into discrete and manageable parts and sequences; assessment came to be based on the measurable and the quantifiable; and approaches to and methods of learning promoted the acquisition of facts and information constituting worthwhile knowledge.

Such assumptions concerning human mental processes, such approaches to learning and such models of the proper organisation of schooling are no longer considered adequate, even if they were ever valid, to meet the demands of learners preparing for the changed economic and social conditions, cognitive climate and intellectual demands of the 21st century. It is now widely accepted that new thinking about the nature of learning and new conceptions of the styles of effective learning, that students find best suited to their own modes of cognitive progress and achievement, must lay the basis for work in schools of tomorrow. Approaches to learning constructed along such lines will more accurately reflect the findings and implications of current accounts of learning and the acquisition of knowledge and understanding worked out in accordance with the cognitive and meta-cognitive science of our times.

Griffey and Kelleher [1996, pp.3–9] give an account of the history of learning theory and come forward with the following conclusions regarding an idea of optimum learning environment consistent with most recent knowledge and understandings about learning. They recommend that the optimum learning environment is one where: learning is based on the provision of direct experience rather than indirect experience and use of representational systems; learning takes place through action in the context in which learning is to be applied; learning takes place in the presence of experts practised in the contexts in which the learning is to be applied; individuals become conscious of their implicit theories about learning; individuals view learning as under their control and as intrinsically rewarding; learners become conscious of their thinking and learning strategies; there are conditions of collaborative teamwork which provide experience in learning to learn, facing problems, adapting to these in a practical context, and reflecting on problem formulation and problem-solving strategies; facilitators of learning themselves engage in learning; learners gain conscious awareness of un- or sub-conscious learning through strategies such as reflection, intuition, imagination and fantasy.

In line with recent developments in differing conceptions of efficient and effective styles and methods of learning, there is an increasing acceptance of the model of schools as learning communities, promoting conditions that enable learners to enjoy and exercise greater independence in the design of their own learning, connecting and integrating concepts, constructing and participating in their own communities of discourse and learning, and becoming self-conscious and aware members of their school, their neighbourhood, their society and the global community. To achieve such an outcome, substantial reforms will be required in the fields of curriculum, pedagogy,

learning provision and school organisation, including approaches to scheduling and the restructuring of time to enable more effective approaches to learning and teaching to be developed and applied.

Schools As Co-Operative Learning Communities

The Durham School Board in Canada provides an exemplary model of the ways in which schools can become co-operative learning communities. At Durham change was initiated through the adoption of a philosophy of co-operative learning. It was assumed that a co-operative approach to learning could not be adopted by students unless teachers were first committed to a co-operative approach. Initially experts were called in to offer provisional professional development courses in the field of co-operative learning. A "Training the Trainer" model was used so that teachers within the Durham School Board have themselves become expert in training others, not only within Durham but increasingly across the world. The idea was to help teachers work differently and to see their approach to teaching and learning and to class management in new ways. The notion was: "Train, go back to the classroom, try out the innovation, if you fail, try again, then go back for more training", and so the cycle would continue. Initially, no teacher undertook training alone. Teachers would be accompanied to training activities by at least one other colleague and, as an indispensable requirement, by a Principal or Deputy Principal. With this collegial approach to training people were able to take risks because everyone knew what it was hoped to achieve in the change process. In many respects the acquisition of a shared language among teachers and administrators regarding change efforts provided the starting conditions for grounding and embedding the talk and the actions of teachers in a professional standpoint committed to the need for a co-operative learning approach.

People in the Durham School Board never wavered from the initial idea of improving the instructional focus of the school through co-operative approaches, even though, over time, they had added further layers to this notion. The teachers were working through a process that was difficult at first but success resided in the response of students. Teachers were energised by student reaction to the new approach to learning. Teachers developed the notion of "ordinary excellence", sharing their stories of success about things that work and why, among their fellow teachers. Stories built up the capacities of colleagues. The shared experience of talking about stories of success and failure in the classroom also developed a degree of peer accountability. Initially it was the enthusiastic teachers who volunteered to undertake professional development. In time, however, the enthusiasm generated by teachers and students, as a result of the new learning, prompted other teachers to investigate ways in which they too could share in the success. The spirit of co-operation has also found expression in the institutional arrangements for decision-making. Schools have "school growth teams" that any teacher may join. These school growth teams develop annual school growth plans for re-vitalising the school.

The culture of co-operation is in evidence in Durham at the Eastdale Collegiate School, where once a month there is an internal sharing of "best practice" ideas and

experience. Teachers present examples of good practice to each other, trying to confirm and build upon each other's strengths and interests. The idea here is to build in the opportunity to learn, share and up-grade continually. A change culture has been created in which it is acceptable to disagree, in a constructive way, to experiment and to be receptive to risk, and to develop an understanding and deeper dialogue rather than positioning for a vote or trying to fall in with the dominant view. Collaboration has enabled staff to find out about their own creativity and their capacity to do things in new and original ways.

The Net-worked School

Many schools in the Durham School District in Canada are "net-worked". All teachers have e-mail on their computers. Among other things, teachers use e-mail to contact other teachers during the course of the day. In order to indicate levels of priority they place "flags" on messages and in so doing are able to speed up communication. When a teacher wants to find out if a student is absent, they can call up the class attendance list; if they need to find out how a student is performing in other classes, they can e-mail relevant subject teachers. Everyone reads their e-mail daily. This cuts down on all the "running around" by teachers and also speeds up communication back to parents. Teachers also have their own voice-mail, which they can access from outside the school. This saves considerable time for teachers.

At some schools, there is a TV set in each classroom. This makes it possible to run integrated classes with perhaps twelve different classes being shown the same video at the same time and then using it as a stimulus for their own different or complementary learning purposes. Computers are also used to enable students to engage in learning activities with other students around the world. At one rural school, for example, Grade 10 students have engaged in a learning activity with Grade 10 students in Tel Aviv. Students in each setting have to develop an industry that would make a profit within three years. The Canadian students decided to manufacture ice cream; they therefore had to do research into what sort of ice cream they would make, what price they would sell it for and to whom, where they would locate their factory, who their workers would be, and the constraints under which they would have to operate in regard to employment procedures, training needs, and health and safety regulations. Similarly, the students in Tel Aviv developed an analogous project of their own. After three months working separately and collaboratively on the computer, it was decided that it would mark a further step in learning if the students could see each other and speak to each other about their business plans. One of the Canadian school's partners was prepared to provide funds to enable the students to link up with each other by video-conference and discuss their plans. Students were taught how to direct such presentations, act as camera-persons and film-makers, and prepare presentations of business plans. The global comparisons that their interaction enabled them to make taught the students much about the international economy and some of the differences in laws and regulations and modes of business operation in different international settings.

Changing Organisational Arrangements and Schedules

At Sinclair High School at Durham, each Wednesday is set aside to enable students to have the chance to make the choices they need to enhance or enrich their own learning. They are given the opportunity to receive extra help in particular areas or to undertake enrichment programs, or to become involved in programs that take them outside the traditional curriculum. One of the basic beliefs underpinning the work of the school is that students are ultimately responsible for their own learning. Each Wednesday morning students stay at home until 10.15 am and teachers have their “common planning time” for the first two hours of the day. Students then undertake four one-hour blocks of learning activities, of their own choice. For the remainder of the week, classes are extended by half-an-hour, to ensure that the time allocation for the regular schedule of learning activities is fully covered. During these Wednesday programs, members of the community are invited to speak on various issues. Speakers may include those having experience in women’s shelters for those suffering domestic violence, pilots, veterinarians, and so on. Students of any Grade level may attend these speakers’ presentations. Students may use the information gained from these sessions to assist in work places, community service activities, or in career choice.

VALUE – ADDED LEARNING FOR ALL

The emphasis on “Value-added learning for all” in many reform efforts, particularly in England and Scotland, is a reflection of the dual concerns for the growth of individual autonomy and for community awareness. “Value-added learning” has two dimensions: (1) the idea involves “adding value” to an individual’s learning achievements, through individualised instruction, personal development plans, and evaluation of personal growth targets; and (2) the learning of values, not merely through overt activities of the curriculum but also through the acceptance that values permeate and imbue all aspects of learning in the school environment.

Providing individualised instruction, personal development plans and evaluation of personal growth targets in learning has been shown to increase value-added learning. This in turn requires flexibility in structures to overcome the negative effects of standardised curricula, age- and subject-divisions, and rigid approaches to pedagogy assuming only the “front end loading” model of teaching and learning. It also involves the development of cross-curricular competencies, developing the skills of interpersonal and social relations, communication skills, learning how to learn, learning how to solve problems, and developing the skills of positive criticism, personal and group initiative, imagination, creativity and productivity in the various fields in which students’ interests develop.

The goal of all this is an improvement in children’s learning generally, promoting better thinking and learning skills and greater learning success for every child. Part of this undertaking involves helping students give voice to and achieve their meta-cognitive goals, while helping teachers better to appreciate the necessary meta-cognitive dimensions of classroom learning and involvement, particularly as regards the play and

interplay between individual and group learning, including the relationship between student collaboration and conceptual change, cross-aged tutoring and peer-mediated learning, and inclusive processes in the classroom, which create communities of effective practice to promote and succeed in enquiry-based learning. Another important aspect of developing learner competence involves taking deliberate steps to increase the possibility of interaction between motivation, goal-orientation, and interest on the students' part, as they progressively acquire the skills of self-starting curiosity, self-regulated knowledge-building, and self-monitoring engagement in class.

An examination of good practice in a range of international settings can provide examples of the way in which value-added learning for all can be promoted and achieved.

PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS AND TARGETS

In the United Kingdom, the Government is committed to target setting, in relationship to both school and individual performance as a way of adding value. The Government supports school target setting, as it believes this engenders a new energy and commitment to improvement. A data-rich education world is considered to be beneficial, as it enables schools to compare themselves against other schools with similar intakes. This is seen as a means of tackling two types of complacency alleged to be found in some schools: one is the deep complacency of the rural and suburban schools in middle class areas, which were often seen to be, by definition, better than schools in the inner city. By forcing such schools to identify specific learning attainments and to benchmark against other schools of their type, it has been found that many such schools added little value to students' learning. The other type of alleged complacency, that target-setting was intended to puncture, had to do with fatalistic expectations about learning capacities claimed to be evident in some schools characterised by student populations experiencing poverty, deprivation and/or language difficulties. Data about the value-added learning attainments of students in some schools in disadvantaged areas have served as powerful catalysts for change in a range of schools, which had previously and fatalistically accepted under-performance as the norm. The availability of information about the amount, range and extent of value-added learning gains across and between schools in the UK is seen as a way of ensuring an awareness of the importance of continuous improvement and of making that one of the most important of all educational goals.

The identification of personal learning targets and the development of individual learning plans has also been seen as an important means of adding value. At St Bede's School, Blackburn in the UK, an extensive program has been put in place in order to improve the learning achievement of students. One aspect of the program has to do with individual mentoring. This involves students being taken out of classes for 10–15 minutes each fortnight. Individual mentoring is part of the timetable and is considered to be an essential aspect of the school learning program. The school has also increased the number of times in which parents receive reports on student attainment, effort and conduct, to four times a year. Detailed databases are kept on all students and these include information on items such as previous attendance, attainment grades, examination

results, and assessments of effort. Staff use these data to set realistic targets for individual students and for classes. The individual mentoring program has proved to be extremely effective and successful, especially in improving the performance of students who might otherwise have “fallen by the wayside”.

At Hawksley Hall High School, Wigan in the UK, there is also a program of individual mentoring and tutoring. Inherent in this program is the notion that students should become responsible for setting their own objectives for learning, with close guidance in the early years of schooling, moving into greater autonomy as they progress through the school. Students’ achievements are looked at across a range of subjects. The student meets with their personal tutor to identify their attainments and continuing deficiencies and then to identify the actions that they need to take. The action plans are then discussed with parents and, in line with the home-school partnership” concept, teachers, parents and students work together in the interests of student learning. Every member of staff is allocated three to four students in each year level for personal tutoring. Self-evaluation is an important component of the development of personal action plans; students identify their strengths and weaknesses, the targets for which they are aiming, and the preparation they see necessary in order to get ready for the next report on their achievements. In the past the students had no involvement in the process of reporting on achievement and this experience of involving children in the process of target-setting and reporting has proved to be extremely effective in enhancing their understanding of what needs to be done and in gaining their commitment to improved performance. By the time students reach Year 11 they actually write their own statement or Report of Performance and this is then endorsed by their individual tutor. At the moment the school has a “Minimum Service Level” Agreement, in which teachers make certain commitments to enhance student learning regarding such matters as the marking of homework assignments. In line with the concept of partnership the school is planning to develop a “Minimum Service Level” Agreement, that parents will also have to honour.

The capacity to generate data on students, upon which personal development plans and targets can be set, not only assists in raising student performance but also gives the Head Teacher something tangible upon which he/she can raise expectations regarding the performance of staff.

In some schools this has laid the basis for their becoming “self-critical” schools, committed to “evidence-based” policy development and improvement.

Adding Value by Learning to Work Independently

In many countries there have often been problems with students working independently especially as part of a program of homework. A way of addressing such problems, and also of teaching children how to undertake self-directed learning work has been provided by good examples in Germany. The “Learning How to Learn” Project has been instituted at Mulheim in the Ruhr Valley in Germany and set in operation to provide a systematic approach to independent learning. The Project is based upon work designed by psychologists to help students learn self-control, clarify tasks, make plans,

develop schedules and to organise their own work for themselves. In the early years of secondary school, the class teacher who is responsible for the "Learning to Learn" Project allocates homework. This teacher will have charge of the same group for a period of five years, so that he/she knows the students and their families well. In this approach an hour is set aside for homework and periods of twenty minutes in the "Learning to Learn" hour are designated and operated as "silent time" for concentrated work, after which the students mark, on a "Learning to Learn" card, what they believe they have achieved during it. Their achievements are then discussed with their class teacher. Every student has their own "Learning Book" ("Studienbuch"), in which the student's and the teachers' responses to their independent learning are noted and in which spaces for the inscribing of parental comments are also provided. Later in the students' schooling, when the students spend more time at home on independent work, the principles of this "Learning to Learn" Project are still applied and a systematic process for monitoring their work at home is already in place. Parents have been very supportive of the "Learning to Learn" Project, since it is perceived to be effective, not only in helping young people to become independent learners, but also because it has helped in family life, by countering many of the problems and quarrels that had previously been associated with doing homework outside school hours.

In the North Lanarkshire Authority in Scotland, one school has established a Club to promote student learning called the "Baffle" Club (Bellshill Academy First For Learning and Enjoyment). The Club was designed to engender good study habits, to develop leadership habits among students, and to develop an approach to learning which is associated with enjoyment. The Club has support from Barclay's Bank. Senior students who act as Tutors in the Program respond to an invitation to apply for appointment to such positions as if they were applying for a regular job. They are interviewed by a panel and at the end of the interview they receive feed-back on their interview skills, designed to assist them in seeking future employment. These students also are involved in a program in which the school works in partnership with St Andrew's Teachers College, where students get the opportunity, not only to learn about leadership and peer coaching, but also other aspects to do with learning and meta-cognition. This helps them in assisting other students' learning and in developing their own learning skills. These students become the catalysts for encouraging more junior students to join the Baffle Club, by making presentations to both students and parents regarding the advantages of joining the Club. Students who join the Club receive a Membership Card, very much in line with the sort of Membership Card that adult members of their community would receive on joining football clubs or other community groups. This engenders in them a sense of belonging and inclusion and is designed to strengthen their identification with the school community more broadly. Students attend the Baffle Club one night a week; they bring to the Baffle evening their Club Membership Card, homework, and a pair of soft shoes for leisure activities. The first hour is devoted to homework, the second is taken up with leisure activities. Students have a logbook, which they, their tutor and their parents maintain, in order to monitor progress. Specific activities are run during eight-week blocks, at the end of which each student is awarded a certificate in the specific area in which the student has especially concentrated during that period, for example in: badminton, aerobics, music, or art.

Although it is evident that the students are primarily attracted to the leisure activities, the combination of such activities and homework has meant that many students, who would not otherwise do homework or be engaged in the development of study skills, are extending their learning substantially. The Project has enhanced the self-confidence of both the senior students engaged in peer tutoring and the "Bafflers" involved in the program. The experience of belonging has provided a basis for future community engagements. The necessity to bring along homework to Club meetings has also ensured that some students, who were otherwise uninterested in regular classroom or study activities, see a purpose in learning and acquiring study skills. In the early stages of the Baffle Club some students who had previously had a record of absenting themselves from compulsory school attendance were suddenly to be observed in school and enthusiastically seeking homework from class teachers.

Adding Value through Adventure-based Activities

In recent times, a multitude of factors has resulted in many students staying on longer at school and this has meant that the student population is far more differentiated than in the past. This phenomenon has forced schools to try to ensure that the best chances for learning are provided for all students endowed with a variety of learning orientations, styles and needs, especially when some of them have attitudes of scepticism towards or even rejection of the more traditional approaches, settings, styles and modes of learning. In the past there were programs of adventure-based outdoor activities provided to give students in elite independent schools (such as Salem in Germany, Gordonstoun in Scotland, and Geelong Grammar School in Australia) some experience of ways of dealing with their own learning needs and interests in challenging settings. The "Outward Bound" movement in the United Kingdom and schemes such as the Duke of Edinburgh's Award are examples of this approach being extended into the broader community.

Such an approach is now perceived as being more widely applicable to the new generation of students staying on longer in secondary school. Such programs are considered valuable in providing these young people with access to a sense of adventure and an experience of real challenge in an outdoor, real life situation. In many government schools in present-day Germany, for example, in line with a new approach to pedagogical thinking called the "Pedagogy of Experience", schools are providing programs of "Adventure-based activities". Such activities are designed to enable students to find out about their own limits and to learn the importance of co-operation, trust and reliance on the group. These programs have succeeded in helping many girls to become more self-assertive and in providing motivation for learning for previously alienated students in the schools. In senior years these activities have also been expanded into state-wide certification programs, that have enabled their graduates to find employment in sporting clubs, in outward-bound type settings, in parks and recreation management, or in the forestry or emergency rescue services.

This kind of approach to adding value through adventure-based outdoor activities is also being developed in Scotland. During the fourth year of secondary school students are given the opportunity to engage in adventure-based activities. In Scotland schools

are working in association with the Outward Bound Association of Scotland, who are contributing to the funding of these programs. There is huge national interest in this initiative and in the contributions it is considered to make to the development of student self-esteem.

DEVELOPING COMMUNITY, ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP AND SERVICE LEARNING

Common institutions, understandings and values can be sustained by a curriculum for schools, which provides opportunities for all students to learn about society-wide concerns and important cultural contributions made by various constituent communities and traditions. Through their programs schools can provide the opportunity for the development of capacities and competencies, that enable young people to get started on the path of acting with a sense of civic responsibility. Through programs of community and “service” learning, student leadership programs, peer mediation and coaching, mentoring programs, and student decision-making groups, schools can provide the opportunity to students to develop a sense of commitment to others and a sense of service to further the interests of all groups in society.

The Development Of A Sense Of Moral Agency And Social Responsibility

With the growth of the knowledge economy and learning society, changes in societal and family relationships, advances in learning technologies, and the availability of learning in sites and places other than formal educational institutions, schools and teachers are becoming less likely to be regarded as primary authorities on, and sources of, knowledge. This state of affairs has led some people to question whether in the future there will be any place for schools as we traditionally conceive them. It is our contention, however, that, whilst schools may become less important as primary sources and repositories for the acquisition of knowledge, they are becoming more important in the socialisation of young people and the nurturing of young people towards the development of a sense of moral awareness and a movement towards an acceptance of the requirements of moral agency, civic responsibility and the need for community involvement and service.

One good place in which schools may make a start in this undertaking is to address the question of their duty of care: creating safe and caring environments for teaching and learning; creating caring relationships in the classroom and the wider school environment; and promoting in young people at school a sense of belonging and personal dignity and intrinsic value as human beings worthy of respect. This means helping teachers, educators, and students themselves to become aware of the need for, to internalise and to act out in the classroom, the school and the community a set of principles concerned ultimately for the establishment and regulation of positive relations between themselves and others – principles such as social inclusiveness, social justice, and democratic participation.

A vitally important part of this moral and social endeavour is to address such issues as: education for social responsibility and community leadership; equity in the social distribution of student access, engagement and participation; nurturing a sense of democratic community in the classroom; developing inter-personal awareness and responsiveness, cultural sensitivity, civic competence and democratic commitment; teaching for the skills of conflict resolution and prevention of discord and, in so doing, countering dysfunctional features of the life of some schools, such as the recourse made by some students and teachers to conduct involving personal demeaning, bullying, and violence.

This will involve a renewed commitment to nurturing young people's moral and social growth and improving the quality of students' social and civic learning in a whole school approach to the development of the skills of moral reasoning, ethical decision-making and responsible social action, through consideration of practical moral and ethical dilemmas and the creation of a just and caring community in the life of the school.

As Dr Nick Tate, formerly the Chief Executive of the Curriculum and Assessment Authority in the UK, commented in reference to the increased emphasis on moral, spiritual and cultural learning in the U.K.:

“Schools can't exist unless there is a sense of what is permissible and what is not permissible. Yet it is actually quite difficult for schools to operate in that way in a society which has become superficially at least, relativistic and has lost a clear language in which to talk about moral matters. The language of morality is a language that emerged out of traditional religions. But we now have a society, which has to a large extent rejected organised religion. We have lost the language of virtue and sin but have few adequate substitutes. [In England] there is a feeling that we have to help schools to become clearer and more articulate about what they really want to do and bring values into the open. We need to help schools clarify their vision and mission, so that they can talk about moral matters, review their practices, and help teachers become aware of their responsibilities as moral educators, in terms of the atmosphere they generate within the classroom and the relationships they have with young people, how they blame, how they treat moral issues. This is not just about classwork: it is intended to impact on school policies, on contact with parents, on the ambience of the school, on a shared sense of helping young people develop as human beings.”

Social, Community and Service Learning

In Germany, at Year 10, students are engaged in a program of Social Learning, designed to enable young people to develop a deeper understanding of the complexities of their society and of the wide range of human needs and concerns. Students are given the chance to learn new things about their society in an active way. Children work with partners in community-based activities such as going out to houses where refugees are living, to assist in child care and family support, developing reading and video

programs for people in hospital or aged care, or working with old people on personal and family histories. At the moment social learning is taken very much on a voluntary basis.

In Canada there is also a commitment to community, social and service learning. In many schools in Ontario students assist on food and clothing drives for under-privileged families, distributing food packages, and/or working as servers in local food banks for the under-privileged. Students also visit senior citizens' homes, where they engage in activities designed to give older citizens a sense of value and interest. At Exeter High School students have the opportunity to move into the community and have 'hands-on' experience, working with a wide variety of community groups and agencies, including service clubs, the local police, Red Cross, the Heart Association, and the Childrens Centre. Students raise funds for these associations and organisations and a Volunteer Program is in place for the participation of students in Year 9. Students are encouraged to put in ten hours of this kind of community service in each year, the longer-term goal being forty hours in all of such service. The school is finding that the service program is increasing exponentially: in 1997 the school had logged four thousand hours of such Volunteer Service; in 1998 by the middle of the year the school had already logged four thousand hours. The School is finding that students are continuing to volunteer, after their first experience at Grade 9, into the following years at school and even beyond. At present the school has thirty agencies on its books as having indicated their willingness to be engaged in this program. 'Word of mouth' has been a powerful tool for promoting this activity in the community and, rather than having to go out and recruit places for it, the school has found that community groups are now calling the school, indicating their pleasure and excitement at being involved in the program. In addition to volunteering, the commitment to helping and caring for others in the community is supported by programs, such as 'the United Way' and the 'Food and Toy Drive' for needy families. In this way the entire student body, not only those engaged in volunteering, develop a sense of community responsibility and engagement.

Learning for Good Citizenship

At Eastdale High School in Ontario, Canada, there is an extensive plan to develop student leadership in the school. The approach is multi-faceted and involves a range of programs and activities. One program focuses on a leadership camp retreat, where students go to camp setting for four days each spring. The aim of the camp is to bring students together in a setting where they are away from school, where they are able to work on Club activities and where they are able to develop skills and co-ordinate activities and learn to support one another, so that they become self-supporting and self-regenerating. When they return to the school building the students are then expected to initiate activities for other students. At the leadership camp the students also engage in a think-tank exercise, to identify school-wide issues upon which to work during the course of that year. In 1998 the students chose as their issues: communication between the school and the community, connecting new students to the life of the school, and

involving students in decision-making. Students leave the camp with plans for their specific club activities but also with a wider school focus to enhance the development of the school itself.

Staff at the school also work with students to develop Workshops, so that other students may develop skills in team building, how to build consensus, and how to communicate more effectively. These skills have applicability, both to student-based activity and also to other aspects of learning in the school. At these Workshops staff work with students as joint participants. They thereby develop a different basis for interaction with each other from that normally associated with the teacher standing at the front of the class. It is found that these Workshops often provide an arena for students honestly and openly to address issues of concern. As one student reported: "It's cool to be connected" This builds a culture within the school in which students become enthusiastic about becoming involved. A student summed up his experience in this way: "Life is a journey and you have to pack your own suitcase. School helps you to choose what to take with you".

The "code of conduct" at Eastdale is something that reflects the values of the entire school community. It is not a document that is simply written by the staff of the school but it is a "living, breathing" document, that involves the students in its conception, application and constant renewal. The document is revised each year, so that each group of students gains an understanding of what is expected of them as regards performance, behaviour and issues concerned with harassment and racism. At Eastdale, at the beginning of each year a personal organiser is distributed free to all students. Although this is expensive the school has found that the possession of a personal organiser ensures that students have in their hands all the rules, regulations and codes of conduct upon which the school operates. The personal organiser also helps students to learn how to become better organised and more autonomous. A strategy that assists in this learning is that senior staff conceive of their roles as that of "coaches" helping young people who may be in trouble as a result of their difficulty in making appropriate choices. The "coaching" model is seen as the most effective model in enabling young people to make progress because it is student-focussed and based upon meeting students' needs. Students are reminded that it is their "choices that dictate the life they lead".

Teacher Advisory Groups have been formed at Eastdale to help students work with individual teachers on issues relevant to their life in the school and the community outside it. One teacher works with approximately twenty students. This gives students a small "family-type" organisation with which to identify in the school setting and within which they might gain the confidence to move out into the wider environment and within which they might be able to reflect on some of their learnings from experiences in that broader environment.

At Exeter high school, Canada, there is a basic school culture of helping. Teachers and others have modelled the satisfaction that can be gained from giving up time to help others. Peer leadership courses, which have been led by the Guidance Department, have promoted events, which have been student-led and designed to help people within the community. Students have organised Volunteer Programs and peer-helper programs. Recognition for the success of such programs has come from the police, the

mayor and politicians. The celebration of the work of students in the community has given a sense of hope to a community that might otherwise be seen to be less advantaged. Staff have a commitment to maintaining enthusiasm for what they do and for communicating the belief that 'we can all have an impact on people's lives'.

At Tuxford Comprehensive School in Nottinghamshire, England, a "Code of Conduct" was negotiated between students, staff, parents, and governors, at evening meetings held for this purpose. The school emphasised that this was an agreement among all members of the school community, in which student views were just as important as those of adults. The emphasis was placed on discipline as being about learning and not about controlling. The message was: "We want you to learn how to behave in a community, otherwise life will get harder."

MULTIPLE PATHWAYS FOR LEARNING IN A GLOBAL COMMUNITY

More fluid relationships and combinations of school-based learning and work are increasingly becoming a feature of the life of schools committed to the principles of lifelong learning and the learning community. In Europe the notion of linking schools to the wider community relates not only to the local, regional or national communities but also to the international community. Thus there are highly sophisticated programs of "Learning for Europe" incorporating learning objectives in the fields of foreign languages, geography, history, inter-cultural understanding and helping young people gain experience for professions and employment in the global economy.

Multiple Pathways For Learning

More fluid relationships and combinations of school-based learning and work, and formal and non-formal learning, are increasingly becoming a feature of the life and activity of schools committed to the idea and principles of lifelong learning. This will necessitate the provision by schools of innovative ways and means for young people to use the workplace and the community more widely as sites, opportunities and occasions for learning. Work experience programs can be regarded as an important way of enabling students to identify, understand, and articulate their learning, career development, and future professional needs. School-to-work experience constitutes an important foundation of and stage in lifelong learning.

In schools committed to lifelong learning young people will need to become active agents planning for and managing their classroom, school and further learning opportunities; their work experience; and the unfolding and protraction of their careers. Particular attention will need to be paid to the ways in which schools might assist students moving away from being 'at risk' to being 'on target' in respect of their future educational and career decision-making and management. Part of this will involve more effective career counselling in schools to help prepare students for coping with and managing their own career pathways in an uncertain world of work and an often unstable and rapidly changing work environment. Work-based and community-based

learning, and parallel learning programs, will necessitate considerable inter- and intra-professional collaboration and organisational change.

With the growing acceptance that learning is continuous and lifelong, it must be acknowledged that people will be going into and out of learning and that the end of secondary education will no longer be the single transition point in people's learning. The idea of the "stove-pipe" leading upwards from secondary to further education as the only permissible funnel for educational progress is no longer relevant.

As Smethurst suggests [1995, p.85], the new model for the building of articulated and inter-connecting pathways in learning for life will be one based not upon the notion of linear progression by climbing a consequential series of ladders, but rather upon the notion of a progressively complex and expanding climbing-frame, in which students will learn of the existence of numerous possibilities for personal development and career advancement, and will acquire competence and increasing confidence in creating and moving along a diverse range of pathways of learning for increasing the personal and professional learning gains and satisfactions that these make possible.

Linking with the Wider World: Learning For a Sense of National and International Identity

In the past, the schools have been an important engine of the nation-state. At the present time, however, the idea of the nation-state is breaking down, particularly in Europe, especially in regard to matters of finance, defence strategies, monetary policy, and regional representation and decision-making powers. Schools are caught in the midst of this process of transformation and are affected by the centrifugal forces generated by it. Schools must now address the question of the ways in which they can best foster a national, regional and international awareness and sense of identity amongst their students preparing for life in the international economy of the 21st Century.

In Europe, in response to this challenge, some schools have developed highly sophisticated programs on "Learning for Europe". Such programs are multi-faceted in their objectives, incorporating learning objectives in the field of foreign languages, general knowledge, history, geography, and inter-cultural understanding, and helping young people prepare for professions and employment in Europe. The students, working on "Learning for Europe" Projects are engaged in multi-dimensional learning. Students become involved in an integrated process of planning, formulating goals, determining methods to achieve their goals, doing practical work, research, documenting findings and presenting the results and demonstrating the outcomes of their work in a range of forms and arenas. An example of such a Project may be an examination of water supply and quality and its relationship to industry and agriculture in The Netherlands, Germany and the United Kingdom. Students engaged in such a Project would undertake practical work, interviewing people in the relevant settings, making cross-cultural comparative analyses, learning different languages in context, and ending by making a public presentation of their findings.

As a result of such projects, students have to think about themselves, their national identities, and their own behaviour differently. German students working in The

Netherlands, for example, have reported that they have had to cope with prejudice and animosity and, in so doing, have had to think about their own national identity, national history and relationships to other peoples and countries differently. This in turn has impacted upon their understanding of prejudice within their own society towards immigrant people, "guest workers", and marginalised groups generally. It has also influenced their understanding of aspects of the inner life of the school and the experience of being alien or foreign in their own school setting.

An important part of the "Learning for Europe" Program has been the co-operative learning elements in it. This notion of co-operative learning has found full expression in the "Tandem" Learning Projects for advanced studies in foreign language learning. Students involved in "tandem" learning work with a student in a foreign country, going for four weeks to that country and staying with the other student's family. The student's "tandem" in this arrangement is expected to serve as his/her main language guide. At the completion of the German students' visit to another country, there is a break of about four weeks and then the "tandem" student comes to Germany for four weeks and the roles are reversed. At first students were a little afraid of the personal intensity of these experiences and schools have had to pay much attention to matching students by writing letters, sending photos, and building up a relationship, to ensure that effective pairing takes place.

Another aspect of the "Learning for Europe" Program involves work experiences in foreign environments, thereby helping the students to start on acquiring the skills necessary or requisite to function capably and appropriately in the international global economy.

"Learning for Europe" Programs have been shown to add value to students' learning in the realms of inter-cultural and social learning, language learning, work experience, and learning with new methods, such as project work, self-directed and self-monitored learning, working with new media, with new forms of communication and documentation, and with new forms of presenting and demonstrating learning achievements.

Learning Independence and Responsibility through Work Placements

At Sinclair High School in Canada, work experience has a high degree of importance as an additional site for learning. It also carries with it a high degree of emphasis on accountability. While students are out on work experience they have to keep a daily journal, which is signed by their work supervisor and returned to the co-operative learning project staff at the school at the end of each week. If problems should be experienced, the work supervisors are aware of the procedures to be followed, both with respect speaking to the student and also for contacting co-operative learning staff in the school. If students do not fulfil expectations, if they are late for or absent from work without notifying the work supervisor, they may be "fired". In this way students learn that, in real life, attendance, punctuality, following through and completing a task that has been assigned to them, and working at learning and establishing appropriate interpersonal relations in the work-place, are indispensable virtues, norms and conventions which they must learn if they are to succeed in gaining and maintaining a place in any

work setting and the productive economy. In order to get work placements, students have to prepare resumes, write letters of application, and undergo interviews, thereby developing skills with wide applicability in the real world of work. The programs are closely monitored by school staff, not only to fulfil custodial responsibility requirements in regard to the students but also to ensure that goodwill is maintained with members of the local employing community who are co-operating in the work placement program. Students are prepared for work placements over the longer term. Each year November is designated "Career Month". In Grade 9 students undertake an activity called "Take a Student to Work", in which students go out with a parent or another adult and spend the day at work with them. In Grade 10 during November, students begin working on Career Portfolios; in Grades 11 and 12, students will be involved in more individually defined career-related activities. This planned evolutionary approach towards career development and progression enables students to see how experiences build upon each other from year to year and supports the idea of lifelong learning.

REVITALISING SCHOOLS WITH A NEW SENSE OF MISSION: LEADING SCHOOLS FOR LIFELONG LEARNING

Policy-makers, system administrators and school leaders will need to articulate and develop a set of strategic plans for facing the challenges of change and helping their school communities to engage in a joint enterprise of lifelong learning for vocational and economic purposes; for social inclusiveness, civic responsibility and democratic participation; and for personal growth and fulfilment. The challenge of change will involve the continuing generation, cultivation and acquisition of the knowledge, skills, problem-solving capacities, values and attitudes, that will enable all members of the school community, on an ongoing basis, to identify needs, recognise openings and opportunities, and take personal initiative and group responsibility for advancing individual welfare and social benefit.

The school committed to the idea of lifelong learning and working with that idea as its principal driving motive – the "lifelong learning" school – will be strengthened in its mission of the revitalisation of its educational imperative through the development of:

- a clearly articulated strategy for change built around a unifying concept
- a re-conceptualisation of the place and function of schools in the community
- a preparedness to re-culture the school
- a readiness to invest in people
- a willingness to adopt an evidence-based approach to change
- a commitment to the idea of leading for learning
- an expansion of the outreach of the school to the local, national and international community
- a commitment to maintaining the momentum of change through sharing good practice and celebrating success
- a commitment to the idea of leading for learning

Settling the Place Upon Which to Stand – The Importance of a Unifying Concept:

Those schools and school-systems that have been most effective in re-vitalising their policies and practices and in facing the challenges of change positively and confidently, have, as a vital preliminary, determined upon a unifying concept, idea or philosophy, upon and around which the change effort can be centred. Invariably this philosophy is focussed upon students and their learning. This is then clearly articulated by people in leadership positions, promulgated through professional development for teachers and educative experiences for members of the broader community, and practised and demonstrated daily in the hands of teachers in the classroom and elsewhere throughout the school. The unifying philosophy must be one that is active and that provides connectivity between ideas, people and groups, and institutional structures and administrative arrangements. An initial concept such as “The Learning Community” may be added to, layer by layer, with themes such as multiple forms of intelligence, brain theory, performance assessment, and self-directed learning.

A unifying concept, idea or philosophy, which can be articulated clearly, enables a leader in an educational environment, to provide a vision of where the organisation is going, a feeling about the ethos, the culture, and the nature of the organisation, that provides a message, that can be spoken about every day and become part of the shared language and experience of all people in the school community. The ability to enunciate clearly this unifying idea, in ways that can be quickly and easily grasped and rendered intelligible and memorable, helps to communicate the message about change and contributes to openness and transparency for all a school’s stakeholders.

A Re-conceptualisation of the Place and Function of Schools in the Community: In the last thirty years we have moved through important stages in our conception of schools. In the 1960s and 1970s many people held the view that the main function of schools was to conserve and transmit existing cultural norms and beliefs; other people viewed teaching as a subversive activity and called for society to be “de-schooled”. During the 1980s and 1990s the ideology of the market penetrated our conceptions of schools and schooling, to the point where schools began to be seen by many as producers of products and marketable commodities obtainable in exchange for the educational dollar. As we approach the next millennium schools are beginning to be conceived of as agents of social cohesion and as places where the dysfunctions of fragmentation and isolation of modern societies can begin to be redressed by the educational endeavours of schools, viewed as agents of social inclusion and community involvement and responsibility.

In a society where some important social institutions are beginning to disintegrate or fall away, there is an increasing awareness of the vital importance for schools to respond to the needs of students to belong and to be cared for. There is also an increasing awareness of the part school programs can play in helping students to develop their sense of moral responsibility to those within the community of their school and further into the broader community. In a time when it is increasingly possible for students to acquire knowledge, information and skills in fora and from sources outside the school, those schools which are succeeding in the process of transformation and in gaining the support of their community are those which are succeeding in promoting their function as learning communities, assisting in learning

for economic self-sufficiency, personal fulfilment, and social cohesion. Increasingly such schools are emphasizing their role as agents of socialisation and the development of a sense of moral responsibility in young people.

Schools with a commitment to increasing the sense of community in and around them embark on a number of purposely designed programs to establish a sense of community among students and staff within the school and among stakeholders outside it. Through programs of community and service learning students are given the opportunity to develop a deeper understanding of the complex character of the community of which they are a part and, it is hoped, a commitment to serving that community and especially those parts of it, which, for one reason or another, may be experiencing difficulty or disadvantage.

A Preparedness to Re-culture the School: The process of re-vitalising a school is a lengthy and continuing one. The hoped-for transformation is not something that can be achieved overnight. Numerous lines of advance, innovation and progression will be needed in order to achieve the overall goal of re-vitalisation. Old rigid structures will need to be dismantled; traditional practices and habits will have to be gradually slowed down and stopped; old assumptions and modes of operation will have to be abandoned. All new lines of advance will be part of the re-culturing process. This will involve purposely trying to change people's beliefs, behaviour and mindsets, by placing them in settings where they can be introduced to and experience the value of different ways of thinking and operating. Experiential-based professional development is one way of achieving this objective. Another way is by helping people to develop a common language so that they can discuss issues and share concerns in settings in which they can address such matters in a professional manner. The setting up of school decision-making groups, the establishment of multi-disciplinary work areas, the deliberate and informal coalescence of colleagues into work clusters or teams will be an important aid in the re-culturing process.

In the process of re-culturing, initially there will always be those people who like new ways of doing things and who are keen to become involved in developing responses to the challenge of change. It is important to capitalise on this kind of enthusiasm, for the successes of such teachers will become contagious and will generate a wider capacity for change among others. In any organisation, however, there will be another group of people who will find change to constitute a large risk and it will be far more difficult to engage such people in an ongoing enterprise of re-vitalisation than it will be in the case of those who were enthusiastic from the beginning. For those who are less willing to expose themselves to risk, an environment must be created in which risk-taking is acceptable and non-threatening. The efforts of such people need to be applauded and their progress and achievements celebrated, for change is far more difficult for them than for the early innovators.

Understanding the process of change will require an acceptance that some destabilisation and principled and constructive conflict is inevitable, if the change undertaking is to succeed. This requires a change in the mindset of many people, who feel secure in stable environments and uncomfortable in uncertainty. In today's world, however, constant change and rapid transformations are facts of life; it is a part of preparing for life in the 21st Century that individuals who are going to succeed in coming to terms

with its exigencies must be ready, willing and able to cope with those uncertainties and instabilities.

A Readiness to Invest in People: Of prime importance is how staff feel and think about their work. Schools and school-systems that successfully bring about change help teachers to develop the tools that are effective in giving them a “fighting chance” to meet the needs of students in the 21st Century. When teachers begin to feel good about the job that they are doing and when they find that students are being responsive and enthusiastic about their own learning, they will be themselves enthused to keep on doing well and continue their success and aspirations for even higher levels of achievement. Schools and school systems, that have been successful in bringing about change, have learned how to solve their own problems internally, to grow and develop a solution from the resources that exist within the community. A focus on helping people to learn, to solve their own problems, and to invest in the development of their own capacity to improve, is far better than throwing money at a problem and depending upon external expertise.

A part of this is providing the opportunity for discourse among teachers, so that they can learn from each other continuously: providing the opportunity for sharing best practice on what works is an important strategy for bringing about change. Creating a culture of sharing, getting teachers to introduce and exhibit their work to others, instills curiosity, creativity and a commitment to the advantages and methods of learning and induces a feeling that the work that teachers and students do is important. Mentoring one another, building teams and cadres of people, is a way of ensuring ongoing support.

The Willingness to Adopt an Evidence-Based Approach to Change: One of the questions that is constantly being asked of schools by the members of the broader community is “How do we know that what the school is doing is going to make a positive difference to our children?” With an increasingly well-educated and thoughtful community, schools have to be able to address and attempt to answer such questions in an informed way. Schools that have succeeded in gaining the confidence and support of their community, as they guide members of the school through the process of change, have been able to address community concerns and articulate answers to their queries with material gathered by the application of an “evidence-based” approach to establishing outcomes and other measures of attainment in the work of the school. The idea of researching a proposal, hypothesis or question, collecting data relevant to it, assessing whether any difference is made over the short and longer terms, helps to facilitate the process of development and change and the discarding of those policies and practices that are no longer seen to be effective. In the past schools have tended just to keep adding on new ideas and practices and not taking away the things that were not working. However action research on matters of curriculum, pedagogy or organisation and administration allows schools to develop new lines of thinking and adopt new practices, and discard those that are no longer effective, in a thoughtful manner.

An expansion of the outreach of the school to the local, national and international community: Through effective partnerships with business, schools are able to identify the changing needs of employers and the world of commerce and industry generally. The development of more generic skills, such as the capacity to work in teams, to engage in problem-solving, and to forge effective interpersonal relationships around

mutual achievements in the workplace, reflects the increasing awareness of and responsiveness of education to the worlds of business and industry. Effective corporate connections also facilitate the development of work experience placements for students, and in some instances the promotion of broader employment experiences for members of school staffs.

It is also very important that a school is “plugged in” to the rest of the world. In this way a school can ensure that its students are being prepared for the demands of the global knowledge economy of the 21st Century. A school for the 21st Century needs to be linked in with networks that will promote cross-visitations and the use of modern information technologies to engage with others around the world.

Maintaining Momentum through Sharing Good Practice and Building and Celebrating Success: Schools that have succeeded in bringing about change have a commitment to providing fora for sharing good practice among teachers and building upon success. Sharing good practice enables people to feel valuable, supported and empowered. As one teacher put it: “Schools committed to success don’t look for a route to failure: they create an atmosphere where people can talk about difficulties without attributions of blame”. Schools committed to success create “a bottomless pit of goodwill” which provides a powerful resource for generating co-operation and enthusiasm for new initiatives. That enthusiasm in turn encourages people readily to share their thinking about successes they have had and moves they would like to try in the future.

There are several ways in which this kind of atmosphere might be created and built upon. Keeping classroom doors open, welcoming colleagues into classrooms, being invited into other colleagues’ classes (“the best resource is the door wedge, leaving the doors open for communication with other teachers and other classes”, said one teacher) collaboratively planning inter-disciplinary studies and curriculum work, providing openings for staff to “shadow” other professional colleagues, both inside and outside the school, allocating time in departmental and staff meetings for sharing news and ideas about good practice in teaching and learning these are some of the ways in which success can be confirmed and good practice communicated and celebrated. Celebrating good practice and success can take many forms: exhibitions of student work in the school and the wider community, articles in the local press and other media, creating and bestowing awards in the school and encouraging staff to apply for awards in the broader community, making presentations to key community groups, and providing the academic and professional worlds of education with examples for further analysis, development and expansion, and so on.

Schools that have been successful in these ways have also found that success leads to further success. Awareness of other schools’ achievements by other schools leads to an increasing interest on their part and that of others in the successful schools’ activities. The adoption of “Train the Trainer” models of professional development can provide the opportunity for successful teachers to participate in the professional development activities of other schools, thereby generating further momentum, an increasing sense of professional self-worth and enabling them to extend their own skills into the development and mastery of effective adult learning strategies.

Momentum can be maintained by keeping opportunities open, maintaining a sense of teamwork and team-building, networking, using technology to communicate quickly, generating goodwill and trust and enthusing the local community.

Promoting the Concept of Leaders in Learning: Leaders in educational institutions must show intellectual leadership in the area of learning. They need to be able to stimulate learning and create the organisational structures and conduits for learning to occur. Leaders must also have strong inter-personal skills and be strongly connected into a team. They need to be excited by the prospects offered by change and able to communicate that enthusiasm to others.

Leaders as Leaders in Learning: Leaders need to develop among teachers a sophisticated knowledge base about learning and teaching. They need to identify the most effective ways to ensure that teachers keep abreast of the latest scientific developments and innovations in cognitive science, emotional intelligence, and ways of learning. This has implications for the professional development made available to teachers in schools and also to the types of linkage that might be made between schools and teacher training institutions. Strategies also need to be in place at the level of the school to provide the opportunities for recent graduates to share their newly acquired knowledge and skill with more experienced members of the teaching profession.

Leader as Balancer: Leaders have to ensure that a balance is struck between the innovatory practices of a school and a respect for community traditions, needs and expectations regarding the provision of a secure and relevant education for their children. This requires that Leaders have credibility and are connected with the various constituencies of the school, breaking down barriers where necessary, facilitating interaction where appropriate. Leaders have to help people to decide upon what is important and to be able to recognise when there is a need to slow down on certain changes, when the pressure may be becoming too great. The Leaders must always be sensitive or attuned to posing and helping colleagues try to answer the question "how do we know that something is going to make a positive difference?"

Leader as "Primus Inter Pares" ("First Among Equals"): Leaders need to be able to respond to queries and to be a "clearing house" and source of information, who can integrate and give coherence to the broad range of ideas and activities being introduced, set in train or undertaken by individuals and groups in or associated with the school. This requires that Leaders spend time with teachers, mentoring, giving informal support, and being open to people when something is worrying them.

Leader as Sage: Leaders need wisdom and the ability to differentiate between the virtues and vices of different courses of action. Leaders need to have clearly formed beliefs regarding what is good for schools and for the education of children and be able to articulate the fundamental values worth fighting for. They need to know what needs to be done regarding those things that can make a difference in their school. Leaders also need a sense of history and of the future. They should be able to assist people to identify those priorities that can be focussed upon in the short, medium and longer terms, and to be able to identify the pivotal points for transformation and change. Leaders must also be able to deal with criticism, which can often be on-going and virulent. They should not be quick to anger, know those with whom it would be unwise to

gossip, and be able to be a good listener, with whom people will want to share ideas and in whom people can feel confident that confidentiality will be respected.

Leader as Warrior: Leaders attempting to initiate change will find that at times information is circulated which can be counter-productive to the change effort. At such times, when bad publicity might be undermining the reform process, leaders have to be prepared to challenge such information publicly and to help people understand the facts of the case and the purposes behind change initiatives.

Leader as Finesser of the Change Environment – Providing a Little Pressure and a Lot of Support: Change can be facilitated by the application of both pressure and support. Pressure may be exerted in the clarification of expectations and the setting of targets but it is counter-productive if this is not accompanied by measures of support and assistance to achieve targeted goals, whether or not this be in the form of supplements to resources, schemes of professional development, or assistance with building projects or minor works. Engagement and creativity are important dimensions of education that do not lend themselves to easy formulas. “Finesser of the Change Environment: Providing a Little Pressure and a Lot of Support”: change can be facilitated by the application of both pressure and support. Pressure may be exerted in the clarification of expectations and the setting of targets but it is counter-productive if this is not accompanied by measures of support and assistance to achieve targeted goals, whether or not this be in the form of supplements to resources, schemes of professional development, or assistance with building projects or minor works. Engagement and creativity are important dimensions of education that do not lend themselves to easy formulas.

Leader as Coach: Nurturing alone is not sufficient. Leaders need to help staff and students to set expectations and to enable them to become self-motivating, self-starting and self-regulating. A “coaching” approach suggests that all parties are committed to success; that people are encouraged to succeed; and that success is celebrated. As one teacher commented, “The hero used to be the person who hit the home run. Now it’s the person who can extend the ability of many people, inspiring people to be contributors to the team”.

Leader as Vanguard: Leaders need to engage in community outreach, particularly reaching out to the diverse set of constituencies in the community. They need to be comfortable in engaging with a wide range of parents and those in the community who are able to offer support and service in the interests of improving educational provision. Leaders also need to be prepared to inform the public of the contribution made to society in, by and through education.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Roman educator Seneca said, “Our plans miscarry because they have no aim. When a man [or woman] does not know what harbour he [or she] is making for, no wind is the right wind”. Increasingly, there is agreement that the schools we have today must be transformed, because many of them are not capable of developing the kind of learner required for the re-defined economy and society of the 21st Century.

Only if societies undertake educational reform will it be possible for them to maintain the capacity for economic advance in an increasingly competitive global economy, at the same time as maintaining social order, stability and cohesion.

As the OECD Ministers meeting in 1996 confirmed, while lifelong learning is increasingly being accepted in principle by governments around the world, and has become a feature of life for a privileged group, the challenge is to make lifelong learning a reality for all.

Robert Browning, the British poet, once said: "Our aspirations are our possibilities". It is such aspirations that can give shape, form and substance to our plans, projects and policies for extending the benefits of education to all people in the future. This is a matter of the most pressing importance, if we are properly to serve and promote the interests of economic advance, personal fulfilment, democratic participation, and social justice

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Chapter 2: Integrity, Completeness and Comprehensiveness of the Learning Environment: Meeting the Basic Learning Needs of All Throughout Life

JAN VISSER[1]

CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

In this chapter I argue that 'meeting the basic learning needs of all throughout life' is a challenge significantly more comprehensive and complex than that of 'providing basic education for all.' The original meaning of the verb 'to provide' (*pro videre*) is 'to foresee.' In conjunction with the word 'education' it is commonly interpreted as 'to furnish,' 'to supply,' or 'to deliver.' The notion of delivery is tied in with a paradigm that is worth challenging, namely the idea that learning consists of acquiring pieces of information or knowledge and that, in order for that to happen, such information should be delivered to the learner. In this view, information and knowledge are essentially conceived of as commodities. Similarly, the learner is seen as a recipient of information and of prompts to process information, rather than as a participant in a dialogic process to create meaning. Creating the conditions of learning, in that same view, boils down to an external intervention, aiming at optimizing what is being delivered to the learners, and how they are prompted to act upon it, so as to attain defined learning goals in the most effective and efficient ways possible. No doubt, multiple decades of research and practice, particularly within the instructional design tradition, have shown the considerable value of this view. Both the strength of past achievements and the need for fundamental review and reconceptualization stand out in the ongoing debate as reflected in such overview works as Jonassen (Ed.) (1996); Reigeluth (Ed.) (1999); Dills & Romiszowski (Eds.) (1997). These concerns have similarly been discussed in numerous special issues or special segments of *Educational Technology* since Volume 31, Number 5, introduced in that issue by Duffy & Jonassen (1991). A related debate has been going on in a series of issues of *Educational Researcher*, starting with Volume 25, Number 4, of which I particularly note Greeno's (1997) and Sfard's (1998) contributions. In addition, almost the entire Volume 23 of the *Review of Research in Education* focuses on these matters, particularly the chapters by O'Connor (1998) and Salomon & Perkins (1998).

Notwithstanding the important advances made, as they transpire from the above debate and developing innovative practice, many of our views of learning remain incomplete. Particularly, discourse and action continue to focus too exclusively on learning pursued for specific purposes and confined to narrowly defined contexts, such

as the classroom and training environment, dealt with in isolation from one another, without recognizing the larger context of which they are part.

The importance of attending to contextual factors was brought out as early as 1978 by McAnany. It was later highlighted by Visser & Buendia Gomez (1989), particularly in relation to the often haphazard circumstances that surround interventions to facilitate learning in developing countries. If such circumstances are not taken into account in the design process, the outcome of the interventions is likely to depend more on context than on the conditions put in place by design. Jonassen & Rohrer-Murphy (1999) make the same point with reference to a different rationale, namely the consideration that learning and action are dialectically related, and that learning therefore is not a precursor to activity, but that it emerges from conscious engagement in and reflection on it. As "activity cannot be understood or analyzed outside the context in which it occurs" (p.62), there is a powerful argument for broadening the scope beyond the traditional boundaries of regular design and planning concerns. Tessmer & Richey (1997) also indicate the need not to limit design concerns to the intervention as such, but to consider the context of which learning, performance *and* design are part. Visser & Berg (1999) emphasize this need from a yet wider perspective, namely the *environmental* responsibility of the designer of learning conditions. If learning is to be conceived as all-pervasive and lifelong, and if it is engaged in by both individuals and communities, then any particular intervention cannot be seen as disjointed from the totality of the learning environment, nor must it be conceived of in isolation from the long-term learning history of the learning entity (or entities) involved. Any intervention, independent of the question how effective it is in terms of traditional design criteria, can therefore be anywhere between the extremes of being detrimental to the learning environment at large or contributing to its development in positive ways.

This consideration can be further placed in the context of an ecological vision of the learning environment. Visser (1999a) argues that an ecological vision is necessary to overcome the fragmentation of existing views of learning. Both a broadening and the development of multiple and complementary perspectives of the learning landscape are required. Attention to the whole is as much needed as care for detail. An ecological awareness is required to see how the different pieces of the learning environment as a whole hang together, interact with each other, function in the context of the whole, and allow the whole to acquire a meaning over and above the sum of its parts.

Flexibility is an important dimension of the learning ecology proposed in this chapter, and it has to do with more than just delivery mechanisms. There are other important criteria that characterize an environment[2] that is truly adequate for promoting and facilitating learning in the sense in which I refer to learning in this chapter, namely as an essential requirement for sustainable growth. Some of the key characteristics of such a learning environment have to do with its capability to accommodate interaction, collaboration, networking and adaptive growth and its ability to foster learning that is rooted in the real world, i.e. that goes beyond the traditional obsession with disciplinary knowledge and recognizes the wholeness – or consilience (O. E. Wilson 1998) – of knowledge.

LEARNING IN A TURBULENT WORLD

To place the above reflections in context, consider the following. Hominid beings, in varying stages of development, have populated the earth for millions of years. Ten thousand years ago the human population is estimated to have been some eight million worldwide. This was the time when, due to changing circumstances and necessity, agriculture became the norm, rather than an add-on to hunting and gathering, causing the human population to rise exponentially ever since (Tudge 1998). At the beginning of the Christian era our number is thought to have been some 250 to 300 million {the lower estimate is cited by Koestler (1989, originally published 1967); the higher estimate can be found in Sakaiya (1991)}.[3] Sixteen centuries later the global population had risen to 500 million. It took another two centuries for it to double to one billion. The three billion mark was reached only a century and a half later in 1960. At the time of writing, that number has doubled to six billion. "It took all of human history for the world's population to reach 1 billion in 1804, but only 156 years to reach 3 billion in 1960. Now, 39 years later, the number has doubled" (Vanderkam 1999).

What will happen next is an open question. Different predictions exist. One thing is clear, however – to quote Arthur C. Clarke (1992, p.169) only slightly out of context – "the future isn't what it used to be." We live in a time of turbulent change and it is here to stay for the foreseeable future. We have reached a critical point. The question "What caused what?" may be irrelevant. However, the fact that we are reaching the limit of how the resources of the planet Earth can sustain the processes we have put in place has arguably something to do with the increasing population pressure. The phenomenon of explosive change, demonstrated by the demographic figures cited above, is reflected in many other areas, such as the development of technology and science. It can be argued that the dramatic changes in population growth would not have been possible had there not been similarly dramatic development in, for instance, agriculture and medical science. Reversing the direction of causality, it can equally be argued that, as we continued to multiply, there was an ever-greater need for technological solutions to the problems generated by demographic growth. We humans demonstrate an incredible capacity to drive things to the edge, thereby creating problems at an increasing rate that require solutions that themselves drive things even further to the edge, thus calling for problem solving at the subsequent level, and so on.

Koestler (1989/1967, p.319) has called this the age of climax. He notes that "our mind is willing to accept that things are changing, but unable to accept the *rate* at which they are changing, and to extrapolate into the future." Things become particularly problematic when even the rate of change is changing. Pais (1997, p.474) refers in another way to how such turbulent change boggles the mind and frustrates our capacity to manage the world the way we previously did. He refers to two time scales, one expressed in the roughly 20-year timeframe that marks the leadership of a particular human generation before it passes on to the next one, and the other "the period after which existing information and technology become obsolete. A critical point is reached when the second period becomes shorter than the first one." Pais goes on to suggest that then "the experience of the older generation is no longer all that helpful" and notes that the crucial changeover perhaps fell in the nineteen-sixties, i.e. a generation and a

half ago. Those old enough to remember may recall that, indeed, that was about the last time when school graduates could have the illusion that they had prepared themselves for life and that the time of learning was over. Until only a few decades ago it was therefore possible to conceive of learning – even though wrongly – as a process that could serve the purpose of adapting to change by having each generation prepare the schooling conditions for the next one. The need to attend to adjustments required in later life through the occasional refresher course or, if need be, retraining program, could then be seen as a sensible add-on correction to an otherwise adequate model.

CONSTRUCTIVE INTERACTION WITH CHANGE

The term ‘learning’ generally remains poorly defined in most of the educational literature. Often it is a taken-for-granted concept, implicitly defined as the consequence of instruction.[4] Consequently, we know much about the instructional process, but little about learning. A simple experiment shows the anomaly of this situation. Ask mature adults what their most profound and relevant learning experiences have been. Rarely will one get a response that is even slightly reminiscent of the above implicit definition.

To measure the effectiveness of instructional processes we look at learning outcomes. Such learning outcomes are typically defined in terms of particular skills, intellectual ones or motor behaviors, and sometimes tendencies to apply particular behaviors in appropriate circumstances, i.e. attitudes. Little do they reveal about why we acquire such skills and about the human and social processes involved. Particularly, the tendency to interpret learning as the result of instruction has resulted in serious under-attention to any form of learning that is not the consequence of an instructional intervention. Moreover, it hampers, as Burnett (1999) argues, creativity in thinking about new approaches to learning and of ways to facilitate it. Turning the argument around, and referring to Felman’s (1982, p.21) discussion of statements by Socrates and Freud regarding the “radical impossibility of teaching,” Burnett observes that “a *recognition* of the “impossibility” of teaching, enables and encourages the development of new and innovative approaches to pedagogy and learning.”

I have referred above to what most essentially characterizes the present juncture in time: turbulent change and complexity in a world that is increasingly interconnected in the sense that what happens in one place and at one particular moment can – but does not necessarily – set off dramatic developments elsewhere. Popular books like Waldrop’s (1992) *Complexity: The Emerging Science at the Edge of Order and Chaos* abound with compelling examples of everyday phenomena, in addition to those that pertain to the most profound questions posed by the scientific community, that leave little doubt about the relevance and necessity of any ordinary citizen’s ability to understand such phenomena and to interact with them in intelligent and constructive ways. The ability to see the whole as well as the detail; the disposition not to feel trapped in a false dilemma of ‘either-or’ choices between different levels of the same reality; the readiness to appreciate the limitations of Aristotelian logic, these are all rapidly becoming essential ingredients of *literacy*, in a redefined sense, for those who are to play effective and responsible roles in the world of the twenty-first century.[5] The

need to move beyond narrow concerns with disciplinary knowledge in recreating the world of learning is argued by Nicolescu (1999) with particular reference to the four pillars of education proposed in the Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century, *Learning: The Treasure Within*, (Delors *et al.*, 1996). Nicolescu thus calls for approaches that address “the open totality of the human being and not just one of its components” (p.6).

The question of complexity, its recognition not as a problem to be solved in terms of the paradigms of the past, but rather as a different level of dealing with reality, is crucial to the new meaning of literacy as alluded to in, for instance, the *Hamburg Declaration on Adult Learning* and the *Agenda for the Future* adopted by the Fifth International Conference on Adult Education (CONFINTEA V) in July 1997. The Declaration (p.4) conceives of literacy broadly as “the basic knowledge and skills needed by all in a rapidly changing world.” It refers to such literacy as “a fundamental human right,” not only because it is “a necessary skill in itself,” but particularly as it is often “one of the foundations of other life skills.” The challenge to ensure that this human right can be asserted lies in more than the creation of the conditions of learning in the immediate sense. It will often mean, in the words of the Declaration, “the creation of preconditions for learning through awareness building and empowerment.” While this distinction reveals a conception of learning that is more limited than the one advocated in this chapter, the point is well taken that the societal responsibility to meet the basic learning needs of all throughout life entails much more than merely establishing educational facilities in the traditional sense of the word. It specifically also implies creating a social and human environment in which learning is seen to be ‘the right thing’ to do and appreciated as something that is aesthetically pleasing. In short, it requires a culture of learning to have evolved in society.

The *Agenda for the Future* (p.16), published in conjunction with the *Hamburg Declaration on Adult Learning* (1997), specifies that “everywhere in the world, literacy should be a gateway to fuller participation in social, cultural, political and economic life.” It must therefore be socio-economically and culturally relevant, allowing communities to “effect their own cultural and social transformations,” enabling women and men to “understand the interconnections between personal, local and global realities.” Connecting to personal experience, which involves body and mind together in an undivided way, implies naturally a sense of the complex, of the unity of knowledge, and of multiplicity of levels of reality. It requires strategies to facilitate learning that are radically different from much of current pedagogical practice (e.g. Lederman, 1999; Papert, 1993; Resnick, 1998; Resnick & Wilensky, 1998; Schank & Cleary, 1995; Schank & Cleave, 1995; Turkle & Papert, 1990; Wilensky, 1991).

In a sense, lifelong learning is a redundant notion. Any real learning cannot be but lifelong, as it involves the whole human being, i.e. all of one’s life. The main reason why we needed the term may be because common discourse has likened learning to schooling, and schooling, in the common conception, is seen as restricted to the school age. Earlier literature on lifelong learning, such as the report to UNESCO of the International Commission on the Development of Education, *Learning to be: The World of Education Today and Tomorrow* (Faure *et al.* 1972), therefore puts considerable

emphasis on strategies to expand schooling, particularly through the then available technologies.[6] At the same time the Faure report stressed the need for fundamental overhaul of education systems:

“Since studies can no longer constitute a definitive ‘whole’...educational systems must be thought out afresh, in their entirety, as must our very conception of them. If all that has to be learned must be continually reinvented and renewed, then teaching becomes education and, more and more, learning. If learning involves all of one’s life, in the sense of both time-span and diversity, and all of society, including its social and economic as well as its educational resources, then we must go even further than the necessary overhaul of ‘education systems’ until we reach the stage of a learning society (p.xxxiii).”

No doubt, much still remains to be achieved in terms of meeting the challenges set out in 1972 by the International Commission on the Development of Education under the chairmanship of Edgar Faure!

It sounds paradoxical, but education systems have the greatest difficulty to become learning systems. Their failure to recognize their often blatant inadequacy *vis-à-vis* the demands of our times, their conservatism and their high degree of inability to be even slightly perturbed by changes in the world around them is well known to innovative educators and has been referred to by authors quoted earlier in this chapter. Lederman (1999) refers to “the general failure of school reform movements” and “the awesome resistance of school systems to change.” Papert (1993, p.2) asks: “Why, through a period when so much human activity has been revolutionized, have we not seen comparable change in the way we help our children learn?” He notes that “the education establishment, including most of its research community, remains largely committed to the educational philosophy of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries” (p.3). Schank & Cleary (1995, p.ix) observe that, while “most six-year-olds can’t wait to go to school,...for an alarmingly large number of [them]...boredom, anxiety, and fear of learning quickly set in.” This frightening observation reverberates also in the words of Arno Penzias[7] (cited in Visser, 1999b), who, during a video-delivered intervention at a symposium on *Un Siècle de Prix Nobel: Science et Humanisme*, held at UNESCO on 8, 9 and 10 April 1999, highlighted the necessity of ‘learning to learn.’ With knowledge now becoming obsolete various times in a lifetime, questioning one’s own assumptions has become crucial. Against that backdrop, Penzias noted the awesome situation that children, as soon as they go to school, cease to ask questions. What does it mean to be learning in the perspective of turbulent change and what Nicolescu (1999) calls the “tensions menacing life on our planet” (p.4)? What challenges lie ahead?

UNDEFINING LEARNING

Above I have argued that existing visions of learning are based on definitions, mostly implicitly stated, that delimit learning too narrowly to deal adequately with the issues

raised in this chapter. It is thus necessary to first remove these constraints to the development of broader visions. To do so, I propose the following alternative definition of learning:

Human learning is the disposition of human beings, and of the social entities to which they pertain, to engage in continuous dialogue with the human, social, biological and physical environment, so as to generate intelligent behavior to interact constructively with change.

The above definition was conceived to 'undefine' – i.e. to go beyond the limitations of – existing definitions of learning. It does not intend, however, to put another straightjacket around the notion of learning. Reference to the 'human, social, biological and physical environment' is based on commonly accepted ways to divide human knowledge up into these four major fields. In no way does the definition want to suggest that this is in all cases a preferred way of looking at the world. As argued elsewhere in this chapter, it is often necessary to transcend these artificial divisions in our knowledge system to develop useful insight in today's problems and adequate behavior to deal with them intelligently.

The dispositional dimension in this definition is important. The cerebral and other bodily functions that accompany learning behavior will only be effectively engaged if the disposition is there. Defining learning in the first place as a disposition draws essential attention to the fundamental need to establish not only the conditions of learning, such as in the sense referred to by Gagné (1985), but particularly also what the Hamburg Declaration on Adult Learning (1997) calls the "preconditions for learning" (p.4). Creating a learning society thus becomes a process that leads individual and social entities to see themselves and think of themselves as continually learning entities.[8]

The disposition is deliberately qualified as pertaining to individual human beings *and* social entities. Individuals are not separate from their social context and there is no social organization without reference to individual identity. Individuals and social entities at different levels of organizational complexity all engage in learning. The learning ecology in which they are nested should provide the necessary conditions to create an effective and continual dialogic disposition at all those different levels. Thus, the definition of learning proposed here is equally applicable to learning individuals as to learning organizations (Chawla & Renesch 1995; Marquardt 1996; Senge 1990), or learning cities (Jain & Jain 1999; Longworth in this handbook).

Emphasis in this definition is on the dialogic nature of learning. It takes learning out of the individual human brain – thus breaking with the preferred vision that underlies most of the schooling and training tradition. "Truth is not found inside the head of an individual person, it is born between people collectively searching for truth, in the process of their dialogic interaction" (Bakhtin 1984, p.110, cited in Shotter 1997). It can equally be found in the dialogic interaction between people and their biological or physical environment, as several millennia of history of scientific and technological development convincingly demonstrate.

More than ever is the evolutionary *raison d'être* for human learning the presence of change in the environment. Change is not just a given in the environment, something

to which one reacts, it is equally produced by every single living entity. This has always been so, but the impact we had on each other and on our shared human, social, biological and physical environment was far less a concern when some decades ago there were only three billion of us on this planet and it will be dramatically more of a concern a few decades from now. The requirement that interaction with change be constructive is therefore an ecological imperative. Without it, the human species will undermine the very basis of its own sustainability. The complexity of change patterns as we know them nowadays requires that we interact with change at multiple levels. This leads in turn to the need to similarly visualize learning at multiple levels of organizational complexity, ranging from the individual to society at large.

The above definition covers both intentional and unintentional learning. It encompasses not only such partial aspects of learning as the acquisition of particular skills, but it also allows us to visualize learning in a context in which constructive interaction with change has to do with complex issues such as learning to live together, both locally and globally; democratic participation in society; matters of war and peace (or constructive interaction with conflict); issues relating to the shared responsibility of humankind for the environment and the management of the earth's resources; demographic issues; and globalization, i.e. at a level at which the concept 'literacy' is in urgent need of acquiring new meanings. It equally encompasses those cases in which the process dimension of learning is more important than any particular product, such as when learning to learn or managing one's motivation to learn are the important issues, rather than acquiring a particular skill. Moreover, because of its comprehensive nature, the definition does not enter into conflict with more operational definitions such as the one by Hilgard (1948) referred to earlier in an endnote[4] in this chapter. It simply deals with the issue of learning at a different level of reality.

The definition, as given, implies that learning is conceived of in an ecological perspective. Human beings and the social entities to which they pertain are themselves part of the human, social, biological and physical environment. Thus, constructive interaction with change implies action and reflexive communication across multiple levels of organizational complexity. Hawkins (1964, p.272), quoted in Allen & Otto (1996, p.202), refers to the capacity to learn as "an externalization of function," i.e. the ability of the living/learning entity to attain "thermodynamic efficiency" by exchanging information with the environment and using the environment as an opportunity to offload and share relevant portions of its information storage and processing needs. Unless learning is seen as a dialogic disposition, rather than a mere internal process, taking place within the brains of individuals, such opportunity to attain thermodynamic efficiency would be missed. It is exactly this disposition that allows human beings to build environments that most effectively mediate learning and that optimize the thermodynamic efficiency, i.e. the constructive nature, of how they interact with change. It is in this sense, also, that Allen & Otto refer to media as "lived environments" (pp.199-225).

Learning systems, in the perspective of our definition, are essentially healthy living systems, i.e. systems that are able to continually maintain a *dynamic steady state*, a condition which, according to Lehninger (1965), "is a characteristic of all smoothly running machinery" (p.235), the steady state being "the *orderly* state of an open

system” (p.235). It can be deduced that “when an open system is in a dynamic steady state, the rate of entropy production by the system is a minimum for the specific energy flows taking place” (pp.235-236). Conversely, deviation from the steady state leads to the production of entropy at a higher rate, i.e. thermodynamic inefficiency. Still according to Lehninger (p.236): “This important deduction has been commented on in the following words:[9]

“This remarkable conclusion . . . sheds new light on ‘the wisdom of living organisms.’ Life is a constant struggle against the tendency to produce entropy by irreversible processes. The synthesis of large and information-rich macromolecules, the formation of intricately structured cells, the development of organization – all these are powerful anti-entropic forces. But since there is no possibility of escaping the entropic doom imposed on all natural phenomena under the Second Law of thermodynamics, living organisms choose the least evil – they produce entropy at a minimal rate by maintaining a steady state.”

In the same vein, Allen & Otto (1996, p.203) cite Maturana (1978, p.45), who says that “...learning is not a process of accumulation of representations of the environment; it is a continuous process of transformation of behavior through continuous change in the capacity of the nervous system to synthesize it.” They thus conclude that:

“behavior so informed by the environment represents a lowered entropy – that is, a greater orderliness of arrangement. Chaotic, disorganized, and arbitrary aspects of an organism’s activity are ameliorated by attention and intention directed towards aspects of the environment that are related to the organism’s ecological niche. The orderliness and organization of behavior that results from niche-related attention and intention can be characterized as intelligence. Such intelligence is thermodynamically efficient because it leverages the expenditure of small amounts of biological energy (Gibbs Free Energy) to guide much larger flows of energy in the external environment (p.203).”

In the learning ecological perspective referred to in this chapter, learning entities function at different levels of organizational complexity. In the thermodynamic sense they are open systems, exchanging matter and energy with their environment and thus with each other. Learning and activity at a particular level and by a particular entity can therefore not be seen in isolation from what happens in the learning environment as a whole. Gibson’s notions of ‘affordances’ and ‘effectivities,’ proposed in the conceptual framework of ecological psychology (e.g. Allen & Otto 1996; Gibson 1979; Ryder & B. G. Wilson 1996), are relevant in this context. By becoming integrated components of an ecological whole, different learning entities, whether social or individual, constitute affordances (opportunities or potential for action) for each other. Through dialogic interaction these affordances lose their separateness and transform into effectivities (or capabilities for action). This is quite similar to the way in which Ryder & B. G. Wilson (1996, p.1) explain how initially “the hand of an infant, though attached, is a separate object. The infant is amused by it, studies it, tastes it, touches other things with it.” In time,

however, “the infant learns to *use* the hand to manipulate other objects” and the hand “gradually transforms its object-ness to subject-ness” in the process of the child’s becoming “less conscious of the hand as she uses it as an extension of her own intentioned will.” Thus, in the evolution of a truly integrated learning environment one should expect to see a similar integration of learning entities among themselves and across different levels of organizational complexity. The learning society is an organic whole rather than something organized through the agency of a centralized bureaucracy. While conditions in the learning environment can be planned, learning itself can not. The learning environment fosters learning; it does not plan it. Trying to do so would kill it.

The process of gradually increased organic integration of the learning environment, so necessary in our world of rapid change and increased complexity in which everything depends on everything, can be greatly helped along through media and technology, provided that media are perceived as ‘lived environments’ in the sense discussed by Allen & Otto (1996). It should be understood, these authors note, that “the extension of human cognitive capacity through media technologies reflects broader evolutionary trends characterized by increasing externalization of information storage and processing” (p.203). They propose the term *mediacy* to express the degree to which individuals are able to reduce the organic cost of cognition through externalization of information storage and processing.[10] This notion should similarly apply to learning entities, whether individual or social, in general. Literacy, as we used to define it, is then a special case of mediacy (see also Ryder & B. G. Wilson 1996). Against the backdrop of our discussion of the organic integration of learning entities in a learning environment – of which other learning entities as well as a complex resource infrastructure, including the media, are equally part – it makes sense to expand Allen & Otto’s concept of mediacy to comprise in general the learning entity’s ability to maximize thermodynamic efficiency through externalization of information storage and processing involving *any* organic part of the learning ecology. This might then be called *dialogic efficacy*. [11]

The development of dialogic efficacy is ultimately dependent on the existence of a *dialogic environment*, i.e. an environment in which the activity of learning is pervasive and in which it occurs in diverse contexts and at different levels of organizational complexity.[12] An environment in which learning is largely limited to the one-dimensional single-mode processes that characterize most of the traditional formal schooling context is antithetical to the development of dialogic efficacy. On the other hand, a truly organically integrated learning environment can only evolve if learning entities possess dialogic efficacy. This thus poses a classical chicken-and-egg problem, requiring a solution that neither favors the chicken nor the egg. It is therefore imperative to work at different levels simultaneously, developing dialogic efficacy as part of the concern to create the conditions for the evolution of an organically integrated learning environment.

MEETING THE BASIC LEARNING NEEDS OF ALL THROUGHOUT LIFE

Let us now return to the more practical question that we started off with at the beginning of this chapter, ‘What should be done to meet the basic learning needs of all

throughout life?' In line with the reasoning developed in the earlier part of this chapter, this question now needs to be reformulated as follows: 'How can we create propitious conditions that will best ensure the evolution of an integral, complete and comprehensive learning environment?' *Integrity* is important because of the need for all learning entities to be able to interact with each other. As argued above, such interaction is required for all learning systems, at whatever level of organizational complexity, to function as thermodynamically efficient open systems, fostering growth in such a way that they produce entropy only at a minimal rate (Katchalsky 1976/1971). A learning environment that lacks integrity will eventually become dysfunctional. *Completeness* refers to the requirement that the learning environment should accommodate all different purposes and modalities of learning and that it should do so in a way that they constitute a whole that is complete in itself. *Comprehensiveness* means that no one should be excluded from opportunities to learn and no learning need should be seen as alien to the learning environment.

The notion of what is 'basic' in 'basic learning needs' is not constant. It varies across different circumstances and over time. It develops as learning develops. It is thus a dynamic concept. The right to education, as laid down half a century ago in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, refers in the first place to people's right to effective schooling, to being functionally literate, and to having "access to the printed knowledge, new skills and technologies that could improve the quality of their lives and help them shape, and adapt to, social and cultural change," as stated more than 40 years later in the preamble to the *World Declaration on Education for All* (1990, p.1). Article 1 of that Declaration specifies that:

"these needs comprise both essential learning tools (such as literacy, oral expression, numeracy, and problem solving) and the basic learning content (such as knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes) required by human beings to survive, to develop their full capacities, to live and work in dignity, to participate fully in development, to improve the quality of their lives, to make informed decisions, and continue learning (p.3)."

It relates the satisfaction of these needs to empowerment; to the common responsibility to respect and develop the collective cultural, linguistic and spiritual heritage; and to our responsibility to care for the learning of our fellow human beings. It does so by referring to the need to foster social justice; protection of the environment; tolerance; respect for humanistic values and human rights; and the cause of peace and solidarity in an interdependent world. It furthermore links the satisfaction of basic learning needs to the "transmission and enrichment of common cultural and moral values" (p.3) and asserts it as "the foundation for lifelong learning and human development" (p.3). Like the Faure report almost two decades earlier (Faure *et al.* 1972), the Declaration calls attention to the potential and opportunities offered by "the convergence of the increase in information and the unprecedented capacity to communicate" (p.4). This is seen as an important condition to develop "an 'expanded vision' that surpasses present resource levels, institutional structures, curricula, and conventional delivery systems while building on the best in current practices" (p.4).

The overall conception of the *World Declaration on Education for All* (1990) reveals a bias towards the school system as the centerpiece of the learning environment, without restricting itself to it. Indeed, the Declaration as well as the companion *Framework for Action to Meet Basic Learning Needs*, make reference to such non-school components as the family; the community; and institutional programs with regard to early childhood care and initial education. They equally suggest that the basic learning needs of youth and adults can be met “through a variety of delivery systems” (p.6) and mention in that context literacy programs; skills training programs; apprenticeships; and formal and non-formal programs in different areas of relevance for personal, community and socio-economic development. In addition, they call for the mobilization of “all available instruments and channels of information, communications, and social action...to help convey essential knowledge and inform and educate people on social issues” (p.6). The notion of integration – “these components should constitute an integrated system” (p.6) – is advocated as well. However, the language of the document, which emphasizes delivery, suggests that the term ‘integrated system’ should be interpreted as a system in which different mechanisms and approaches are used in symphony, in a well-orchestrated way, to deliver the multiple goals set by the World Conference on Education for All, held in March 1990 in Jomtien, Thailand. Such a perspective is different from the one advocated in this chapter, which emphasizes an *organically* integrated learning environment, i.e. an environment in which the constituent “distributed dynamic [sub]systems can be viewed as decentralized networks of agents...evolving through interactions with each other and their environments” (Santa Fe Institute 1997), a vision which defies the notions of centralized planning, orchestration and delivery, requiring different modalities of social organization.

A major end-of-decade assessment of the achievements since Jomtien has recently been undertaken by UNESCO, on behalf of the International Consultative Forum on Education for All (Education for All, the Year 2000 Assessment, 1998). It follows an earlier mid-decade assessment (Education for All: Achieving the Goal, 1996), the results of which indicate on the one hand that much needed advances have been made, but that, on the other hand, those advances fall short of what is required. Basic statistics regarding literacy, school participation and successful school completion change quantitatively, but not qualitatively. Moreover, and more fundamentally, they do not usually reflect the extent to which the *totality* of diverse learning needs is being met. A different vision and a different rationale are required. Without losing sight of the importance of schooling, the concept needs to be fundamentally rethought, in conjunction with and balanced against other components of the learning environment at large, with specific attention to the organic integration of the whole. In the words of the *Amman Affirmation*, contained in the Final Report (Education for All: Achieving the Goal, 1996) of the Mid-Decade Meeting of the International Consultative Forum on Education for All:

“Given the trend toward more open societies and global economies, we must emphasize the forms of learning and critical thinking that enable individuals to understand changing environments, create new knowledge and shape their own destinies. We must respond to new challenges by promoting learning in all aspects

of life, through all the institutions in society, in effect, creating environments in which living is learning (p.10).”

MULTIPLICITY OF CHALLENGES

The challenge to rethink the learning landscape is formidable and multifaceted. I have selected four major component challenges for further analysis. They have to do with the school, with learning, with complex organization, and with the nature of knowledge. This choice is far from exhaustive. However, it should give a good feel for the extent of the task ahead. In the interest of clarity, I shall deal with each of them separately, even though they intersect with each other to a considerable extent. A certain redundancy in what follows can therefore not be avoided. It is important to note that the best way to take on a multiplicity of challenges is by recognizing their multiplicity. Therefore, while for analytical purposes the four selected challenges are treated below in separation of one another, the practical effort of recreating the learning landscape needs to be undertaken at the comprehensive level.

The school

The idea of school is in for a major overhaul. However, it won't change of its own accord. It will only change within the context, and as an integrated part, of an evolving overall learning ecology. School reform movements must thus broaden their focus to beyond the walls of the school. Most important is the challenge to rethink the school within the perspective of the whole. This implies attending to the role the school must play in preparing new generations of individuals and communities for their place in the evolving learning ecology. It also implies rethinking the school as a nodal point of a transgenerational community of learners who, throughout their lives, continue to contribute to, and benefit from, the learning of others.

The concept 'school,' as referred to here, connotes more than the formal school system. It includes equally the various alternative pathways to learning whose basic underlying assumptions – as expressed in the acquisition/delivery metaphor and the treatment of knowledge as a commodity – are the same ones that underlie the formal school system. This holds true, for instance, for much of the distance education tradition. Reconceptualization of the school then, challenges current notions of planning, organization and administration; the idea of the set curriculum; top-down pedagogical approaches; roles and expectations of the different actors in the school environment, such as expressed in the traditional dichotomy between teachers and learners; practices of assessment of learning achievement; and views of who in society is responsible for managing the learning environment. It furthermore challenges the implicit notions of spatial organization – both static and dynamic – and rigid timeframes that characterize the instructional processes employed in the school context.

Lastly, an important consideration is also the potential role of the reconceptualized school as a backbone of the learning ecology. Within that perspective, particular

attention should be given to such basic functions as the creation, maintenance and development of literacy, mediacy, and dialogic efficacy; fostering the continual ability and motivation to learn; and facilitating the organic cohesion of the learning environment as a whole.

Learning

A second major challenge relates to the dialogic nature of learning and therefore to its essentially social character. This aspect finds clear expression in the notion of *learning to live together*, one of the four pillars – perhaps the most important one – on which, according to the 1996 report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century (Delors *et al.* 1996), learning throughout life should build. This important and overriding dimension of any successful learning experience has long gone unnoticed. Yet, without the full recognition of its essential importance, it will become increasingly difficult to deal with issues that reflect the complexity of our social and human interaction, the creative potential of our diversity, and the consequences of our collective interaction with the environment. Due to the dominance of the traditional schooling paradigm, learning was usually seen as something that is – and should be – done alone, a view that is perhaps most strongly expressed in how learning gains are being assessed. Even now when the social nature of learning is getting increased recognition, educators, as well as evaluation specialists, are often at a loss as to how to reconceptualize assessment practices accordingly. As a consequence, moving away from the old paradigm is hard. Hence the enormity of this challenge.

Complex organization

Complex organization is the third major challenge to be considered. Relatively recent developments – expressed in such notions as the learning society, the learning district, the learning city, the learning organization, the learning family, or, more generally, the learning community – reveal an increased recognition that learning takes place at different levels of organizational complexity. In terms of the definition of learning proposed in this chapter, it means that one can recognize the disposition to generate intelligent behavior for constructive interaction with change as something that characterizes, to a greater or lesser extent, each of these levels of social organization. Some countries, cities, and families have grasped the importance and relevance of their own role in interacting constructively with change better than some others have. Interestingly, just as one can see individuals taking an interest in and feeling responsible for the learning of other individuals, one can see larger social entities do the same. This is, for instance, reflected in how nations collectively influence each other in the ways they deal with conflict, or in how they persuade each other to behave responsibly in collectively managing the earth's resources. It can equally be seen in how they try to create agreed-upon collective patterns of behavior to control demographic growth or in how they convince each other to adopt and develop behavior in line with international

agreements, such as those concerning the human genome.[13] At lower levels of organizational complexity one sees it reflected in how existing learning cities mobilize other cities to also become learning cities, or in how the phenomenon of organizational learning spreads through the corporate world.

In addition to the interactions between learning communities at comparable levels of organizational complexity, there is also interaction across different levels of organizational complexity. A family that is a learning family motivates the learning behavior of individual family members and *vice versa*. Similarly, learning cities are propitious environments for stimulating learning at the corporate and local community level within such urban settings. Naturally, the school should also be seen as a learning community whose efficacy to be in constant dialogue with the community to which it pertains will depend on the extent to which that community is a learning community. It is because of these interdependencies that strategies to foster the evolution of an organically integrated learning environment should not limit themselves to isolated components.

The nature of knowledge

The fourth major challenge that I have chosen for further analysis has to do with the nature of knowledge itself. Societal processes of dealing with a vastly growing body of knowledge – growing both in extent and complexity – have, over time, led to increased specialization. A tendency has thus emerged to deal with the complexity of the world by breaking it down into parts that, when dealt with in isolation, can be comprehended. This process has greatly contributed to the advancement of science. However, it has also led to a view of the world, and thus to ways of dealing with it, that are no longer able to account for its complexity. This is becoming unsettling as many of the problems the world is facing now fundamentally have to do with the phenomena of exploding change and rapidly increasing complexity referred to earlier. There is thus a need to overcome the shortcomings of the disciplinary structure of knowledge, moving beyond multidisciplinary and interdisciplinarity, to start seeing things in a transdisciplinary perspective. In short, we need to rediscover the unity of knowledge; we need to rediscover the relationship between action and learning.[14]

TOWARDS AN ORGANICALLY INTEGRATED LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

One vision, in line with the considerations developed in this chapter, has been under continuous construction from January 1996 till the beginning of the year 2000 in UNESCO, often collaboratively engaged in together with UNESCO's partners. It is known as Learning Without Frontiers,[15] or LWF for short. In early 2000 the role of LWF was taken over by the Learning Development Institute (LDI). The status and development dynamics of the program are extensively documented on the Learning Without Frontiers web site at <http://www.unesco.org/education/lwff/>. Subsequent and ongoing developments under LDI are documented at <http://www.learndev.org>

During the four years of its existence, LWF has functioned as a laboratory. Much of what is in this chapter is a reflection on the lessons learnt in that worldwide laboratory through work carried out in collaboration with governmental and non-governmental bodies, other United Nations agencies, private interest groups, civil society entities and the scientific community.[16] It has focused on generating new ways of looking at learning, creating new policy frameworks, setting in motion new thought processes, and originating innovative practice. The dual focus on action and reflection has helped to ensure generating practice inspired by the latest knowledge available. It has also helped to put a reality check on the development of new conceptions and visions.

A major focus of LWF's and LDI's work has been and will continue to be the organic integration of the learning environment, the desire to ensure that for every person, and for any community, learning would be a natural part of the make-up of human behavior and of society. To achieve integration of the learning environment multiple barriers to learning must be broken down or at least diminished. I shall conclude this chapter with a brief discussion of a selection of those barriers.

NEW DIRECTIONS: CROSSING BARRIERS[17]

Moving beyond the constraints of existing organizational modalities

Any significant development towards attending to learning needs in a comprehensive and integrated fashion will depend on the political will and creative imagination of a society working together across sectoral boundaries and developing modalities of governance accordingly. Learning should be the shared interest of governmental bodies whose responsibilities lie in a multitude of areas such as education; communication; labor; agriculture; health; culture; social welfare; youth; tourism; and the environment. A ministry or department of education is a significant player in that context, but not an exclusive one. Similarly, responsibilities and interests at the national level are shared with those of non-governmental bodies, the private sector, and civil society institutions. They reflect modalities of social organization and governance that are functionally distinct and represent diverse levels of organizational complexity. Multiple partnerships are necessary to forge them into an organically consistent whole. Particular bodies, preferably working at a level that can be widely recognized as being impartial *vis-à-vis* the interests of particular stakeholders, can play a helpful role in promoting and facilitating this process. The difficulty to create such bodies, or for existing ones to give up their historically acquired positions, is merely indicative of the extent of the challenge. It should not be an excuse for not pursuing the goal.

Learning across multiple channels [18]

Advances towards the establishment of an organically integrated learning environment will be hampered by a vision that puts emphasis on formal learning and treats non-formal and informal learning as separate and of a lesser category. In fact, even the

conceptual distinction between these three domains – or any other subdivision for that matter[19] – may not be all that helpful. Integration of the learning environment will be equally hampered by the failure to recognize learning that takes place via different communication media, such as radio, TV, computers, puppet shows, popular theatre and dance. Similar constraints result from the non-recognition of learning that is grounded in the use of symbol systems requiring literacies different from the ones based on the Western alphanumeric symbol system and the almost exclusive use of the written word as a means to create representations of reality. The overemphasis on formal learning is particularly problematic in the context of developing countries where it results in undervaluing the importance and relevance of existing alternatives. Anzalone (1995, p.9), while referring to the situation in most developing countries, thus expresses concern about the lack of available options. “One usually finds few paths to learning [and] time is spent locked into the routines of copying text..., listening to teachers’ verbal renditions of information, and reciting and memorizing text from the blackboard or textbooks.” He recommends a process that “begins by looking at learners and their connections with bodies of knowledge, information and skills, and a commitment to build upon what currently exists,” and that “then looks at how in a value-added fashion learning could be strengthened by using more and varied learning channels to open up and animate the learning process.” We must thus move beyond the conception of the learning process as something activated and maintained by a single channel, a single path to learning. The “expanded vision,” called for in the *World Declaration on Education for All* (1990, p.4) and referred to earlier in this chapter, is important in this context. However, contrary to most of the post-Jomtien practice, it needs to be developed with multiple reference points in mind.

Crossing boundaries between the worlds of work and learning...and beyond

The traditional philosophy underlying the school system is quite closely related to the connection between learning and work, in that order. The learning that members of a new generation engage in when they go to school is seen, to a large extent, as what prepares them for the world of work. The extent to which they progress in the school system will reflect forward on their future status in the world of work. Not so long ago that connection could claim to have a certain validity. That validity is becoming challenged in various ways. First of all, many young people, both in the industrialized and the developing world, are painfully discovering that their successful academic careers are insufficient to obtain a job. Often what they have learnt is also irrelevant as a basis for self-employment. Second, the relationship between learning and work is becoming less and less linear and unidirectional. The work environment is often also an excellent learning environment, sometimes more effective than the school, and many a good school would integrate work in its procedures to facilitate and motivate learning. More importantly, and this is a third point, the world of work itself is changing, just as much as the world of learning changes (see e.g. Britton 1994; Handy 1995; Rifkin 1995). Brown & Brown (1994) refer to a variety of authors, including Buckminster Fuller and McLuhan & Leonard, who already decades ago stressed that learning would become

the major occupation of the future, rather than work. They particularly point to distance education as a modality to facilitate learning in a flexible and open manner in a world in which work and learning become more and more intertwined, in which work is not the equivalent of 'having a job,' and in which learning may inspire work as well as be inspired by it or be undertaken for purposes unrelated to the world of work, i.e. for its own intrinsic sake. It is thus necessary to create facilitating infrastructure for learning that allows learning communities to establish themselves around a flexible range of issues of common concern to their members.

Bridging the gap between 'modern and traditional' systems of knowledge and learning

Opportunities are missed if, in a community, different systems of knowledge and learning operate without being allowed or encouraged to interact with each other. In most societies, school-based learning is seen as inherently superior to and separate from any other modality of learning. Similarly, the multiplicity of learning contexts notwithstanding, knowledge acquired in the school context is often the only kind of knowledge for which formal accreditation can be obtained. The terms 'modern' and 'traditional' though often used in this context, are unfortunate and misleading. Taken at their face value, and given the choice, one is inclined to opt for 'modern' rather than 'traditional' learning. However, there is no reason to assume that school systems are less stagnant and devoid of evolution than what is suggested by some of the connotations of the term 'traditional'. What is required is simply an open eye for the opportunities contained in any system of learning, whatever its designation, and a facilitating environment that allows learning communities to co-evolve. It is of great concern in this regard that information about learning and knowledge systems other than the school system is largely lacking.

Overcoming the language barrier

A great variety of languages are spoken around the world. Some continents, such as Africa, are particularly rich in linguistic diversity. The formal schooling systems tend to view this as a problem, particularly when linguistic diversity occurs within one single national system. It limits the possibility to mass-produce instructional materials and to easily assign teachers to different linguistic regions within a country. It is thus a significant cost factor when considered against the backdrop of the established schooling practice. Linguistic diversity, however, is as crucially important for the evolution of knowledge and thought as is biodiversity for the evolution of the species.

Given the above consideration, the rate at which languages are disappearing in the world is frightening (see also Visser, 1997). Pinker (1994, pp.259-260) asserts that, at a global level, "between 3600 and 5400 languages, as much as 90% of the world's total, are threatened with extinction in the next century." He mentions as causes "the destruction of the habitats of their speakers,...forced assimilation and assimilatory education." The recognition of the importance of linguistic diversity is often at a

tension with political motives to promote national unity through the use of a single language. Nonetheless, it is important to create learning environments that are able to accommodate and foster linguistic diversity. There are different contexts in which this is particularly relevant in different ways. I shall mention three of them.

In the first place there is the case of countries where different languages are spoken in one national territory. Many of them are so-called developing nations. Many of them are in Africa. Their geopolitical borders were drawn up in colonial times, without regard for the ethnic and linguistic divisions within and across them. When such countries became independent, the use of the former colonizer's language for official communication and as language of instruction was often considered an important condition to forge national unity. Neocolonial interests, the countries' dependence on foreign aid, the convenience to strengthen ties with countries belonging to the same linguistic zone, and lack of resources in general, have further reinforced the practice to use a borrowed language as a major or exclusive vehicle for formal learning. The formal learning context having its well-known attributed importance, this has had a profound influence on the learning environment at large. The problem is exacerbated as mastery of these borrowed languages is often weak. As a result, conceptual development in them is disconnected from the emotional world of learners, as expressed in their mother tongue. This problem occurs perhaps most blatantly in Africa, however it equally applies to those countries, for instance in parts of Latin America, where a majority language wipes out any collective attention to cognition in a minority language.

The second case is that of the world at large. Recent tendencies towards greater interconnectedness across the globe, and in general the need to deal with problems that affect the planet or humanity as a whole, make it increasingly necessary to be able to communicate with each other. At a global level, the English language has acquired the status of *lingua franca*, leading to the perception, particularly among native speakers of other languages, that those who were born to speak English have an unfair advantage. That, in turn, has sometimes resulted in politically motivated practices to establish parallel communications in different languages, which would typically include some of the major colonial languages of the past.

The third case is that of media with global coverage, particularly the Internet and satellite communication media. This case is, in fact, a particular instance of global communication as discussed in the previous paragraph. Technology being so powerful and potentially penetrating at a wide range of different levels in society, it is likely to have an unprecedented impact. There is thus a genuine concern that the predominant use of one or only a few languages in these media environments could endanger our cultural and linguistic diversity.

Concerning all three cases discussed above, and possibly many more that may be proposed for analysis, I suggest that the best way to deal with them goes beyond the practice of parallel communication in different languages. The world of today requires *translingual* dialogic efficacy, i.e. the capacity to participate in social cognition beyond and across language barriers. The cultural history of many European countries – for instance the Scandinavian ones and The Netherlands – shows quite convincingly that the expectation that any citizen be conversant, in addition to her or his mother tongue,

in a variety of other languages does not at all lead to loss of identity or the disappearance of one's own culture. Quite to the contrary, it enriches the mind and contributes to tolerance of ambiguity. Moreover, it is an essential requirement to achieve integration of the learning environment at a translingual level, i.e. in a perspective that is essential for constructive interaction with change of a global nature and in the context of processes that involve different countries or linguistic communities. One of the important functions of preparatory learning therefore is the development of translingual dialogic efficacy. The school has a role to play in this area, but so have the media and, in some cases, the family environment. A focus on this function turns linguistic diversity from a problem to be coped with into an opportunity to be explored.

The challenges of space, time and age

Learning used to be conceived of in terms of rather rigid spatial, temporal and age-related parameters. Reconceptualizing the learning environment thus calls for the removal of the conceptual constraints inherent in these factors and for practical solutions to overcome them. While much can be written about each of these issues separately, I am taking them together here in the interest of brevity.

The development of distance education has contributed much to overcoming the barriers to learning imposed by space, time and age. The literature on the development of the field is vast (e.g. Bates 1995; Moore & Kearsley 1996; Rowntree 1992; Willis, Ed., 1994). In a world in which the conventional schooling model sets the tone for anything considered worthy of the name 'learning,' much effort has gone into validating distance education against the standards of formal schooling. The field has successfully made the point and few people doubt any longer the validity and effectiveness of the instructional processes that pertain to the area of distance education.

However, the need to establish its validity in terms of the criteria of the formal schooling model has also led distance education to remain conceptually very close to the formal system (e.g. Visser, Jain, Anzalone & Naidoo 1997). Many distance education systems simply replicate the school model, keeping everything the same to the maximum extent possible, with the exception of the separation between the source of teaching and the learner. This is unfortunate. Much can be gained from efforts to think anew about the elements that make up the learning environment and from finding more creative ways to combine different ingredients, procedures and contexts. Distance education can thus learn much from developments in such fields as the traditional school context, organizational learning, home-based learning, learning in the media environment, community education and learning cities. It can also itself contribute to these fields. For this to happen there must be a much more effective cross-fertilization among the professional communities active in these various fields. In other words, professional communities must become learning communities, and such communities are by necessity open.

Reconsidering the traditional conceptions, often preconceptions and sometimes misconceptions, regarding space, time and age is not the exclusive prerogative of the distance education community. Anyone involved in learning, i.e. every human being,

should be aware of the different timeframes and spatial contexts in which we operate and learn at the same time. We should acquire an enhanced sensitivity as to how such timeframes and spatial contexts relate to our own lifespan,[20] how we interact with members of other generations whose lifespan overlaps with our own, and how they relate to our place in history as well as in the evolution of the human species, the living world in general, and the larger universe.

Instructional practice still has a dominant influence on how we perceive learning. We must therefore overcome the narrowness of its spatial and temporal connotations. It is thus useful to distinguish between learning timeframes and validity timeframes. In the instructional context, learning timeframes are typically those whose order of magnitude ranges from one hour (i.e. 10^0 hours, the lesson period), via 10^3 hours (a term), to 10^4 hours (the duration of an entire instructional program, such as in the school context). Their associated validity timeframes, related to how long what has been learned can effectively and relevantly be used, may have an order of magnitude of anywhere between a week and a significant portion of a lifetime, i.e. ranging from 10^2 hours to 10^5 hours. However, some of our more significant learning experiences, usually unrelated to instruction, may have happened in a split-second and have a lasting impact on us, and on those who share our lives, such as our family, for generations to come. On the other hand, some of the wisdom handed down over historical or over evolutionary periods of time may largely leave us untouched, except, perhaps, for an ephemeral, but crucial moment during our life. That's learning.

It is thus necessary to conceive of this enormous variability of timeframes in relation to similarly varied spatial contexts, not only in a static sense, but equally dynamically conceived. Whoever may have come up with the idea that learning can best be done by sitting still was wrong. Certainly, it wasn't the ancient Greeks whose learning processes took place in the *peripatos*, or covered walkway of the Lyceum. And any parent who has ever gone out with their child for a walk will know better as well.

Perhaps, then, the most powerful means of giving learning new meanings will be by taking our mind for a walk and letting it experience the vastness of the landscape and the awesome extent of how it relates us to who we are, where we come from and where we are going.

ENDNOTES

1. The author is founder and president of the Learning Development Institute (LDI). He is also the former director for Learning Without Frontiers (LWF) at UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization). Information about LDI and LWF is available online at <http://www.learndev.org> and <http://www.unesco.org/education/lwff/>, respectively. Any opinions expressed in this chapter are entirely those of the author and do not necessarily reflect official policy of UNESCO or the Learning Development Institute.
2. The term 'learning environment' is used here in a broad sense, comprising the learning ecology as a whole as it pertains, for instance, to the totality of conditions put in place in a particular society or even beyond. It is distinct from its more common, and more restrictive, use to describe the conditions pertaining to particular intentional learning events, such as referred to, from different perspectives, in Grabinger (1996); Hannafin, Land and Oliver (1999); Jonassen (1999); McVey (1996); or B. G. Wilson (1995).

3. Tudge (1998, p.50) puts this number "between one hundred and three hundred million."
4. One explicit definition (Hilgard 1948, p.4) states that "learning is the process by which activity originates or is changed through training procedures...as distinguished from changes by factors not attributable to training." De Vaney and Butler (1996, p.8) underline this definition's influence on the behavioral school. Only quite recently, this close linkage with instruction starts to disappear. Driscoll (2000, p. 11), for instance, stresses, with reference to her analysis of different learning theories, that "they do share some basic, definitional assumptions about learning. First, they refer to learning as a persisting change in human performance or performance potential." However, distinctly different from Hilgard's definition, she continues to say that "Second, to be considered learning, a change in performance or performance potential must come about as a result of the learner's experience and interaction with the world."
5. With regard to the limitations of Aristotelian logic, Edgar Morin, in an interview with Basarab Nicolescu, argues that "in all profound and important problems, whatever their particular domain, classical logic, the Aristotelian axioms, do not work. One is forced to have contradictory formulations in which the third is included" (see Badescu & Nicolescu, Eds., 1999, pp.51-52, my translation). Nicolescu (1999, p.3) identifies "multiple levels of reality; the logic of the included middle; and complexity" as the "three pillars of transdisciplinarity."
6. Typical is a paragraph like the following one in the Faure report: "The commission accordingly underlined the fact that despite doubts and differing orientations, and whatever the progress or savings which might be obtained from certain changes in the traditional educational system, the very heavy demand for education due on the one hand to the gradual prolongation of school-attendance to optimal age, and, on the other hand, to the institution of a genuine lifelong education, can only be met if instruments derived from modern technology, with its limitless possibilities, are put to use on an adequate scale and with appropriate means" (Faure *et al.*, 1972, p.xxxvi).
7. Co-discoverer, together with Wilson, of cosmic microwave background radiation, for which they shared a divided Nobel Prize in Physics in 1978.
8. See in this connection e.g. Tuckett's (1996) analysis of media use in Britain to raise the motivation to participate in learning opportunities among underrepresented adult audiences.
9. The words are Aharon Katchalsky's, according to my annotation of Lehninger's text. They can be found in a paraphrased form in Katchalsky (1976/71). Lehninger himself makes no particular attribution.
10. Allen & Otto recall in connection with their proposal of the term 'mediacy' Bruner and Olson's (1977-78) definition of intelligence as 'skill in a medium.'
11. By nature of the dialogic process, which involves both the self and the environment, the term 'dialogic efficacy' subsumes the presence of dialogic self-efficacy.
12. Such an environment is made up of the kind of "distributed dynamical systems" that the Santa Fe Institute (1997) has identified as a focus area for research. These are "systems capable of complex, robust, open-ended learning and cognition" whose understanding "requires a framework in which intelligence is shared among multiple, possibly heterogeneous, agents interacting with each other and often with their environment." For such distributed systems "the critical question is to understand the relation between local mechanisms and the learning process of the whole."
13. Typically, organizations like UNESCO should be seen, and they should see themselves, as promoters and facilitators of learning at this level. Their interaction with the learning behavior of entire nations should also have profound implications for their own organizational learning behavior.
14. Faure *et al.* made that argument already in 1972 (p.xxx) in critiquing the academic model. They considered that the academic model was "out of date and obsolete, not only so far as the working classes are concerned, but even in its utility to young people from the bourgeois class for which it was originally devised." They noted particularly the arbitrariness of the academic model in isolating "the humanities (considered as non-scientific) from the sciences (considered as non-humanistic), and persistently...[failing] to recognize the advent of the 'scientific humanities'."
15. The name Learning Without Frontiers was originally suggested by the French philosopher Michel Serres in a proposal that became part of the advice of the 'Ad Hoc Forum of Reflection on UNESCO's role in the Last Decade of the Twentieth Century.' The Forum was convened by UNESCO's Executive Board in 1993. The Learning Without Frontiers program subsequently became operational in UNESCO in January 1996.

16. LWF's work has involved countries such as the nine so-called high-population countries (Bangladesh, Brazil, China, Egypt, Mexico, Nigeria, India, Indonesia, and Pakistan, who together make up half of the world's population), and a variety of other countries, such as those of Central America as well as Colombia, Morocco, Mozambique, Turkey, the USA, and Zimbabwe, to name but a number of them).
17. Part of this section is based on the author's contribution to a report by Klees, Matangala, Spronk, & Visser (1997).
18. Also referred to as *multichannel learning* (see e.g. Anzalone, Ed, 1995).
19. Hallak (1990), in a book written to coincide with the development dynamics put in place by the World Conference on Education for All, lumps non-formal education (NFE) and informal learning together and then subdivides it into paraformal education, popular education, education for personal improvement, and professional or vocational NFE, attributing different levels of importance to each as a function of who takes care of it. The different proposed categories have the formal system as their reference point.
20. I use the term 'lifespan' here to refer to both space and time.

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Chapter 3: Innovative Teachers: Promoting Lifelong Learning For All

CHRISTOPHER DAY

THE CHANGING CONTEXTS OF TEACHING

Teaching now takes place in a world dominated by change, uncertainty and increasing complexity. As a reflection of this, government publications in Europe, North America and Australasia stress the technological, economic and social challenges which schools (and therefore teachers) face. They are confronted, it is said, by a number of changes which lead to contradictory demands. As a UNESCO paper put it:

“On the one hand:

- a commitment to education for all;
- an extension of the period of initial schooling;
- recognition of the growing importance of life-long education;
- more emphasis on general education for children and young people which prepares them for life rather than providing vocational skills for specific jobs;
- increasing emphasis on teamwork and co-operation;
- a consensus that general education should include attention to environmental issues, tolerance and mutual understanding

On the other hand:

- growing inequalities, deepening social differences and a break-down in social cohesion;
- an increase in alienation among youth and dropping out of school;
- high levels of youth unemployment and charges that young people are ill-equipped to enter the world of work;
- a resurgence of inter-ethnic tensions, xenophobia and racism as well as the growing influence of religious sects and problems of drugs and gangs, with associated violence;
- increasing emphasis on competition and material values”.

(UNESCO, 1996)

Concern with the need to raise standards of achievement and improve their positions in the world economic league tables has prompted governments to intervene more

actively in all aspects of school life to improve school systems over the last twenty years. Financial self-reliance and ideological compliance have become the twin realities for many of today's schools and their teachers (Hargreaves 1994, p.5). Externally imposed curriculum, management innovations and monitoring and assessment systems have often been poorly implemented; and they have resulted in periods of destabilization, increased workload, intensification of teachers' work and a crisis of professional identity for many teachers who perceive a loss of public confidence in their ability to provide a good service (Day *et al* 1996).

Whilst governments have introduced changes in different ways at different paces, change is nevertheless not optional but a part of the 'postmodern' condition which requires political, organizational, economic, social and personal flexibility and responsiveness (Hargreaves 1994). Little wonder that the postmodern condition represents more of a threat than a challenge for many teachers, or that many are confused by the 'loose-tight' paradox of partially decentralized systems, i.e. local decision making responsibilities, alongside increased public scrutiny and external accountability.

THE NEW PROFESSIONALISM?

Interventions, which some regard as a root and branch attack upon teacher autonomy or teacher professionalism, are welcomed by others as necessary change. Competing and contested definitions of what it means to be a professional lie at the heart of this controversy. Some argue that increased bureaucratic control of schools and intensification of teaching over the last twenty years have reduced individual teachers' areas of discretion in decision making, and led to 'chronic and persisting' overload which has effectively resulted in de-skilling and poor quality teaching (Harris 1996). The establishment of competency-driven, school-based apprenticeship models of pre-service teacher training and systems of in-service teacher development which emphasise short term training needs related to nationally rather than locally or individually defined priorities, are cited as examples of this in the UK. In England the National Curriculum has been described as '*a serial killer*' in the demands it makes upon teachers (Campbell & Neill 1994a), and there is widespread evidence of increased levels of stress and decreased morale.

From these perspectives, teachers are indeed on the way to becoming '*technicians*' whose job is to meet pre-specified achievement targets and whose room to manoeuvre, to exercise discretion – a hallmark of an autonomous professional – is thus increasingly restricted. An alternative view is expressed by David Hargreaves who identifies the shifts in culture, values and practices of teachers which have resulted from government reforms in England, but may be applied equally in many other countries of the world. He describes the '*piecemeal*' and '*fragmented*' emergence of a '*new professionalism*' and identifies trends in which teachers' work is becoming less isolated, their planning more collaborative, their teaching more outcome-oriented and their relationships with students and parents more overtly contractual. Crucially, he identifies a '*a post-technocratic*' model of professional education in which professional development is approached from four interconnected premises:

- teachers are understood to have life-long professional needs and these will be met only if treated as in the case of any learner, in terms of continuity and progression;
- for continuity and progression to be realised teachers' developmental needs must be assessed on a regular basis;
- schools devise a plan for development from which also flow needs for professional development if the schools development plan is to be implemented successfully;
- professional needs arising from personal sources (eg appraisal) have to be reconciled with school needs from institutional sources (eg a development plan).

In this model, all teachers are held to have rights to professional development, and opportunities must be distributed equitably (p.430). Hargreaves places two propositions '*at the heart of*' the new professionalism:

“To improve schools, one must be prepared to invest in professional development; to improve teachers, their professional development must be set within the context of institutional development.”

(Hargreaves, D. p.436)

There are three conclusions which may be drawn from these perspectives and the contexts in which they are framed:

- The impact of the changing economic, social and knowledge contexts upon the education service as a whole has caused a move from the traditional post-war model of the autonomous professional. In particular, what students learn, what they must achieve as the outcome of learning and what standards apply are now explicitly the everyday business of government. Teachers are increasingly expected to conform to a social market model of education in which an increased range of stakeholders define learning needs.
- The circumstances in which teachers work and the demands made upon them are changing as communication technologies erode the role of teacher as exclusive holder of expert knowledge. As the social fabric of society becomes more fragmented, the educative role of schools becomes more complex. Higher expectations for higher quality teaching demands teachers who are well qualified, highly motivated, knowledgeable and skilful not only at the point of entry into teaching but also throughout their careers.
- A focus upon teachers' continuing career long professional development is now a key responsibility of governments, schools and teachers themselves. This is so because '*behaving as a professional*' involves:

“displaying ... degrees of dedication and commitment, working long hours as a matter of course and accepting the open-ended nature of the task involved, which often impinge.. upon home and personal life it also entails maximum effort to “do the best you possibly can” and a constant quest for improved performance. At the same time it involves developing appropriate and caring relationships with students, which gave priority to their interests and well being, as well as dealing

“professionally” with colleagues, parents and other external agencies where appropriate. Finally, because of the complexities of the task of teaching and the obligation to meet varying individual needs, high levels of skill are necessary to respond intelligently to multiple demands in a complex and changing environment...”

(adapted from Helsby, Knight, McCulloch, Saunders & Warburton 1997, pp.9–10)

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CONTINUING PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND TEACHING STANDARDS

Acquiring the qualifications to become a teacher has always been a necessary but not a sufficient condition to succeed as a professional over a career span. Inevitably, subject knowledge needs to be regularly updated. Teaching organization, methods and skills also need revisiting as, on the one hand information becomes more accessible through advances in technology, whilst on the other, teaching pupils who are less socially compliant in conditions which are less conducive to promoting learning becomes more challenging. The maintenance of good teaching demands that teachers review regularly the ways in which they are applying principles of differentiation, coherence, progression and continuity. They also need to establish balance in the ‘what’ and the ‘how’ of their teaching and revisit their core ‘moral’ purposes. To be a professional means taking up a lifelong commitment to inquiring practice. Yet under normal circumstances, teachers’ learning is limited by the development of routines ‘single loop learning’ (Argyris & Schon 1974) and taken-for-granted assumptions which limit their capacity to engage in the different kinds of reflection necessary for learning and change (Day 1999). Research tells us that there are both positive and negative reasons for providing a range of continuing professional learning and development opportunities:

Positive

- teachers’ commitment to their work will increase student commitment (Bryk & Driscoll 1988, Rosenholtz 1989, Louis 1998)
- enthusiastic teachers (who are knowledgeable and skilled) work harder to make learning more meaningful for students, even those who may be difficult or unmotivated. (Guskey & Passaro 1994)

Teachers who are most likely to increase commitment to learning were identified by 12–16 year old students in England, over 4 years of interviews as those who:

- enjoy teaching the subject
- enjoy teaching students
- make the lessons interesting and link them to life outside schools
- will have a laugh but know how to keep order
- are fair

- are easy for students to talk to
- don't shout
- don't go on about things (eg. how much better others are)
- explain things and go through things students don't understand without making them feel small
- don't give up on students.

(Rudduck, Day & Wallace 1997)

Negative

- only 50% of the teachers looked forward to each working day in school. (Rivera-Batiz & Marti 1995)
- the demands of students for attention (in large classes) are likely to lead to staff exhaustion and burnout. (Esteve 1989)
- burnt-out teachers give less information and praise to students and interact less frequently with them. (Mancini *et al*, 1984)
- in UK, 23% of sample surveyed indicated having significant illness over the last year (Travers & Cooper 1996).

Teachers' visions of themselves as educationalists with broader purposes are likely to dim without continuing professional development (Farber 1991, Tedesco 1997).

UNDERSTANDING THE CHALLENGES OF LIFELONG LEARNING

David Hargreaves' call for investment in professional development within the context of institutional development is far from being realised. Most teachers still work in isolation from their colleagues for most of the time. Opportunities for the development of practice based upon observation and critique of that practice remain limited. Despite the best efforts of many school leaders to promote collegial cultures, they are most frequently at the level of planning or talking about teaching rather than at the level of examining practice itself. In this context, Barth's observation of the 'perilous place' of learning in the life of teachers is not, perhaps, surprising:

"... the voracious learners are the beginning, first year teachers who care desperately to learn their new craft. The learning curve remains high for three or four years at which time the life of the teacher becomes highly routinized and repetitive. The learning curve flattens. Next September, the same as last September. After perhaps ten years, many observers report that teachers, now beleaguered and depleted, become *resistant* to learning. The learning curve turns downward. With twenty-five years of life in schools, many educators are described as 'burned out'....It appears that life in school is toxic to adult learning. The longer one resides there, the less the learning. Astonishing."

(Barth 1996)

Although many teachers begin their careers ‘with a sense that their work is socially meaningful and will yield great satisfactions’, this is lost as ‘the inevitable difficulties of teaching ... interact with personal issues and vulnerabilities, as well as social pressure and values, to engender a sense of frustration and force a reassessment of the possibilities of the job and the investment one wants to make in it’ (Farber 1991, p.36).

- Career development is often accompanied by ‘a sense of inconsequentiality’.
- Many teachers in mid-to-late career become disenchanted or marginalise themselves from learning, no longer holding the good of their pupils as a high priority.
- Low self-esteem, shame (at not achieving desired results) are directly correlated with less variety of teaching approaches and thus less connection with students’ learning needs.

Many of the ‘short-burst’ training opportunities do not fulfil the longer term motivational and intellectual needs of teachers themselves. They fail to connect with the essential social and moral purposes that are at the heart of their professionalism or to address directly the emotional commitment of teachers seeking to improve the quality of pupils’ learning in changing circumstances.

“Teachers’ emotional commitments and connections to students, both positive and negative, energize and articulate everything they do’. Teaching ‘involves immense amounts of emotional labour... This kind of labour calls for a co-ordination of mind and feeling, and it sometimes draws on a source of self that we honor as deep and integral to our personality...”

(Hochschild, cited in Hargreaves, 1997)

Such emotional commitments are part of teachers’ substantive professional selves. Kelchtermans (1993) found that there were six components of the substantive selves of primary school teachers in Belgium: self-image, self-esteem, job motivation, job satisfaction, task perception and future perspective. An American study identified eight themes which teachers associated with their professional selves – willingness to go beyond the call of duty, effective communication, personal satisfaction from teaching, relationships with colleagues, satisfaction with particular students’ successes, the students’ perspectives, and learning through reflection on practice (Nelson 1993). These components of the substantive self of the teacher are essential features of teachers’ lives. Teacher development, then, must take account of these and the psychological and social settings which can encourage or discourage learning – for example, the teachers’ own personal life histories, their professional learning experiences, expertise and school professional learning cultures which provide the day to day contexts for their work.

If we are truly to engage in ‘the learning game’ for teachers as well as students (Barber 1995), then interventions into their working lives must be based upon an understanding of a range of needs over the whole of their careers. There are three interesting and authoritative pieces of research which point to the need for i) supporting work-place learning ii) being suspicious of the exclusive use of competences to judge

worth; and iii) complementing workplace learning with targeted training and development opportunities at key phases of teachers' careers.

DEVELOPING EXPERTISE THROUGH WORK-PLACE EXPERIENCE

One of the most influential models for the development of expertise is that of Dreyfus and Dreyfus (1986). They identify a number of levels of skill development as the professional moves, from being a 'novice' through to 'advanced beginner', 'competent', 'proficient' and 'expert' (Dreyfus & Dreyfus 1986). The Dreyfus and Dreyfus model, like the work of van Manen, Eisner and others, recognises that '*perception and understanding are based in our capacity for picking up not rules, but flexible styles of behaviour*' (p.5) within a given situation:

Figure 1: Summary of Dreyfus Model of Skills Acquisition (from Eraut 1994, p.124)

Level 1 Novice

- *Rigid adherence to taught rules or plans*
- *Little situational perception*
- *No discretionary judgement*

Level 2 Advanced Beginner

- *Guidelines for action based on attributes or aspects (aspects are global characteristics of situations recognizable only after some prior experience)*
- *Situational perception still limited*
- *All attributes and aspects are treated separately and given equal importance*

Level 3 Competent

- *Coping with crowdedness*
- *Now sees actions at least partially in terms of longer-term goals*
- *Conscious deliberate planning*
- *Standardized and routinized procedures*

Level 4 Proficient

- *See situations holistically rather than in terms of aspects*
- *See what is most important in a situation*
- *Perceives deviations from the normal pattern*
- *Decision-making less laboured*
- *Users maxims for guidance, whose meaning varies according to the situation*

Level 5 Expert

- *No longer relies on rules, guidelines or maxims*
- *Intuitive grasp of situations based on deep tacit understanding*
- *Analytic approaches used only in novel situation or when problems occur*
- *Vision of what is possible*

The temptation to adopt and apply this as a linear model is seductive. Yet to do this would be to ignore the complexity and dynamic of classroom life, the discontinuities of learning, and the importance of continuing regular opportunities for deliberative reflection 'on' and 'about' experience as ways of locating and extending understandings of the meaning of experience in broader contexts. Teachers will move backwards and forwards between phases during their working lives for all kinds of reasons to do with personal history, psychological and social factors. Taking on a new role, changing schools, teaching a new age group or a new syllabus will almost inevitably result in development disruption, at least temporarily.

Becoming an expert does not mean that learning ends – hence the importance of maintaining the ability to see one's professional life in terms of lifelong learning. There are problems, also, in a changing world, with regard to the acquisition of expertise as the end of the learning journey. Expert teachers are those who retain their ability to be self-conscious about their teaching and are constantly aware of the learning possibilities inherent in each teaching episode and individual interaction.

THE LIMITS OF COMPETENCE

There is also an international trend towards the development of measurable teaching competences as a means of assessing teaching standards. This is not new. The roots of competency are to be found in 'scientific management' (Taylor 1911) and the 'cult of efficiency' (Callahan 1962). The perceived and now discredited direct link between worsening economic competitiveness and a relative decline in standards of student achievement made by politicians, media and the public in many countries have also contributed to this impetus. 'Back to basics' calls to schools in many countries have been accompanied by increased public accountability measures. These invariably include the use of competence-based assessments. Competence is not problematic itself as an educational aim, but *becomes* problematic:

'when either or both of two conditions are fulfilled: firstly, when competence becomes a dominant aim, so diminishing other worthwhile aims; or, secondly, when competence is construed over-narrowly'

(Barnett 1994, p.159)

Over time the temptation for managers to judge teachers exclusively against sets of competences, rather than using such competences as benchmarks, may become as over-

whelming as it is for teachers to judge pupil progress only against their results in tests which focus upon a relatively narrow range of achievements. It is important, then, that the limitations of achievement competences, as they are currently conceived as a means of both judging teachers' work and of planning their development, are recognised.

Elliott (1991) argues that 'what is at stake' in competency-based assessment are the ways in which quite separate views of teaching (teaching as a 'technology' and teaching as a 'moral practice' (p.124)) are applied. Being competent in both is part of a professional's practice but if the former prevails, then teaching will, in effect, be downgraded. In summary, the abiding problem with externally devised and applied competence-based systems is that:

"Too little specificity can lead to lack of clarity, poor communication and diminished credibility. Too much specificity leads to cumbersome standards, which take too long to read, and to possible abuse of the system by people taking short cuts ..."
(Eraut 1994, p.212)

TEACHERS' CAREER PHASES

In England (Ball & Goodson 1985, Sikes et al 1985, Nias 1989); the United States (Kremer-Hayon & Fessler 1991, Lightfoot 1983); in Australia (Ingvarson & Greenway 1984, Maclean 1992); in Canada (Butt 1984) and in Switzerland (Huberman 1989), a number of key phases have been identified through which many teachers are perceived to move in their careers. The most authoritative studies of teachers' career experiences and the most useful insights into factors within and outside the institution on them are those of Swiss Secondary School teachers by Michael Huberman (Huberman 1989, 1995), of English teachers by Sikes et al (1985), and of American teachers by Fessler and Christensen (1992). Their work suggests that teachers pass through five broad phases in the development of their professional lives:

- Launching a career: initial commitment (easy or painful beginnings).
- Stabilization: find commitment (consolidation, emancipation, integration into peer group).
- New challenges, new concerns (experimentation, responsibility, consternation).
- Reaching a professional plateau (sense of mortality, stop striving for promotion, enjoy or stagnate).
- The final phase (increased concern with pupil learning and increasing pursuit of outside interests; disenchantment; contraction of professional activity and interest).

It is likely that *trajectories in the middle phases of the career cycle (7–18 years) are more diverse than earlier or later ones* (Huberman 1995, pp.196–7). This diversity will relate to career advancement, school culture and the way in which teachers respond to the now well established annual cycle of repetition of students and colleagues which provides security but may, paradoxically, lack the variety, challenge and discovery of

earlier years. It is a time when many teachers are likely to seek new challenges, either by taking new responsibilities in the same school or by moving schools for the purposes of promotion. It is a time, also, when responsibilities outside the school may begin to grow, whether it be with ageing parents, growing families, or deepening relationships. Whilst the workplace may remain the epicentre of their lives, teachers' other demands may create tensions as they compete for time. Some teachers may begin to *reorientate* themselves, scaling down the time which they give to their profession outside working hours. There may be a tension between this and increasing workloads. Research into teacher workload in twenty six member countries indicates that for most teachers the working week is between 55 and 70 hours (UNESCO 1996).

This phase may also witness midlife crises and the beginnings of increasing levels of disenchantment caused by lack of promotion or role change, or diminishing levels of energy and enthusiasm. On the other hand, the phase may lead to a 're-energizing' (Vonk 1995), in teachers' classroom teaching, together with a *'mellowing characterised by less drive but also less restlessness, a lesser need to control others or to drive oneself, a greater tolerance for one's limits or weaknesses, a greater acceptance of the 'inevitability' of one's life course.'* (Huberman 1995, p.200). It is during this phase also when some teachers may seek opportunities to re-examine the basis upon which their assumptions and beliefs about teaching are founded, to question the purposes and contexts of their work, to review and renew their intellectual commitments through further study either by participating in school, LEA or district networks or participating in further degree work.

THE FINAL PHASE

The final 10–15 years of a career is, theoretically, the phase of greatest expertise in teaching, albeit accompanied by the potential for increased personal health and family concerns. Yet it may also be the time of greatest 'conservatism'. Teachers in this phase complain more about the behaviour, commitment and values of students 'these days' (Peterson 1964, Prick 1986, Day & Bakioglu 1996), and are sceptical about the virtues of change. This is not surprising, given the huge investment of time, effort and expertise which these teachers are likely to have already made in their work. They are unlikely to be looking toward further promotion and may either be serenely moving towards a 'satisfactory' career end, or having to survive, dissatisfied, in an alien climate. These teachers may feel marginalised within the institution and embittered towards those whom they see as responsible for the condition of education, schooling and the declining standards of the students they must teach. They may work hard in their core acts of teaching, but this may not be accompanied by the levels of enthusiasm, emotional and intellectual commitment necessary for achieving excellence.

THE KINDS OF SCHOOLS WE NEED

"If we want all students to actually learn in the way that new standards suggest and today's complex society demands, we will need to develop teaching that goes

far beyond dispensing information, giving a test, and giving a grade. We will need to understand how to teach in ways that respond to students' diverse approaches to learning, that are structured to take advantage of students' unique starting points, and that carefully scaffold work aimed at more proficient performances. We will also need to understand what schools must do to organize themselves to support such teaching and learning....21st-century schools must shift from a selective mode – 'characterized by minimal variation in the conditions for learning' in which 'a narrow range of instructional options and a limited number of ways to succeed are available' – to an adaptive mode in which 'the educational environment can provide for a range of opportunities for success.'

(Darling-Hammond 1996, p.7)

The findings of the 45th Session of UNESCO's International Conference on Education in 1996 point to the importance of the conditions of teaching in enhancing the quality of teachers' work. It observed a '*dissociation between the recognition of the teachers' importance and the absence of any real measure taken in their favour, whether....from the financial point of view, from that of the level of involvement in management or of the improvement of the limited or in-service training processes*' (Tedesco 1997, p.24); and it cited evidence that structural adjustment policies in many developing countries had led to a decline in expenditure and significant deterioration in the working conditions of teachers:

"This deterioration produced, in its turn, a series of well-known phenomena: demoralisation, abandonment of the profession, absenteeism, the search for other occupations and, finally, a negative impact on the quality of education offered."

(Tedesco 1997, p.24)

Intentions to raise standards of achievement among students cannot, therefore, be separated from the associated need for increased commitment and teaching expertise from teachers and more dynamic, complex interventionist leadership by headteachers and others in order to ensure that schools continue to develop. However, research suggests that most reforms have failed to give parallel attention to workplace conditions, leaving many teachers feeling deskilled, bewildered, angry and demoralised. If governments are serious about raising standards of achievement and thus standards of teaching, then it is important to understand how the conditions for teaching, central to both job effectiveness and satisfaction, affect teachers' own attitudes towards and ability to engage in the kinds of lifelong learning that are fundamental to the success of reform efforts.

SCHOOL CULTURES

Just as conditions in classrooms affect the ability of teachers to provide the best learning opportunities for students, so the school culture provides positive or negative support for its teachers' learning. Essentially school culture is about the commonly understood implicit and explicit 'norms' of being and behaving in the organisational

setting. It is characterized by the ways in which values, beliefs, attitudes, prejudices and behaviours are played out within the micropolitical processes of school life. The culture of the classroom, department or school is often described as the school's ethos or climate; and it is the creation and management of the school's culture or cultures which, according to Schein (1985), is the only thing of real importance that school leaders do.

In reporting research on what matters most to teachers in their workplace context, McLaughlin emphasised the importance of the '*school as workplace community*':

"The school workplace is a physical setting, a formal organisation, an employer. It is also a social and psychological setting in which teachers construct a sense of practice, of professional efficacy, and of professional community. This aspect of the workplace – the nature of the professional community that exists there – appears more critical than any other factor to the character of teaching and learning for teachers and their students...."

(McLaughlin 1993, p.99)

Jennifer Nias and colleagues (1989) have written extensively about forms of school culture which have different implications for teachers' work and professional development opportunities. Andy Hargreaves has identified four 'broad' forms of culture which will have positive or negative effects upon teachers' work: individualism; balkanisation; collaboration; and contrived collegiality. Schools which are 'stuck' or 'moving' (Rosenholtz 1989), 'cruising' or 'strolling' (Stoll & Fink 1996) will also inevitably affect teacher development.

However, even in those moving schools where continuous learning is an organic part of school culture, change is not always easy and must be led by principals who are clear in their vision and committed to promoting learning for teachers as well as students.

THE ROLE OF THE PRINCIPAL IN PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Responsibility for the professional learning culture of the school is at the centre of the cultural and educative leadership roles of headteachers. It is pivotal to enabling teacher development and, through this, school improvement. Indeed:

"In a community of learners, the most important role of teacher *and principal* is that... .. of leading learner. One who engages in the central enterprise of the schoolhouse by displaying and modelling the behaviour we expect and hope students... (and teachers)... will acquire. As one bumper sticker puts so well: 'You can't lead where you won't go'."

(Barth 1996, p.29)

The role that the principal in a school takes in supporting teachers' professional development is, then, a critical variable in determining whether it is seen as an '*add on*' to the policy implementation roles of teachers or whether continuing professional

development is an integral part of the conception of school as a dynamic community of learning for adults as well as for students. I will highlight two pieces of recent research which provide empirical data on the importance of leaders in this respect. The first took place in non-educational settings and focused upon the development of knowledge and skills in employment with workers at different levels in the engineering, business and health care sectors of twelve medium to large organisations in England. It confirms that:

“a manager’s indirect impact on learning through the allocation of work, as a role model and by creating/sustaining a microculture which supports learning from peers, subordinates and outsiders, is no less important than his or her direct impact through advice and encouragement, appraisal and feedback . . .”

(Eraut, Alderton, Cole & Senker 1997)

It identified four main approaches to the facilitation of learning as distinct from training:

- *Induction and integration* focussing primarily on people becoming effective members of their work unit and the organisation as a whole.
- *Exposure and osmosis* described as the process of learning by peripheral participation (e.g. observations and listening) in which the learner has not only to be alert and receptive but also to work out what he or she needs to know.
- *Self-directed learning* which assumes that the learner takes a more active role, learning from doing the work and finding out on their own initiative what they need to know.
- *Structured personal support for learning* which involves the use of supervisors, mentors or coaches . . . (Here) the climate of the workplace is likely to significantly affect the quality of learning support.

[Eraut *et al.*, 1998, pp.23–4]

The second research project was a 360° study of successful school headteachers commissioned by the National Association of Headteachers, the UK’s largest association of school principals. Analysis of all the data revealed a surprising consensus among the different constituencies in each school and between them. All held similar constructions of why the head in their school was successful. Their heads were:

- values led
- people centred
- achievement oriented
- inwards and outwards facing
- able to manage a number of ongoing tensions and dilemmas.

All constituencies emphasised the importance of the sets of core personal values of the heads, based upon care, equity, high expectations, and achievement, which were clear to and shared by the overwhelming majority of the school constituencies and which

were the drivers for the life of the school. All emphasised the importance attached by the heads to monitoring standards in the school, to keeping 'ahead of the game' so that their schools responded rather than reacted to new external demands, testing them against their own standards, minimising bureaucratic demands on staff; all spoke of the improvement-oriented collaborative school cultures which the heads promoted, and the emphasis upon continuing professional development which met both organisational and individual needs. All spoke of the time and care which the heads gave enthusiastically to their work; the way the heads modelled their values. The heads themselves were clearly strategic 'reflective practitioners', exercising a range of inter- and intra-personal skills, able to analyse, evaluate, articulate and communicate with a range of agencies locally and nationally. (Day *et al.*, 2000)

The characteristics of successful leaders and their ability to be simultaneously people-centred whilst managing a number of tensions and dilemmas highlight the complexity of the kinds of *values-led contingency* leadership exercised by these successful heads. The study illustrates that there are no neat solutions to the challenges and problems of leading schools – there are too many variables; and that successful leadership is defined and driven by individual and collective value systems rather than instrumental, bureaucratic, managerial concerns. All principals in the study placed a high premium upon personal values and were concerned more with cultural than structural change. They had all moved beyond a narrow rational, managerial view of their role to a more holistic, values-led approach guided by personal experience and preference in which they recognised the intimate link in successful leadership between the personal and the professional, between the development of the individual and the organisation.

APPRAISAL

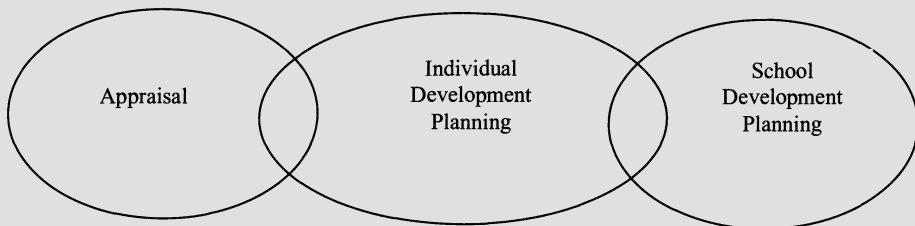
The system of appraisal in schools (sometimes called performance appraisal, sometimes review) exists in different forms in different countries. Essentially, though, it is a management inspired procedure, providing a formal opportunity for the needs of teachers and their contributions to classroom, school and community to be evaluated through formal interviews. The results of the appraisal are used for different purposes in different countries.

Where the school culture does not promote sharing of and reflection upon thinking and practice as part of its everyday interaction – where it perpetuates cultural myths that everything depends upon the teacher, the teacher is an expert, and that teachers are self made through experience (Britzman 1986) – then the core appraisal processes of disclosure and feedback will continue to pose difficulties for teachers who interpret autonomy as the right of privacy. In these settings, teachers are likely to collude in the language of development while continuing to pursue previous practices.

Yet formal appraisal systems are important in promoting development which continues to ensure that individuals and schools regularly review changing curricula, changing student needs and the changing demands of politicians and parents, and have support in self-renewal, an underpinning purpose of continuing professional development because, in changing times, existing mental maps or frames may, 'cease to fit the

territory' (Pascale 1990, p.13). Appraisal, then, should not be seen as separate from school and individual teacher development planning if both individuals' work processes and the social architecture of the school are to be developed:

Figure 2 The Relationship Between Individual Development Planning, Appraisal and School Development Planning



MODELS OF PROFESSIONAL LEARNING AND DEVELOPMENT

INSET

In-service education and training (INSET) is still the most widely used form of development intended to provide intensive learning over a limited period; and, although it may be jointly planned, it usually has a designated leader(s) whose role is not only to facilitate but also actively to stimulate learning. Where it is timed to 'fit' the needs of teachers in relation to their phase of experience, career development, demands of the system, lifelong learning cycle or systems needs, it is likely to succeed in *accelerating growth*, whether that growth is additive (taking knowledge, skills, understanding forward a step) or transformative (resulting in major changes in beliefs, knowledge, skills or understandings).

Over recent years, however, governments have realised that successful change requires the active co-operation of teachers. Thus, they have reasoned that restructuring schools, providing nationally directed curriculum reform and targets for student achievement will not in themselves improve teaching practices or student learning and achievement (Elmore 1992). These will be more likely to be achieved or implemented successfully if teachers' knowledge and skills are upgraded. However, in-service activities which have no immediate bearing on specific social policies and issues need also to be supported because schools and individual teachers need to develop and maintain their capacity for renewal in order both to improve the quality of current services and to meet new demands. The development of centrally promoted INSET has tended to be at the expense of, rather than complementary to, INSET opportunities chosen by the teachers themselves.

Whilst the traditional concept of INSET as an activity or series of activities isolated from the learning life of the school or as the principal provider of teacher development

is dying, it remains true that in some schools staff receive little advice on their development because of an inadequate understanding of the idea of INSET as now conceived and an inability or unwillingness to engage in planning which relates to establishing an appropriate balance between individual and system needs. Even now, in many countries:

“New teachers are welcomed but left alone; INSET is left to individual choice and so goes to the most ambitious and those with the least need for it; most INSET is in the form of courses, takes place off the school premises, and is for the benefit of the individual.... It does not grow from institutional needs nor is there any mechanism for disseminating the outcomes within the school ...”

(Hargreaves D, 1994 p.430)

Yet even school-provided INSET may support only system-oriented need and so, in emphasising only concepts of practicality and relevance, ‘contribute to the development of instrumentalist ideologies which emphasise a technical approach by both providers and consumers of inservice education’ (Sachs & Logan 1990, p.477). Emphasis upon teachers’ experiential knowledge and immediate needs reinforces the view that teachers need only to know how to manage teaching and that, by implication, understanding its broader purposes and contexts is less important:

“Rather than developing reflective practitioners who are able to understand, challenge and transform their practice, in-service education in its current form encourages the development of teachers who see their world in terms of instrumental ends achievable through the recipes of ‘tried and true’ practices legitimated by unexamined experience or uncritically accepted research findings”.

(Sachs & Logan 1990, p.479)

Teachers’ professional development will be restricted rather than extended, fragmentary rather than coherent whilst the breadth of their learning needs continues to be ignored; and professional learning will come to be associated, not with capacity building for the use of insightful judgement exercised in complex situations, but with one-shot events specifically targeted at immediate technically defined implementation needs as determined by others.

There are five valuable lessons here for those whose responsibility it is to promote teacher development:

- any comprehensive programme must attend to the classroom application of understandings, knowledge and skills – a simplistic ‘learn-apply’ model does not work;
- feedback and ongoing coaching are essential components in the process of transfer;
- the disposition towards and commitment to learning must be present in the teacher as lifelong learner;
- the organisational culture must be supportive of collegial relationships. Opportunities to learn through peer coaching and feedback require a school culture which facilitates ongoing collegial relationships inside and outside the school. This

requires strong leadership, 'manifested in priority setting, resource allocation, and the logistics of scheduling on the one hand and substantive and social leadership on the other' (Joyce & Showers 1988, p.91); and

- resources must be targeted at long term development, taking into account a balanced portfolio of learning needs.

NETWORKS FOR LEARNING

Writing in a school development context, Michael Huberman (1995) proposed research-based, cross-school networks, 'with a focus on bridging the gap between peer exchanges, the interventions of external resource people, and the greater likelihood of actual change at the classroom level' (p.193). Their aim is almost always systemic change and they consist of a number of schools which work together over extended periods of time with the support of staff from universities and other organisations with an interest in supporting improvement efforts. Because they meet over time, this creates opportunities for a wide variety of agreed intervention strategies by university staff and others and for changes in the focus of their work together.

In a recent review of the American literature, Hord (1997) explored the concept and uses of 'professional learning networks', focusing primarily upon those in which whole schools or departments are involved. Whilst recognising that such communities of continuous inquiry and improvement are 'embryonic and scattered', (Darling-Hammond 1996, p.10). Hord also identified several factors necessary for their development:

- significant contributions made by school principals to provide supportive environments (Leithwood *et al*, 1997);
- staff involvement in decision-making, reflective dialogue through shared practice and peer review, and inquiry; and
- 'undeviating' focus upon student and staff learning (Louis & Kruse 1995; Brandt 1992, Sarason 1990).

Although building collaborative learning networks takes time, the literature suggests that there are significant benefits for both staff and students. Among these are:

- reduction in the isolation of teachers;
- increased commitment to the mission and goals of the school and increased vigor in working to strengthen the mission;
- higher likelihood that teachers will be well informed, professionally renewed, and inspired to inspire students;
- significant advances into making teaching adaptations for students, and changes for learners made more quickly than in traditional schools;
- higher likelihood of undertaking fundamental, systemic change.

(Hord 1997, pp.27-8)

An example of the way in which schools may network is that offered by 'school improvement', defined as:

"a systematic, sustained effort aimed at change in learning conditions and other related internal conditions in one or more schools, with the ultimate aim of accomplishing educational goals more effectively."

(Van Velzen *et al*, 1985)

The powerful learning and capacity-building effects of involvement in learning networks which not only utilize the knowledge inside teachers' heads but also challenge and extend it are well documented. (e.g. Little and McLaughlin 1991, Bascia 1991, Carter 1991, Lord 1991, Smith *et al*, 1991, Fullan 1992, Hopkins, West & Ainscow 1996, Lieberman & Miller 1992, Louis & Miles 1990, Elmore 1992). Networks may focus upon subject specific enhancement (Lieberman & McLaughlin 1992); strengthening the schools' capacities to provide quality education for all their pupils (Hopkins, West & Ainscow 1996); extending the district-wide capacity of staff developers (Sparks & Hirsch 1997); building community and school partnerships (Stoll & Fink 1992); and inter-professional collaboration involving e.g. parents, teachers, social workers, psychologists and business (Corrigan 1997, Day, van Veen & Walraven 1997). They may be local, national or transnational (Pösch & Mair 1997).

THE CHALLENGES OF LIFELONG LEARNING: INVESTING IN TEACHERS

In writing about his vision of the current transformation of society, Peter Drucker points to the importance of schools and teachers in providing a foundation of values and practices for lifelong learning through skilfully promoting student motivation and achievement. Yet they have 'rarely been allowed to focus on the strengths of students and to challenge them', more often having to help them to do 'a little less poorly' what they are not particularly good at (Drucker 1994). The widespread availability of new technologies will, he claims, 'free teachers from spending most, if not all, their time on routine learning, on remedial learning, on repetitive learning' and enable them to focus upon individual learning, discovering the students' strengths, and focusing them on achievement. Learning which combines knowledge with understanding requires that teachers work with *surface learning* (knowledge components or facts) and *deep learning* (connections, relationships, holistic understanding) (Svingby 1993). Free standing facts are necessary but they are meaningless unless understood in authentic contexts:

"Standards of learning ought to be measured in terms of their capacity to help learners to engage in deep learning. A primary task of the school is to develop instructional programmes, curriculum resources and organisational structures that are geared to focus the school on competence regarding deep learning ... Schools must, among other things, help children and youth to learn to think."

(Dalin & Rust 1993, p.89)

Changed circumstances and increasing expectations mean that teachers now need not only to be knowledge brokers but 'learning counsellors' (cf. German concept/term "Lernbegleiter") in settings in which the distinction between student and teacher will become blurred:

"Students with extensive resources will engage in teacher roles, and teachers also will be students, in that they will engage in lifelong education and training ... teachers will serve as role models in the school where understanding will be more important than knowledge, where personality development will be essential and where the whole person will stand in the centre ... The message to teachers is that the 'answer' is no longer the key in the learning process. The key is the 'question'. Teachers will no longer be expected to have the one and only right answer. They will be expected to stimulate the curiosity of each child, to focus on the basic issues and to help each child to discover and to work systematically..."

(Dalin & Rust 1996, p.145)

What must be faced, however, is that teachers will have 'differing degrees of comfort' with the kinds of interactive, multi-layered roles and relationships required in classrooms of the future, where 'learning to learn' is as important as 'learning to achieve' (Caine & Caine 1997, p.214). Long ago, for example, Argyris distinguished between two models of teacher behaviour. In Model 1, teachers unilaterally design the teaching environment and control it, whereas in Model 2, they, '...design situations or environments where participants can be origins and can experience high personal causation tasks are controlled jointly ... protection of self is a joint enterprise and oriented towards growth' (cited in Caine & Caine 1997, p.216). In classrooms of the twenty first century, it is likely that teachers will need to play an even greater variety of roles and employ a greater range of teaching approaches according to need.

Teachers' abilities to meet the challenges of learning for and in the twenty first century will be conditioned not only by the environments in which they work, but also their own world views. Caine & Caine (1997) identified the need for teachers' development of four core qualities:

- A sense of self-efficacy grounded in authenticity;
- The ability to build relationships that facilitate self-organisation;
- The ability to see connections between subjects, discipline and life;
- The capacity to engage in self-reflection, to grow and adapt.'

(Caine & Caine 1997, p.221)

Yet the greatest problems for teachers in engaging in the kinds of sustained interactivity necessary for meeting the learning and achievement needs of individual students continue to be time, disposition and support. It is these problems and themes which make up the complex and shifting landscapes in which the meaning of teacher development is located. *Most schools are not yet places where adults as well as children are encouraged to engage in lifelong learning.*

Despite the growing rhetoric of the importance of 'lifelong learning', it does not appear yet that the necessary connection between the quality of teachers' motivations, commitments and vision of learning for their students and their planning, participation and monitoring of their own learning over a career has been made. Indeed, for many teachers the last twenty years have been years of survival rather than development.

The economic and social arguments for improving the capacity of individuals to learn are now beginning to be more clearly articulated (Gibbs 1996, p.9). For example, the influence of teachers upon students in the early years and the association between pre-school education and educational attainments in reading and mathematics and social (behavioural) outcomes, on their attitudes to learning, self-esteem and task orientation have been well documented (Sylva 1996, p.19), as have the benefits accruing to students from their contact with good teachers and good schools in all phases of education. On the downside, however, there is evidence that many students do not relate well to the school curriculum or to 'traditional' teaching and learning roles, and 'drop out' either metaphorically or in fact. The costs of secondary school dropout in Canada, for example, have been estimated at 'more than \$4 billion over the working lifetimes of the nearly 137000 youths' (Lafleur 1992, p.2). Low educational achievement also correlates with lower work and life chances for the individual and this is one of the strongest arguments for lifelong learning, economically, socially and personally. Conditions for teaching and learning are less than ideal in most schools.

As with children, so with teachers: the key to successful learning is motivation which cannot be achieved by means of tight centralised control. Personal commitment and involvement are likely to be limited when teachers must follow dicta devised by others (Rubin 1989). There are four investment strategies which, if followed, are likely to produce dividends of enormous proportions for all with a stake in our educational future.

SKILLS FOR TEACHING ARE NOT ENOUGH

It has been argued that improving teachers' skills is the only way to bring about the better standards of learning the nation requires; that the time has come to 'shift the focus of policy from the structure and regulation of education, to teaching and learning itself', so that 'teachers might be supported in acquiring and maintaining the most refined, advanced skills in pedagogy' (Barber 1994). Whilst no one could fail to support this sensible plea, only to emphasize the development of teaching methods and to promote one kind of teaching over another is to miss the point. Professional development must be concerned with teachers' whole selves – their sense of purpose, attitudes, commitment, enthusiasm and motivation – since it is these which bring significance to the meaning of the teaching act and the learning which results. Policy should be designed to nurture, cherish and enhance and, where necessary, restore the sense of moral purpose which is at the core of all good teaching.

Though it may not appear so as part of the explicit curriculum, there can be little doubt that teaching is a moral enterprise:

“To anyone who takes a close look at what goes on in classrooms it becomes quickly evident that our schools do much more than pass along requisite knowledge to the students attending them (or fail to do so, as the case may be). They also influence the way those students look upon themselves and others. They affect the way learning is valued and sought after and lay the foundations of lifelong habits of thought and actions. They shape opinion and develop taste, helping to form likings and aversions. They contribute to the growth of character and, in some instances, they may even be a factor in its corruption...”

(Jackson *et al*, 1993, p.12, Daveney)

A sense of vision is particularly important for teachers and schools, because, in the years up to and into the twenty first century, both will be expected to make a difference, and be seen to make a difference, in the learning lives of children and young people in changing circumstances. Governments will continue to see education as a means of increasing their economic competitiveness.

My own vision for the twenty first century is that good teaching will be recognised as work which involves both the head and the heart, that it is in the first instance an interpersonal activity ‘directed at shaping and influencing (not moulding), by means of a range of pedagogical skills, what people become as persons through whatever it is that is taught’ (Sockett 1993, p.13). It is, of course, important that teachers of the twenty first century are able to use a range of pedagogical skills which fit their purposes. However, the application of pedagogical skills needs to be a consequence of the exercise of pedagogical judgement which is informed by reflection in, on and about the purposes, contexts, processes and outcomes of teaching and learning. There must be a public recognition that effective learning involves, essentially, an ‘interactive chemistry’ between learner and teacher which depends as much on process as content, and is an expression of visions and values and perceptions as much as of competences and knowledge. Ethics and values, therefore, must play an explicit role alongside rational concerns. The diminishing sense of agency or control that many teachers report must be replaced by a sense of accountability with trust.

LEARNING PARTNERSHIPS: CHANGING ROLES

One of the biggest challenges for teachers is that which is posed by the telecommunications revolution which will inevitably enlarge the role of the individual with more access to information and greater ability to communicate to anyone, anywhere, anytime. As a result, it is reasonable to predict that the boundaries between in-school and out-of-school learning will become more blurred – they already are – and teachers’ roles as ‘expert knowledge holders’ will be eroded. Instead they will become knowledge-brokers, learning counsellors skilled in learning processes; for whilst technologies escalate our hopes for a better life, we regularly find ourselves unable to harness their potential. Their application in school depends upon resources beyond those presently in place, and, more importantly, upon the understandings and skills of teachers to facilitate and problematise their use and mediate the information they convey.

There are three issues which must be addressed alongside the growing use of the new technologies. *First*, though much of student learning through information technology will not require the use of social skills, it may be enhanced by it. Students will continue to need to test and consolidate their learning by reflection upon and exchanging ideas, ideals and opinions with other pupils. There is some evidence that even now, in primary schools, one-to-one teacher child interactions are brief and (for most children) infrequent, and collaborative work rare. The teacher's role will, therefore, be as process-facilitator and interventionist rather than content expert. *Second*, the new technologies emphasise that learning is not only the result of school experience but of other influences – the home, the media, and friends. Whilst technologies facilitate and enhance the provision of education, 'the educator's role is to preserve the human component because human interaction is the key to the successful application of communication technologies to the delivery of lifelong learning'. (Stanford 1994). *Third*, the information received will need to be subject to critical appraisal. Teachers are in a key position as 'learning counsellors'. Schooling will, perforce, become more of a partnership and 'learning contracts' between teachers, pupils and parents, established on a more explicit basis. *Learning, if not teaching, will become everyone's business – and on a time scale and site location outside of and far beyond the confines of schools and other educational institutions. It will in fact be a set of experiences and activities stretching across the lifespan.*

CONTINUING PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT: MAKING A DIFFERENCE

So far, the bulk of Continuing Professional Development continues to focus upon 'keeping teachers updated about recent reforms, in particular the curriculum', and has, 'hindered personal development and the continuing development of teaching practices and strategies' (N.C.E. 1993, p.219).

Nor does it enhance their career-long commitment. In Luxembourg, ETUCE, the European Assembly of Teacher Trade Unions, found that '*Static or linear conceptions of teacher education must be replaced by a holistic understanding of the inter-relatedness of teachers' personal and professional development with research and development, school improvement and the changing social and political aspirations for the education service and by an appreciation that a dynamic system will challenge existing organisational structures and power bases and require responsiveness to the needs of the practitioners*' E.T.U.C.E. 1994. 7.12).

Such an holistic understanding implies that opportunities for professional learning and development must be available, and fully resourced. This must recognise that, for teachers as for students and other adults of the twenty first century, learning is a life-long business. The continuing professional development of teachers is an example of this and therefore an endeavour worthy of investment. It is: i) essential to the learning, well-being and achievements of students and schools; ii) vital to the maintenance and development of their own commitment and expertise; and iii) a major responsibility of teachers and employers. In examining the personal, professional, and policy contexts in which teachers work this chapter has investigated the complexities of learning and

development and, in doing so, identified a variety of ways in which teachers learn, why they develop (or do not develop), in what circumstances, and what kinds of intervention are appropriate in support of learning.

To develop schools and, through them, lifelong learning, we must be prepared to develop teachers. A first step in this process is to help teachers remind themselves that they do have a crucial role to play in making a difference to the lives of students and that, because their roles will continue to change, teachers need to have their own individual learning curricula as a means of generating and regenerating the understandings, critical thinking skills, emotional intelligence, craft skills and intellectual flexibility demanded as they prepare pupils for uncertain worlds in which neither the corporate learning process nor the individual one is optional.

Teachers are potentially the single most important asset in the achievement of the vision of a learning society. It is the kinds and quality of the training and development opportunities throughout their careers and the culture in which they work that will most deeply influence their own promotion of lifelong learning values and their ability to help students to learn how to learn to succeed. They are at the 'cutting edge'. It is they who hold the key to students' growing or diminishing self esteem, achievement, and visions of present and future possibilities for learning through their own commitment, knowledge and skills.

A vision of lifelong learning demands emotionally intelligent teachers who are educated to think, reflect, evaluate, look for and provide opportunities for the development of individual achievement which challenge and support each student in their care. It demands a reversal of the stripping of the learning opportunities and resourcing of schools and the self-esteem of those who work in them. It demands a focus, over time, on those whose stake is demonstrably in the present and future lifelong health of the nation. For the rhetoric to match the reality, it demands investment in teachers.

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Chapter 4: Lifelong Learning and Tertiary Education: The Learning University Revisited

CHRIS DUKE

LIFELONG AND LEARNING – A CONCEPTUAL MORASS

The idea of lifelong learning is not new. Initially it entered the international literature from more esoteric origins some thirty years before the end of the twentieth century, mainly via the Council of Europe, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and Unesco (Faure 1972, OECD 1973, Lengrand 1975). It enjoyed a brief period of sustained attention in these circles. A modest volume of secondary and national-level policy studies and other analyses followed during the seventies, mainly around the concept of recurrent education.

The term itself and related conceptual analysis went out of general use for a generation. Deliberation was largely confined to sociological, philosophical and often exhortatory writings among adult and continuing educators, with books such as Knapper and Cropley (1985) and the *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, launched in 1982. The Unesco Institute for Education in Hamburg published a series of studies on lifelong learning, mainly to do with the school curriculum, but this line of inquiry dwindled away in the late seventies. The failure to engage the concept of lifelong learning within the institutional imperatives of school and schooling remains a problem.

From the outset the literature and its concepts have proved problematic. They are often confused, and remain so today, as the 1998 OECD biennial Conference on Lifelong Learning and the Universities showed. Thus Paul Lengrand's 1975 volume was called *An Introduction to Lifelong Education* rather than *learning*. The OECD's view of recurrent education was however explicitly conceived as a *strategy for lifelong learning*, as the subtitle of the key 1973 OECD monograph reveals. The term favoured by the Council of Europe at the beginning of the seventies was *education permanente*, often translated into English, unfortunately and misleadingly, as 'permanent education'. This resonated with suspicion of educational imperialism expressed for example in Illich and Verne *Imprisoned in the Global Classroom* (1976). We return later to the confusion between 'education' and 'learning', since it persists in current discourse about lifelong learning and the role of, for example, tertiary education.

From another perspective however 'lifelong learning' has made giant strides since the sixties. This is not an unmixed blessing. Many forms of study, such as professional continuing education, and off-peak radio and television broadcast of study materials, as well as earlier forms of diploma and degree study, are publicised simply as lifelong learning. Often this is virtually a synonym for study by adults, usually post-full-time

and post-experience. Lifelong learning is thus equated with adult or continuing education.

If the usage confuses meaning and allows educational providers to colonise the wider terrain of learning, at least it does accept that adults can and do go on learning, a new phenomenon within my own professional lifetime. When as a graduate I trained at Cambridge (UK) to qualify as a teacher, the received psychology, especially Piagetian, would have one assume that the learning cycle peaked with early adulthood. There was a plateau and it was all downhill from there, with diminishing powers towards senility. Later I encountered the work of the Belbins and the Hutchinsons who campaigned for the recognition that adults do learn, albeit with different strategies and styles, throughout life. Adult learning was a contested site; adult education a marginal activity unconnected to the real business of education, schools and colleges.

Simply to recall this earlier mindset brings home the magnitude of the lifelong learning revolution, and gives a context for the persisting confusion of education with learning, and for the trivialisation of 'lifelong learning' in the service of marketing courses. There is no longer anything remarkable about universities catering for older clients as well as school-leaver students; for people who combine diverse life-roles rather than occupy a discrete student identity in a phase of pre-mature socialisation and transition to full adult participation in society. In this sense acceptance of the term lifelong learning is a precondition for the idea that tertiary education can be for all, across society and throughout life.

The reappearance and increased volume of a literature of lifelong learning is evident. There is the 1996 Unesco Delors report, following the 1972 Unesco Faure report, which shifted priorities for education in support of lifelong learning, rather than question the premise. OECD has also returned to the subject with a series of publications (see in particular OECD 1996). 1996 was the European Year of Lifelong Learning. In Britain following the change of Government in 1997 (the previous Administration having vigorously espoused what it chose to call 'lifetime learning') lifelong learning became a central policy preoccupation of the Department for Employment and Education, its ministers and advisers. Taiwan nominated 1998 as its year of lifelong learning and opened its education system to scrutiny through an international conference early that year. In Malcolm Skilbeck's words from the perspective of a senior OECD administrator "after a bold, but in the event faltering, start several decades ago, the movement of lifelong learning for all is once again gathering momentum". In the same book it is stated that "today education and training, and the notion, values and ideals of lifelong learning, have come to be conceptualized and appraised in a very wide-ranging and sophisticated manner' (Chapman & Aspin 1997, pp.11, 9).

My perception differs. In practice I consider this still to be a conceptual morass, in which learning and education remain hopelessly confused. Lifelong learning as a grand idea is under threat: first from *trivialisation* (referred to above); secondly from *reductionism*, more obviously manifest in the notion of the learning society to which we turn in a moment. Thirdly there is the threat that it may fall out of favour or be dismembered since it has become a new 'contested space' – the site where old yet vital battles are now conducted over the core values and purposes of education. These are recognisable in general educational discourse across the generations, but more starkly perhaps in the

literature of adult education and training. Finally there is the scepticism which persists, in vigorously healthy form, in a 'deschooling' tradition about the colonisation of life and learning by the professions and agents of the State. All of this provides a not unproblematic context for universities and tertiary education in coming to grips with 'lifelong learning'.

Old and new ideological battles contest the values, mission and functions of education, the purposes of higher education, and the education of adults. Artificially dichotomous alternatives are common: liberal or general versus vocational; intrinsic versus extrinsic; education versus training; accredited or non-award-bearing. The economic is polarised against 'access and equity'. Personal development, occupationally related and civic or citizenship agendas and outcomes represent a broad typology of intent. At its most provocative, the forces of good and evil are ranged along the lines of education (training or indoctrination) for domesticity and learning for liberation. Age-old value propositions translate into child- or student-centred teaching (learning) methods versus more instructional or 'authoritarian' back-to-basics modes, especially at school. They cascade into a host of questions about the curriculum (in its obvious and more subtle or 'hidden' senses) at all levels and in most institutional settings.

The very term lifelong learning has encountered stringent critical opposition on just such grounds as these, notably in Canada and the UK. Boshier's paper to Taiwan's national lifelong learning conference characterised lifelong learning as Goliath and democratising lifelong (especially adult) education as David. Boshier sees lifelong learning as "nested in a notion of the autonomous free-floating individual learner as consumer" whereas lifelong education is committed to active citizenship and democracy. It has "lofty aspirations and a commitment to fellow citizens" whereas lifelong learning he experiences as "smarmy, self-assured, well staffed with handlers and analysts, an office in a smart city, and dressed in sharp business suits" (Boshier 1998).

In this sense nothing has changed. The same struggles about the good society, and about the part education plays in advancing or obstructing its coming, continue. Yet, without question, 'lifelong learning' has come of age as a popular, populist and commercially viable proposition; not just in the United States where it entered into common parlance maybe a decade earlier than in other English-speaking societies, but now globally. It would be difficult to find a nation in which educational policy is not committed rhetorically to enabling lifelong learning even though, and most obviously for the 'new Labour' UK Government, its practical attainment is a central policy dilemma. What has changed to bring this about?

THE CHANGING CONTEXT

The Cold War notwithstanding, the late sixties, when lifelong learning and related concepts of recurrent education, 'education permanente' and the learning society were developed, were a time of relative optimism. There was reliable economic growth, low unemployment, an apparently stable welfare state, a sense of social amelioration, and inexorably rising prosperity. The gulf between rich and poor within and between nations was narrowing rather than widening. Belief in managed progress seemed

reasonable. From about that time of student activism in higher education, much of this became and has remained perturbed, including the place and standing of higher education which was moving into what then seemed like rapid expansion. In 1973 Martin Trow predicted a transition from 'elite' towards 'mass' and eventually 'universal' higher education, led by the United States.

At this time of the flowering of high modernity and faith in the essentially liberal 'enlightenment project', there was also awareness of the rapidity of technological change and the shrinking of the world to a global village (Toffler 1970, McLuhan 1967). Harold Wilson had celebrated 'the white heat of technological change'. Students were protesting about the links between industry, the military, and university research. In the quarter century since the 1973 oil crisis the sense of instability, of runaway technological innovation, and of the forces of globalisation have transformed the environment within which higher or tertiary education takes place. As the century ends there are attempts to redress the balance and regain a sense of purpose in civic and social progress (see for example Giddens 1998).

At least six significant changes provide the context of the 'second generation lifelong learning' of the late nineties. In the words of one enthusiast "our global cultures have undergone a transformation... This transformation is our headlong race through an information revolution to a knowledge based society" (Jones 1996). Technological change, apparently ever-accelerating and with ever wider ramifications, especially through electronic innovations, is held to demand a continuous process of learning and adaptation so that people have the knowledge, skills and adaptability to keep up in a knowledge based society. It seems obvious that universities must be central to the development of such a society. Issues of wider participation and more purposeful updating must be on the university agenda if society is not to divide more between those who can and those who cannot cope and benefit.

A second significant change concerns a new preoccupation, in the European Union and beyond, with 'social exclusion' – the impact and cost to individuals, communities, and ultimately to national economies of exclusion from mainstream society and its benefits. In this context the idea of social capital has won attention. Again, higher education cannot but be affected by such issues, given the established policy agenda of equity, access and opportunity and the role of (higher) education as a means to achieving participation and prosperity. One consequence is that citizenship, 'the civic agenda', is reappearing in considerations of higher education, along with individual general education and development, and vocational skills acquisition. The social is thus added to the individual and economic HE agenda. The University of Ulster, reflecting the needs of its society and region, has appointed a Professor of Social Inclusion.

A third major factor in putting lifelong learning on the agenda of higher education relates to the information technology that is applied to learning. Whereas technological change generally implies rapid obsolescence of the curriculum in most occupational areas, the IT revolution in relation to teaching and learning suggests new means of accessing and 'delivering' information. Flexible and self-directed learning, mixed and multi-mode delivery, appear to offer new kinds of lifelong learning, with implications for higher education, possibly as the 'virtual university'.

A fourth significant factor is the emergence and continuing influence of economic rationalism, the fuel of globalisation. It may be that the tide has turned with the end of the twentieth century and some loss of confidence in the free market occasioned by the Asian economic crisis of 1998. European governments at this time were generally turning away from the drier forms of rationalism, which had already been modified by the Clinton Democratic Administration through much of the decade. The broadsheet press was alerting its readership to the wealth of the global corporations and the threat they represented to national sovereignty. *The Sydney Morning Herald* on 9 January 1999 pointed out that 71 of the world's largest economic entities were not nations but corporations, with Microsoft in 11th position overall. In Australia too, Mark Latham was following Blair in the UK in seeking a 'third way' between rationalism and the older welfare state (Latham 1998). Operating locally in this 'global village economy' is a new aspect of lifelong learning for the university.

Fifth, and underlying several other changes, among them rolling back the welfare state, the new demography of the late twentieth century includes fewer young people. Some societies are experiencing population decline. Populations are ageing significantly. Long years of life after retirement have put 'third age' education on the map and on the agenda of some universities. This represents a large growth in the proportion of the economically inactive in the total population. Rising participation among the young in upper secondary and tertiary education amplifies the shifting ratios. As the need rises, in economic and technological terms, and the demand increases and is manifest in rising aspiration and demand for education throughout life, the pressure on public revenue and the economy increases. Demographic change seems virtually to dictate a rolling back of the welfare state, reconfiguring the economics of higher education in user-pay directions.

Finally the sixties, an age of relative optimism and confidence in the future and in enlightenment, have given way to post-modernism with its permeating relativism. Rationality, the nature of knowledge, science itself have been cast into doubt. Peter Scott, writing about meaning and mass higher education, cites a favoured metaphor for post-modernism: "a shopping mall, an infrastructure that services unrelated enterprises devoid of authoritative contexts.. The results are not all bad... For example, oral tradition and popular memory are just as worthy of the historian's attention as the products of archival research. But the general effect is of incoherence on the grand scale" (Scott 1995, p.135).

What had been assumed to be the heart and essence of the modern university has thus been destabilised. The nature of knowledge, the processes of research and inquiry, as well as the utility and contribution of science, are all under scrutiny. *Context* has become more significant to scholarly inquiry. The nature, creation and application of knowledge is less confidently and self-evidently universal. Hence a paradox. With doubt cast on 'the scientific method' by the work of Kuhn (1970) and others, in an age of globalisation, research and the knowledge it yields have become more contingent, grounded, anchored and specific. The university of 2000 is more prone than the university of 1970 to anchor in its local region, context and culture, as a way of engaging with the overwhelming pace and ambiguity of the global.

In an increasingly unstable environment where economies, cultures, employment and the very nature of knowledge appear contingent, it becomes incumbent on whole societies, if they are to survive, to become learning organisms. For universities themselves, survival requires that they become open systems. Usually this means being locally or regionally embedded.

IN SEARCH OF THE LEARNING SOCIETY

'Learning' attached to a society, region, economy or university is as elusive in meaning as is the concept of lifelong learning. Some literature has been assembled around the concept of the learning organisation. Most references to the learning society assume rather than define it. The use is often extraordinarily loose. For instance the great Swedish scholar Torsten Husen assembled a set of essays in educational research (Husen 1986) called 'the learning society revisited'. 'Learning society' is nowhere mentioned much less defined, but one paper refers to 'the educative society' in considering technical and economic change. The learning society is described in one 'classic' 1968 text, cited by Jarvis, as "one that, in addition to offering part-time adult education to every man and woman at every stage of grown-up life, had succeeded in transforming its values in such a way that learning, fulfilment, becoming human, had become its aims and all its institutions were directed to this end" (Jarvis 1997, p.176). This proposition is explicitly transformative and value-infused ('becoming human'), as well as recognising that a learning society implies an educative task for all institutions, not merely for those called educational.

Ranson's thoughtful study (also cited by Jarvis) is similarly value-infused: "there is a need for the creation of a learning society as the constitutive condition of a new moral and political order. It is only when the values and processes of learning are placed at the centre of the polity that the conditions can be established for all individuals to develop their capacities, and that institutions can respond openly and imaginatively to a period of change." He goes on to identify as 'two organizing principles for the learning society' "that its essential structure of *citizenship* should be developed through the processes of *practical reason*" (Ranson 1994, p.106).

The Faure report, introducing the concept of a learning society in its final section, identifies a radical change in "the very nature of the relationship between society and education". The advent of a learning society "can only be conceived as a process of close interweaving between education and the social, political and economic fabric, which covers the family unit and civic life. It implies that every citizen should have the means of learning, training and cultivating him or her self freely available. It is seen as a utopian responsibility in which "all sectors of society are structurally integrated" and education will be universalized and continual (Faure 1972, p.163).

Most of the references to a learning society, which has become almost as *de rigeur* as evoking lifelong learning, go past definition and assume meaning. It is, as Schuller remarks, "suspiciously unchallengeable" (Schuller 1998). Yet the term is often used in support of a prior philosophical or policy proposition. According to the 1998 Australian West review of higher education: "in a learning society primary responsibility for

learning and choosing when to learn rests with the individual. The individual should be prepared to explore learning options and to invest time, money and effort" (West 1998, p.44). The UK Economic and Social Research Council's Learning Society project sought to address what the learning society might mean and how it might be approached.

It is enough to note here that although the quest for the learning society widens the scope of education it is commonly subject to reductionism – in Husen's term by a shift to the 'educative society'. It is a very ambitious project, as Faure acknowledges, to achieve 'educativeness' in all institutions and sectors of complex society. Purposefully supporting the learning of all individuals through facilitation, education or training proves unattainable in fast-changing, socially and economically polarised conditions – and makes impossible demands on tertiary education.

Yet, in its fullest meaning, creating a learning society is truly ambitious. It implies developing in a society the capability to learn from and change as a result of experience and reflection. Thus Jarvis writes of the learning society as 'reflexive society' (Jarvis 1997). Even so, Jarvis quickly moves to address individuals' learning, motivation etc. The powerful metaphor of a learning society is almost always reduced to providing more opportunities for individuals. The learning organisation is understood more organically as a learning system, not merely an aggregation of learners, but we have far to go before the full impact of 'the learning society' is grasped. It is at the intermediate level of the learning organisation, and now the 'learning city', 'learning economy' and 'learning region', that some concepts, models and metaphors go beyond merely 'a place where people are trained or enabled to learn'.

We should not abandon this task because of intellectual difficulty, or succumb to trivialisation. At an individual level learning to learn is not yet well operationalised in curriculum terms. There is little critique of schooling from this essential perspective. Beyond schooling societies themselves, in an almost organic sense, have to learn better how to from their experience, and how to adapt in the light of it. This proposition may be feared as an apparent diminution of the individual. This in turn may point us towards rebalancing economic liberalism with political or civic liberalism, in the form of more active civic participation. Seen thus lifelong and societal learning becomes a call for active citizenship, and this has indeed returned to the agenda of lifelong learning after a period of dormancy.

In short, societies need to develop appropriate means and arrangements to learn as systems. This includes better constitutional and political arrangements, new modes of citizenship and public discourse, clearer evaluation and review procedures, and appropriate measures of transparency and reflexivity. They are unlikely otherwise to prosper or even survive. There is a large agenda here for higher education institutions as nerve centres and resource centres for societal learning in the 'knowledge society'.

FROM EDUCATION TO LEARNING – BUT NOT YET?

Facilitating the learning society in its large and literal sense is difficult to grasp. As 'university education' is subsumed in 'tertiary and lifelong learning systems' we need

to understand the poverty of comprehension revealed by the shift from education to learning.

The education system has been treated by generations of sociologists as an agent of social reproduction and hegemony. It has been criticised for its monopolistic power over the awarding of degrees, and for the inflation and devaluation of credentials. In a less focused but more pervasive sense there has been a long-standing tendency, grounded in liberal individualism and nurtured by a form of political correctness, to substitute learner and learning for education. This shift of discourse directs attention to the proper object of educational activity, which is the learner, and away from the means or provider. It appears to favour the individual and 'client' rather than the provider and system.

It also creates a problem in the realm of political economy: if attention moves away from education, to focus 'democratically' on the learner and the many modes of learning, the distribution of the resource of publicly funded education becomes less important. If learning is essentially an individual and private matter then inequitable access to education may lose attention. More serious still, hopeless confusion arises from indiscriminately swapping around the words 'education' and 'learning'. This weakens our capacity to analyse and determine the nature of learning and the limits of certain strategies for achieving social and educational purposes.

This is neatly captured in the dilemma facing the UK government of Tony Blair. Assuming office in 1997, the year after the European Year of Lifelong Learning, the Blair Administration set out to act on lifelong learning as a policy prescriptive. (The interest appears to be as much social as economic, given that 'social exclusion' looms large on the agenda.) Ministers, their officers in the Department for Employment and Education, committees and consultants wrestle to understand what lifelong learning means. How, where and why do people actually learn? If this could be understood it should be possible to enhance the capacity of the state to raise the quantum of learning and create a 'knowledge society' in which more people and the whole polity can indeed participate, benefit, and compete internationally. Tertiary education has a central role in this, as levels of participation rise throughout post-school and adult life. The problem from a policy perspective, in terms of educational or other intervention to foster learning, is that the language of 'learning' constantly flips over into the imperialism of educational provision.

The National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE) of England and Wales all but changed its name to *Learning*, but settled for titling itself *the national organisation for adult learning* and renaming its journal *Adult Education* as *Adults Learning* in the late eighties. NIACE does excellent work on adults' learning needs and their participation in different kinds of adult education and training. The language of its surveys and reports often refers to learning rather than to educational activity. Yet it unintentionally leaves out any kind of learning not recognised by the individual concerned as learning and, normally, which is not manifest in some course or other purposeful educational support activity. This equates education, training and other activities intended to support learning with learning itself. Learning is seen only in terms of provision. We need to look instead to Tough's earlier notion of adults' learning projects (Tough 1971, 1982) and indeed to the situated, unrecognised and

often unconscious learning which Elsdon studied in his work on voluntary organisations (Elsdon 1995).

This transposition of language denies legitimacy to the kinds of learning that are not recognised in educational theory and policy-making. The scope of learning, lifelong and life-wide, mysterious, little understood and invisible, is reduced to that which the 'empire of education' can reach. So long as education and learning are muddled up the old deschooling critique of Illich remains relevant. Even experiential learning slips into the difficulty that only learning which is recognised and reflected upon actually exists. The accreditation of work-based and other experiential learning, important as a means of recognising and legitimating learning outside the classroom, can be seen as an effort by the education system to colonise wider areas, and to retain its monopoly of accreditation.

These issues are central to our grasp of lifelong learning and to nurturing a learning society. They influence our capacity to think in large terms about the evolution of school and education systems in the 21st century in support rather than emasculation of lifelong learning. Ultimately public policy recognises only educational endeavour rather than the whole world of learning. And this may be beneficial. The community learning enterprises most successful in addressing social exclusion may by their nature be oppositional. To recognise and sponsor them within official policy could be the kiss of death. If Illich's ideas remain relevant thirty years after *Deschooling Society* so too do the anti-authoritarian ideas of Paulo Freire.

In turning from learning to higher education, note the resilience of the education enterprise and its institutional manifestations. I argue for the resilience of universities as face-to-face living communities and as 'cathedrals'. They are becoming more socially open institutions. At primary and especially secondary levels of education the school remains a remarkably abiding institutional form, essentially batch-processing cohorts according to standard procedures.

Notions of lifelong learning have done little to challenge the core architecture of the school and the obvious paraphernalia of the secondary school curriculum. Early efforts by the Unesco Institute for Education to bring 'lifelong learning' to bear on the school curriculum evaporated. The mass production secondary school lives on. It is far from ideal for managing the *rite de passage* transition to adult life and citizenship. As tertiary education becomes a near-universal open system the interface, and possible the disjunction, between it and secondary schooling will more stridently demand attention.

TERTIARY EDUCATION AND THE UNIVERSITY

Higher education and tertiary systems – towards the universal in higher education

After a period out of favour *tertiary education* has been reinstated as a term for a sector of the education system (OECD 1998). In Australia for example the term tended to slip out of use with the abolition of the (Commonwealth) Tertiary Education Commission in the late eighties.

There is a symmetry about the terms primary, secondary and tertiary. The term *quaternary* appeared in the seventies to distinguish a level beyond initial tertiary. It proved unhelpful and gave way to *continuing education*, used in a broad sense to include general as well as vocational education and training. It is not always clear if such terms refer just to sequential stages, or also to levels, as perhaps in *quaternary*. Further confusion is caused when the focus shifts from the intentions of the provider to the motives of the student or learner. Many examples from adult education show the common mismatch: general recreational courses taken for clear vocational intent; solidly vocational training followed purely for hobby interest.

Another typology would recognise *pre-school* education and learning, *school* education subdivided by age bands (primary, middle, secondary and upper secondary for instance), and *post-school*, divisible between *initial and post-experience* phases. *Post-secondary* implies a level or stage of knowledge and learning rather than an age-phase. It encompasses *further* (or *technical and further*) and *higher* education, whether *general (liberal)* or *vocational (professional)*, including all forms of *continuing (adult)* education. This can become a matrix with *formal and non-formal education*, on a spectrum with *informal and incidental learning*. Two reactions are to avert one's eyes from the informal, or to extend one's reach through new modes of accreditation of flexible and self-directed forms of education.

This brief excursion into terminology brings to our attention the problematic nature of educational provision. Stages get confused with levels, policy intentions with student motives and achievements. Education is meant to foster learning. Its value and cost efficiency, however else calculated and quantified, should be judged according to learning outcomes. One measure of success is the extent to which larger portions of the relevant population (initially school-leaver, now lifelong after school) enjoy further access to the system. *Access* means 'wider not just more'. Adding to an essentially middle class intake at the margins of this social class fails to address major inequities and exclusion of disadvantaged communities. Even if policy and learner intentions are distinguished, even if ages, levels and life stages are disentangled, even – more problematic still – if issues of quality and standards are understood and addressed, the range of intended functions and consequences of higher or tertiary education can still bewilder and confuse.

With massive expansion, higher education has become very politically visible. It is an ideological battleground. Both visibility and notoriety were enhanced by student activism around 1970. The scale of the HE enterprise and its budget, as demography and philosophy put pressure on the remnants of the welfare state, have engendered a constant sense of crisis in higher education (see for instance Scott 1984, Coaldrake and Stedman 1998, Coady 2000). The system continues to grow as the 'unit of resource' (funding per student) shrinks.

The same conflictual issues identified earlier apropos adult education and lifelong learning are found here: 'liberal education' versus 'vocational training'; individual development versus corporate interests; social and civic values versus service to the economy. There are superficial dichotomies. They entangle with disputes about the traditional, conserving and reproducing functions of the university as distinct from its innovatory and knowledge-creating tasks; about its socialising or finishing school and

professional updating or continuing education functions; and about the tension or balance between teaching, research and community service.

They also entangle with a 'more means worse' debate about 'dumbing down'. In a time of such instability and rapid obsolescence of knowledge standards are hard to fix anyway. 'Literacy' itself is a moving target. In any case the whole cultural and knowledge enterprise is destabilised by post-modern questions about the nature of knowledge and of scientific inquiry (Kuhn 1970, Gibbons 1994).

As if this were not enough, today's senior professoriate was inducted into a world where higher education was the aggregation of a small number of small and diverse universities. Institutional and academic autonomy were seldom doubted. The few *causes celebres* where autonomy was threatened were exceptional. Within one lifetime this professoriate feels itself bureaucratised if not proletarianised into a higher, or – worse? – a tertiary education *system* with benchmarks, performance criteria and output targets to be met as part of a competitive national economic effort.

Institutions, and their disciplinary schools and professional groups, seek to be 'world class' in emulation of industrial discourse. Whole HE systems are put in competition through World Bank, OECD and other international league tables of participation rates. Demands for increased volume, and for the production and reproduction of a technically skilled and economically viable workforce, confront the self-concept of the donnish scholar. The terms higher education and university are easily interchanged, even in such a significant and well-rehearsed study as *The Treasure Within* (Delors 1996). Little attention is paid to the shift from unique individual institutions (mostly universities) to a higher, or increasingly a tertiary, education *system*.

One step further: how is education conceived? The days are past, in contemporary 'knowledge society', when it was seen essentially as its own end, in J.H. Newman's terms. It is seen more, perhaps, as a 'pillar' supporting society, alongside the economic and cultural 'pillars'. The term and concept is borrowed from discussion in 1999 with Sir Brian Fender, Chief Executive of the Higher Education Funding Council of England, reflecting on the relation of higher education to other policies and functions especially in the regional planning of Blair's 'new Britain'

This chapter maintains that the university, if not the whole set of tertiary education institutions underpinning the knowledge society, should be somewhat apart from and yet at the same time a part of their society. The university is a special place, a kind of cathedral yet one, like Notre Dame in Paris, through which the whole population can flow for stimulation, reflection, inspiration or merely talk over an ice cream (Duke 1999). By the same token 'education' is a vital and substantial pillar of society. It is not just part of the economic system and should not be subsumed and planned as such. Like the cultural system with its resonances of regional energy and diversity, and social capital complementary to and different from human capital, it is an essential support to the learning society.

Redefining Tertiary Education (OECD 1998) refers to tertiary as "a stage or level, beyond secondary and including both university and non-university styles of institutions and programmes". There is a high volume of demand for access at the stage leading to an initial qualification. Meanwhile "many countries experience or envisage the phenomenon of mass participation, from which universal participation may be

projected". ('Universal' meaning not 40%, the point at which Trow predicated a shift from mass to universal higher education, but 80% or more of the age cohort entering the tertiary sector somewhere.) Three particular challenges are identified: how better to respond to diverse 'client' choice; how to meet the needs of those not currently being served; and "how should government drive large, diverse tertiary education systems comprised of varied and increasingly autonomous providers?" These questions demonstrate the challenge of 'lifelong learning' to the modern university in such a system.

We turn shortly to management implications, and new configurations of universities' behaviour, which this challenge may represent. There are implications for the positioning of individual institutions within a large and diverse post-school system combining traditional (elite, ivory league or sandstone) universities, specialised high status professionally focused colleges, 'multiversities' and the largely 'sub-degree' tertiary, community or further education colleges into which 'higher education' spills over.

One professional and ideological response is to ask what makes higher education 'higher' in character and experience. A practical institutional response is to create links – articulation arrangements – between institutions of different standing, strength and character. These allow students to move more freely within the 'tertiary system'. The boundaries of each institution, and of the sector and the whole 'system', then become problematic, matters for deliberate management attention, as we see below.

IS 'THE UNIVERSITY' STILL SPECIAL?

What is the point of adhering to the notion of the university as something special in a mass tertiary system in which almost all will participate at some point in their lives? Higher education can no longer be summed up in one 'totalizing idea' (Scott 1995). Arrangements between community colleges and universities in the United States, between further education (FE) and universities in the UK, and between technical and further education (TAFE) and the Australian universities, range from association and joint provision to outright merger in the State of Victoria. Is 'the university', and Newman's 'grand theme' (Scott 1995, p.3), buried forever in the graveyard of mass tertiary education?

The name remains precious. In Britain and now in Australia use of the name outside the established university sector (as in 'university college') is contested. Winning the status and title preoccupies those colleges of higher education most closely resembling universities in their work. The new UK University for Industry encountered problems over its name, and 'McDonald's University' epitomises scorn for private sector use of the term.

An earlier battle about names and sectors within higher education culminated in dismantling the binary system around 1990 in both Britain and Australia. Polytechnics and colleges of advanced education became 'new universities' or parts of universities, a change criticised as academic drift. Lower status, vocationally focused institutions were seen as abandoning their distinctive mission for professional and sub-professional

education to become universities. The late nineties bear witness to a 'new binary debate'. Should a firm line be drawn between further/technical and higher/university education, sustaining a distinction of mission between the two parts of tertiary education? Should the old binary division be restored between 'research' and 'teaching-only' universities? Or is there more to be said for widening the use of 'university', and access to the full degree, across the whole 'tertiary sector', with more diversity *within* an enlarged sector? Analogies with primary and secondary levels of education may occur as tertiary education too becomes universal.

Distinctiveness is challenged in several ways. What once catered for a privileged five per cent of the population cannot deliver exclusivity, either as a finishing school or as a provider of social status and employment, to the forty per cent. Such privilege no longer equates with a university education. It is partly superseded by status differentiation within an enlarged system. Sydney's broadsheet newspaper publishes a 'University Honour Roll' naming and wishing 'all the best to all the best': the top-scoring students in three universities enjoying high status within the State of New South Wales, which has eleven universities (*Sydney Morning Herald* January 9, and 29, 1999). In Britain *The Times*' table of universities assists prospective students and their families to plan their entry into a competitive system. Exclusivity has ceased to be a major attribute of universities collectively, but survives within the larger system.

A second issue is whether educational standards (rather than social exclusivity) have declined so that 'more means worse'. One response is to differentiate research or 'research-intensive' universities from others. A positive correlation between research intensity and standard of degrees is assumed. There is in reality no such thing as a research-only university, but the idea of 'teaching-only universities' accentuates perceptions of class difference. 'New universities' react to such labelling apoplectically. This is not surprising, since high research performance equates with high academic status in most traditions. It is commonly assumed that each university must compete on all the same performance indicators, which tends to render institutional mission statements hollow and make a mockery of diversity.

Scott refers to 'the knowledge, professional and personality models characterized respectively by Germany, France and England' and possibly now subsumed within the United States' multiversity (Scott 1995, p.40). A problem for universities is that research is changing in character, and migrating elsewhere in the knowledge society. Most universities compete for the same identity. Diversity is essential if a large tertiary system is to meet diverse needs. The most serious problem is degradation of standards and inequity of student experience in what becomes a class-divided system.

Perhaps the politics of envy and the greed of privilege are the problem. Greed and envy are a poor substitute for mutuality and diversity. Exclusivity and privilege, equity and access, are as old as human history. With 'massification' the division no longer corresponds to a boundary between university and non-university, or between higher and lower (in France high status and the university name do not coincide). Jude the Obscure may no longer be kept outside the walls, but his university may not be Oxford or even Oxford Brookes. What is spent on him may be less than a third of what Oxford spends on each student.

Another threat to the traditional notion of university is 'the virtual'. Yet delegates debating cyberspace and its use for learning at a distance congregate for face-to-face discourse at congenial beachside resorts. Some rhetoric of new information technologies wilfully confuses economy with equity of learning. The information-rich web is seldom chosen as a total initial university experience by those who can afford choice, but rather as part of a richer resource inventory for learning later in life. Individuation of teaching methods and learning supports to meet infinite individual diversity is one thing. Arguing that the virtual university is an improvement on face to face campus and community is quite another. The breathlessness of cyberspace threatens the university: not as a superior product but as a diversion from the problem of allocating resources and sharing costs in a mass tertiary system with accuracy and equity (see Jones 1996).

An Australian *Campus Review* article in 1998 was by-lined 'don't throw out the cathedral with the ivory tower'. This captured the dilemma of the university as an institution and an idea. The ivory tower is a metaphor for the separation of the university from society. Monastery implies the secluded and separate custody of knowledge, values, manuscripts and students in less changing times (see also Halsey 1992 on the changing status of academics as erstwhile 'dons'). The cathedral as a metaphor claims a continuing and new identity for the university among the 'estates of the realm' in plural, post-modern, society. It is an alternative reference point to another modern 'cathedral', the shopping mall, as also to the political, judicial, financial, bureaucratic, and commercially anchored entertainment, systems, and to the often competing religious systems of most modern societies.

Without rejecting the economic or the political system, the university as cathedral affords alternative, critical perspectives as part of, but also somewhat apart from, the world: a location and a community for individual and societal reflection and reflexivity. In the process it may re-balance the civic against the political, popular with high culture, the environment with production and consumption. It will interact in partnership with agencies across other social sectors and fields of discourse. It remains a meeting place, a concourse, community and campus. It is therefore grounded in a particular context and community, unlike the 'universal' 'ivory tower'.

Is such a claim supportable in the twenty-first century? How does such a university sit within diversified higher and tertiary education? Should the university (and higher) be different from other post-school education? Is it a 'special place' only for the transition from school to full adult life; or also for the expanding 'continuing education market' of lifelong learning? Do cities and towns wish to be university cities and towns purely for economic reasons? Or do learning cities now need their own 'knowledge cathedrals'?

THE LEARNING UNIVERSITY – WHAT'S NEW TEN YEARS ON

The 'learning university' was named as a proposition at the beginning of the nineties. Since then much has altered in discourse about the university and mass higher education. This decade seems a long time; yet it is nothing in terms of the history of universities. Possibly in part from a *fin de siècle* mood amplified by millennial doomsayers, the sense of change and of impending crisis seems more intense, in the context also of

economic rationalism, globalisation, retreat from the welfare state, and the imperatives of changing demography. Changing economies and corporate organisational behaviour have also altered our thinking about universities in their environments.

The Learning University suggested a paradigm shift. It addressed the new discourse invading the university and, to some minds, corrupting its soul. It alluded to 'the fallacy of the ivory tower'. Coming from a perspective of adult or continuing education it took seriously staff development and organisational learning. In optimistic vein it proposed that universities could and did adapt, blowing with the wind rather than breaking, changing partly in defensive reaction, partly more purposefully, as their clientele and core business (modern terms) shifted from 'finishing school' to a more balanced 'service station' and lifelong learning mode. Fringe-dwelling adult continuing education or extension work was moving 'out of its box', increasingly transforming the university. Formerly marginal operations, units and forms of business were permeating and altering the whole institution, reflecting the needs of the supporting community (or 'environment') and bringing the outside world inside, breaking down the walls of the 'ivory tower'.

Some of these themes were taken up in a later study which considered how universities managed and adapted to their increasingly adult clienteles (Bourgeois et al 1999). This concluded that there was a continuing role for universities to play in contributing to social transformation, but that 'acts of purpose and will as well as shifts of perception are needed for this to occur', leading prospectively to a 'reaffirmed, strong and confident idea and role of the adult university of the twenty-first century' (Bourgeois et al 1999 p.177).

The 'adultification' of the university is not new (see for example Abrahamsson et al 1988), but issues of leadership (too strong or too weak?) and identity are more acute in much of the 'western world' than they were a decade ago. There are renewed battles over the ever wider use of the term university. Behaving as a learning organisation becomes yet more problematic as managerialism and commercialisation march forward together in response to new pressures on universities to be economically viable. Universities are more irrevocably than before permeated by the forces that surround them – co-owned by partner stakeholders, to use terms which became prominent during the nineties. In this section we juxtapose several aspects which need to be considered together for universities in the new 'tertiary education system' context to be confidently purposeful and successful other than merely as business corporations. The corporatisation of the university – not a new question since it affronted radicals in the fifties and the sixties – represents the sharpest new challenge to the university as a significant social institution and 'estate of the realm' in the twenty-first century. We consider five related issues: enterprise, organisational learning and leadership, partnerships, the changing nature of knowledge and its formation, and the geographical (and geopolitical) location of the university.

ENTERPRISE, CULTURE AND THE SOUL

Burton Clark's 1998 *Creating Entrepreneurial Universities*, recognised as a seminal contribution by a seminal scholar at the Unesco World Conference on Higher Education

that year, analyses leadership and the capacity to thrive in new circumstances, taking five case studies as examples. Entrepreneurialism represents one essential mode of adaptation to new expectations and demands placed on universities. Its success is one manifestation of a successful learning university, although business success may be achieved, at least short-term, without significant organisational learning.

Being entrepreneurial presents university communities and their leaders with a challenge to their identity, especially the identity of the humanities and social sciences, which see their mission less in business than in critical terms. The 'crisis in the humanities' is the exposed edge of the wider 'crisis of the university'. If however every threat is also an opportunity, this crisis may enable the humanities in particular to redefine the role of the university. That means treating culture less as the preservation and continuation of somewhat arcane and elite specialists' knowledge and mores (still a popular if hostile view), rather as a way of engaging with, interpreting and even ameliorating the behaviour, experience and lifestyles of diverse modern communities. Such a task is universal; yet it may discover and contribute more by being strongly anchored in communities and 'cultures' which are geographically local, and in contact with the institution.

Burton Clark's book is a kind of management text about changing and sustaining an organisational culture, not a book about running profitable engineering and business schools. His first case study, the University of Warwick, is at least as strong by conventional criteria in the humanities, 'pure' and social sciences as it is in business and engineering. The entrepreneurial culture is however widely all-encompassing and characterises the university's behaviour in most of its dealings. It is a manifestation of 'the learning university' which connects closely with other issues now referred to (see also ECIU 2000, Marginson and Considine 2000).

CAN AND DO UNIVERSITIES (YET) LEARN?

Clark identifies, along with an integrated entrepreneurial culture, a strong 'steering core' embracing management groups and academic departments, an expanded 'developmental periphery', a diversified funding base, and a 'stimulated academic heartland', as essential elements (Clark 1998, chapter 1). The 'developmental periphery' relates to the third and fifth elements in this section (partnerships and the learning region). The terms 'integrated' and 'stimulated' offer clues as to how universities might succeed or fail in becoming learning organisations. 'Organisation development' remains suspect in some countries and universities, with its overtones of manipulative management. More individually focused 'staff development' suffers low image and priority, as the contemporary debate in Britain about a more directive national policy and strategy reflects. It is easily forgotten that staff development is another name for the preservation and professional development or continuing education of the university's staff, its key and most costly 'asset'.

On the other hand strategic planning enjoys high standing and preoccupies much effort of university managers, aided, abetted and coerced by government requirements for plans with objectives, targets, outcomes and increasingly onerous cycles of

reporting, audit and accountability (see for example Anderson et al 1999). As managers get drawn increasingly into such processes – as management becomes a more distinct profession within the higher education system – so styles of leadership become in a pejorative sense managerialist. The ‘hubris of management’ is that ‘intelligent’, strategic planning and direction at and from the top will translate into effective organisational behaviour aligned to a set mission (compare Stacey 1998). It takes little account of the rich underlife and webs of relationships within and extending beyond the institution, all down the line. The reality is that without the mobilisation of commitment and the applied intelligence of those who comprise the organisation – as an institution and an organism rather than an organisation chart and a management system – strategic plans will not produce effective action. The university will under-perform, with low commitment and morale, indifferent standards and poor client service.

The nineties have seen an explosion of research and academic literature as well as airport lounge management texts on the learning organisation. Conceptually the underpinning dates back to Emery and his co-workers (1969), and before that to Selznick (1957) and Lewin (1947). Handy and others have developed our understanding of how people behave in organisations and how organisations can learn to adapt to rapid outside change (see for instance Handy 1989, Stacey 1998). Yet the urge to direct and control (the hubris of management) remains an obstacle to universities becoming more effective learning organisations. Organic communities, internally and externally inter-dependent, need to learn through collaboration and refocus continuously as new problems and opportunities occur. The invasion of the management of higher education by economic rationalism threatens their capacity to learn distinctively and effectively in a fast-changing world.

PARTNERSHIPS, STRATEGIC ALLIANCES AND SEAMLESSNESS

In brief, universities can become learning organisations, but as a type they trail rather than lead the field. They tend to adopt outdated management practices and in Australia to succumb to bureaucratic and political pressures inimical to such development. Being entrepreneurial involves operating effectively in the world beyond the university. It requires what Clark describes as ‘a growth of units that, more readily than traditional academic departments, reach across old university boundaries to link up with outside organizations and groups’ – ‘the expanded developmental periphery’ Clark 1998 p.6). Crucial to the success of the modern university, emulating the behaviour of successful private sector businesses, is the capacity to create strategic alliances with others.

This means cohabiting ever richer webs or networks of relationships within which the university can collaborate to achieve its own and shared purposes (Sommerlad *et al* 1999). It is becoming impossible for single organisations to do well, even if they can survive, as ‘sole traders’ (see for example Alter and Hage 1993). In the late nineties, at the same time as ‘entrepreneurial’ became a byword for the successful university, partnering has become a recognised high priority. The result can however be naïve: a new fashion in which the purposes, modes and outcomes of partnering are poorly conceived and monitored. None the less surviving and doing well are almost universally, and

quite suddenly, acknowledged to need partnership and network formation. It is a *sine qua non* for the learning university to be an active part of a community of stakeholders, if not a lead player. System diversification should allow for more variety and idiosyncrasy to exploit different niches in a universal system, but few universities will remain just 'ivory towers'.

'Seamlessness' refers to a subset of partnership and alliance-making. It takes a student or client perspective rather than an organisational one. The prospective and current student (with universal higher education this means a majority of the adult population) can look with comprehension and confidence to different learning/teaching institutions (schools, colleges and universities and increasingly also other organised settings), for accredited learning. This will allow easy progression between, in and out of them, with accumulation and recognition of learning achieved in different places. The gulf between institutions (including workplace and community organisations) will become more bridgeable. Between school, college and university the joins will become almost invisible. The canvas of educational provision becomes 'seamless'. Providing bodies, especially the more prestigious, will also wish to differentiate themselves and profit thereby. Growing individualisation and customisation of services (from education to cars, clothes, meals and recreation) will however press higher education, in a client service culture, towards a more open and collaborative approach as institutions acquire more 'supply chain' relationships for their lifelong learning clientele.

GLOBAL AND LOCAL – THE NATURE OF KNOWLEDGE

Loss of complete autonomy in a world of partnerships, networks and alliance does not imply becoming parochial. Globalisation in its various manifestations links the local with the global, not just for universities and finance markets but for small enterprises and local forms of government. Similarly, anchoring research (knowledge creation) in local communities and contexts does not condemn a scholarly unit (faculty, school, department, research team) to parochialism. The heavily contextualised nature of some professional practice (education and social work for example) may however locate these well down a traditional disciplinary hierarchy in which the universal (mathematics, physics) rank highest.

More positively, the limits of modernity are made manifest in the failure to export development models from one region of the world to another. Awareness of the nature and limits of scientific inquiry may be located within the flowering uncertainty, diversity and relativism of post-modernism, leading to a reassessment of the nature of knowledge and its creation. This reinforces the imperative for the learning university to be an open, flexible, devolved and democratic organisation. The mood of this awareness has been most obviously captured in a widely cited book by Gibbons and others (1994) on the 'new production of knowledge'. This provides a rationale for the loss of any residual research monopoly on the part of universities and other specialised institutes, and indicates the gains to be made from collaborative partnership research which is co-owned, co-produced, and has community and partner accountability.

The lessons of Gibbons have been rapidly disseminated (see for example Kemp 1999 where a government research policy 'green paper' begins by citing the study to set a framework for a new research policy). Gibbons' propositions have aroused concerns in the humanities. They divide academic communities between those who welcome the destabilisation of traditional scholarly research assumptions (assumptions about the nature and ownership of knowledge) and those who fear a stalking horse for greater interference, commercialisation and managerialism by governments and commercially inclined vice-chancellors.

The new debate about the nature of knowledge further exemplifies the need for universities to be open, sensing and partnering institutions at all levels. 'External relations' is too important to be left to the CEO or senior executive as a kind of minister of foreign affairs. All parts and levels of the modern university are penetrated by and penetrate the 'environment'. This should represent a source of learning and nurturance rather than a no-go zone, or a threat to be managed from on high.

GEOGRAPHY REDISCOVERED – THE LEARNING REGION AND ECONOMY

These new debates illuminate the importance of a university's region as a source of learning, partnership and resources. The approaching universalisation of higher education and the growth in scale and cost of the total enterprise mean that higher education cannot be fully financed from a central budget even in the more welfare-oriented countries, as it could a half century ago. Institutions compete ruthlessly for the limited public funds available.

Without exception universities recognise the need to diversify their incomes – Burton Clark's third 'irreducible minimum' element. This tends to mean entering into all kinds of local partnerships and contracts. Resources from partnering can take many forms, not just contracts for service with cash payment. Universities also wish as an institutional imperative – and also for the status which will retain good staff and attract good students – to be known for their research as well as their teaching. The 'third leg' of the university mission, often identified as community service, is better seen as a means of achieving these other primary missions. The local region is a site of new interest even to universities such as the English Victorian era foundations, which for decades turned their backs on the great cities which created them. The 'civics' may reclaim and again deserve this designation, as a matter of self-interest. Similarly 'regional' universities, for example in Australia, may come to see the region and the identity it bestows as a source of strength, rather than a handicap. If the analysis of Gibbons and others is fully absorbed, regional partnership will be seen as a route to international research standing.

Interest in the regional university is flourishing – in the university as part of a regional economy. The university is commonly seen as the leading edge of a 'learning city', learning region' or 'learning economy' strategy (Goddard 1997, 1999, Klich 1999). The OECD through its Institute for the Management of Higher Education (IMHE) supported a comparative study of this phenomenon in 1998–99. The fact that much of the language is vague and rhetorical, like the language and use of lifelong

learning itself, does not detract from the significance of the development for the future of higher education.

More 'communities' and regions, usually through enlightened governments at city or regional level, sometimes supported by innovative business interests, are coming to recognise that propositions about the 'knowledge society' or learning society' have to do directly with their responsibility for the community's cultural and social as well as economic prosperity. It is not just that the prescient university is rediscovering geography and claiming its region; equally, key stakeholders and brokers in the region are taking ownership of 'their university'. It may be important how far this is manifest in the governance of higher education in coming years. More immediately, the region is a vital focus and locale for the learning university to recreate its destiny in the twenty-first century. Given that regional identity and affiliation may be mainly local for some institutions and disciplines but international and even global for others, there are no exceptions to this proposition.

This does not contradict the growth of distance and self-directed learning, and of open and 'virtual', increasingly in two senses 'networked', universities. To recognise the growth and application of new technologies to flexible learning and delivery is not to deny the powerful and growing nexus between universities and their regional communities of interest. More universities will become both more 'local' and more 'global'. Most will be both face to face and distance learning institutions. Learning to be both will be part of the adult university's process of growing up and coming of age in the early twenty-first century.

NURTURING A LEARNING UNIVERSITY – TESTING THE MODEL

Greater Western Sydney as a context for innovation

To apply these concepts I refer briefly to the University of Western Sydney (UWS) and more particularly UWS Nepean, the largest part ('member' is the statutory term) of the three-part federated University. UWS was created in response to strong community demand for a university in Sydney's West. As Sydney's population has grown its centre of gravity has shifted westwards so that Parramatta is now the demographic as well as the geographic heart of Sydney. Depending exactly how the calculations are made, Greater Western Sydney (GWS) has a population of something like a half of the greater Sydney population of four million. Until 1989 when UWS was created there was no university outside the eastern part commonly referred to the Eastern Suburbs and the North Shore. A prospective Chifley University for which land was identified at Penrith in the far west of the Sydney region metamorphosed, with the Dawkins reforms which created a Unified National System, into the new UWS.

Greater Western Sydney is an area with a strong sense of regional identity; at the same time it is a growing metropolitan region. Its population is hugely diverse, with areas of poverty and high unemployment. The region as a whole suffers relative deprivation as a result of rapid growth ahead of such infrastructure as universities, transport systems and hospitals. It has served as a relocation zone for displaced poor and

disrupted inner city dwellers, and as a settling ground for new immigrants. Low property values reflect and facilitate these patterns. People in the West are praised as battlers and stigmatised as westies.

At the same time this is an area of rapid economic growth in the micro, small and medium enterprise sectors. With a tenth of Australia's population, a quarter of its under fives, and a large and growing slice of the State economy, it has great potential for the nation – and great need for and potential to support its own university. There are the necessary conditions for the University to become a leading partner in regional development.

The initial emphasis in such prospective partnerships is normally economic (skill base, employment levels, inward investment), but most relationships tend quickly to move to encompass social and cultural development. This is made the more necessary by the hugely diverse poly-ethnic and multicultural character of GWS which includes in some local government areas representatives of almost every major language and ethnic group in the world, very large minority ethnic group communities, as well as significant numbers of indigenous Australians. In these circumstances planners and business people quickly realise the futility of addressing economic issues in isolation. The humanities and social sciences are as relevant to the region's strong and healthy development as are technology and business studies.

The University is increasingly welcomed and sought in this role: by and through formal lobbying and planning bodies such as the Greater Western Sydney Economic Development Board and the State's Office of Western Sydney; and through informal networks of support, linkage and contracts which underpin these higher level bodies. In education GWS under-performs – or is markedly under-served – compared with the more middle class eastern Sydney. The wealthy part of Sydney has four universities. Participation rates in the local government areas of GWS are significantly lower than in the other half of Sydney, although the creation and growth of UWS has seen a sharp rise during the nineties.

LOOKING OUTSIDE THE WALLS – UWS NEPEAN AND ITS REGION

This sketch concentrates on one part of UWS, the former Nepean CAE now UWS Nepean, which occupies the central zone of GWS. Sister UWS members Hawkesbury and Macarthur, with separate agricultural college and CAE origins, serve regions respectively to the North and South of Nepean's local region which runs from Parramatta westwards to Penrith and the Blue Mountains. Each member has two main campuses, Nepean's being at Penrith and Parramatta. 1999 statistics show Parramatta with close to 6,000 students and Penrith with almost 8,000. Nepean as a whole recorded a 1999 enrolment of 14,638 including 800 off campus (in student load terms, allowing for part-time modes, a total equivalent to 10,523 full-time students).

Nepean straddles several local authority areas and parts of two TAFE Institute regions (West and South-West Sydney). It has recently enjoyed strong multi-stranded links with the Cities of Penrith and Parramatta, including the Councils, the Mayor and Lord Mayor respectively, and with the administrations and planners of each city. The

same applies to the private sector, and to key areas of public administration and service like the health districts and hospitals. A review and aggregation of local partnerships in 1999 showed an extraordinarily large volume and diversity of public and private sector partnerships together with a smaller but growing set of links with non-governmental community groups and professional bodies. What emerged was not just the profusion and sometimes near-invisibility of these links but the interconnectedness between them, mostly a little below the surface.

UWS faced identity questions common to all universities as the century ended: what kind of university do we wish to be? How can we prosper as a good university in these times? The questions sit in the context of 'universalisation' of tertiary education (and rebirth of the notion of tertiary), at a time when there are tendencies to fix a new hierarchy of institutions rather than actively to foster diversity within higher education. The idea of a regionally anchored partnering university offers strength and focus, given the trends towards globalisation, enterprise and lifelong learning considered earlier in this chapter. This means passionately embracing the region, with its growing strength and established diversity, as a key to identity and growth: a paradigm shift from the traditional research and teaching university to a research and teaching university jointly owned and supported as well as increasingly resourced from its region.

Studies referred to in the previous section, by Gibbons and Goddard, Burton Clark and organisation theorists looking beyond education to other modern organisational forms and behaviours, as well as sketches of globalisation and its management (Latham 1998, Giddens 1998) may be brought together around the notion of lifelong learning to guide a modern university like UWS through a difficult phase in the history and future of the Australian university. (Clear vision became still more important for UWS in 2000 as it moved from a federated to a more integrated structure in its eleventh year.) Space precludes a detailed elaboration of this proposition. A few examples show what it means for UWS Nepean, as a new institution and part of a new region.

Every part of the institution needs to engage with different elements of the local communities making up the region. Many associations and formal agreements result – support to and placement of students allowing scholarships and prizes, work experience and subsequent employment, subjects for research at advanced levels of study. Nepean is known as an open, cooperative and responsive institution. Future cohorts of students, including many first generation students who had not previously considered higher education at all, look to it as a natural university for them to attend.

Commitment to equity for the region, and to higher participation rates in tertiary education, is shared among business, local government, school, TAFE and university leaders. This produces other forms of sponsorship and partnership, including articulation of programs with TAFE, and the joint development of new award courses, which would not exist without partnership at all. The dramatically popular schools-University Compacts Scheme brought together over a hundred secondary schools in the region for student, curriculum, staff and ultimately organisation development purposes. Mutuality and interdependency follow.

Courage is needed to reassure academic staff wedded to an earlier more elite paradigm that working with TAFE is not a betrayal of standards or bad marketing.

Regarding local government and local industry as a research partner raises similar concerns. On the other hand colleagues in private commerce and local government are not slow, and certainly not behind universities, in thinking globally. They already connect the global with the local. In partnership terms this finds expression in joint university-regional partner promotional visits overseas, in respect of visitors from abroad to the local region, and in connecting multiculturalism within the region to that of the world 'global village'.

These and other examples show that the idea of a learning region and a learning economy is already forming around shared experience of its piece-by-piece creation. Concepts of learning organisations in partnership, using some of the rhetoric of lifelong learning, are emerging from, rationalising rather than initially creating, the new behaviours which manifest the new 'learning university' in action. Like the 1994 study by Gibbons et al the notion, or interpretation, and the shorthand labels, arrive to 'badge' a reality which is already in being.

WITHIN THE WALLS – RESTRUCTURING AND THE 'NEW NEPEAN'

The 'new learning university' is a university of partnership, active as a web of networks and relationships, many of which reinforce and interconnect one with another. The 'old university' is a loose affiliation of warring tribes united only around car parking, to marry a metaphor of Tony Becher, 1989, with an aphorism of Clark Kerr. How does an 'old university' of such scholars loyal to their disciplines, yet maybe transient strangers to their university and its region, become a modern learning university?

One answer is through corporate managerialism to which financial pressures and economic rationalism tend to lead. Academic staff (professors in particular as the pinnacle and symbol of academe) are more numerous and so less special than formerly. Salaries and conditions have deteriorated with the movement from elite to mass higher education. Many in the less commercially exploitable areas of study and of training and job preparation, insofar as that is seen as the business of tertiary teaching, feel threatened. As research and students become input, throughput and output, measured and monitored by management at the behest of Government, there is an inexorable process of tightening up and bolting down to enhance efficiency and reduce cost. Intrinsic motivation and professional commitment are put at risk. Deprofessionalisation or 'proletarianisation' (what Halsey in 1992 called the demise of the donnish dominion) results. Universities tend to respond with 'bolt-down' management techniques, ill suited to nurturing learning organisations in knowledge societies.

Nepean suffered low morale and fragmentation following an internal UWS crisis in 1995. The decision was taken through a wide process of consultation in 1996–97 to allow all academic staff to identify and move into new quite small (and often at their own instigation multi-disciplinary) schools. This was to enable engagement with others in and beyond the institution, so that it could better take opportunities offered by the world outside. It would become more effective at identifying and responding to teaching/learning and research needs especially in the region. These would become professional and business opportunities for a lean but ambitious university. Deep and

wide embodiment of 'enterprise culture' founded in optimism about the future is the best way this can be achieved.

New internal and external partnerships, and new research affiliations and teaching programs followed, including joint Nepean-TAFE degrees and many double degrees. There was widespread renewal of courses and curricula. Performance indicators for 1999 provide multiple measures of significant progress, and of enhanced productivity and output. The 'New Nepean' of 1998 was a tangible means of refocusing and renewal of institutional identity and purpose. The real gain was cultural change, which empowered staff to grow into a learning and partnering institution.

BOUNDARIES AND BOUNDARY SPANNERS – DO WALLS STILL EXIST?

The connection between Nepean in its learning region and its internal management is evident. Partnership and external relations are too wide and important to leave to a few senior executives. Institutional strength derives from shared mission and its expression. The 'environment' of government, and the values of 'the community', whether ecological, entrepreneurial, racist or egalitarian, now penetrate and permeate the university. This is not only from pressure of government: as State financial support reduces, intervention through accountabilities rises. It is also because 'the community' is represented and replicated in microcosm among the staff and students of almost every university in more and more societies. There may survive a few ('traditional' or 'elite') universities which avoid this in some societies, but few can stand apart in the mass tertiary *systems* that are now normal, even where institutions enjoy clear hierarchical privilege. The explosions of the late sixties, from Paris to Kent State, and the changes which followed and have flowed on since, mark a historic change point in this aspect of universities' evolution in modern societies.

There is no going back to the ivory tower. Almost every member of the modern university must work in partnership with its community in some mode and manifestation. Even for those deeply embedded in an essentially 'interior' operation like a large science research team or internal administrative function it is a short step to clients and partners in the wider world beyond. As most universities become 'adult universities' geared to supporting lifelong learning in the learning communities of the emergent knowledge societies, the function of managing the boundaries becomes more important and less distinct. Community relations and partnership become everybody's 'core business'. The old extramural and adult education departments around the world have been dismantled or, along with extension services, transformed and mainstreamed.

The 'boundary spanner' is however an increasingly important role in many forms of modern organisation (Sommerlad 1999). Universities as learning organisations, especially those investigating the 'new paradigm' sketched in this chapter, need to take this role seriously. They need to conceptualise, support and monitor it. It adapts and evolves as the nature of partnership and the institution changes, and as partnership, enterprise and organisational learning grow stronger. Units and sub-units need to address the means whereby they work with the university's partners and clients. Partnership and network arrangements require conscious and regular monitoring.

Devolved management does not imply a *laissez-faire* regime. Partnerships are vital to the success of the HE institution in mass tertiary systems under conditions of globalisation. They require as much attention from management as does for example the quality of research and teaching.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has 'revisited' the learning university ten years on. In the process we have noticed later, sometime competing, characterisations. A cynic might nominate the 'earning university', as earned income targets and ratios along with graduate employment statistics become ever more important. The entrepreneurial university of Burton Clark takes the same proposition, but not in opposition to the learning university. The adult university develops the same theme. Reinstatement of the regional or civic university is compatible, and not oppositional to being world class, a university of international stature.

Other characterisations are less sanguine, notably an elegantly reasoned and pessimistic study which finds 'the university in ruins' (Readings 1996). The 'corporate' or 'managerialist' university shows the same pessimism, but for many the academic tradition was already doomed by 'massification' – 'more means worse'. Against this we may work for restitution of the organic or collegiate university – without the conceit which made enemies for the university from the self-indulgent sixties into the more anxious and critical seventies. Sociology had a hard time in this respect, and the damage spilled over into a crisis in the humanities and social sciences more generally. In the words of *Campus Review*, however, we should not throw out the cathedral with the ivory tower.

This chapter strikes an optimistic note despite clouds gathering over the Australian university as a public institution at the end of the nineties (Coady 2000, Marginson and Considine 2000). The cathedral as a metaphor is not incompatible with the 'service station' idea, beyond which 'partnership' is a stronger idea. The new production of knowledge requires partnership if universities are to remain significant creators and users of research as 'thoroughly useful knowledge', with and for society. The university as cathedral, within and a part of the society yet also somewhat apart from it (Duke 1999) is an ideal for the twenty-first century.

Not that universities are ideal *communities* (compare Readings 1996). They should however represent a set of values, and be a source of critical commentary on society's structure, values, behaviour and directions, as well as training and retraining its 'human resources', and creating and applying knowledge in the narrower sense often assumed. Instead of universities becoming more distinct and separate from the rest of the tertiary system (TAFE in Australia) it is futile, regressive and self-seeking to attempt separation of higher from other-than-higher. The characteristics of a good higher education should be shared and extended to as many tertiary institutions and their students as can learn, share and benefit. The trend towards an adaptive learning or knowledge society will not slow down. The alternative to a society deeply divided between the education and information-rich and the socially excluded remainder is unattractive and should be unacceptable.

The early twenty-first century is a troubling time for universities. The rise of new learning technologies, and of the virtual and the corporate university, further diversifies an already eclectic set of institutional forms. In a strict linguistic sense the battle to save the university as a term is lost. The monopoly of accreditation is also breaking up. Nonetheless for most people the university will remain a place, a community and an experience. Human nature and the imperatives of 'the learning society' imply the survival of the university, along with its frustrating and exhilarating capacity to absorb threats and to adapt to change without changing too dramatically.

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Chapter 5: Universities as Centres for Lifelong Learning: Opportunities and Threats at the Institutional Level

RUTH DUNKIN AND ALAN LINDSAY

INTRODUCTION

The changing nature of employment and careers is causing governments, enterprises, educational providers and individuals to take seriously the concept of lifelong learning. Lifelong learning is a concept that has long been associated with the traditions of liberalism, highlighting the continuous development and growth of individuals within civilised societies. However, despite its potential to provide a broad integrating rationale for national educational policy, it is only in the past few years that the concept, with a new overlay of instrumentalism, has emerged as a practical policy for developed economies as they move into the Information Age. With the move of most developed countries into a post-industrial age, knowledge is seen as the primary resource for individuals and the economy overall. As both society's needs and knowledge itself undergo rapid change, the lifelong learning skills involved in reaching and remaining at the cutting edge of knowledge are becoming crucial employment skills. Those institutions that are successful in providing their graduates with a lifelong learning capacity will gain a significant competitive edge in the marketplace. Through considering case studies involving two Australian universities, Monash and RMIT Universities, this chapter canvasses the changes required to implement effective lifelong learning strategies in traditional universities. Such institutions face substantial barriers to the implementation of lifelong learning at all levels; that is, at the individual level, at the departmental and the faculty level, and the institution itself. In discussing these barriers, particular attention will be given to those orientations, or mindsets, prevailing within higher education institutions that must be changed if lifelong learning is to be embraced.

THE CONTEXT: THE AUSTRALIAN HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM AND THE NATIONAL POLICY FRAMEWORK

In contrast to many of their counterparts in other countries, Australian higher education institutions have long pursued a broad educational mission consistent with lifelong learning. The provision of part-time study options has been common and mature-age students have formed a sizeable part of the student population for many years. Many Australian universities offer distance education or open learning courses that have been developed with the goal of maintaining parity of esteem with on-campus courses.

The first major reference to 'lifelong learning' in an Australian Government Report occurs in a report on the development of technical education (Kangan 1974). This report drew heavily on the UNESCO Commission report *Learning to Be* (Faure 1972) in proposing a broad educational rationale and an emphasis on reducing barriers to access to the non-higher education sector of post-secondary education in Australia. The Report's vision underpinned a brief period of renewal and broad development in technical and further education in Australia, but was soon overshadowed by a drive for narrower vocational training. This brief government enthusiasm for lifelong learning in the 1970s made little impact on policies in the higher education sector.

The next major development with a lifelong learning theme was the Open Learning Initiative, which emerged as a response to unmet demand for university places in the early 1990s. A consortium of eight institutions, with substantial government support, provided an open entry pathway to university study through single subjects and degree structures drawing on several institutions and provided in innovative independent study modes. Most recently, the West Report (1998), *Learning for Life* became the first major report for the Australian Government to adopt lifelong learning as a central part of its rationale for higher education. The Report clearly articulates a vision for higher education based on its contribution to lifelong learning and the 'learning society'. It proposes a 'lifelong learning entitlement' for all school-leavers and mature age students seeking access to higher education for the first time (West 1998, p.115). Regrettably while this report presents a supportable philosophical position, it does not provide a well-articulated and consistent set of policy recommendations.

The increasing emphasis on lifelong learning in educational policy discussions is fostering a renewed interest within higher education institutions. However, changes in the broader environment for higher education are shaping institutional responses towards lifelong learning. One key driver has been the Australian Government's evolving stance on cooperation and competition. After World War II, the Australian federal government gradually replaced the States as the major source for funding and policy direction in Australian higher education. Until the late 1980s, the key Government administrative mechanism was some form of 'buffer agency' advisory commission, which went through several manifestations but retained a core role of advising the Government on financial allocations that would promote the 'balanced and coordinated development' of the system (Tertiary Education Commission 1977, p.1). The higher education institutions, mostly established originally by the State governments with varying degrees of autonomy, were gradually brought into a system serving national needs. This approach fostered a broad view of educational needs and institutional responsibilities to society including the provision of courses, skills and attitudes that were not mainly directed to meeting labour market needs and economic development. Coordination and cooperation between institutions was encouraged. The policy environment supported liberal education and the broad development and growth of individuals and their communities.

However, by the late 1980s, cooperation and a coordinated system were seen as major sources of inefficiency and stagnation. To overcome these, the Government proposed a radical restructuring of the higher education system and encouraged the adoption of more corporate and business-oriented management approaches. 'Competition' was explicitly used to drive efficiency and responsiveness (Dawkins 1988, pp. 28 and 83).

Present government policy for higher education, as with other public sector policy, is strongly influenced by the view that cost-effective service provision of public services is best achieved by governments specifying more clearly the services that are required, or the needs to be met and leaving it to a deregulated market to deliver to those specifications. 'Competitive neutrality' concepts in the *National Competition Policy Review* (Hilmer 1993) protect new entrants to the market and ensure that those who have historically been publicly funded must compete on the same basis as new entrants. Governments have been re-cast as purchasers of services, rather than providers of those services. Australian governments have been increasingly deregulating the higher education system as a means of moving the system towards a market model and exposing institutions to greater competition. Restrictions on international fee-paying students were eased in the late 1980s, the capacity for charging fees for postgraduate courses was introduced in the mid-1990s and most recently, institutions have been given approval to determine enrolment levels and admit a limited number of full-fee-paying Australian undergraduate students.

This trend towards greater competition has not just been driven by government policy. Other forces, including the growth in the number of universities, a levelling off in student demand, the globalisation of economies and communications, and the revolution in information technology, have also fostered an increase in competition between institutions.

But if competition and deregulation provide one set of forces affecting the way institutions are approaching lifelong learning, the changes in work for individuals and enterprises represent a second equally powerful set of demands upon them. Just as competition, globalisation and new technologies are impacting on universities, so too are these forces changing the face of entire sectors within developed economies. Enterprises are faced with new sources of competition, new players and new technologies are driving radical changes to the economic structures in which they must operate and the bases upon which they must compete (Porter 1985). In turn, the ways in which enterprises are adapting to these changes affects the ways in which individuals relate to employment. The widespread movements to de-layer, to downsize and to upgrade technological content of traditional production processes have led many to retrenchment. The decline of the manufacturing and commodity sectors and the parallel rise of the service sector have driven a demand for quite different profiles of skills. People in employment, as a result, face uncertain futures, multiple employers and a constant need to upgrade their technical and operational skills. Developed countries are seeking competitive advantage for both individuals and enterprises through continuous learning, innovation and creativity (Drucker 1992, Handy 1994). As a result, both individuals and enterprises are exerting demands for job-related skills education and training to underpin this enormous economic re-orientation. They look to governments, publicly funded institutions and new private providers to meet these demands.

This changing environment provides the context in which institutions are grappling with lifelong learning. The more instrumental and competitive era is less conducive to traditional notions of lifelong learning, and so it is no coincidence that universities, as well as governments, are adopting an instrumental approach to lifelong learning. Many

universities are thus seeking their own competitive advantage through providing their graduates with the lifelong learning skills to excel in this environment.

INSTITUTIONAL STRATEGIES

However, responses to these changes in government policy and the broader environment are by no means uniform. Educational institutions have formulated their missions in different ways and they are responding differently to the challenges. There are those which see their mission as responding directly to changes within the economic structures of their communities. Some face pressures resulting from declining demand in traditional student/ school leaver groups and seek to find replacement markets such as lifelong learners. Others have always seen their mission as supporting lifelong learning in the broad sense of fostering the ongoing development of individuals through education. The people of these institutions tend to rue the economic instrumentalism associated with the most recent push to lifelong learning.

While most universities are engaging with the demand for lifelong learning in some way, they all share a common experience in finding that the implementation of lifelong learning policies meets substantial cultural and organisational barriers within their institutions. Institutional leaders face major challenges as they seek to re-orient their institutions to respond to the demand for lifelong learning in whatever form it is articulated. Two Australian universities, Monash and RMIT, exemplify those institutions wishing to combine the traditional and instrumental approaches to lifelong learning in ways that build and extend their market reach to potential students of all ages and study preferences, and to incorporate as well as individual clients. Both institutions are implementing learning and teaching plans that place lifelong learning at the centre of their operations. In their quest to foster lifelong learning, they are adopting a learner-centred approach to teaching and learning and looking to the new interactive communication technologies to assist in providing education where and when the learner wants it.

Four common elements underpin the strategies of the two institutions: a focus on graduate attributes, greater flexibility in awards, greater flexibility in delivery, and using cooperative alliances to enhance competitiveness.

The focus on graduate attributes is aimed at shifting the emphasis in teaching from mastery of course content to defining, teaching for, and assessing specific student outcomes. Many Australian institutions are specifying desired attributes for their graduates, usually by drawing on standard formulations of generic skills such as: communication, enquiry and research, critical thought and analysis, problem-solving, teamwork, numeracy, information literacy and effective use of technology.

Flexibility in award structures is regarded as an important part of the strategy both to foster lifelong learning and to gain a competitive market advantage. Hence, in recent years, many Australian universities have expanded their award structures. The traditional broad degree structures in arts, science and business, have been complemented by more specialist 'tagged' degrees such as the Bachelor of Arts (Asian Studies) or specialist degree titles such as the Bachelor of Journalism. Postgraduate programs have proliferated through specialist certificates and diplomas as well as professionally

oriented masters courses. Articulation between awards and progression pathways have been more explicitly defined to allow for staged career development and choice of exit point.

Improving student control over the time and place of learning is critical to making lifelong learning a reality. Many adult learners have extensive family and work responsibilities to juggle with their study requirements. Many are also in paid employment. Conventional print-based distance education has made an important contribution to reducing the time, place and other constraints on students. However, the long feedback cycles between academic and learners and the relative isolation of many learners led historically to high drop-out rates. Advances in communications and information technology have now made possible more interactive and real-time distance learning experiences featuring convenient and immediate communication with staff and among students. New flexible learning strategies are being introduced into universities which incorporate multimedia learning materials and communication systems (both synchronous and asynchronous) alongside conventional print-based learning packages/ materials.

The boundaries between on-campus teaching and distance education are blurring as these more flexible teaching modes are being increasingly used to provide for effective and convenient learning for all types of learners. The reduction or removal of requirements for attendance or time schedules will provide the most powerful contribution to the implementation of lifelong learning.

However, the effective use of technology poses major challenges for university managers. So far most use has been small-scale and exploratory. While considerable experience has been accumulated, most educational technology projects have been too limited in scope to be strategic or to become a core component of major courses and the predominant strategy retains at its core a belief in the desirability of some face-to-face interaction. To enable more extensive use, institutional managers will need to develop institutional-wide plans for technology in teaching and learning and make more strategic investments in technology applications.

The cost of introducing flexible learning into universities' offerings is leading many to argue the need for inter-university collaboration. The scale of planning and investment in technology-assisted teaching inevitably means a shift from the local-level control of courses by individual academics or small course teams to a more corporate approach. The high development costs of independent learning packages require sound commercial decisions based on potential markets. The development of sophisticated, highly interactive learning packages often requires levels of investment that are beyond the resources of a single institution. Thus, despite the increasingly competitive environment, or indeed to meet its imperatives, institutions need to form cooperative alliances to develop and deliver high quality flexible learning. The main contribution of these alliances to the implementation of lifelong learning is in the provision of flexible programmes and learning packages suitable for a diverse range of student backgrounds and needs, and able to be used where and when the student chooses. An important by-product of this cooperation may well be greater levels of credit transfer among consortium members.

The major example of institutional cooperation in Australian higher education is Open Learning Australia (OLA) initiated in 1993 by the Federal Government. OLA is now a company owned and operated by eight Australian universities. It provides, through a mix of broadcast media and computer and print based materials, a wide range of subjects on an open entry basis. Flexible entry and progress are provided for with four study periods a year; entry into any period; and no requirements for minimum progress or to register for a degree. Several complete degree pathways are provided by various members and each university cross-credits subjects offered by the others. Many students also move from OLA study into regular on-campus or distance education degree courses. The major thrust for OLA is now into on-line teaching activities.

IMPLEMENTING A LIFELONG LEARNING STRATEGY: THE MONASH UNIVERSITY APPROACH

Monash University was established in 1958 in the initial stages of the great post-war boom in higher education. It developed within the framework of a 'research university' and now ranks in the top group of Australian universities on research performance indicators. It is also now the largest Australian university as a result of its energetic amalgamation strategy during the restructuring of higher education in the late 1980s. Monash has also been active in educational innovation, with a strong presence in distance education and open learning, and an aggressive strategy for extending its strong international student base through a global network of campuses and strategic alliances.

In 1997, Monash developed a new strategic plan that sought to respond directly to the increasingly deregulated, global and competitive environment, and to the changing nature of the community's needs for higher education. The Plan introduced a systematic and coordinated planning process and focused the institution's response around its key strengths by the adoption of three organising themes: innovation, engagement and internationalisation. As part of the engagement theme, Monash explicitly adopted lifelong learning as part of the institution's role.

The adoption of lifelong learning was based on an analysis of the demands of students and employers and the nature of the modern labour market. The Monash student profile is increasingly:

- mature aged;
- entering with a greater diversity of prior experience and prerequisite knowledge;
- employed and wanting to remain so while studying;
- looking for employment-related skills and qualifications;
- international;
- fee paying;
- expecting higher standards, services, facilities and support.

The decision to adopt a lifelong learning focus was seen not only as sound educationally but also as a key strategy in an increasingly competitive marketplace.

In pursuit of lifelong learning, the Plan sets out three key foci for the development of teaching and learning:

- opportunities to upgrade qualifications and skills without having to undertake a full degree program, including taking single units where applicable and receiving credit for professional experience;
- flexible delivery options which allow study to be undertaken in the workplace or in other ways which match work and family responsibilities; and
- greater customisation of courses to suit specific employment or professional requirements.

The *Learning and Teaching Plan* that was developed to respond to these themes adopted 'student-centred flexible learning' as its organising concept. As it has been defined at Monash, the 'student-centred' dimension of learning involves emphasising the importance of students' active participation in learning by: building on previous learning in developing new skills and understandings; fostering the desire and skills to continue learning; and encouraging students to take responsibility for their own learning. The 'flexible' dimension seeks to increase learners' choices of: award structures, pathways and the associated entry and exit conditions; methods and timing of interaction with teachers and other students; place and time of learning; and access to administrative and student learning support. The appropriate use of media and technologies is seen as an important way of achieving more student-centred flexible learning.

Three elements of the *Learning and Teaching Plan* relate most directly to fostering lifelong learning:

- a more explicit focus on developing and assessing graduate attributes;
- developing more flexible award structures;
- achieving more flexible ways of delivering programs.

The *Learning and Teaching Plan* sets out a number of strategies to pursue the goal of the more explicit pursuit of graduate attributes, including: requiring faculties to specify an action plan for course review and redesign; incorporating appropriate criteria in the course approval and review procedures; and specifying entry and exit levels, curriculum components and assessment procedures.

Monash has considerably expanded its traditional award structure of bachelor, master and doctoral degrees coupled with graduate-level diplomas. Diploma programs have been differentiated into 'postgraduate' and 'graduate' and companion Certificate courses introduced for each. Masters programs now operate in several forms to cater for research, professional and applied orientations. Two professional doctorates complement the PhD degree. At the undergraduate level, one- and two-year diplomas have been introduced, and several faculties offer Faculty and Executive Certificates as non-award entry pathways to degree courses or for stand-alone professional purposes. Double bachelors degree programs providing an employment edge have been particularly popular. Articulation among these award levels has been strengthened and codified arrangements developed for credit transfer and advanced standing. These also

operate in relation to other institutions including those in the vocational education and training (VET) sector. Several double awards involving a Monash degree and a VET diploma have been established.

Monash has incorporated several strands relating to educational technology into its *Learning and Teaching Plan*. The first is the establishment of an intranet portal to provide every student in every subject with 'floor level' information technology including a web page, administration access, library access and electronic communications.

The strategy to ensure that the educational technologies used are appropriate for specific learning objectives involves establishing course development processes and support units that assist course teams to develop high quality learning materials.

A complementary third strategy involves identifying and working with suitable external partners in major high-cost activities. The experience gained in OLA and through traditional distance education has been invaluable in supporting Monash's push towards flexible learning in its own curriculum. The experience has also been fed into Monash's other high-cost development ventures currently being pursued in partnership with other institutions or commercial enterprises.

The venture that is most consistent with lifelong learning is an alliance with the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), which is providing education and information to new audiences in new ways. The initial educational product involved a linked radio series and website for an adult audience interested in business and investment. Further products will extend the range of media involved and seek to capitalise on the ABC's production and distribution capacities and Monash's content and educational expertise.

IMPLEMENTING A LIFELONG LEARNING STRATEGY: THE RMIT APPROACH

RMIT was established in 1887 as a provider of vocational, technical and professional education. A key goal has been to prepare people for employment. Incorporating both Technical and Further Education (TAFE) and higher education sectors, its program offerings have run the gamut of apprenticeship to PhD in a range of vocational disciplines. Because of the focus on preparing people for employment, it might have been assumed that lifelong learning, in the sense of ongoing support for people throughout their careers, would have been a natural component of RMIT's traditional strategies as an institution. However, as the national agenda promoted wider access to initial post-secondary education for school-leavers, RMIT has over the past 20 years, like many Australian institutions, tended to focus its program offerings on that group of learners. Limited offerings at the post-graduate level existed, but in many cases their design was predicated on the basis of students attending on-campus regularly. Although the provision of distance education was part of the RMIT offerings for many years, this provision too was phased out during the 1980s as the focus turned increasingly, in response to the national policy agenda, to full-time school-leavers. Thus, over the past 20 years, RMIT has moved from being an institution that catered for a range of learners and

indeed, one whose student body was once dominated by part-time working adults, to being one in which the fulltime on-campus school-leaver student dominates.

Within the context of a more diversified national system in which individual institutions are being urged to position differently, RMIT's current strategies are being re-oriented. As a result of this re-orientation, the institution's original focus on working adults is re-emerging. If RMIT's mission is in preparing people for employment and the nature of that employment is changing, then the nature of RMIT's support must also change. Its programs must be structured to anticipate the different needs people have during their careers and thus, rigid expectations about prerequisites and the sequence in which people must learn are being transformed. The view that a career will lead logically through a series of vertical movements, requiring an educational path that is similarly vertical, is changing to recognise the lateral and horizontal moves that people make during the course of those careers. The plumber who begins with the relevant technical training may go on to specialise in a field of plumbing in the way that training programs anticipate; she may be just as likely to start her own plumbing business and need instead business management skills. A more appropriate next step in her training will then be across fields into the business field. But it is not just the expectations of sequences that people will follow that is changing, the balance of places within the institution at each level is also being reconsidered and re-oriented. However, it should be noted that the freedom to vary the balance the profile of places offered is one that has only recently been deregulated and consequently, the focus on school-leavers and initial post-secondary places continues to dominate.

Similarly, the manner in which these changed programs are being offered is being transformed. Like most Australian institutions, the move to adopt a student-centred learning model is at the core of RMIT's teaching and learning plan. This is leading to a transformation in teaching practices as RMIT academics restructure learning experiences to improve their cost-effectiveness, to restore quality lost as a result of the 'massification' of the system and in recognition of the different learning styles and needs of learners. The fulltime student is disappearing even amongst the school-leaver group, as different patterns of work and study emerge, driven by changes to laborforce engagement, the importance of gaining work experience during study and the need to finance a growing student share of costs of study.

Thus, the widespread program of change that affects the bulk of RMIT's existing programs for its school-leaver market, together with the traditional focus on preparing people for employment, the rebalancing within the range of programs, the easing of entry requirements for particular courses provide the key building blocks in RMIT's strategy to support lifelong learning. These are brought together within a planning framework in which listening to the various constituencies, or client groups, within each of the communities in which RMIT operates is critical. Professional bodies, industry advisory boards, large enterprises, regional community groups and not-for-profit organisations have specific expectations of graduates and requirements that underpin the success of their operations. These organisations advise RMIT on the nature of the offerings that they would prefer students to receive. The RMIT strategy calls for these needs to be met in a tailored way but from within as much standardised

courseware as possible. The term 'mass customisation' that has affected other business sectors is one which is relevant too to the education sector.

Because of the size of the transformation effort required, RMIT has similarly looked for partners to share costs and speed development processes. The most substantial collaborative partnership comes through its membership of OLA. Through these mechanisms, RMIT can develop new materials collaboratively or acquire materials developed by others. It can also use these organisations as a separate distribution channel for its own materials. This is a particularly important avenue in catering for learners at a distance. Other networks are also being established. The most important of these is the Australian Technology Network (ATN) which comprises five universities of technology spread through the mainland capital cities of Australia. Not only does this network provide the benefit of working collaboratively on courseware based on a shared commitment to practical and relevant professional education, but it also provides through a common credit transfer policy a practical benefit to students who move within Australia during their course. Lack of such a uniform credit transfer policy has represented a major disadvantage for those who have worked for national organisations, such as the Defence Forces. The capacity of the ATN institutions to support even moves beyond Australia throughout Southeast Asia represents a further benefit.

DISCUSSION

While the strategic directions for the development of lifelong learning are now fairly well defined in each of the two universities, successful implementation depends upon overcoming some substantial organisational, cultural and financial barriers. The effective management of change involves organisational re-orientation, the professional re-orientation of staff, and an acceptable resolution of funding questions.

Organisational and cultural reorientation

Senge (1992) identifies the mental models that underpin the way in which organisations operate, as the key to any change program. Those mental models comprise the often unspoken values and assumptions of the organisation and its people. They determine what gets done in an organisation and how. They determine the worldview of those within the organisation, the way in which its external environment is interpreted and the organisation's place within that environment is perceived. Failure to acknowledge such implicit values and operating assumptions is seen by many (for example, Argyris 1990, Senge 1992) to hinder the success of organisational change programs. Proposed changes are often operationalised in accordance with those unchallenged assumptions and thus intended outcomes are distorted. In some cases the staff of the organisation will simply refuse to implement proposed changes because of their incompatibility with existing processes.

In thinking, therefore, about how educational institutions might approach the new demands for lifelong learning, it is useful to consider the operating assumptions that

exist in our institutions which may limit our capacity to respond to those demands. Indeed, the very absence of those operating assumptions in new entrants to the sector may be the secret of their success in meeting the new demands. In the discussion that follows we seek to identify those operating assumptions in our institutions that are challenged by the new demands.

In designing our teaching and learning programs we tend to assume that:

- the target audience are school leavers with minimal life experience and a high need for structure and guided learning;
- this group needs an initial post-secondary qualification to begin a career;
- the students are full-time and/ or available to attend campus-based instruction;
- programs should reflect professional/ vocational or disciplinary specialisations; and
- academic staff provide the gateway to knowledge expertise and their role is to disseminate this knowledge

Yet those who pursue lifelong learning are commonly:

- working adults who are accustomed to managing themselves in work or life;
- forced to juggle competing demands for their time and their resources;
- increasingly seeking updated or further formal education to support their career; and the frequent and lateral moves that are now open to them
- facing problems at work that are multi-faceted and require systemic or team-based solutions/ approaches; and
- able to access knowledge/ information through several different avenues.

A shift to greater emphasis on lifelong learning requires major reorientation within institutions. Even assuming that traditional educational models are appropriate for traditional school-leaver students (and many dispute hotly their appropriateness there) they most certainly are not for working adults. New ways of teaching and learning are required. Adult learning theory must be applied; this tends to call for a wider range of educational experiences than have traditionally been applied. To the extent that the educational experience is being paid for and prescribed by an industry or enterprise, specific tailoring of those experiences may be needed. Such tailoring requires a degree of flexibility for both academic and institution. In the case of the latter a stock of industry knowledge and 'cases' will need to be built. To the extent that academics believe that the degree of specification required by enterprises is too narrowly based or too short-term in its thinking, they must persuade their new clients of the benefits of taking a broader approach. Such persuasive skills perhaps have not been required in days in which the right of specification lay strongly with the institutions and was jealously guarded.

As individuals re-enter education and training to enhance their careers, they are met by staff who remain wedded to their specifically focussed course and discipline. Their capacity to cater for the needs of working adults is limited to the extent that they do not contemplate the career needs and range of skills and competencies required to help

people move between employers and sectors. The desire to work within disciplinary boundaries may provide satisfying work environments for staff and creativity in their research activities but may result in less integrated programs for the students.

Universities in particular have relied on their traditional monopolies to award degrees and accredit programs. In the past, universities controlled the content of their programs. But as industry is called upon to pay for an increasing amount of formal structured education, universities are losing much of this control. Increasingly, universities are being asked to deliver to the specifications of others and to recognise in-house training.

Respect for and recognition of the experience and prior learning that people bring to their ongoing education is called for. Within didactic educational paradigms, which tend to assume that 'if I haven't told you, then you don't know', this work-based or life-based education is particularly threatening. The cost (and frustration) associated with being forced to 'repeat' learnings, especially among adults, cannot be underestimated. A certain irony attaches to this point. For many academics a commitment to instilling attributes to foster lifelong learning in their undergraduate students is based on a conception of lifelong learning as a process of continuous learning through a variety of life's experiences (Cunningham et al. 1998). Yet a certain amount of preciousness often greets those who seek to have this learning formally recognised.

The competing demands and the value of learners' time must be recognised and accommodated. Much has been made of the need for flexible learning modes which make those ongoing educational experiences time and location-dependent, but to date the major changes have yet to occur in most institutions. While many would cite the expense associated with moving to such modes of delivery, there are as many obstacles that emanate from traditional ways of structuring teacher/ student relationships. The nature of the programs themselves, too, needs to change. The traditional focus on award programs needs to be supplemented with non-award programs and the two integrated within some overall schema for the professional or occupational grouping. The focus within enterprises and also by individuals on just-in-time learning, together with a desire for 'stored' credits in recognisable and portable forms, combine to make the drive for such integration.

These changes have significant implications for the ways in which the product line of the organisation is conceived and planned and marketed. New client groupings need to be considered; their different characteristics and needs catered for. This will have implications for the way in which programs are packaged and delivered. It has implications for the underpinning educational paradigms of institutions and individual academics. It has implications for the capital infrastructure of the institution. To the extent that flexible delivery modes are accommodated through the new technologies, then a different investment mix of capital is required.

Staff development in new ways of teaching and learning are required. Instructional design is a skill that academics are increasingly called upon to exercise. They will be called upon to structure educational experiences to take account of the need to encourage students to acquire new attributes as well as new ways of thinking, in different time packages and using a range of different delivery media. As institutions encourage the greater use of online delivery and self-paced learning packages their

computer and information literacy skills will be tested. Traditionally, academics in higher education institutions have been required to demonstrate content expertise (through research degrees) and have often acquired their educational process skills 'on the job'. This has not necessarily provided the robustness of educational theory underpinning with which to contemplate the new demands. It is unsurprising, therefore, to see calls for more formal educational training of academics (for example, West 1998).

Clearly, the provision of such training will assist in the challenging of many of those operating assumptions with which academics meet the needs of lifelong learners. However, the extent to which these challenges will be threatening and anxiety producing in many staff within our institutions cannot be underestimated. This is exacerbated by the ageing profile within our institutions as we demand that people who have had apparently successful academic careers spanning 20 to 30 years are called upon to re-think their basic assumptions and ways of operating.

This extends beyond the issue of techniques. Learning experiences which involve 'the guide on the side' rather than the 'sage on the stage' imply fundamentally different ways of working and relating. The power relationships which have traditionally applied between young adults and academics are different from those who are self-managing adults with full lives and other responsibilities. The need to work in teams and across disciplinary boundaries will not come easily to people trained in the specialism of one discipline and in the paradigm of the single researcher whose solo publications have been the basis of competitive career success.

Institutional relationships too will need reconfiguring, especially for those that have maintained a degree of aloofness from their surrounding community. Instead of seeing our institutions as the only places in which knowledge is created and preserved, the Information Age implies that knowledge will be created in a variety of settings. If we are to continue to play a pivotal role in the information sector of our community, we must work alongside these new sources and creators of knowledge. Similarly, to ensure an appropriate level of access and participation in lifelong learning processes, it is argued (for example, European Commission 1996) that educational institutions must be part of integrated networks which see different kinds of organisations cooperating and being involved in the provision of education and training. To the extent that this occurs within enterprise settings, this will necessarily require both multi-disciplinary and multi-level approaches. It will also challenge traditional views about who should provide the content of an educational program.

The funding question for lifelong learning – who pays?

Although most accept that the responsibility of government is to provide access to a basic school education and an initial post-secondary education, the views of the role of government in funding the provision of lifelong learning are more mixed. Some governments recognise that future wealth generation must be supported and propose learning vouchers to subsidise ongoing education (eg West 1998). Yet the value of these vouchers will be constrained by the desire to limit, or even reduce, government outlays on post-secondary education and training and by sterile debates about the mix

of public and private benefit derived from that ongoing training. Despite a range of findings in the literature, the benefits of such education are thought to accrue primarily to the individual or to employers rather than to society at large. Accordingly, the funding of ongoing education is often seen as the responsibility of either the individual or enterprises.

Some enterprises support the development of their workforces by investing in training. In doing so, they seek to ensure that such training is tailored to enterprise outcomes. Seen as an investment and like any other, an appropriate return on funds invested is required. At the same time, however, some employers accept a responsibility to facilitate movement of individuals into other employment. For example, the Australian Defence Forces recognise that as their commitment to providing ongoing employment to some parts of their workforce declines, they need to ensure that the way in which they train people while in the Forces meets two criteria. First, the training must meet the needs of the Forces. Second, the training must be in a form that is recognisable by other employers when people come to leave and seek other employment. This leads to a pressure for what was previously seen as in-house training to be replaced with structured training that can be credentialled by recognised educational providers.

Individuals themselves are prepared to pay but education is one of a number of competing expenditure claims. For example, in Australia, research has shown that for those in the late twenties to late thirties age group, significant competing demands for disposable income arise from housing and children's educational expenses (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1993/4). Certainly, the latest data in Australia has seen a decline in enrolments in undergraduate programs by mature students (over 25 years), coincident with the increase in the component of the fee which is borne by the students (Higher Education Council 1997). This has led some to suggest that the actual demand for individual lifelong learning is small and dominated by who are already 'well-educated, highly ambitious, motivated' (Cunningham *et al.* 1998).

To the extent that individuals are prepared to make further investments in their education and training, they too seek both to maximise the returns on that investment and to minimise its costs. The costs, which they take into account, extend well beyond the price of the program to include lost wages, time, travel time and associated costs. This means that a potential provider must not only price appropriately, but also ensure that the design of the program takes account of both the educational outcomes sought and the implicit costs of undertaking the program. Hence, there has been a growth in online delivery, weekend or intensive modes, work-based delivery and other flexible program modes. The demand for recognisable and portable credentials, mentioned above, also arises from individuals as they seek to maximise their returns on structured professional development.

Thus, while the current conventional wisdom is that lifelong learning is a feature of the new educational environments, the conception of lifelong learning is different from that which has traditionally applied and the demands that surround it are similarly different. As traditional educational providers ponder the differences and struggle with the tensions that arise from the clash of new demands and traditional conceptions of lifelong learning and models of delivery, new entrants face none of these dilemmas. The returns available in parts of the professional development and post-graduate

coursework markets are attracting new entrants to the education sector. By identifying the service and quality characteristics which are valued by the prospective client group they have been able to design programs with a level of flexibility that has matched market demands (Cunningham *et al.* 1998).

CONCLUSION

Making lifelong learning a reality in higher education poses particular challenges in an increasingly competitive environment, although success will itself provide a strong competitive advantage. Monash and RMIT universities exemplify how institutions are developing and implementing teaching and learning plans that place lifelong learning at their centre. Drawing on the experience of these two universities, three strategies may be suggested to facilitate lifelong learning: a focus on developing generic skills; providing flexible award structures; and delivering programs more flexibly. The appropriate use of communications and information technology will enable programs to be delivered in ways which better meet student requirements to fit study their in with work, family and other commitments. However, the high costs of technology mean that higher education institutions may have to find ways to mix their competitive behaviours with effective cooperative strategies. While the environment for higher education is one in which the traditional principles of cooperation and coordination are being replaced by deregulation and competition, cooperative alliances appear to provide the best strategy for developing flexible delivery systems.

The realisation of these teaching and learning strategies is not without challenge. There are some real barriers to the development of lifelong learning, both for individual learners and within institutions. Existing mindsets within institutions about what the main focus of the institution's business is and who its client groups are can undermine the development of the new structures and processes needed to support lifelong learning. The new forms of marketplace, including purchaser and supplier arrangements, are just starting to evolve.

The push for lifelong learning is accelerating the demand for changes in the ways in which teaching and learning occur in our institutions. The tolerance of the adult learner is less than that of the young adult as they face competing demands for their time and their money. The need for responsiveness to economic demands is underscored in this trend. The fate of institutions is tied increasingly to the economic structures of their surrounding communities as the basis of funding for institutions and education shifts. The changes in orientation and worldview which are required of institutions, and the individual staff within them, parallel the shifts required of most 'product-push' organisations as the service economy takes hold. Like those manufacturing organisations suddenly exposed to global competition, educational institutions face increased competition from within the sector and from new entrants. At the same time, as individuals and enterprises are pressed to pay an increasing share of the national educational and training effort, they are becoming more strident in their demands for programs that meet their needs and are delivered in ways that recognise their special characteristics.

So just as other organisations have been pressed to become 'learning organisations' as they seek to reinvent themselves in a more market-responsive manner, so too the concepts of the learning organisation are relevant to the changes that are required in our institutions. Merely to demand as a public policy outcome that institutions adopt new ways of operating and meeting the demands for lifelong learning, as redefined, is to underestimate the extent of change which is required. The challenges facing those leading our institutions in seeking these changes are significant and will not be readily achieved. The question is whether those changes occur within a timeframe that does not see those most profitable parts of the market 'cherry-picked' by new entrants (Cunningham et al. 1998). The irony is that the essence of the change is that those who would seek to instil attributes of continuous learning must demonstrate precisely those attributes. Yet our educational institutions have been long recognised as institutions of conservatism.

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Chapter 6: Islands and Bridges: Lifelong Learning and Complex Systems of Higher Education in Canada

GLEN JONES

INTRODUCTION

While there is no universally accepted definition of lifelong learning, the concept is usually understood as learning over a life course; learning is understood as a phenomenon that takes place from the moment of birth to the instant of death. As a philosophy of education, therefore, lifelong learning challenges the traditional view of learning as a predominantly youthful experience. Old dogs can learn new tricks.

Lifelong learning also challenges the traditional emphasis on formal education as the dominant source of learning. Humans may learn from the formal educational experiences provided by schools and universities, but they also learn in the workplace and in the home. Learning takes place in the classroom, but it can also take place in the library, museum, art gallery, concert hall, church, community center, and the park.

While lifelong learning has long been considered a noble notion, during the last few decades certain changes and challenges have catalyzed a call for lifelong learning as a societal goal. Economic restructuring has led to rapid changes in the labour market and a need to find mechanisms for retraining and upgrading. The growth of knowledge and rapid changes in the utilization of technology have created a world of work where it is no longer possible to assume that one acquires a lifetime of employment skills through vocational education in early adulthood. A range of observers, including a variety of governmental and international agencies (for example, see Council of Ministers of Education, Canada 1999; OECD 1996; Republic of China 1998; UNESCO 1995), now promote lifelong learning as a necessary prescription for maintaining societal health in a rapidly changing world.

If lifelong learning is the prescription, then higher education systems are frequently assumed to play the role of pharmacist, and yet there has been surprisingly little analysis of the gap between aspiration and reality. Even the linkages between the research literature on lifelong learning and the research literature on higher education policy are tenuous at best (Teichler 1999). The objective of this paper is to contribute to our understanding of the intersection between lifelong learning and the realities of complex, often diverse, systems of higher education. Institutions of higher education can be viewed as only one component of a range of educational resources available to the lifelong learner, but few would deny their importance as a key element in the societal infrastructure associated with promoting and facilitating lifelong learning (Duke 1999). Given the very limited international/comparative literature on the interface

between lifelong learning and higher education systems, this paper represents an attempt to contribute to this important international discussion by analysing developments in a single country, Canada, and describing the evolution of provincial higher education systems through the lens of lifelong learning.

My emphasis is on complex systems of higher education. Throughout the paper I use the term "higher education system" to refer to the sum of component institutions, agencies, and government departments that provide, regulate, and coordinate postsecondary education. I use the term "complex systems" to refer to jurisdictions with more than one type or category of postsecondary institution, jurisdictions where questions may emerge concerning the interface between institutional types.

There are a number of reasons why Canada is an interesting case study. First, Canadian participation rates are quite high suggesting, at least in aggregate terms, a relatively accessible higher education infrastructure. While the United States led the world in terms of participation in higher education for most of this century, Canadian participation rates became roughly similar to those of her southern neighbour by the late 1980s (Lynd 1994). Given the dramatic expansion of higher education in some western nations in the 1990s, Canada now stands as one of a handful of nations that lead the world in terms of participation in higher education (AUCC 1999). Second, Canada has a highly decentralized higher education policy environment (Jones 1996b), a structural arrangement that will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

This paper focuses on three broad areas of intersection between lifelong learning and higher education systems. The first section discusses the delivery of postsecondary programs while the second reviews issues related to transfer and articulation. The third section focuses on extension and continuing education activities. Finally, I conclude with some observations on the interface between higher education systems and lifelong learning.

THE DELIVERY OF POSTSECONDARY PROGRAMS

The Dominion of Canada was created in 1867, and while the history of Canadian higher education can be traced back to the seventeenth century (Harris 1976), the predominantly private, denominational higher education infrastructure associated with the new federation enrolled only 1500 students (Cameron 1991). Under the terms of the British North America Act, the constitutional document that founded the new nation, education became the responsibility of the provincial governments.

These provincial higher education systems expanded gradually, with relatively little in the way of government regulation or coordination. When new provinces were carved out of the western territories, their governments moved to create provincial universities but, as in the central and eastern provinces, the new institutions were awarded considerable autonomy with little governmental interference.

While there was a modest expansion in both the number of universities and student enrolment in the first half of the twentieth century, the great period of expansion in Canadian higher education is primarily associated, first, with the increased enrolment associated with the veterans benefits programs immediately following the Second

World War, and second, with changes in both federal and provincial government funding arrangements beginning in the 1950s which supported a huge expansion of the higher education infrastructure to address new demands for postsecondary education. Total enrolment in Canadian universities increased by 46% in 1945–46 when 20,000 veterans took advantage of the new education benefit. The next year 35,000 veterans enrolled. The first wave of expansion was not limited to veterans, however; even discounting those returning from the war, university enrolment increased by almost 70% between 1941–42 and 1951–52 (Cameron 1991). In terms of funding, the expansion was largely treated as a temporary measure supported by targeted per-student grants from the federal government to the universities, and the students were frequently accommodated through the use of temporary facilities, including the use of army-surplus buildings and in some cases temporary campuses.

The second wave of expansion was primarily supported by the Government of Canada in response to a broadly based belief that an expanded system of higher education would contribute to the social and economic development of the nation. While initially the federal government provided direct operating grants to the universities, provincial governments asserted their constitutional responsibility for education and the funding mechanisms were modified to take the form of unconditional transfers to the provinces. Canadian higher education became a collection of increasingly different provincial/territorial systems operating in parallel (Jones 1997).

While the chronology varied slightly by province, the expansion of higher education generally began by supporting increased enrolment in existing universities and the creation of new universities in under-served communities. As they increased in size, many Canadian universities became “multiversities” driven, on the one hand by mammoth increases in student demand and, on the other, increasing discipline specialization. Universities increased in size, but they also expanded program offerings along the horizontal plane, through the development of new formal programs, and vertically through the expansion of graduate and professional postgraduate programs. In the last decade, universities have also come to play a substantive role in the delivery of continuing education programming for the professions, often as part of a broader network of private and public organizations.

Universities also attempted to increase access by adopting new, more flexible approaches to delivering some (though not all) programs. Part-time studies became common-place, especially in the arts and sciences. Many institutions created new admission programs for mature students, transition programs for at-risk students, and challenge-credit arrangements so that students could be examined in certain subject areas instead of taking a “traditional” course (Belanger & Mount 1998). Several universities devoted considerable attention to correspondence programs. In the mid-1970s, the Government of Alberta created Canada’s first open learning university.

With the expansion of government support for universities, most provinces created some form of university sector coordinating mechanism (Cameron 1991). Modest accountability requirements were introduced, frequently involving basic financial reporting and some mechanism for approving new academic programs.

Every province also conducted a major review of its higher education requirements. A common outcome of these reviews was the identification of new educational needs

associated with the increasing specialization of the labour market and the emergence of new industrial sectors. The common response was the creation of new institutional types designed to address the specific needs of each province. The mandate and structure of these new institutional types varied substantively by province, but, with the exception of Saskatchewan community colleges, they all moved quickly to design and offer formal adult and vocational programs. Since the authority to grant degrees was assigned only to the universities, the new community colleges also moved quickly to introduce their own diploma and certificate credentials.

In short, Canada's provincial systems of higher education expanded in terms of the scope of program offerings, in terms of the emergence of new institutional types designed to address different educational needs, and in terms of the use of new forms of program delivery in both universities and community colleges.

In addition, provincial system-level initiatives led to an impressive number of hybrid, collaborative undertakings designed to further increase access to postsecondary education. The provinces of Manitoba and Ontario sponsored collaborative projects designed to provide their northern population with access to postsecondary education. Quebec created *Téle-université* as an offshoot of the new University of Quebec system. New Brunswick created *TeleEducation* as an infrastructure for the delivery of distance programming developed by the province's educational institutions.

More recently, the governments of Alberta and British Columbia have taken steps to increase the level of institutional diversity within these systems and to expand degree-granting authority to specific institutions in the non-university sector. British Columbia, for example, has created a new university to serve its northern populations, an open-learning university, a specialized technical university, and a network of degree-granting university colleges.

The multifaceted expansion of postsecondary programs clearly had a positive impact in terms of aggregate participation in higher education, but this was not a carefully planned, coordinated process. From an international perspective, Canada's decentralized approach to higher education policy and the absence of federal government goals or objectives for postsecondary education appears unusual in an international conversation focusing on national planning, rationalization, and accountability mechanisms. This was clearly the conclusion of the 1975 OECD review which noted the absence of clear policy directions and plans (Cameron, 1991). Even putting aside Canada's unique constitutional arrangements and focusing only on the provinces as the primary regulatory authority, it is difficult to find more than a few examples of the sort of rational, system-wide planning approach to higher education that is commonplace in many other jurisdictions (Jones, 1997). The Canadian case, therefore, challenges the common assumption that system-level managerial mechanisms are a necessary prerequisite for increasing participation in higher education.

At the same time, this decentralized approach has meant that lifelong learning is usually defined and discussed in terms of the activities of an institution or sector, rather than as the objective of a provincial or national plan. The massive increase in participation rates in the last half-century and the focus on access in aggregate terms has overshadowed Canada's failure to fully address the needs of specific ethnic and geographic

constituencies, especially Canada's northern and aboriginal populations. Governments talk about lifelong learning, but the notion is seldom defined in operational terms. Limited forms of system-level coordination and relatively high levels of university autonomy can create an environment that actually stifles certain forms of lifelong learning, especially when the learner wants the educational experience obtained from one institutional type recognized by another.

TRANSFER AND ARTICULATION

An important policy question within any higher education system with two or more institutional types is whether there should be formal arrangements for coordination between institutions or groups of institutions and if so, what form of coordination these arrangements should take. In the context of lifelong learning, coordination between institutions and sectors may represent a mechanism for improving student mobility and participation rates by facilitating student transfer between institutions and institutional types.

The structural arrangements that emerged in most Canadian provinces by the early 1970s focused on the completion of a formal educational program as the recognized outcome of postsecondary education. The relative homogeneity of Canadian universities and a general assumption that academic standards were roughly equivalent meant that a degree earned at one university was viewed as equal in value to a degree earned at another. One national Commission of Inquiry noted:

The Commission heard no public or private comments to suggest that graduates of any particular university were poorly prepared or were unlikely to be accepted into postgraduate studies in competition with graduates of other institutions. Such comments are often heard in the United States with respect to some of their institutions. (Smith 1991, 15)

Although the university sector was viewed as relatively homogeneous, the new non-degree granting institutions were much more diverse (Dennison & Gallagher 1986; Jones 1996b; Skolnik 1986). While all of these new institutions offered some form of technical or vocational education, the mandate and organizational arrangements of these new institutional types varied from province to province. In some provinces, such as Alberta and British Columbia, the new institutions were assigned an explicit university transfer function whereby a student could complete the first two years of an undergraduate degree program and then transfer into the third year of studies at a traditional university. In Quebec, students completed eleven years of secondary school before moving to one of the new Collèges d'Enseignement Général et Professionnel (CEGEP) to enroll in either a technical/vocational program or a pre-university stream. In other provinces, the non-degree institutions did not have a pre-university or university-transfer function and their technical and vocational programming operated in parallel to, but with little if any interface with, university degree programming.

While this expanded higher education infrastructure offered a wide range of postsecondary programming and accommodated a much larger number of students, questions

soon began to emerge concerning the level of student mobility within these provincial systems. The new technical/vocational programs associated with provincial community colleges were designed to address the needs of an increasingly differentiated labour market, but these diploma and certificate programs were often regarded as "terminal" educational programs. How could bridges be built between the distinct educational islands so that students could move with greater freedom between program streams and institutional types? How could the higher education system facilitate life-long learning by finding mechanisms to ensure that specific types of educational programs did not become "dead ends" (see Task Force on Advanced Training 1993)?

Jones, Skolnik and Soren (1998) note that there are three major approaches to the coordination of higher education systems: institutional, sectoral, and system-level. The institutional approach is based on the assumption of highly autonomous, self-regulating institutions. The sectoral approach implies an explicit organization of the higher education system into component parts that are treated differently by government. Funding mechanisms, coordinating structures, and other policies or regulations will be sector-specific. The system-level approach "treats all parts of the postsecondary enterprise as components of a whole. There may be a variety of institutional types and even clear sectoral distinctions, but the central emphasis is on system-level planning and coordination" (p.17). Each of these approaches has implications for coordination between institutional types within a higher education system.

With the institutional approach, coordination between institutional types takes the form of formal or informal articulation agreements between institutions. Two institutions might enter into an agreement on how each will recognize graduates of the other, or they might work together to create a new collaborative educational program in order to take advantage of their respective resources and educational expertise. However, if one assumes that the two institutions enter into an agreement because the arrangement is viewed as mutually advantageous, then it is possible to imagine a variety of factors that may serve to limit or even discourage the movement towards greater articulation between institutions. Since the institutional approach does not involve sectoral or system-level structures that allow for the resolution of issues that transcend institutional boundaries, there is no mechanism to encourage a high-prestige institution to enter into an articulation arrangement with a low-prestige institution, for example, except perceived self-interest.

In contrast, the system-level approach views institutions and sectors as component parts of a whole and a variety of mechanisms may be employed to facilitate coordination between institutions and institutional types. Institutions may enter into bilateral arrangements, sectoral or inter-sectoral mechanisms may be used to facilitate coordination between component parts of the system, and system-level agencies will have the capacity to deal with issues that transcend institutional or sectoral boundaries.

The sectoral approach, on the other hand, assumes that there is no central mechanism or agency to promote system-level interests. Institutions may enter into bilateral agreements, and sectoral arrangements may promote coordination within the sector, but inter-sectoral coordination may be problematic unless there is a way to transcend sectoral boundaries.

Each of these three approaches illustrates a different way of coordinating systems of higher education, and while few jurisdictions employ “pure” forms of these approaches given the tremendous differences in higher education systems throughout the world, elements of these approaches are found in almost any complex system of higher education.

In many respects the structural changes associated with the expansion of higher education in Canada can be viewed as a transition from institutional to sectoral approaches to provincial coordination. Unlike many other jurisdictions, none of the provinces adopted a system-level approach to coordination and so questions of transfer and articulation have been left in the hands of the institutions or, where they exist, inter-sectoral agencies or mechanisms. Arrangements for coordination have been the subject of several national studies (Jones, Skolnik & Soren 1998; Skolnik & Jones 1993) and some of the findings of this work are relevant to this discussion.

Not surprisingly, the first inter-sectoral agencies dealing with questions of transfer emerged in British Columbia and Alberta, where non-university sectors were assigned an explicit university-transfer function. Each province has a Council on Admissions and Transfer, which are inter-sectoral constituent committees that develop policies and guidelines to facilitate transfer between institutions and credit recognition protocols. While these are the two oldest and most developed agencies of their kind in Canada, other provinces have taken steps towards clarifying transfer arrangements through the creation of transfer guides or created forums for discussing transfer and other inter-sectoral interests.

The studies also suggest that advances in coordination arrangements have largely been driven by academic concerns, such as credit transfer, admissions policy, program reviews, and other issues that involve the academic interface between different institutional types. While academic issues are of central concern, there is also an interest in increasing the level of coordination in other policy areas, such as resource utilization, enrolment planning, and accountability.

A number of other observations emerge from analyzing the Canadian experience with transfer and articulation issues from the perspective of lifelong learning. First, while there is an increased interest in facilitating inter-sectoral transfer and articulation arrangements in many provinces, changes which can be viewed as beneficial to lifelong learning by allowing for greater student mobility between and within sectors, these discussions have focused almost entirely on the recognition of formal educational credits, rather than learning outcomes. In other words, while new transfer and articulation arrangements clearly provide new educational pathways and a wider range of options for the lifelong learner, most policy discussions on this topic continue to presume that academic programs are defined in terms of a template of course credits. Course credits, in turn, are traditionally defined in terms of classroom hours.

Second, while the Canadian experience suggests that it is possible to strengthen transfer and articulation arrangements in the absence of a system-level approach to coordination, Canada’s provincial systems of higher education are still some distance from the “seamless web” of educational experiences that one might associate with a system designed to respond to the needs of lifelong learners. On the one hand, some of the barriers to lifelong learning associated with institutional rigidities and sectoral

boundaries are being eliminated, though there continue to be significant differences by province in both the speed and magnitude of these changes. These initiatives have, at least to date, emerged from within provincial higher education systems with government support, but with relatively little top-down intervention. On the other hand, the absence of system-level coordination implies a limited capacity to move beyond the assumptions that underscore the current postsecondary arrangements. Many of the most intriguing initiatives related to transfer and articulation, such as the development of national qualifications frameworks in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, are directly associated with strong, system-level initiatives (Australian Qualifications Framework 1999; Methven & Hanson 1997).

EXTENSION AND CONTINUING EDUCATION

The notion that universities have a responsibility to provide learning opportunities to the broader community in addition to offering formal degree programs is far from new. Selman (1994) notes that the early evolution of continuing education in Canada involved two distinct phases. The first, primarily associated with late nineteenth century initiatives in central and eastern Canada, borrowed heavily from the Oxbridge model and the University Extension Movement in England (Harris 1976, p. 148) and involved the offering of public lectures on university subjects. The second, initially associated with the new provincial universities in the first few decades of the twentieth century, was influenced by the emergence of the U.S. land-grant universities and involved the extension of university activities into the community in order to serve the needs of local society. As Trow has noted, the "Wisconsin Idea" of the late nineteenth century had much in common with modern conceptions of lifelong learning (1999), and Wisconsin's notion of "our campus the state" resonated with the new Canadian universities that served western, rural, primarily agricultural communities. The University of Saskatchewan created a Department of Agricultural Extension within a year of becoming operational (Hayden 1983); the University of Alberta created a university-wide Department of Extension in 1912. While the first phase represented an attempt to open up the university to the broader community so that citizens might learn something of what the university viewed as important, the second expanded this notion to include responding to the needs of the broader society.

By the 1950s, most Canadian universities had created some form of extension department and the list of activities associated with these new units was extraordinarily diverse. Queen's University developed an early correspondence education program. St. Francis Xavier University initiated a major cooperative education project, commonly referred to as the Antigonish Movement (see Coady 1939). The University of Alberta developed a province-wide program of informal education, and, in the 1930s, established the non-credit Banff School of Fine Arts. In addition to developing and operating their own initiatives, extension departments were frequently asked to facilitate the educational outreach activities of other organizations, such as functioning as the regional depositories and administrators for the National Film Board of Canada film circuit system (Selman 1994). In short, these departments became the base for distance

education, non-credit courses and programs, and other initiatives that served the educational needs of the provincial or local communities.

The structural arrangements that emerged by the early 1970s in Canada's had a dramatic impact on university extension activities. Demands for greater access led to a plethora of new initiatives in distance education, but, as already noted, the emphasis was on the expansion of education programs rather than informal, non-credit learning opportunities. With the emergence of formula funding arrangements in some provinces, degree-level university students were counted and non-credit students were not. Expansion in the number and types of postsecondary institutions also meant that the more established university extension units were seen as less important; other universities and community colleges could share the burden of serving the educational needs of the community. Generally speaking, the level of extension-type activities decreased (Selman 1994).

While university governance reforms of the 1960s had provided faculty and students with a greater voice in university decision making, both "faculty" and "students" are frequently defined in terms of traditional academic constituencies. Students in non-credit courses are frequently excluded from membership in institution-based student organizations (Jones 1995) and many university faculty associations exclude part-time and/or stipendary instructors (Anderson & Jones 1998). University extension departments, now frequently titled faculties or schools of continuing education, began to assume a role on the margins of the formal, academic program activities of Canadian universities. Selman argues,

"While some years ago Presidents could see quite clearly the "public relations" value (as well as the educational worth) of continuing education activities, faculty members and Senates are less inclined to do so. Continuing education units have therefore had to "sell" their activities more to those committed to academic values and less to institutional interests as such. This has encouraged continuing education units, some of which have actually gained faculty status themselves, to place emphasis on kinds of activities which are academically "respectable" and controlled by the faculties and academic departments (1994, p.15)."

If university continuing education activities became marginalized within universities, they became almost invisible in the context of Canadian higher education systems. Universities are generally asked to report student enrolment figures for formal academic programs, but not for non-credit, continuing education activities. Since continuing education units usually do not receive a university (or government) subsidy, institutional and system requirements for reporting and financial accountability are often quite different than those associated with more traditional academic units. In short, university continuing education activities receive almost no attention in broader discussions of higher education policy or practice.

In reviewing current trends in university continuing education in Canada, Eisedel (1998) notes an increasing emphasis on continuing professional education and other career development activities, and suggests that continuing education units may become increasingly involved in graduate programming. He also notes that these units

have responded to institutional requirements that continuing education activities operate on a break-even basis by developing a strong business orientation. For Eisiedel, continuing education units are models for revenue generation in an institutional context that has been dominated by notions of public subsidization. From its altruistic beginnings, university extension may be evolving into continuing education practices that emphasize "high-end" programming and revenue generation.

As already noted, the reduced emphasis on university extension is due to the fact that universities are no longer the only institutional actors in the postsecondary environment. The emergence of provincial community colleges systems, though differing substantially in form and mandate by province, offer an alternative means of facilitating non-credit continuing education, sometimes referred to as adult or community education.

The creation of new non-university postsecondary institutions led to a marked expansion in continuing education. In many respects the new institutions were better placed to provide continuing education given the community-based mandate they were assigned in some provinces. Also, as fledgling institutional forms, they were generally perceived to be more open to experimentation and less constrained by tradition than their university peers. On the other hand, the new institutions were granted far less autonomy than the universities and were often viewed as direct instruments of public policy. For example, the nine campuses of the New Brunswick Community College operate under the direct control of the provincial ministry, and the mandate and organizational arrangements associated with Saskatchewan's non-university sector appear to shift with each change in provincial government.

Most of the new community colleges moved quickly into the continuing education arena, often offering innovative, non-credit, learning opportunities. While these activities have already been described in the literature (see Dennison 1995; Dennison & Gallagher 1986), the specific organizational arrangements that emerged in Saskatchewan are both indicative of the spirit of innovation associated with system expansion in the early 1970s and directly relevant to this discussion.

Like other provinces, the expansion of higher education in Saskatchewan in the 1960s and early 1970s involved both an increase in the number of universities (or in Saskatchewan's case, providing full independence to what had been a regional campus of the provincial university) and the creation of new types of institutions in response to changes in the labour market and broader societal needs. Technical institutes, with a mandate to provide technical/vocational education programs and contract training, were established in the province's cities and major towns. By the early 1970s, however, the government had become interested in creating another type of institution that would have an explicit mandate to support and facilitate lifelong learning. An advisory committee recommended creating of a new kind of community college, based on the notion that "the interaction of individuals who share common concerns produces a social dimension known as a community. This community, in turn, influences the people within it" (Saskatchewan 1972, p.8; Muir 1997). As Muir notes,

"The Committee was as much advocating the fostering of a social phenomenon as the creation of an institution. Its version of a college would coordinate but not

duplicate existing educational services for providing access to lifelong learning; the heart of a community college was a representative board that determined what learning activities the community wanted and then obtained them. No degrees or credits would be granted; leased facilities would be used if possible, and permanent staff would be limited to maximize the flexibility and creativeness of the movement.” (1997, p.103)

The government quickly adopted the proposals outlined by the Committee and 16 colleges were in operation by 1987. Perhaps more than any other institutional form in the history of Canadian higher education, the Saskatchewan colleges represented an attempt to develop a network of postsecondary institutions that were based on the principles of lifelong learning.

While the early history of the provincial community college systems involved a flurry of innovative activity in terms of continuing and community education, over time the colleges became subject to many of the same pressures and trends that had befallen the university extension movement. In most provinces the colleges, often in response to government policies and system pressures, began to emphasize formal technical/vocational education programs and continuing education frequently became the responsibility of a separate unit. Funding arrangements favoured formal programs, and in some cases (as in the Saskatchewan colleges) subsidies could not be obtained for non-credit or “personal development” initiatives. Accountability mechanisms in some provinces focused on direct relationships between education and employment. By 1986, Dennison and Gallagher concluded that,

“Canada’s new colleges, in their search for respectability, took on the appearance of more traditional institutions, and organized themselves in more traditional ways to pursue more traditional goals. It is true that these colleges were more hospitable to older and part-time students than other institutions for adults, but in the main they required students to meet their demands. Few were prepared to adjust their requirements to the more revolutionary views advocated by frontier adult educators around the world. Few of the new colleges were learning centres for adults; most were teaching institutions to which many older and part-time students were admitted.” (1986, p.278)

Returning to the Saskatchewan case, reforms in the 1980s shifted the mandate of the colleges away from community interest and community development programs, and allowed for the acquisition of permanent college sites. Whether these colleges are now on the way to adopting a more “traditional” approach is still unclear, but there are system pressures to adopt a model that would be based on formal, postsecondary credit programming, and full-time academic staff.

The continuing education and extension activities of postsecondary institutions are often assumed to represent an important example of how higher education systems contribute to lifelong learning. The Canadian case suggests that this assumption is problematic. While Canadian universities have been involved in continuing education activities for more than a century, there is evidence to suggest that the range of activities

subsumed by the term "continuing education" has changed over time. Parallel changes appear to be taking place in the community college sector. These activities continue to represent opportunities for lifelong learning, but in the university sector the nature of who has access to these opportunities is shifting as continuing education units increasingly focus on revenue generation and high-end programming. In the college sectors, the shift appears to be in the direction of formal, credentialled educational programming.

ISLANDS AND BRIDGES: CONCLUDING COMMENTS ON LIFELONG LEARNING AND HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEMS IN CANADA

In this essay I have discussed several important points of intersection between lifelong learning and higher education systems, drawing largely on my own understanding of the Canadian experience. I will conclude by offering a number of observations based on my analysis of this intersection.

While there are clearly points of intersection between higher education systems and lifelong learning it is also important to recognize that the two notions are far from synonymous. Lifelong learning involves a broad range of learning resources and experiences, and higher education systems can and should only be viewed as one component of a much larger whole of possible learning opportunities. The reverse is also true. Higher education systems are associated with a complex and sometimes conflicting array of activities and objectives, including many which only indirectly, at best, relate to lifelong learning. Research, for example, is an extremely important function of the university and many higher education systems have placed considerable emphasis on the research enterprise as a tool of economic development (see Slaughter & Leslie 1997). University-based research can be viewed as a product of the lifelong learning of university faculty, but it can also be argued that the more time faculty spend on research the less time they spend facilitating the learning of others.

At the same time, the points of intersection that I have chosen to emphasize, namely postsecondary programs, articulation and transfer arrangements, and continuing education activities, can also be viewed as based on a narrow interpretation of this interface. Institutions of higher education can be viewed as learning organizations and therefore analyzed in terms of the degree to which they support or facilitate organizational learning. Postsecondary institutions frequently offer a wide range of resources and opportunities in addition to those described in the academic calendar, including art galleries, concerts, gardens, libraries, and clubs.

In *The Higher Education System* (1983), Burton Clark argues that academic activities are organized and divided in two ways: by discipline and by institution. Of these two, it is the disciplines that have been the driving force for differentiation within the university (Clark 1996). The growth in knowledge has been accompanied by increasing specialization within the disciplines and the continued emergence of new fields and sub-disciplines. Disciplinary and professional "territories" have become the organizing principles of universities throughout the world, and in the last few decades the study of discipline differentiation in terms of culture, academic career patterns, notions of scholarly productivity, faculty work, and methodological practices has itself

become almost a sub-specialization within the sociology of knowledge and higher education (see, for example, Becher 1989; Braxton & Hargens 1996).

Both the institutional and discipline dimensions have played a role in terms of how Canadian higher education systems have responded to changing educational demands, including those related to lifelong learning. For most of its history, postsecondary education has been defined in terms of a single institutional type: the university. The universities were elite, modestly supported, and suffered little in the way of direct government intervention (Jones 1996a). While these institutions played a traditional role in terms of offering undergraduate, professional, and graduate programs, in the early decades of the twentieth century the role modestly expanded at some institutions to include extension activities.

In the 1960s, provincial governments responded to new demands for higher education by supporting the expansion of university enrolment and by creating new types of institutions. While the mandate of the new community colleges varied by province, all of these new institutional types were clearly different from the existing universities. They were generally designed to be more responsive to community needs, especially the needs of industry. Governments also differentiated universities from community colleges in terms of the credentials that each could award; universities were assigned a public monopoly over the granting of degrees (Skolnik 1987).

The discipline dimension can be observed within these systems in terms of the emphasis, legitimization, and continuing expansion of formal, credentialed programs. In the university sector, the academic program became the educational unit of analysis and discussion. While academic decision-making bodies within the university might review and approve individual courses, the higher education system focused on programs. Most systems developed at least some modest mechanism for the approval of new programs (Clarke 1981) and a range of accreditation processes emerged from professional or discipline-based communities. Provincial systems and national databases focused on student enrolment by program. Formula funding arrangements, where they emerged, included program type as a variable.

A similar phenomenon can be observed in the community college sector of most provinces. College programs emerged in response to the requirements of the trades or the perceived needs of vocational groups or industries. As in the university sector, most systems took steps to review, approve, and legitimize new programs.

Given the emphasis on formal, credentialed programs in both sectors, one might argue that the Canadian higher education systems have responded to their changing environment by four types of program-based changes. First, they have expanded the number of programs, and therefore provided learners with more educational options. Second, they responded to demands for increased access by adopting new approaches to program delivery, such as part-time studies, correspondence courses, teleconference courses, and internet-based offerings. These approaches were adopted differentially by program and institution, with some programs, such as medicine, retaining essentially elite characteristics, and some institutions, such as Athabaska University, focusing on distance delivery. Third, programs, as islands of educational activity, were developed along the vertical axis to promote even greater levels of specialization through post-diploma (in some college systems), graduate, and post-graduate professional

programs. In recent years the higher education system has played an increasing role in continuing education within the professions. The fourth type of change has been to respond to demands for increased student mobility by building bridges between programmatic islands through articulation and transfer arrangements. There has also been some recent experimentation with prior learning assessment (Belanger & Mount 1998).

While postsecondary institutions continue to be involved in continuing education and other less-formal, non-credit educational activities, the higher education systems have increasingly emphasized formal, structured, credentialed programs. In many systems, continuing education has been completely marginalized and these activities take place without explicit support or subsidy, in some cases with a mandate to generate revenue to support more formal institutional activities. It is also important to note that these activities are generally excluded from system-level reporting requirements and accountability mechanisms, in large part because these activities operate without support from the public purse. Relatively little is known about the breadth and depth of these learning opportunities, and, with some exceptions, there has been little discussion of the role of postsecondary extension and continuing education in terms of promoting lifelong learning within the context of a higher education system.

The Canadian experience suggests that certain types of educational initiatives require system-level involvement. Institutional diversification and differentiation, including the emergence of open universities in Alberta and British Columbia, were products of government strategy. Hybrid collaborative relationships designed to serve the educational needs of special populations have often been initiated by, or at the very least received special support from, sectoral or system-level structures. One might conclude that while institutions of higher education can be very good at shaping and developing programmatic islands, systematic bridge building seems to require sectoral or system-level engineers.

Finally, Canadian higher education systems have responded to demands for change and have, in some important ways, contributed to lifelong learning in Canada. They still have some distance to go, especially in terms of addressing the needs of under-represented populations and communities. At the same time, these higher education systems have tended to view the challenge in terms of developing a more open, accessible, responsive network of islands and bridges. Redefining these educational systems so that they place greater emphasis on less-formal approaches to learning would require dramatic changes in the way provinces coordinate, fund, and regulate higher education. At the very least, those developing broad strategies for lifelong learning should be aware of the limitations of the higher education system, and its tendency to view learning as synonymous with structured, formal, credentialed education.

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Chapter 7: The Impact of the Dearing Report on UK Higher Education

MICHAEL SHATTOCK

It must be evident to most of you that I am not Baroness Blackstone, the UK Minister for Higher Education. I apologise for that. Nor am I, however, her alter ego, or a civil servant reading her intended speech. I did canvass to myself the opportunity this address offered of making the statement of UK policy towards higher education that she ought to have made, if she had not been inhibited by Treasury figures and Government policy. I could have announced additional funding, a well-planned expansion where capital provision kept pace with student numbers, and a bonfire of controls including the abolition of the Quality Assessment Agency, and we might all have enjoyed a celebration that higher education had at last achieved its just desserts in at least one of the advanced industrial economies. Discretion, I fear, intervened. One other possibility I gave thought to was to present an Alternative Prospectus for British higher education. In the United Kingdom it is increasingly common that groups of students, driven by a misplaced vision of themselves as truth-tellers, write and issue to incoming students, an Alternative Prospectus to the well presented, beautifully illustrated, winningly worded prospectus issued by the university itself. You can imagine the kind of approach: the official prospectus describes stimulating syllabuses taught in dazzling modern buildings by world class scholars, while the Alternative Prospectus warns you of over-large classes taught in down-at-heel buildings by a run down, impoverished professoriat hanging on for early retirement. Again a sense of the need for self preservation intervened: the British do not engage in public self criticism when abroad.

Baroness Blackstone was asked to talk about Lifelong Learning – I am not surprised she felt unable to do so when the concept has been so trumpeted in the United Kingdom but when the practicalities are so hard to pin down, and the actual policies involved so obscure. I shall not attempt to do so. It is rumoured that more than a thousand responses to the UK Government's Consultative Paper on Lifelong Learning, itself a masterpiece of fine words without much substance, have been received but I fear that most of them will be stronger on rhetoric than on action. I shall return to the question of Lifelong Learning later.

Rather than devote my address to this I thought it might be helpful if I gave you some account of how, since the last IMHE General Conference two years ago, Britain has wrestled with the watershed in higher education – in Britain such a mixed metaphor is perfectly apt – which prompted the establishment of the Dearing Committee, or rather to give its official title, The National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education, whose much awaited Report was published last year (NCIOHE, 1997). It seemed to me that it was time to reflect a little on the intense process of debate and the results

achieved and what this has to say to us about the policy process in higher education at least in the United Kingdom. Perhaps it might offer some cautionary messages to colleagues from other countries.

In many ways this two year period has been immensely stimulating: we have seen a dramatic and welcome change of Government, and at least at one level, an equally dramatic change in Government priorities. The mood of the country is more upbeat and with a government pledged to invest in education at all levels the morale of higher education should be high: that it is not, is one of the themes of this address.

The crisis that emerged something like three years ago and which led to the setting up of the National Inquiry had its roots in a sudden change of heart towards higher education in the Thatcher Government in the mid 1980s. This was prompted by two things: the first was the wish by Government to give a more positive profile to higher education than had been conveyed in the much criticised Green Paper *The Development of Higher Education into the 1990s* (DES, 1985). This resulted both in the 1988 Act which freed the polytechnics from local authority control and in the establishment of a climate and funding policies which favoured a market-orientated expansion. The second was the realisation that the industrial sector of the economy, then growing very rapidly encouraged by the Government's financial policies, was liable to be held back unless the output of qualified manpower from higher education was expanded to keep pace with it. Students responded vigorously to the Government's expansionist policies. The early years of the Thatcher Government, with its harsh economic reforms, had convinced school leavers that going on to higher education was a better long term career bet than leaving school early and entering the job market directly. So higher education grew almost unstoppably: between 1989 and 1994 student numbers increased by 50%.

To anyone in business or to anyone not overcome by the excitement of applying the ideology of the market place to the public sector, the time to prepare a strategic plan was at the beginning of the expansion phase. In our own institutions we would have asked what infrastructure we needed, what were the site planning requirements, what were the staffing implications, but in the Funding Councils the instruction was that the only judgments that were to be applied were the level of marginal costs that the expansion of higher education could be funded at. Unfortunately, the Government's economic boom soon ran out of steam and turned into a very serious recession. By the time the Treasury stepped in to stop the expansion of student numbers in 1994, the damage had been done: higher education had expanded too far and too fast to be remotely confinable within public expenditure limits. The fall in unit costs had been dramatic, unplanned and, from the point of view of teaching and institutional organisational reform, chaotic. It was this situation, with the Government planning deep cuts in higher education expenditure, which prompted the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals (CVCP) to threaten that they would charge fees to students to make up the funding they were losing from Government sources. Rather than allow fees to become an election issue, the main political parties agreed to the establishment of the Dearing Committee.

Had the Dearing Committee been set up in 1988, instead of 1996, the position might have been very different today, but as it was, it was like opening the strategic door after the horse had bolted. Without stopping to think through the implications, the United Kingdom had moved from elite to mass higher education: the age participation rate

(APR) had increased from 18 to over 30% with a figure of 45% in Scotland. What the Dearing Committee in effect was asked to do, in addition to finding a solution as to how this was to be paid for, was to offer rational guidance on how the enlarged system should be run, and to present its report within a year. Unfortunately it was required to do this over the period of the most decisive change of Government since the 1964 General Election. To add to its difficulties the Dearing Committee was burdened with the inevitable comparisons that were made with its illustrious predecessor the Robbins Committee on Higher Education whose *Report* in 1963 had charted the growth of higher education up to 1980 (Robbins Report 1963). I shall say a little more about the Robbins/Dearing parallels later, but the Dearing Committee was at an immediate disadvantage both because of the time scale in which it was required to report and because it was not given the kind of budget which had enabled Robbins to set up its own research team. Inevitably the Committee became too dependent on written submissions from interest groups and on investigative support offered from various self-interested sources. In a year it simply did not have time to think through some of the issues: it would have taken a lot longer to write a shorter report. What the Committee did do, however, was to unleash an avalanche of written evidence from institutions, organisations, learned societies and individuals, most of which illustrated how difficult we found it to come to terms with the new system of higher education that rapid expansion had created. The Report, entitled *Higher Education in the Learning Society* was published, to time, on 17 July 1997 and comprised a Main Report of 466 pages and 14 supplementary Reports. In size it is monumental: it weighs 6.3 kg; it has 93 recommendations; it represents a remarkable achievement in the time available.

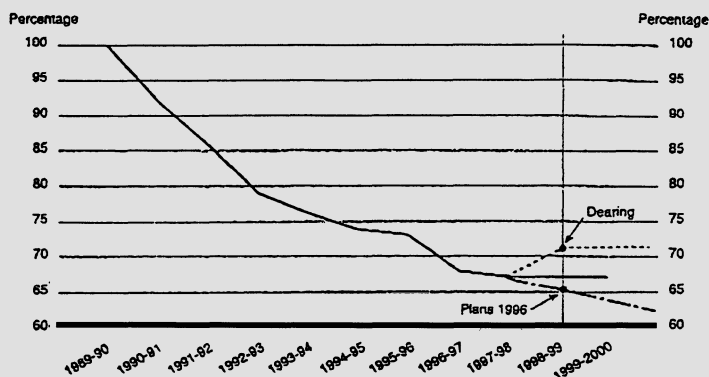
It is not the purpose of this address to summarise the 93 recommendations or what in any detail has happened about them, but to say something about the main themes and how they have been translated into action. A year or so after the Report's publication the dust is beginning to settle and we can begin to see the Report and its impact in perspective. Ultimately, in my judgement, the Report must be judged on the success of its financial proposals, since it was the financial problems of higher education that it was initially set up to solve. However, it was encouraged both by the terms of reference it was given and by the submissions it received, to range much more widely. It endorsed the view that higher education numbers might be expected to grow at least to an age participation rate of 45% across the United Kingdom but it expected to see a significant proportion of the extra numbers going into sub-degree work rather than into the traditional UK first degree. It urged a much greater investment in IT in university teaching and greater use of distance learning in various forms. It was very concerned about quality issues and it endorsed proposals that were then emerging that the two British quality exercises, the one run by the CVCP and the other by the Funding Councils should be brought together into a single agency, but it went on to recommend very significant powers for the new Agency including considering complaints against institutions by individual students. It was concerned about the standards of teaching in higher education and recommended the creation of an Institute of Learning and Teaching which would move towards providing a licensing system for teachers in higher education. It wanted to see a national approach to the appointment of external examiners to ensure greater commonality of standards in British degrees and it wanted

to benchmark threshold requirements. It endorsed the Research Assessment Exercise as a way of distributing funds for research but wanted non-research universities to receive funding for scholarship. It emphasised its support for institutional autonomy but proposed significant changes to and a reinforcement of the structure of university governing bodies. It proposed new definitions to control the elevation of further institutions to university status.

Most of these recommendations were aimed at providing solutions to real problems but were sometimes couched in too detailed and too prescriptive a mode so that implementation will tend to be looser and more flexible than the Committee might have liked. At a fundamental level the Report, while it gave many nods towards the enhancement of institutional diversity, seemed to favour a more centralized and systematised approach to the management of higher education. It tended to emphasise control and bureaucratic tidiness over institutional vitality and creativity. This has particularly caused concern over matters to do with quality, where many universities are concerned that the quality process has become too onerous and bureaucratic, and the suggested national structuring of the external examiner system too invasive of institutional autonomy. The Institute of Learning and Teaching is taking shape but again in a rather less formalised mode than Dearing proposed. Many successful universities have been concerned that a common prescription on governance issues ignores the history and diversity of universities and some of the very factors that have made them successful. Had there not been a heavyweight Report to discuss, many of these ideas might have been brought forward in the normal way but would have been considered individually rather than as part of a co-ordinated set of proposals. Nevertheless, progress is being made in their implementation though the actual shape of the new structures is less prescriptive than Dearing seemed to intend.

In all these areas one can see for the most part the natural process of slow forward movement and change rather than radical shifts in policy. It is therefore in the area of financing higher education that we should judge whether the National Inquiry has produced radical change. The crisis which triggered the CVCP proposals for student fees is best described in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Unit of public funding for higher education, in real terms



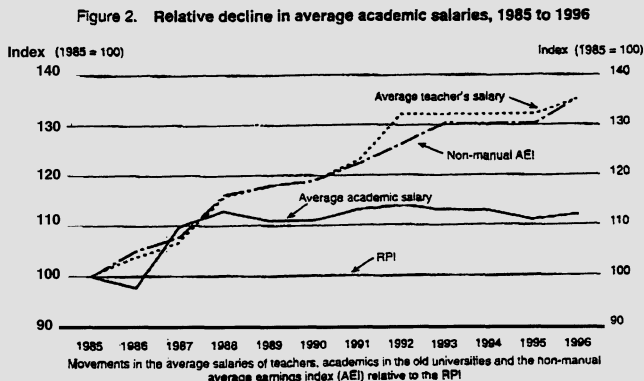
Source: DfEE Report on the Effects of Public Funding on Higher Education, HM Treasury, 1997.

This shows that the accompaniment to the rapid rise in student numbers was a very sharp fall in actual and planned unit costs. In UK terms, this manifested itself of course in a considerable worsening in the student/staff ratio with all the attendant problems and need for adjustments in teaching arrangements, and an inability to invest in the academic infrastructure – libraries, equipment and buildings, including teaching rooms – to match the increased numbers. More seriously for the longer term future of the sector, academic salaries declined relative to other comparable professions, since in the United Kingdom the salary costs have to be contained within university budgets (Figure 2).

Dearing identified an immediate short-term crisis and a longer term financial need. For the short term the Committee recommended an injection of £350 million in 1998–99 and £565 million in 1999–2000. For the longer term it identified six requirements for additional support:

- “growth in student load;
- aspects of lifelong learning;
- refurbishment of the estate and replacement of obsolete equipment (particularly in the light of developments in the communications and information technology field);
- research, including infrastructure and regional development;
- improved maintenance support for students;
- increasing higher education pay in line with earnings elsewhere in the economy” (NCIHE < 1997, para.17.30).

As part of the way to meet these requirements the Committee recommended that students should make a flat rate fee contribution of around 25% of the average cost of tuition through an income contingent mechanism, with means testing to protect the position of students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds. But even with various other offsetting savings it also estimated the need for an increase in public expenditure in the longer term of around £2 billion. To meet the problem of low academic salaries it recommended that an independent review committee, to report by April 1998, should be established by higher education employers with a chairman to be nominated by the Government.



Source: UCEA.

The arrival of a new Government in May 1997, before these recommendations were published, introduced a significant complication not least because in the period in which the Committee had been deliberating, the Labour Party, while in Opposition, had had to adopt some clear ideas on public expenditure before it entered the General Election. The most significant of these was to retain the Conservative Government's public expenditure figures for the first two years in office, and over that time, undertake a *Comprehensive Spending Review* to be completed in July 1998. A detailed response to Dearing's recommendations on finance was therefore effectively deferred for a year. The new Government, however, immediately endorsed the recommendation that first degree students should pay fees and legislation has now been passed to introduce a flat rate income contingent fee of £1000 per year, effective from the present academic year 1998–99. As a consequence, as we speak, universities are facing up to all the complexities of a new fee charging system. But in spite of considerable and vocal opposition the new Government has confirmed, against the Dearing recommendation, that the student maintenance grant system will come to an end with effect from 1999–2000 with the introduction, in substitution, of a more comprehensive loan system than has existed so far. The impact of this on some aspects of Lifelong Learning will be discussed in a moment.

When the broad outline of the *Comprehensive Spending review* was made public in July it was immediately apparent that the Government's spending priorities were more orientated towards primary and secondary schooling and further education, and that while higher education was to receive an infusion of additional support for research, the immediate intention was to require a further 1% efficiency gain for 1999–2000 with no promise of any reversion to the Dearing figures in later years. It has been suggested that the intention will be to expand higher education at the sub-degree level within further education rather than encourage a further major expansion within higher education itself although the Government has been careful not to unveil any long-term plans as yet. As regards academic salaries the Government declined to nominate a chairman to the independent review, thus ensuring that it was not committed to providing finance to support the review's conclusions. The review itself is underway but its report is not expected until later this year and it is not clear how, bearing in mind the Government's attitude to public sector pay, it can be implemented. The Government has not so far provided the additional support for the investment in IT which Dearing recommended. Figure 1 shows the extent to which the National Inquiry has improved the financial position for higher education.

What conclusions are we to draw from all this? The cynic might argue that the Dearing Committee was merely an elaborate manoeuvre to make the introduction of student fees politically palatable. This would, however, be altogether too bleak a view. In particular, I think it underrates the value of the discussion that the creation of the National Inquiry provoked and the focus which the publication of the Report has provided for the consideration of issues which have arisen out of the creation of a mass higher education system. But the process suggests that we in higher education, perhaps like the National Inquiry itself, were a great deal too optimistic that the self-evident strength of our case for more resources would be given priority over all the other demands that the public sector, whether in education, health or the social services, is making on Government expenditure. As a tax payer or as a citizen I would myself put

schools above higher education in my priority list for public expenditure on education. The moral I think we must draw is that so-called "blue ribbon reports", however well conceived, cannot override the basic economic and social priorities of the modern state. Mass higher education is not going to attract the unit level of funding that was traditionally applied to elite higher education. The real watershed for UK higher education must be the recognition that we cannot turn the clock back and that we must adjust to the situation as it is.

The *Dearing Report* does not compare well with the *Robbins Report* either in its style or the depth of its thinking but it is of a different age and had a different job to do. We should not forget that many of the main structural Robbins recommendations were overturned or ignored within three years of their publication. However, the Dearing thinking on how to finance mass higher education in the United Kingdom represents a very significant intellectual effort and it is sad that it is unlikely now to be realised.

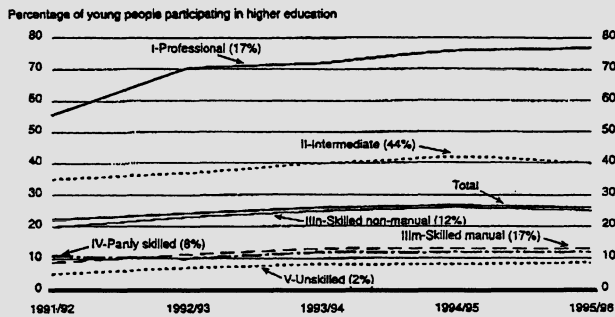
While the Report has produced some alleviation of the extraordinary cuts that were planned by the previous Government, it has not prevented at least for the time being a continuing downward pressure on university budgets. I do not see the situation changing. This must inevitably throw institutions back onto thinking through their own financial futures and deciding in what ways they can generate non-government moneys. Unfortunately I cannot see the post-Dearing funding framework providing stability. The decision to fix fees at a flat rate of £1000 across all institutions conflicts with the diversity of the system. Much as my sympathies may lie with supporting the principle of an egalitarian approach to students contributing to the costs of higher education I fear that it is essentially not sustainable in the long run; my guess is that within a few years it will be difficult to withstand the pressures for greater fee differentiation to match the increasing differentiation of the higher education system itself.

It would now, I think, more than a year after its publication be possible to let the curtain fall on the *Dearing Report* but for one topic which the Committee has firmly put back on the higher education agenda: Lifelong Learning. In the opening chapter, entitled "A vision for 20 years: the learning society:", the Report says:

"The purpose of education is life-enhancing: it contributes to the whole quality of life. This recognition of the purpose of higher education in the development of our people, our society, and our economy is central to our vision. In the next century, the economically successful nations will be those which become learning societies: where all are committed, through effective education and training, to lifelong learning." (NCIHE, para. 1.1)

In practice the Report did not make detailed recommendations about lifelong learning except in respect to the social inequalities of entry to higher education as described in Figure 3 and it made a series of recommendations to improve this situation. How far these recommendations will be implemented or will prove to be practicable when the Government has taken steps to abolish maintenance grants, thus seeming to undercut both the Dearing recommendations and the aim of widening access to higher education, we will know more about in a year's time when we can assess the impact on the entry of disadvantaged or mature students.

Figure 3. Percentage participation rates for Great Britain by socio-economic group



Note: Numbers in brackets indicate the proportion of participants falling into that particular social class.
Source: DfEE, quoted as Chart 3.8 Dearing Report.

On the other hand, the wider lifelong learning agenda has captured the imagination of the new Government which issued a consultative paper, *The Learning Age* in January, this year (DfEE, 1998). As I said at the beginning of this address, it has proved difficult for the Government to come up with specifics on Lifelong Learning especially in a situation where it is apparently not prepared to make major new funding available. But at a time when higher education has found that its best advocate, the Dearing Committee, appears to have failed to reverse the financial trends of the last 10 years the prospect of emphasising the utility of higher education to society needs to be grasped with both hands. I have argued previously to this Assembly that universities need to show themselves to be explicitly and directly useful to society as well as being academically successful. Lifelong learning represents an important element in this new emphasis on usefulness whether it is aimed at rectifying educational disadvantage or at improving the performance of well-qualified professionals. The Dearing vision of the Learning Society may be the element of the Report which will be remembered when questions of funding and system-wide organisation are long forgotten, perhaps because it represents if not a new idea, a reinvented mission for higher education to aim at. If addressed with conviction it might yet restore to higher education the funding priority we all think it deserves.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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Chapter 8: Lifelong Learning and Technical and Further Education

NIC GARA

INTRODUCTION

In its response to individual needs and social as well as utilitarian objectives, education as an institution has always been expected to meet a variety of ends, some of which often seem to be contradictory. With related policy planning, conflict often arises between the need for short-term industry-specific skills and the longer-term needs of the individual and state. Similar tensions arise as a result of the need to underpin economic growth, industry needs, the consideration of access and equity issues, or the need to cater for individual differences, while still operating within a model based on efficiency and market orientation (Gonczi 1996, p.5; Shann 1996, p.61).

Changes in technology, the labour market skills' structures and labour force casualisation, have led to a situation where, according to Hasan (1994, p.12), each year one in five jobs can change in nature and the individual may experience up to nine job changes in a life cycle. Similarly, the OECD (1992, p.15) indicates that in the two year period 1986/87, more than half of the population in Canada changed their labour-force status, most of the job changes being created within their employment. Carnoy (1994, p.6279) and Shann (1996, p.61) make the point that the new jobs being created do not necessarily demand higher skills, only different skills. The evidence now tends to indicate the increasing need for broader, flexible and higher-level skills for a wider cohort. This has traditionally been developed through a more general education, thereby providing individuals with adequate knowledge and skills to remain competitive in the new information technology (IT) and knowledge-based economies (Carnoy 1994, p.6281; Gonczi 1996, p.3). The focus then shifts to the ability to access information, think in the abstract and develop the ability to adapt (Reis 1990, p.14). However, in a workforce where casualisation and short term contracts are increasing, the onus on industry to support training diminishes. The Canberra Institute of Technology (CIT 1996, pp.104–109) reports that it is the permanent and not the casual worker who is far more likely to receive in-house training, take external courses, or receive assistance for further education. By contrast, the less skilled are the most likely to be displaced or made redundant and hence, for a range of reasons, the need for an effective framework to facilitate learning throughout life becomes paramount.

It is this concern for the future of the individual and society, in an environment of increasing international competition and constant economic, industrial and social change, that has led to an ongoing re-evaluation of traditional educational policies and

processes. Ellyard (1998, p.1) notes that 70% of the job categories, products and services for the year 2020 have yet to be invented. The new employment demands are now considered to exceed the capacity of the traditional teaching and learning patterns, as well as the confines and time-scales of the current educational systems. A lifespan approach to education is considered essential to deal with the new and ever changing demands (Chapman & Aspin, 1997, pp.3–6). For many, the challenge now is one of deciding how to achieve the desired economic and political ends while still developing and safeguarding social values and democratic principles. For international and inter-governmental organisations such as OECD and UNESCO, this challenge has led to a closer consideration of how education in general, and lifelong learning in particular, might provide a possible solution (Chapman & Aspin, 1997, pp.10–16).

LIFELONG LEARNING : THE AUSTRALIAN CONCERN WITHIN THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

The tendency towards growing internationalisation and globalisation, and the creation of a borderless world (Beare 1995, p.132), have resulted in increasing cross national exchange and policy borrowing in education. This is exemplified by events in the middle and late 1980's when the Federal Minister for Employment, Education and Training in Australia used both statistical information and policy recommendations obtained through the OECD to justify the restructuring and closer alignment of the Australian tertiary education sector, including TAFE, to the economy.

While the OECD (1996) still supports initiatives aimed at developing a policy framework that recognises the interdependence of educational, labour market and economic policy, it is now increasing the linkages with and widening the boundaries of existing policy, to include emphasis on issues of social inclusiveness, equity, justice and democracy. Such shifts in policy direction remain significant for Australia, since Ryan (1999, p.8) notes that the OECD has been the "*traditional legitimiser of foreign ideas for Australian governments*". The renewed emphasis on concepts associated with lifelong learning represents a move towards a more holistic and multi-faceted approach in the provision of education to meet the multi-dimensional needs of a changing society. Learning throughout life is now seen as essential for survival in a dynamic environment which is typified by increasing competitiveness, a changing economy, changing social systems and personal relationships.

Traditional approaches to education and training rest on the notion of each individual's learning program being separated into a series of discrete parts, with greatest emphasis being placed on a 'front-end' approach to educational provision. In comparison, the lifelong learning strategy is described "*as a lifelong sequence of learning events*" (Sutton 1994, p.3419), to ensure continuous adaptation and survival, in the new knowledge-based economy and changing society of the twenty-first century. This is exemplified by the recommendations arising from the 1996 OECD Ministerial Meeting on 'Making Lifelong Learning a Reality for All' (OECD 1996), which highlight a philosophy of education where the foundations for lifelong learning are set in place during the early years of schooling; effective pathways are established between

school, work and further education; and incentives are structured to encourage the investment by individuals, employers and educational providers in further learning opportunities. The lifelong learning proposals now redefine the roles and rules of interaction of the various stakeholders within the existing educational networks.

A recent report by the National Board of Employment Education and Training (NBEET, 1994, p.12) on lifelong learning in Australia has indicated however that much of the current curricular, structural and assessment practices in post compulsory education “*actively militate against the development of lifelong learning attributes in graduates*”. A more tactical approach is recommended within the report, where effective lifelong learning systems are considered to have five basic characteristics:

- the incorporation of a suitable introduction to learning
- the need for this to be conducted in a contextual framework
- the provision of generic skills and flexibility
- a structure for incremental development
- the opportunity for self directed learning.

The role of Technical and Further Education (TAFE) in lifelong learning and the mosaic of education and training provision remains an important issue. Originally developed to sponsor the cause of the non-matriculant through part-time opportunity, the TAFE sector came to be characterised by its diversity, accessibility and the achievement of more instrumental outcomes. TAFE has traditionally had a key role in providing an opportunity for self improvement, re-entry and recurrent education. The TAFE provision is also substantial and representative, and services a wide community sector. Powles and Anderson (1996, p.107) argue that, although there is a large variation between streams, the socio-economic profile of vocational streams in TAFE parallels that of the total population.

It has also been shown that TAFE is one of the few sectors which consistently deals with the needs of individual groups and so plays an important role for a wide cross section of people in recurrent, permanent and continuing education. Bodies such as the Australian National Training Authority (ANTA), which argue that TAFE should maintain its diversity (Moran 1995, p.6), seem to confirm that TAFE has a significant educational role, not only due to its present activity level and the range of sectors which it currently serves, but also because its lifelong learning ethos is appropriate and should underpin all educational provision.

THE LIFELONG LEARNING APPROACH

The concepts associated with lifelong learning are not new. Cross-Durant (1987, p.79) claims that John Dewey (1859-1952) is the major philosophical father of the ideas which underpin the concept of lifelong learning. Dewey saw education as a continuous set of steps in a long coordinated journey and this notion reflects the more holistic view of an integrated living and learning process. Sutton (1994, p.3420) notes that the term achieved general currency in the 1970's and, despite some confusion between the

different terms and agencies responsible, claims that the OECD initially gave its attention mostly to recurrent education, while UNESCO and the Council of Europe spoke of lifelong education. Duke (1986, p.3) notes that lifelong learning is the organising principle for all education and that there is no conflict with the idea of recurrent education. Lifelong learning in fact encompasses the recurrent educational concept.

Sutton (1994, p.3416) categorises the related but different terms into *continuing education* (that which follows the compulsory provision), *recurrent education* (the necessary block of information used to provide specific and applied knowledge or skills), *permanent education* (the ongoing updates necessary for survival in the social and technical world) and *lifelong learning* (that which refers to the utilisation of and access to the entire educational harvest offered within both formal and informal styles and institutions). The OECD now speaks about 'lifelong learning' in a manner which includes a range of initiatives, including the concept of a 'learning society' attending relevant and accessible, formal and non-formal provision, in a range of institutions and settings (Sutton 1994, p.3420). According to Candy (1991, p.76), the lifelong learning approach differs from this traditional educational system in two ways. The first is that it offers a systematic opportunity for learning at any age (vertical integration). The second is a recognition and utilisation of the principle that people learn in a variety of contexts and settings (horizontal integration).

The lifelong system then rests on the concept of competent self-directed learners being able to access and fully exploit on an ongoing basis, the various articulated pathways and opportunities open to them. Inherent in both the recurrent and lifelong systems however, are notions of universal access to a range of providers and learning options, the ability to build on existing levels of knowledge and experience, and the ability to fully exploit one's own potential through an enhanced learning capacity. Generally, the term lifelong learning covers the organisational and didactic structures which facilitate the entire learning process from 'cradle to the grave'.

INTEGRATING LIFELONG LEARNING PRINCIPLES INTO EXISTING PROVISION

Cropley (1978, p.16), Cross-Durant (1987, p.81) and Sutton (1994, p.3418) all recognise that it is not feasible to provide education for life in the first few years of compulsory provision. Two major criticisms of the present education system are, that it does not provide all with the necessary skills for lifelong learning during the compulsory years and that it does not provide adequately for adults, particularly in the current period of rapid social and technological change. NBEET (1995, p.4) also confirms that as a result of the recent social, cultural, economic and technical changes, the traditional 'front end' approach which is based on the formal and systematic provision of a block of education and training programs during the compulsory period, and prior to entering the labour market, is no longer sufficient. The stocks of knowledge gained during the compulsory period are considered to have a limited utility, since technological change demands constant skills' updates and there is no longer an expectation that people will have the same job for life. Lifelong education, hence, has become an issue for all, but more importantly it is now seen to have major

implications for the design of future educational systems, particularly if the new systems are to facilitate the provision of lifelong learning skills and attitudes (NBEET 1995, p.8) and produce self-directed learners (Candy 1991, pp.7–15).

On this, a national study by NBEET (1995, p.7) has indicated that lifelong-learning principles are not well integrated into the existing provision of education and training. Apart from investigating how the various sectors could effectively direct their strategies to produce an integrated response, the study also attempted to determine what constitutes effective lifelong-learning skills and attitudes. These characteristics are listed by NBEET (1995, p.9) as an enquiring mind, 'helicopter vision', information literacy, a sense of personal agency and a repertoire of learning skills.

Central to this theme is the consideration of such pedagogical issues as the most appropriate learning styles and delivery strategies to suit individual needs. MacKeracher and Tuijnman (1994, p.343) indicate that adults exhibit diverse learning styles, and that learning abilities are determined more by previous experience of education and work, than by age. The associated theory on learning styles is then presented in a two-way matrix which, along one dimension, includes concrete – versus – abstract learning, and, on the other includes active – versus – reflective learning. It is postulated that, in learning, adults proceed through the four stages of this learning circle and accordingly, the four abilities required for learning lie in the domains of experience, reflective observation, abstract concept formation and experimentation.

The implication of this theory for TAFE and others is that adult learning is facilitated if the preferred learning style is employed. The traditional/compulsory school-based educational system normally utilised for the transmission of knowledge is now increasingly being seen as having a limited capacity to adequately service the diverse learning needs of a society in change. Accordingly, Colletta (1994, p.2364) argues that while 'formal' instruction has a place in the transmission of knowledge, the development of a range of applied skills may best be attained in a 'non-formal' setting, while various attitudes and beliefs may be most effectively transmitted through 'informal' means. Similarly, Herschback (1994, p.4865) argues for quality in the classroom, in favour of simply increasing the amount of teaching time, and highlights the importance of an appropriate approach to learning. These theories also rest on the notion that effective learning can take place within a range of transmission modes which vary according to life cycle, context and environment.

The events which occur during the earliest learning period are also relevant, as are quality issues which relate to early education. The level of participation and achievement during the compulsory and early post compulsory period is particularly important since, as Sutton (1994, p.3420) notes, the level of initial education is also normally an indicator to subsequent participation. Dewey also indicated that positive adult learning would continue throughout life if the earlier education had sown the seeds for a desire to continue the learning process (Cross-Durant 1987, p.81). Accordingly, notions of an enquiring mind, motivation to learn and exposure to a variety of learning and teaching styles, all require attention at the earliest possible stage to facilitate lifelong learning. Lifelong learning proposals therefore have policy implications for the educational institutions. These proposals relate to a revised and more flexible approach to teaching, curriculum design, assessment and articulation structures. Importantly, opportunity is also increased through

access to a range of providers – formal, non-formal, public and private – where the provision is linked through recognition of prior learning or credit transfer arrangements.

HOW SHOULD PROVISION BE FUNDED?

According to Wood (1986, p.15), the Achilles' heel of all recurrent and lifelong proposals has been the economic and cost factors even though "*there have been many cogent philosophical, social and psychological arguments*" to support the framework. Sutton (1994, p.3421) notes that while lifelong learning is not yet a viable partner to the existing provision of education, since under current conditions it is unrealistic to demand the fulfilment of each individual's potential, it has had a significant impact on the aims, planning, delivery and the provision of education, particularly to adults.

According to the OECD (1996, p.2), governments generally tend to adequately fund a basic level of education due to the high rate of social return to such an investment. Beyond this datum level however, spending between countries varies considerably and if further education is to expand substantially and also diversify, new sources of funding will generally need to be found. The way forward may well include parafiscal proposals, a redirection of funds from the social security account, or a more equitable allocation of the funding principles which are currently applied against higher education. The various options for generating additional funds include tuition fees, deferred contribution schemes, industry contribution and partnerships, both with public and private institutions. If government funding is to be continued, the level, type and direction of any allocation through manpower or recurrent education policies becomes an issue. Indeed, if one considers all of the variables in the existing population, including, race, age, sex, previous level of educational attainment and employment, there are obvious major structural problems in creating a framework which would ensure an equitable and universal opportunity for all. On this, Timmerman (1994, p.3424) presents six possibilities for funding such programs. These include the self funded, drawing rights (social insurance), individual entitlement, employer funded, parafiscal (training guarantee) and state funded models.

The recent Australian Federal Education & Training Minister's enquiry into lifelong learning (NBEET 1995) did not address these funding issues. However, if the notion that all individuals should have universal access to learning is to be implemented to the full, a certain level of government participation on the basis of equity alone would seem to be essential. Given that many of the issues driving the concept of lifelong learning result from the perceived inadequacy of the existing provision of education, the implications of rapid advances in technology, accelerated workplace and social change as well as considerations of the economy, it would seem that industry, individuals, and government, may all have a role to play in bearing the financial burden.

THE 'BALDWIN' MODEL

The recent policy statement by the Australian federal opposition spokesperson for finance, who previously had responsibility for higher education and employment

(Mr P Baldwin), is significant in this regard, not only in that it accepts the 'New Right' principles associated with choice and the operation of a training market, but in that it essentially adopts the 'individual entitlement' model. This model is not new, since it is essentially based on the entitlement model described as early as 1977 by Levin (1983, pp.43,64) which also drew on American experience with the educational benefits structured under the GI-Veterans Bill. More recently the model has been restated by UNESCO as follows:

"The Commission also discussed the merit of a bolder proposal granting a study time entitlement covering a certain number of years of education to every prospective school goer Each student could draw on that capital in accordance with his or her school experience and career choices. He or she could set aside part of the capital for continuing further education in the post school years each person could add to the capital by depositing money in his or her account."

(Delors 1996, p.169)

A later variation, which includes the capacity to gain access to loans or to include self contributions, also gains its principle from the 'drawing rights' model. The Baldwin model similarly proposes a 'front-loaded' system of 'learning accounts' to cover the cost of initial education (and one assumes the compulsory period through to first job), which is then replenished periodically to address lifelong requirements (Baldwin 1997, p.4). On leaving school, the balance of an individual's flexible learning account could then be redeemed through a range of entitlements according to need. Each educational service is also debited differently, with 'face-to-face' university provision having a higher charge rate than a part time TAFE course, or adult literacy provision which may be subsequently completed in a flexible or community framework.

Essentially the model is not inconsistent with that proposed under the 1992 Tertiary Education Training Entitlement (NBEET 1992, p.45). Under this scheme, those offered a place in higher education or TAFE (post year 12) would be entitled to a specified period of government subsidy, with the individual contribution increasing substantially, beyond the period of the entitlement. The Baldwin model appears to be more equitable, however, and addresses both the demand and supply issues, with providers being given incentives under recognition arrangements to develop low cost, flexible curriculum 'packages' utilising the newer technologies. Again, enrolment in such packages would result in that person's learning account being debited by a lesser amount than if they had selected a more conventional option. This 'commodification' approach is proposed as a viable method of reducing cost and increasing access. By lowering costs, the proposal is designed to counter one of the disadvantages of the voucher system, where market forces may in fact work to restrict access if prices fluctuate according to the law of supply and demand. While the model does not clearly enunciate the source of the additional funding and it is "*acknowledged that the basic concept would need to be developed a good deal further and detailed implementation and transition arrangements worked out*" (Baldwin, 1997, p4), it reflects a more pragmatic approach to implementation and refines the voucher concept a step further.

CURRENT ISSUES IMPACTING ON TAFE DELIVERY IN AUSTRALIA

Issues for Implementation

The argument for an effective framework to provide an ongoing learning opportunity to ensure survival and advancement in a rapidly changing environment has raised a number of key policy issues. While the concept of lifelong learning may provide the organising framework against which this strategic response could be developed, any proposal will have to consider five major issues for successful implementation.

The first issue concerns the Australian policy formulation processes, which in many cases have involved either the direct borrowing of policies, or the utilisation of overseas data to underpin pre-determined courses of action. Successful implementation of such policies depend on the consideration both of the context in which the borrowed policy was originally applied, as well as the underpinning strategies which are an essential complement to the overall plan. Current strategies however, reflect the philosophies of the 'New Right' and have incorporated a demand-driven, industry-led model, utilising 'user choice' and market principles. In comparison, more recent policy initiatives from the OECD in relation to the aims of education go beyond the narrow utilitarian and instrumental view, to one which emphasises the importance of the development of the complete individual (also reflected in the Kangan proposals). In this regard, the newer notion of lifelong learning goes beyond the singular concept of economic advance. This notion presents a more encompassing view of education, which includes consideration of individual autonomy, as well as the development of society as a whole. This has an implication for lifelong learning, in that any new proposal needs to consider the existing political constraints and there needs to be an effective conduit for the concepts to be taken on board. Also, the proposals either need to build on, or be consistent with, established values or practice.

The second issue concerns the more specific Australian education and training policy directions. Changes in the nature of work now require the elevation of skill levels to deal with issues such as quality standards, the new and emerging occupations, and for education to be continuous due to the changes and convergence of technologies (Shann 1996, p.62). Overall, NBEET (1995, p.19) now speaks of survival in a 'knowledge-based economy'. Co-incident with this, Maglen (1994, p.24) confirms, as an example, the job expansion for those involved in and dependent on the work of 'symbolic analysts'. Burke (1994, p.25) also notes that there is now a requirement for skill levels to be broader, hence promoting flexibility. There is also an acceptance that there is value in merging the principles of general and vocational education, as well as a need for different skills and approaches to problem solving (WADOT(b) 1995, p.9), enabling people to be more effective in both the changing work and community environment. In an analysis of developments in the UK since May 1997, Yarnit (1997, p.3) also notes that the more encompassing view of the purpose of learning is to address the triadic issue of economy, society and citizenship. These issues are imposing new demands on education and training. NBEET (1995, p.19) similarly confirms the need for an educational system that will also assist people in learning-to-learn across a lifespan and empower them to make more significant educational choices.

The third issue arises from the notion that learning now has to occur throughout life. Such a notion, which is based on a lifelong learning framework, has both structural and funding implications for initial education, school-to-work transition and a continuing educational opportunity. As Hasan (1994, p.17) indicates, this has to be considered in an era where OECD countries in general are experiencing budget deficits and, with constrained funding levels, authorities are being required to do more – with less. In Australia the lifelong strategy has to be considered in an environment which is market led and increasingly demands effectiveness, accountability and value for money in education.

Schofield (1996, p.22) examines the issue of how social justice matters may be addressed within such a ‘training market’ environment and indicates that, to the economic rationalist, social justice issues are often seen to put a brake on change. As similar economic market structures in the past have not automatically enhanced social justice objectives as part of normal market operation, it can be argued that the Vocational Education system may be unable to fulfil its full potential, until it can be demonstrated that the training market can fully protect and enhance social justice objectives. The case is then put by Schofield (1996, p.22) that methods of calculating public benefit to such programs are essential to underpin affirmative action in the area, rather than simply accepting the social consequences of another failure within the market system – ‘as an occasional blip in the heartbeat of the market’.

Within these constraints it is also essential that recognition and a due emphasis be placed on the provision of a minimum level of educational survival skills. For example, a priority in all educational delivery rests on the individual being able to achieve effective literacy and numeracy skills to facilitate access to lifelong learning opportunity. Those with low levels of literacy and basic skills are finding it increasingly difficult to obtain and retain employment, to retrain, or to participate fully in economic or civic life (OECD 1992, p.10). Both the 1997 *Hamburg Declaration* (UNESCO 1997, p.3, Declaration 11) and the *Agenda for the Future* (UNESCO 1997, p.6, Declaration 24) go beyond the notion of realising one’s full potential, to defining effective literacy as a ‘foundation life skill’ and as a fundamental human right. Issues of social justice and democratic participation are essential for the individual to function effectively in the future and to facilitate cohesiveness in a rapidly changing society (NBEET 1996, p.4). This constitutes a significant policy issue for government in its future role as ‘funder, regulator, purchaser and provider’ as it pursues what are considered its essential community service obligations.

The fourth issue concerns the determination of where the responsibility lies for funding both a universal access to a minimum level of literacy and learning survival skills, as well as ensuring continuing access to an ongoing learning opportunity. The various funding models normally rest on a consideration of private and public benefit, but these principles now also need to be reconsidered, since in a market-based system, the traditional role of government as a provider is changing. While there is a consistent argument that the public purse should fund a ‘minimum entitlement’, a debate also exists regarding what constitutes a ‘minimum’ and whether this could be varied and drawn upon, according to individual need (Delors 1996, p.196). The enterprise preference for public subsidy and individual contributions to underpin training, underscores

the reluctance of industry to subsidise such activity (Min 1994, p.6635). Generally, however, there seems to be a growing notion of shared responsibility for funding, with co-investment beyond the compulsory period emerging as a future necessity for the success of any proposal. This is also consistent with the *OECD Jobs Study* (1994, p.37) where it is indicated that the cost burden for lifelong learning should be shared between the individual, business and the public purse. Further issues concern the role of government and the necessity to maintain a minimum infrastructure to ensure access, equity and social justice objectives.

On this, the essential issue coming out of the analysis of the "ANTA agreement" (the federal funding mechanism), is the difficulty for the government to strike an effective balance between the needs of individuals and enterprise, the community and the economy, and local or Federal priorities. A growing tension concerns the Federal imposition of an industry-led model, where enterprise needs have a greater priority than individual needs, even though the latter group represents the majority enrolment. Gonczi (1996, p.3) argues that the educational aims and methods suggested by the economic imperatives, should be examined in the light of the needs of individuals and the community as a whole. Given the difficulties outlined previously with Industry's record in training, the access and equity issues and the notion that the market can never be truly perfect, an effective government provision should remain in a number of areas to ensure that the 'public good' is maintained. These issues have clear implications for the way that future educational programs are developed, administered and funded and for the role of government in their provision. As an example, Chapman and Aspin (1997, pp.260-263) argue that a committed and co-ordinated government approach, with structures, resources and quality processes, is essential if lifelong learning is to be successfully implemented.

The fifth policy issue concerns the role of TAFE in the possible lifelong learning framework. The TAFE system has the benefit of a huge government investment through the provision of infrastructure, a well trained workforce and an extensive national/urban/regional network. As Byrne (1995, p.5) and Moran (1995, p.7) indicate, the traditional strength of TAFE has been its accessibility, diversity and multi-faceted services, which have assisted those who could not pay, those who required basic skills and learning support, or those who wish to train in areas of little interest to private training providers.

To a certain extent these "strengths" have worked against the clarification of the perceived role and function of TAFE in post-compulsory provision. The diversity aspect has been the result of a series of developmental changes which have underpinned technical education since first settlement. Early English and Australian education was based on the projection of moral principles, but as the Australian economy grew these concepts became to be linked with doctrines of self instruction and mutual improvement (Murray-Smith 1996, p.6). As the colony approached federation, education was also seen as a means to personal prosperity which in the end would benefit the state. This liberal notion, with its self-improvement nature and general curriculum, then gave way to a more technological function following World War 2. On this, it is instructive to note that as national purpose forms, concepts of the importance of self-improvement for the individual can be subsumed in national priorities. In this regard,

Murray-Smith (1966, p.22) argues that technical education has always had a dual function, first, as an agency of democratic experience and secondly, as a 'handmaiden' (Sweet 1994, p.32) to the concept of material advancement in the industrial field. Following the Kangan report, the TAFE focus briefly centred on the needs of the individual and the intrinsic outcomes to education. More recent philosophies however, have established an economist rationalist approach to education, linking the desired outcomes to improving international competitiveness and the economy. These series of overlays have led to some confusion surrounding the function, role and identity of TAFE. There are issues in relation to its image and status: where does it fit? who is it for? what are the boundaries of its provision? (Summerfield and Evans 1990, p.17).

THE ROLE OF TAFE

The five issues raised in the previous section highlight the problem that TAFE has in maintaining a balance in provision, where base infrastructure grants to ensure effective provision against literacy and numeracy, socialisation to competence, community service obligations and general education, are matched against industry-specific funding allocated through market mechanisms, or through user choice guidelines. To ensure that an effective balance is maintained between the competing demands, Fooks (1997, p.20) argues for four levels of funding. This model is designed to address the maintenance needs of the national framework, both the demand driven and competitive tendering initiatives, as well as ensuring a base level of TAFE provision to facilitate equity and provide access to groups and individuals.

Within this framework, the role for TAFE in a system based on lifelong learning principles needs to be clarified. On this, it should be remembered that TAFE has a strong heritage in servicing lifelong learning opportunity and that it has both the potential and structure, to address the triadic principles (learning for economic progress, personal development and democratic participation), inherent in the lifelong learning concept.

A WAY FORWARD

Policy Issues

Internationalisation, changes within the economy, restructuring in the workplace and the rate of technological advance, indicate the need for broader, more flexible and higher order skills for a wider cohort. These issues are also consistent with a recognition of the need for learning to occur throughout life, and for it to be broader and more encompassing. The Delors Report's (1996, p.96) four pillars of education also highlight the importance of education for social inclusiveness, democratic participation and personal development. This is demonstrated by the fact that the principles of learning 'to be' and learning to 'live together' are included along with the more applied concepts of learning to 'know' and 'do', thus reflecting the imperatives for

both economic and technological advance. A common theme throughout this work (Delors 1996), concerns the notion of higher order skills being necessary to deal with changing work environments, skills transfer issues and flexibility. Overall, the argument is that the lifelong learning concept presents a more holistic and multi-faceted approach in the provision of education to meet the multi-dimensional needs of a changing society.

Somehow these lifelong learning demands have to enmesh with the current training market reforms and economic rationalist approach to education. It would seem that the two sets of demands are not incompatible. As an example, through the 'entitlements' model, the individual is guaranteed the compulsory component of education and then a certain amount of 'post compulsory entitlement'. If the system funded the user, the individual could, through informed choice, utilise the market to purchase ongoing opportunity as and when needed. Loans could supplement further opportunity when entitlements were exhausted. In this way, there may be potential for a self-directed learner to gain access to the training market on a needs basis across their lifespan. Such a proposal however requires a policy shift which introduces the need to more fully examine the concept of lifelong learning and to note the implications if such a proposal were to be implemented.

Implications for Policy Development

There are historical and contextual factors that need to inform considerations of any new lifelong learning proposal or change in policy direction. Therefore, policy makers need to:

- Take into account the historical antecedents of TAFE, such as the British heritage and the structures resulting from the original School of Mines' system when considering any change in policy direction, as these still impact on the present systems and structures.
- Be aware of the more contemporary series of political and economic overlays and tensions impacting on policy directions within TAFE, which have resulted from such factors as globalisation, internationalisation, changes in technology and the economic rationalist approach to economics and education.
- Understand that there is no clear demonstrated relationship linking additional education and skills-formation programs, with increased productivity, and that educational objectives now need to encompass a wider set of goals beyond the economic dimension.
- Be cognisant of the need to correlate the demands of enterprise and employers in an environment of user choice, the competitive training market and the industry driven approach, with both the short and longer term needs of individuals, so as to ensure tangible benefits for each.
- Remain aware of the essential equity issues when examining the existing educational response structure, as it is arguable that Government goals for education remain highly job related and economic policy dependent.

- Acknowledge that internationalisation, change in technology and work place reform, have now indicated a need for a fresh approach to education beyond the 'front end' strategy so as to better assist people to learn independently across a life span.

Funding Issues

There are two components to the lifelong learning strategy. The first component is concerned with producing lifelong learners who have both the motivation and the skills to gain access to ongoing opportunity. The second aspect is the lifelong learning system or structure itself, which will be necessary to underpin access and learning opportunity. The former, according to NBEET (1995, p.9), relates to those characteristics which encompass an inquiring mind, 'helicopter vision', information literacy, a sense of personal agency and a repertoire of learning skills. Inherent in the essential educational requirements for the young, is the understanding of the need to instil a motivation to learn, whereas for adults, the need to accommodate diverse learning styles becomes a priority. There are then ongoing implications for access, teaching and learning strategies, and curriculum design.

The academic literature holds that an essential component of the lifelong learning skills' inventory includes a minimum level of literacy. In this regard, Chapman and Aspin (1997, p.59) highlight not only the importance of effective literacy skills for the individual, they also note that the general level of literacy:

"... is recognised as a major factor in the ability of governments, communities and individuals, to realise the benefits of economic development, globalisation, and the diffusion of information technologies, while safeguarding cherished values of social inclusiveness and personal autonomy."

In this vein, governments have traditionally intervened on the basis of equity alone to provide the essential literacy training, particularly to disadvantaged groups. The state cannot however afford to train everyone to their ultimate destination and then retrain them whenever necessary. The question now arises as to whether the compulsory provision should also encompass the essential lifelong learning skill that essential 'backpack' of 'learning to learn', or 'survival skills' which could then be utilised in preferred or particular directions, when the learner is ready and the need arises. The ongoing role of government is then seen as being to provide the effective framework and enabling structures, including information provision to assist in informed choice, thereby assisting the well informed individuals to self-manage their own learning.

With respect to the establishment of a lifelong learning system or framework, the essential consideration relates to the availability of linked, coherent educational pathways and to the source of funding. With respect to the latter, Government has been the traditional funding source for education, however the level of provision to support any social service depends essentially on the economic/market policy position at any particular time. In the current economic rationalist climate which employs market theory principles, government provision for all services is under scrutiny. Government intervention is still justified in the

case of market failure, but beyond this, funding decisions now increasingly rest on the production of a tangible social benefit for the community as a whole.

The implementation of an effective lifelong learning system is often seen as being dependent on the allocation of additional resources. Since it is understood that there will be substantial benefit to industry and the individual, this then throws into question the principle of applying government funds to a situation where there is a substantial private and corporate benefit. In comparison, a strong case remains to extend the current educational framework on an equity basis. This argument rests on the perceived advantage that the further and higher education graduates currently receive as a result of existing government subsidies for tertiary education. There is a strong case for this allocation to be made universal on a recurrent basis, to better address personal development, working life and societal needs, thereby also facilitating democratic participation.

Competition and the training market also have direct consequences for equity, particularly where training providers are funded within a framework which attaches priority to the labour market and economic outcomes. According to Stoikov (1975, p.7), this presents government with a challenge to trade off efficiency against equity gains. User-choice and user-pay policies can further distort the balance, as demonstrated by MacIntyre (1997, p.5), who claims that in Adult and Community Education provision, equity became the first casualty of user-pays policies.

In any program, it is difficult to accurately quantify the proportion of additional benefits generated to society in comparison to the private benefit accrued. Educational programs will generally result in spin-offs to the individual, society and the economy. It would seem therefore, that a shared financing system based on 'individual entitlements' for initial education and then subsequently on the 'drawing rights' model for further education, may be the most appropriate. Levin (1983, p.55) notes four key elements underpinning the 'entitlements' model. These concern the *size* of the entitlement (particularly the post compulsory component), the *criteria* against which it would be allocated (means testing could apply), the *composition* of the entitlement (grants or loans) and the *source* of the necessary revenue to underpin the model.

In regard to system issues, the most responsive model is arguably one that is able to directly fund the demand/supply interface at the delivery level through a devolved community-driven system, or to fund the user through a scholarship or voucher-type arrangement. Once government could ensure that the equity, access and community service obligations were met, its main role would be to pay for outcomes, not to be directly involved in provision, or in determining process. In a model where the four roles of government in education are defined as those of purchaser, regulator, funder or provider, this is consistent with the market approach which increasingly questions the traditional role of government as funder and provider.

Implications for Practice

It is clear that there are contemporary issues and factors that need to be taken into consideration in developing a lifelong learning proposal for the future. It is recommended therefore that policy makers need to:

- Understand that the principles associated with lifelong learning have moved within the education agenda from simply considering the economic dimension, to now also encompassing principles of personal development, social justice and democratic participation.
- Recognise that there are at least two components to any lifelong learning strategy, that concerned with producing self-directed, motivated lifelong learners, and the system or integrated pathways structure necessary to underpin an ongoing lifelong learning opportunity.
- Make clear the role of government within the elements of any lifelong learning system, be it as funder, provider, regulator or purchaser.
- Consider the concept of a universal entitlement to a minimum level of literacy and learning skills, considered essential to facilitate effective access to and participation in lifelong learning opportunity.
- Recognise that the funding issue remains central to the lifelong learning implementation debate and that co-investment is increasingly being recognised as being essential to any future framework, where the greater part of the cost should be attributed to the party which accrues the most benefit.
- Investigate further the merits of both the 'learning entitlement' and the 'drawing rights model', and recognise that any structural and financial model relating to lifelong learning needs to be compatible with, or build on, the prevailing government ideology on education.
- Be cognisant that the optimum structure for a successful lifelong learning system may depend on a devolved model where informed, self-directed learners have responsibility for their own learning in a self-regulating environment, where the onus is on the provider to meet the required quality standards.

CONCLUSION

There are five themes that have the potential to provide a series of organising proposals for TAFE. First, the educational aims and priorities resulting from the focus of the economic imperatives need to be examined in light of the changing needs of industry, individuals and the community as a whole. The aims of education now need to progress beyond the narrow utilitarian and instrumental view. The evidence tends to indicate the need for a wider range of flexible multi-level skills. While these have been traditionally developed through more general education, the issue now clearly relates to a balance in programs, addressing the need for specific skills' formation but also developing critical thinking skills, information literacy and the ability to cope with change.

For TAFE, current challenges relate to its image and status, the balance and boundaries of its delivery and its future role in the mosaic of provision. The current vocational focus of TAFE is seen as being compatible with the economic dimension incorporated within the triadic objectives of lifelong learning. The remaining elements, which include personal development and democratic participation, rest on a more general education, which incorporate a study of cultural and social issues. The difficulty in reconciling individual and industry needs is addressed by Halliday (1990,

pp.45,134) who, in his analysis of consumerism, highlights the problems inherent in developing an effective educational response against a particular job or enterprise specification, particularly during periods of rapidly changing technology and shortening job life-cycles. The implication for curriculum is that it should also encompass a wider range of the most useful theories, address underpinning knowledge and practices, and perhaps be presented by both generalist and specialist staff in a system which incorporates flexible entry and exit systems.

The Western Australian Curriculum Council's 'Curriculum Framework' which rests on the principle of achieving a series of learning outcomes through a diverse structure of integrated learning areas or pathways, provides an effective system to ensure that the over-arching curriculum outcomes are achieved as part of a planned, balanced and coherent strategy. The essential objective here is to assist in the development of the complete individual. Goff (1999) argues that, to a certain extent, the "Mayer" competency framework offers a similar structure to inform the development of a more comprehensive TAFE approach. The challenge is to now go beyond the current industry specific skills interpretation. Respondents interviewed on this issue indicated that these themes now need to be addressed and better incorporated in TAFE provision, so as to provide a more effective foundation for the changing needs of society and the workplace.

An issue of balance also relates to current provision. Industry-specific funding which is allocated through market mechanism or user-choice guidelines needs to be matched with funding to facilitate a minimum level of literacy, numeracy, and citizenship skills. There is increasing recognition that a healthy society is necessary for a thriving economy, or to put it another way, the achievement of economic goals and social cohesion are intertwined (Kennedy 1997, p.16).

The second theme rests on the principle that learning now has to occur throughout life, a concept which has implications for initial education; the compulsory period; entry level training and the essential continuing opportunity. Issues which arise from this requirement are the necessity to produce self-directed lifelong learners, who have a repertoire of appropriate learning skills, are able to make informed choices and are able to access ongoing learning opportunity through a series of linked pathways. Also inherent in these concepts is the fundamental right of individuals to have the essential learning survival skills and a minimum post compulsory entitlement. In this regard TAFE, has continued to have a major role in equity and access programs and in community provision against specific needs. Apart from this maintenance of effort, and the need to re-direct some funding to assist the mature aged 're-entry' and 're-skilling' cohort, regional TAFE Directors have argued that there would be a tangible outcome to a level of discretionary funding being provided at the local level. This could then be directed against specific needs and facilitate delivery at the 'coal face' (the supply/demand interface), through a devolved, community demand-driven system. The additional resources sought in this regard were not considered to be substantial, it was argued that a large component could come from the re-direction of the Colleges' current 're-fund' account.

The third theme concerns funding, including the issue of where the responsibility for the financing framework lies. There is a perception that there is a general vagueness

within government about possible lifelong learning implementation strategies. In relation to the current funding priorities, the belief is that the existing government response is to focus on youth, the unemployed, and school to work transition, even though new entrants represent only a small percentage of the overall total workforce. The current political focus on the young and on entry level training is considered by the respondents interviewed to be quite discriminatory against the mature aged. A change in emphasis will depend on a change in values and the subsequent reappraisal of existing priorities in terms of need. Issues such as extending the benefits currently being enjoyed by those in higher education to a more universal entitlement to support lifelong learning principles may then follow. The OECD (1994, p.37) argues that a central element in lifelong learning should be the dismantling of barriers at all levels, with the cost burden being shared between the individual, enterprise and the public purse. While there is strong argument that a minimum entitlement should be supported through the public purse, beyond that, it can also be argued that a greater part of the cost should be borne by the party which accrues the most benefit. As part of a suite of reform initiatives, the Danish government has funded educational leave (Rasmussen 1996, p.8). However, there is a growing notion of co-investment, of a shared responsibility for the cost of lifelong learning, with initiatives such as 'Investors in People' (DFEE 1996, p.6) demonstrating the success of a combined approach to funding.

The source of funding to facilitate such proposals remains an issue. While the recent 'West Report' (Draft 1997) on financing higher education raises as many questions as it answers, it proposes an entitlement plan underpinned by a loans system, which includes a significant individual contribution. It is argued that substantial savings could be achieved by combining the regulatory and financial frameworks for Universities and the vocational sector, which could then be diverted to students rather than institutions. Under such a scheme:

... no additional public funds would be required to ensure equitable access for all

and

.... access to approximately five years of subsidised post secondary education appears to be within the bounds of fiscal possibility (West 1997, pp.30,31).

It is important to note that the proposed five years (equivalent) post secondary education stipend would still rely on a significant student contribution (60:40% or 50:50%) through universal access to HECS-style income contingent loans (Osmond 1997, p.1). All students would be able to defer repayment until they achieved a certain income level.

The fourth issue concerns the traditional role of TAFE, and its future within the training market. Important components in human resource development are school leaving age, school to work transition and the subsequent investment in further education and training. TAFE is currently seen to have an important role regarding the last two components. Importantly, it is also seen to have a pivotal role regarding recurrent

opportunity, which includes working both with employers and individuals, to facilitate re-entry to the workforce, and provide re-skilling and technological 'updates'. TAFE is also seen to have a clear role in 'general' education in meeting various community service obligations, as well as in provision to disadvantaged groups. It also has a major role to play in second chance and bridging provision, as well as in being a provider of the last resort. TAFE is also one of the few organisations which consistently deals with the needs of individual groups and has an important role to play for a wide cross section in recurrent, permanent and continuing education.

This is a large public investment which has in the past been able to service a variety of demands, from instruction in the hard-edged technological applications, through to the provision of general educational programs for those identified as the 'disadvantaged' groups in society. Due to its multi-faceted services the TAFE sector is now well placed to play a major role in lifelong learning. It can do this through the broadening of its curriculum framework, through a closer consideration of adult learning styles, through diversity in delivery and supporting systems, the provision of a more seamless opportunity to facilitate transition and articulation, and through the provision of targeted programs against specific need. The issue of 'seamlessness' would also be facilitated through the structuring of effective partnerships and alliances to provide a greater choice in learning styles, organisations and opportunity.

The final theme arising from the analysis is the correlation between the essential components of lifelong learning and the nature of TAFE provision. Lifelong learning rests on the individual having effective learning to learn generic skills, as well as the higher order abilities which can be developed in a contextual environment. The learning opportunity needs to be ongoing, linked and accessible. It also needs to address the emphasis on learning to support economic advance; social inclusiveness and democratic participation; as well as personal development (Chapman & Aspin 1997, p.27). These principles are all compatible with current TAFE objectives. The outstanding priorities then become those which relate to funding and the necessary supporting structure, as well as how best to provide an integrated opportunity through the variety of providers. The issue of funding remains the greatest barrier to the implementation of lifelong learning. However, instead of delaying implementation on the basis of hidden and unknown costs, it may be more useful to consider the social and economic cost of not preparing a nation to meet the challenges associated with participating effectively in the global community.

Recommendations

There are a number of major implications for TAFE if lifelong learning is to be proposed as the organising principle for the sector. It is recommended therefore that policy makers need to:

- Appreciate that TAFE has already had a long history of successful provision in lifelong learning, although there are now a number of tensions relating to its image, status, boundaries and balance of provision which need to be clarified.

- Recognise that the educational aims for TAFE and its role in the lifelong learning framework need to be re-examined in light of the changing needs of industry, the individual and community.
- Determine the TAFE role in the production of self-directed learners who are able to make informed choices and gain access to independent learning opportunities, within the training market.
- Ensure that there is a correlation between the essential triadic components of lifelong learning and the nature of a TAFE provision whose strengths have been its accessibility, diversity and range of multifaceted services.

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Chapter 9: Learning Communities for a Learning Century

NORMAN LONGWORTH

BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

The Lifelong Learning movement is rapidly gathering ground in most liberal democracies. Despite differences in interpretation that may be based on differences in culture and tradition, there are some common fundamentals and perceptions:

- the use of new technologies for learning, and in particular the power of distance and open learning tools and techniques to improve the delivery of, and access to, information, courses and seminars offered on a global scale
- the acknowledgement of human rights as a priority, above all the recognition of the rights of individuals to develop their own potential
- the development of globalised information societies in which the distinction between work, leisure and life is increasingly blurred, and where old concepts of nationalism and ethnic and religious boundaries are breaking down. We are coming to realise, with the European Round Table of Industrialists and University Rectors that the 'Information Society' will not be effectively implemented without a huge increase in the ability of human beings to create a parallel 'Learning Society'.

IS LIFELONG LEARNING IMPORTANT?

"It would not be an exaggeration to suggest that the survival of nations, organisations and communities in an advanced technological world depends on the development of Lifelong Learning skills and values as an essential part of their culture. The smarter company, the shrewder university, the better school, the more enlightened city, the more perceptive association – they are already exploring the challenges, implications and opportunities of creating and sustaining Lifelong Learning organisations for their own long term durability and self-respect."

(ELLI literature)

What do we mean by Lifelong Learning? How can it be recognised? In some ways it is quite new – in others as old as humanity itself. In some countries, for example much of Southern Europe, it is often confused with adult and continuing education, and therefore oriented towards the employment and employability, industry and training,

rather than learning. In Japan, on the other hand, it is predominantly associated with adult education for leisure, catering mainly for the needs of those who wish to take courses in self-improvement or to safeguard the environment. In parts of Germany it is a university-industry partnership based around Continuous Professional Development with a view to changing skills and competency needs.

These interpretations ignore new trends, borrowed from the environmental world, that take into account the interdependencies and interconnections of the real world. There is a need to find a definition of Lifelong Learning encompassing a lifetime and addressing issues of continuing change. The engine of Lifelong Learning is the development of human potential at all levels, the focus of education is the satisfaction of the needs of *every* learner. Lifelong Learning becomes what it says it is:

'lifelong' – from cradle to grave, from 0–90, as long as we have the blessed gift of a brain that will accept learning

'learning' – giving learners the tools to learn according to their own learning styles and needs – not teaching, not training, nor even education in its narrow didactic sense. An out and out focus on the needs and requirements of the learner

'for all' – excluding no-one and pro-actively creates conditions in which learning develops one's creativity, confidence and enjoyment at each stage of life.

The scope of Lifelong Learning should be defined in this wider context. From this we can explore why it is so important as a social, political, personal, cultural and educational concept for the next century. Despite the all-inclusive nature of these attributes, in the end it is the individual who makes learning decisions; personal motivation is the only true stimulator of learning opportunities, with much else only an infrastructure to satisfy the need or desire to learn. Longworth and Davies of the European Lifelong Learning Initiative offer a definition that captures the concept in figure 1 below. Its rationale is based on the needs of individuals and the processes that make Lifelong Learning important to them in whatever circumstance they find themselves.

Figure 1 – A Definition of Lifelong Learning

LIFELONG LEARNING is:

The development of human potential through –
 a *continuously supportive* process
 which *stimulates* and *empowers* individuals
 to *acquire*
 all the *knowledge, values, skills and understanding* they will require *throughout their lifetimes*
 and to *apply* them
 with *confidence, creativity and enjoyment*
 in *all roles, circumstances and environments*.

While there will never be a comprehensive definition acceptable to everyone, this example takes an optimistic view of human capacity, based on the belief that all people, irrespective of background, genetic make-up, environmental development, creed, colour or nationality can make quantum leaps in the achievement of their own potential – and can experience joy in so doing.

WHERE IS LIFELONG LEARNING APPLICABLE? WHO IS IT FOR?

The implications of such a fundamental change of perception not only affect education and training but also all other sectors of activity in a community. Traditional understandings of education, community, culture, politics become combined and transformed into the larger concept of lifelong learning, and this can have an equally revolutionary effect on what organisations do and also the way they do it. For example, periods in and out of education for all throughout a lifetime suggests a radically different mission and way of working for both further education and business organisations. So let's look at a few of these change factors sector by sector in the community

SCHOOLS AND THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS

'Give a small child a hammer – and suddenly the whole world becomes a nail'

The information revolution, characterised by ever more powerful devices for storing, manipulating and retrieving knowledge, is rendering much previous education and training obsolete, or simply irrelevant.'

(IRDAC Report on Schools and Industry)

We can start by grasping the nettle of lifelong Learning in the schools and the training of teachers, perhaps because, although it is one of the most crucial periods in the development of lifelong attitudes to learning, it is also one of the most complex and, therefore ignored. By and large, lifelong learning has passed schools by. Governments have, short-sightedly, tended to focus lifelong learning activities on the wealth-producing sectors. And yet, as the Rome conference reminded us,

"Lifelong Learning begins in childhood, and schools are crucial organisations for shaping those attitudes and values which prepare future adults for a world in which flexibility and adaptability are essential, and in which the enjoyment of learning may be a matter of personal survival. Schools are responsible for the bulk of an individual's education throughout the most impressionable period of life. Attitudes and enthusiasms picked up here are often carried through to life's end."

Notions of lifelong learning as a holistic, seamless activity throughout an individual's lifespan will take a long time to implement. Practical guidance to allow teachers, teacher trainers, parents and others understand the complex mixture of physical, social, mental and psychological developmental processes is often in short supply. In many

developed countries, tradition dominates. A large, unwieldy examinations industry focuses its attention on proving inadequacy in children – ensuring there are losers, and building failure into the system. The concept of success for all through human potential development does not fit well into that sort of mindset. Emphasis is on the basics, with little understanding that the basics have considerably changed over the second half of the 20th century. Grandfather's more limited objectives and values are fine, but insufficient for the needs of the modern child, faced with the need to develop life and personal skills in order to cope with a constantly changing future.

Attitudes to schools and schooling expose the differences between nations. In some countries individualism, iconoclasm and implicit dissension is tolerated as a part of the cultural heritage and seen as necessary to personal development. In others the culture demands obedience, conformity and group accord. In some, the teacher has an authority not to be questioned, in others a questioning attitude is built into the system and seen as good for the maintenance of a democratic society. Whatever the educational culture, however, every school supports the idea that it is trying to inspire in children the ideal of lifelong learning. And if this is so, there must be other powerful influences result in the non-achievement of so fine an objective. Only a radical change of mind-set, a concentrated attack on traditional attitudes to human potential, intelligence, individual learning methods and styles, and a proper attention to new insights on how children can learn more effectively by teachers, parents, advisors and administrators will set the lifelong learning movement in schools in motion. Figure 3 however offers some guidelines to help a school start that process.

Figure 3: The Lifelong Learning School

1. Strategy for Development	Supplies an organisational strategy, available to all, for developing the full human potential of each student and staff member
2. Community Involvement	Creates new resources for the school by harnessing the skills, talents and knowledge of everyone in the community for all activities associated with the school's mission to help people learn.
3. High standards	Helps both students and staff to maintain a culture of quality and respect for high standards in everything it does through Continuous Improvement programs.
4. Organisation of Curriculum	Optimises opportunities for children to manage change throughout their lives through a curriculum based on a love of knowledge, the enhancement of personal skills and the instilling of lifelong values.
5. Ownership of Learning	Opens up the ownership of Lifelong Learning values and attitudes to all its children and staff through involvement, guidelines and the use of personal learning plans, guides and mentors.

6. Linking Vision and Practice	Looks outward to the world, contributing to the community in which it exists, and promoting a sense of toleration, justice and understanding of different races, creeds and cultures in all children.
7. Technology Focus	Taps the motivational power of modern information and communications technologies for teaching across all disciplines, including the use of networks.
8. Involvement of the Family	Involves the family in the life of the school through increased home/school cooperation.
9. Motivation	Motivates all people connected with the school to celebrate learning, frequently as a desirable, permanent and enjoyable habit.
10. Extra curricular Activities	Enhances self-esteem, confidence, creativity and the cultural vision of staff and children through a wide range of extra-curricular activities.

It is not within the scope of this paper to explore these indicators, but the community focus of numbers 2, 6, 8, 9 and 10 are of particular interest.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Often it is an obsession with maintaining (traditional) standards by the higher education sector which holds back progress. They too need to make a leap of faith into a Lifelong Learning society in which access to higher learning is available to a far higher number of people. But that is just one of the influences shaping the University of the Future. Some, like the greater development and use of Education Technology, are already installed in many institutions. Governments too are likely to discourage greater central funding, and will encourage, for example, more Higher Education investment in Continuing Education as a major source of income. Lifelong Learning will both accelerate this trend and widen opportunities for involvement by the whole community. This is one of the keys to the university future.

The ELLI conference in Rome 1994 reports: 'In many places, the University lies at the hub of local life. It is a natural place to initiate, develop and maintain lifelong learning programmes within its geographical area while also maintaining links with national and international projects and activities.' This role of the university at the centre of a local and regional community, using the community as a vast social laboratory and involving the community in its work to the advantage of both, is assuming increased importance. A great number of organisations – schools, community groups, TV and radio stations, professional associations, industry, environmental groups and others – welcome the intellectual added value provided by a University and see its role as a provider of an integrated and supportive network of learning opportunities.

Change is coming and coming fast. Figure 2 below describes some of the more important ones faced by universities in the new millennium.

Figure 2: The Lifelong Learning University

THE LIFELONG LEARNING UNIVERSITY – AT THE HEART OF THE COMMUNITY
New entry qualifications to widen the range of students and new approaches to teaching to allow for this
An increasing number of mature students from wider backgrounds
Increasing reliance on continuing education and joint teaching and research partnerships, with industry as a source of finance
A new emphasis on quality and continuous improvement programmes for staff in teaching, research and administration
A more innovative approach to the use of education technology, networks and open/distance learning in teaching and research
Strategies to provide leadership to the community in which it resides
New opportunities for research into how people learn with more focus on learners
Greater internationalisation of research and teaching activities through networks etc
More efficient internal administration and use of human resource
Strategies to turn the university into a genuine learning organisation
New ideas on accreditation, qualifications and standards – examinations as non-failure oriented learning opportunities to measure an individual's progress
Greater accountability and more effective decision making and administration
Promotional, marketing and educational programmes that reach out into the community

Many of these are opportunities. For example, the increasing demand for advanced level education in industry represents an opportunity for increased revenue, further education/industry partnerships, participation in local, national initiatives and a new role for many faculties and departments. Lifelong Learning also represents new perceptions, and the opportunity to be innovative in providing this education. Perhaps the greatest challenge facing the university will be the leadership it provides to the local community, changing and enlarging the perceptions and aspirations of many thousands of people as the learning society becomes a reality, giving them a window onto the learning world.

This entails a re-assessment of objectives and priorities, particularly entry requirements, new methods of working and a creative approach to more non-failure-oriented assessment and qualifications structures, which by and large they control. Students of all ages will want to access courses at post- and under-graduate level. They may wish to use a range of learning methodologies. Lifelong Learning challenges the traditional university as a repository of intellectual capital or as a centre for research and excellence, but it does not replace it. The higher education organisations which are prepared

to meet inevitable radical change and adapt it into a more effective and welcoming image are those which will be the best fitted to survive in a polyaccessible educational world. One of its focuses will be to understand the needs and requirements of business, industry and commerce.

BUSINESS, INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

‘Industry will not solve its competence or competitiveness problems by taking only the short-term view. Companies must think strategically and accept some responsibility for developing and providing Lifelong Learning opportunities.’

(Recommendation of European Round Table of Industrialists)

‘A Commission dedicated to the Learning Needs of the 21st Century cannot ignore the great contribution of Business, Industry and Commerce to Education and Training. A survey of Multinational Companies as long ago as 1983 came to the conclusion that, in the USA, corporate classrooms collectively invest more heavily in education and training than the public education sectors combined.’

(Nell Eurich – The Corporate Classroom)

Successful industry makes a large commitment to education as a part of its survival strategy – it needs to train, retrain and redeploy constantly its personnel at all levels – Management and Personal Development, Communications, Technical, Instructional and Teaching Skills, Manufacturing, Research and Development, Marketing. The education and training needs of employees are satisfied through a range of traditional and open and distance learning approaches.

To be successful industry needs to do more than this. Many of multi-national companies are ‘Learning Organisations’ as well as manufacturing or service organisations, and take pride in that. It is not perhaps surprising that the major push for lifelong learning originates from the business sector, since to remain in business is to be ever more innovative and inventive.

In the past, large companies have met their needs internally, though the pressures today are such that they realise they can no longer afford to keep expanding education and training functions, despite the constant search for cost-effectiveness through Information Technology. Increasingly, industry is looking to ‘out-source’ many of its courses, and to reduce its education staff. The multinationals set a trend that is being followed by small and medium sized companies. One likely outcome of this is the establishment of small training companies which will offer not only a diverse range of courses, but also a choice of learning styles. In this way lifelong learning concepts are in the process of being realised through market forces.

Companies plan their educational development and delivery needs for the future, encompassing all personnel and taking into account non-work-based learning. This also forms the basis for a coherent and holistic experience of lifelong learning as an investment in human resources. Much still needs to be done in the design of company learning centres, the use of learning audits, the availability of easy-to-access information

sources, partnerships with other learning providers etc; the emphasis is now on coherence and interdependence rather than course development in isolation from delivery.

In order to cope with this, some companies, like some universities, place themselves at the heart of a community. They are one of the agencies that deliver education and training to its citizens. The concept of 'learning audits', in which a company uses a questionnaire and an analysis tool to understand the collective learning needs of *all* employees, and then invites all local agencies to help satisfy them, was pioneered by ELLI in 1995. This development is particularly appropriate to industry where it often results in a massive re-awakening of interest in learning in both committed and reluctant learners.

We are likely to see much more of this in the future. Wise industry recognises the link between education and the bottom line – in Sir Christopher Ball's words 'Learning Pays'. But the link has another dimension, exemplified by learning audits, which bring together education for life, for work and for leisure under one umbrella. This reinforces a company's community role through its association with both the life and work ambitions of a workforce increasingly becoming more learning-oriented and sophisticated in its definition of quality. The true learning organisation company is a place which has to constantly unlearn in order to reinvent itself. It will adopt many of the characteristics shown in figure 4 below in order to do that.

Figure 4 – The Changing Workplace

10 Indicators for 21st Century Workplaces. Fostering the symbiosis between customer, employee, supplier, stakeholder and community		
W	Willingness to Change	Welcome the challenge of change by empowering greater decision-making among employees
O	Organisational Objectives and Culture	Offer a set of Open, Outward looking Organisational Objectives and beliefs to employees and customers and encourage contribution to them
R	Recognition and Reward	Refresh <i>all</i> employees constantly through individual continuous improvement and recognition programmes
K	Knowledge and Learning	Kindle, through innovative programmes, the habit of lifelong learning in all employees and encourage them to spread this into family life
P	Profitable Partnerships	Participate actively in mutually beneficial partnerships sharing resources and expertise with education
L	Learning Organisations	Learn and re-learn constantly in order to remain innovative, inventive and invigorating
A	Audits for Learning	Analyse the learning requirements of all employees and discuss with Learning Providers how these can be satisfied

C	Community Involvement	Create, Contribute to, and Cooperate with, projects in the community in which they operate and encourage employees to participate
E	Environment	Encourage employees, customers and suppliers to care for the environment in which they live and work.
S	Strategies	Share their vision of tomorrow with all employees and Stimulate them to challenge, change and contribute to the Strategies which fuel it

Again, it is not within the scope of this paper to explore all aspects of the changing workplace, but it will be seen that many of these characteristics enhance the role of business and industry in the community and give it an essential role in the development of a more purposeful learning society. In performing that role it will also increase its visibility and credibility with Government and Local Government.

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

‘The productivity of an economy is dependent on the productivity of Education and Training. Higher Productivity will also require better management of Education systems and institutions.’

(IRDAC report on Skills Shortages in Europe)

Government has a crucial role in the development of Lifelong Learning, and is increasingly ready to acknowledge this. Ministerial meetings of the Council of Europe, of the OECD, and of other high-level international forums pay careful attention to Lifelong Learning as a means of solving unemployment problems. It is seen as a means of promoting national competitiveness and of giving purpose to education and training. An interesting new dimension is that these ideas come not only from Ministers of Education but also from Ministers of Finance, Employment and Industry. Indeed the appointment of Ministers of Lifelong Learning, as in South Africa, UK and Holland, with a portfolio of responsibilities bringing together learning, employment and industry is an interesting development. In the Canadian province of Alberta, there is not even a Minister of Education – just a Minister of Learning.

Through its economic and political power, Government is the chief enabler of Lifelong Learning programmes, values, and attitudes. It has the ability to define targets, to support worthwhile initiatives, to change systems, to influence developments, and to turn ideas into action. At the national level, Government can provide encouragement and establish good practice. At the local level, it can initiate new projects to support Lifelong Learning in the regions. Radical measures include tax incentives, investment grants for new technologies, and Ministerial committees that have a remit to produce and implement plans.

Many of these issues are being examined in those countries where Governments have produced Green and/or White Papers on Lifelong Learning. Each has its different

approach. The UK Government is investing heavily in its vision of lifelong learning through an avalanche of initiatives including new publications, support for regional lifelong learning partnerships, a learning cities unit, focus groups and task forces. The Finnish Government takes a more idealistic line. Its National Strategy is called 'The Joy of Learning' and it contains many recommendations to bring that message home to all parts of the community, including the schools and teachers.

Another example is Japan, which has increasingly invested in Lifelong Learning over a period of 25 years. Here, each Ministry produces annual Lifelong Learning Programmes (Okamoto 1992) that are implemented in all regions. Each age and interest group is represented (there are for example more than 165 Lifelong Learning Programmes for Senior Citizens). Lifelong towns and villages have proliferated, Lifelong Learning festivals are held annually and many people keep a personal lifelong learning record of their lives, often related at family parties each year. Naturally, cultures differ one from the other, and many activities in Japan are not suitable elsewhere – but there are many from which other countries might learn.

But Government can do so much more, and, while it is not within the scope of this paper to describe all of these, Figure 5 below outlines many examples.

Figure 5: The Role of Government in Lifelong Learning

Generates a national Task Force or Steering Group to examine how Lifelong Learning can be implemented
Organises the development and delivery of courses, seminars and workshops on Lifelong Learning to civil servants and key implementers in national and local government and the professional associations
Vitalises the public acceptance of learning as a desirable and pleasurable activity through promotional campaigns such as television advertising, newspaper advertising, billboards, learning TV programmes, film and video, mass distribution of leaflets etc
Encourages communities (cities, towns, regions etc) to set themselves up as 'Learning Communities', and develops guidelines on how all citizens can be empowered to share knowledge, expertise, values, skills and talents for the benefit of the whole community
Restructures the financing of Learning through integrated budgets, the use of electronic tools and techniques for open and distance learning and resource sharing, including human resource
Negotiates Green, and eventually White, Papers outlining agreed policy and Action in Lifelong Learning over a relatively long period of time
Motivates people through the development of new assessment and accreditation systems which reward learning positively however it has taken place, and which encourage further learning

Enlists the help of Industry through discussions with CBI and companies about improving the image of learning among the workforce and strategies for improving Lifelong Learning awareness
Nourishes international co-operation and encourages the transfer of ideas, concepts and actions between nations
Transforms educational and social systems through strategies and policies which cascade quickly through the normal channels of communication to those who will be responsible for implementing them in the field
Promotes Lifelong Learning through proactive national and regional marketing strategies
Organises a programme of Learning Festivals which bring learning to the people (as in Japan)
Lubricates the development of all types of organisation into 'Learning Organisations' through a system of benchmarks, exemplar practices and reward systems
Initiates a 'Learner's Charter' which sets out every citizen's entitlement to learning
Commissions reports on Lifelong Learning strategies in specific fields eg the use of information and communications technology, new learning methods, personal learning styles, quality in schools etc
Influences people to improve learning performance and motivation by encouraging the use of Personal Learning Plans, Guides, Mentoring, the development of Learning Counsellors and Learning Leaders
Establishes Lifelong Learning research centres in Universities or other non-partisan public research bodies
Stimulates and Supports International efforts to create Lifelong Learning at a Global level

'Learning Pays. Training at its best will make nations and their citizens wealthier, societies more effective and content, individuals freer and more able to determine their lives in the ways they choose'.

Sir Christopher Ball (Report on Lifelong Learning to RSA)

Parents, doctors, lawyers, counsellors, councillors, scout and guide leaders, political and religious leaders – non-governmental organisations in all areas with responsibilities to their constituencies, museums, libraries, womens' groups. The people and organisations outside the formal education system that become involved in lifelong learning process are many and various. Their role is crucial at all levels of human potential development.

Lifelong Learning is also appropriate to Adult Vocational and Continuing Education, in programmes for the disabled and other minorities, and in the proliferation of professional associations with a responsibility to keep their members updated. It addresses the needs of women, the poor, the disadvantaged, prisoners, the unemployed – all the excluded groups in our society. It is only through a coherent integration of the activities and efforts of all sectors, however, that a lifelong learning society will be created.

LEARNING COMMUNITIES – CITIES, TOWNS, REGIONS.

One of the most interesting and promising developments in the movement towards a Learning Society is the work on ‘Learning Communities’ or ‘Cities of Learning’ (also towns or regions). The idea is not new – in history, Athens, Alexandria and Damascus, to name but a few, were active ‘Centres of Learning’, involving a high proportion of the population in learning activities. In the immediate past, more than 20 UK cities – Liverpool, Southampton, Edinburgh and Norwich among them – have declared themselves to be ‘Cities of Learning’ with others following suit. The County of Kent calls itself a region of Learning. Similarly, Göteborg in Sweden, Bologna in Italy, Barcelona in Catalunya and Vienna in Austria are cities which are part of an older ‘Educating Cities’ network established in the early 1990s. The European Commission’s TELS (Towards a European Learning Society) project is working with 100 European cities in the year 2000.

Any city, town or region can give itself this label as a publicity exercise without changing things – it becomes a label without substance. What are the characteristics that define a city or town genuinely attempting to regenerate itself through a defined strategy for better learning among all its citizens? The European Lifelong Learning Initiative (ELLI) defines a Learning Community as follows (Figure 6):

Figure 6 – ELLI Definition of a Learning Community

A Learning Community
is a *city, town or region* which
Goes beyond its statutory duty to provide education and training for those who require it
And instead
Creates a *vibrant, participative, culturally aware and economically buoyant human environment*
Through the *provision, justification and active promotion* of learning opportunities
to *enhance the potential* of all its citizens

ELLI also identifies those characteristics of a learning city that may need further attention and can act as the basis for measuring and monitoring a ‘City of Learning’.

These are shown in Figure 7 below.

Figure 7 – Characteristics of a City or Town of Learning

L	Leadership	Links its development strategy to the development of leadership and learning counselling courses and skills in and for the whole community
E	Employment and Employability	Effects plans to define and develop skills and competencies to make all its citizens employable

A	Aspirations	Activates the creative potential of its citizens through a strategy for encouraging the use of personal learning plans, mentors and guides in citizens of all ages
R	Resources	Releases the full potential of community resources, including human resources, by enabling mutually beneficial partnerships between public and private sectors
N	Networks	Nourishes tolerance and outward-looking mindsets through projects to link citizens of all races, ages and creeds locally, nationally and internationally
I	Information	Increases participation in learning by devising innovative strategies to provide information where people gather, and pro-active publicity campaigns to promote learning
N	Needs and Requirements	Nurtures a culture of learning by proactively auditing the learning requirements of all its citizens and providing the opportunities to satisfy them
G	Growth	Generates wealth through a defined strategy of developing its human talent and innovative projects with other learning communities
C	Change Management	Cultivates programmes to allow citizens to cope positively and without fear in a world of rapid change
I	Investment	Influences the future by linking learning strategies to cross-departmental financial strategies
T	Technology	Transforms the city into a modern centre of learning by the effective use of the new learning technologies
I	Involvement	Inspires citizens to contribute to city life and culture by building a database of their skills, knowledge and talents and encouraging them to make them available to others
E	Environment	Energises programmes which enable all citizens to take positive action to care for the environment
S	Strategies for The Family	Stimulates the community and whole families to learn by running festivals, fairs and other fun events which promote the habit of learning.

The rest of this paper examines these characteristics and how they are put into practice in the leading learning cities. The headings used will be as follows.

- *Information and Communication* – the ways in which Lifelong Learning ideas and plans are communicated to a) those responsible for implementing them and b) citizens at large.
- *Partnerships and Resources* – the extent to which links between different sectors of the city have been encouraged and enabled, and their effectiveness. Includes

links between schools, colleges, business and industry, universities, professional associations, special interest groups, local government and other organisations. Includes physical and human resource sharing, knowledge generation, mobilisation etc.

- *Leadership* – the extent to which leadership issues have been resolved and how. Includes community leadership courses, project management, city management, organisational mix.
- *Environment* – projects to inform and involve citizens in city environmental matters.
- *Technology and Networks* – innovative ways in which information and communications technology is used to link organisations and people internally, and with people and organisations in other communities. Includes use of open and distance learning, effective use of networks between all ages for learning, understanding of the internet.
- *Wealth creation, employment and employability* – schemes and projects to improve the creation of both wealth and employment, to give citizens lifetime skills, knowledge and competencies and to improve their employment prospects. Includes financial incentives, studies, links with industry, industry links with other communities etc.
- *Mobilisation, participation and Personal Development of Citizens* – the extent to which contribution is encouraged and enabled. Includes projects to gather and use the knowledge, skills and talents of people and to encourage their use for the common development of the city.
- *Learning Events and Family involvement* – projects, plans and events to increase the credibility, attractiveness, visibility and incidence of learning among citizens individually and in families. Includes learning festivals, booklet generation, celebrations of learning, learning competitions, recognition events etc.

INFORMATION IN THE LEARNING CITY

A Learning city increases participation in learning by devising innovative strategies to provide information where people gather, and pro-active publicity campaigns to promote learning (from figure 7 above).

Let us examine the role of information-giving and receiving in the Learning City. How it is communicated is often as important as what is communicated. Information opens doors. A Learning City can run the most attractive courses, organise the most learner-friendly projects, run celebrations on the fun and enjoyment of learning, but if it has no strategy to inform and inspire its citizens to participate, the effort is lost. In order to take advantage of learning, citizens need to know about what is available as learning. They need information from accessible places, the workplace, at community centres, in shopping malls, through the media and wherever people congregate, presented in a way that stimulates them to want to learn.

Information-giving is a complex and varied task demanding creative and innovative approaches. Interesting the uninterested, including the excluded and motivating the

unmotivated is an uphill task. Information on a take it or leave it basis is not enough. The approach has to persuade people of the advantages and enjoyment to be gained from learning. It needs the same media techniques used for marketing – television jingles, eye-catching advertisements, promotional events and special deals.

At the same time information needs to flow the other way into the databasoes of the city. The European Commission TELS (Towards a European Learning Society) project carried in 1999, carried out an in-depth survey of 6 European cities. Among the many findings, one stood out. All cities provided information about learning opportunities to their citizens twenty-four hours a day seven days a week. However not one had ever carried out a survey of what their citizens wanted to learn – a Learning Audit. Surely a Lifelong Learning approach would be to find out needs and desires of people for learning *before* the offerings were made – a small but significant insight into the difference between the two perceptions, probably typical of 99% of cities on the planet.

But there are beams of light. For several years now the University of Sunderland in the UK has pioneered lifelong learning activities within its catchment area. One example is 'Learning World', a well-frequented learning centre near the Gateshead Metro Centre, one of the largest under-cover shopping centres in Europe. Described as a 'drop-in centre', it is fully equipped with computers and staff, and is available to shoppers during opening hours. At Learning World people combine their shopping with courses ranging from an MBA (Open University) to multi-level British Vocational Qualifications (NVQs). It markets other courses through the internet and eye-catching advertisements.

The University is also trail-blazing other initiatives, now models for the vast University for Industry Programme of the British Government. It operates a free telephone helpline, as the British Government now does on a national basis; it uses commercial marketing techniques to 'sell' learning; it offers its courses in 35 learning centres outside of the university, in football stadia, schools and libraries as well as shopping centres; its approach gives people access to hundreds of courses, materials and free introductory lessons. As a result of this initiative., in the past three years Learning Centres in accessible places have proliferated in many towns and cities of the UK.

Sometimes there is a need to be more pro-active and to confront reluctant learners with new learning opportunities. During the European Year of Lifelong Learning, Airedale and Wharfedale College carried out an outreach project aimed at learning sceptics. With the help of Tetley's Breweries, the college developed a questionnaire and visited six inner city pubs in Leeds. This research revealed that 40% of the sample had taken no courses in the last 5 years and 21% had had no further education since leaving school. When asked whether they would be interested in taking courses if they could be offered in the pub, 56% thought it an excellent idea. As a result courses were delivered on such subjects as local history, ordering drinks abroad, calligraphy for Christmas cards and fitness for stress management. Again the number of such initiatives is now increasing, throughout the UK.

What can we learn from these and other projects about information-giving in aspiring learning cities?

- Information provided on a take it or leave it basis attracts only the converted to learn more. What should be transmitted is the excitement, the benefits and the pleasure of learning in order to dispel the anxiety some people feel of exposing themselves to further humiliation in a learning environment.
- Innovative strategies aimed at people directly will often re-awaken a latent desire to learn. People want to learn, but in the place of their choice – that is wherever, whenever and however they want to learn it. And they need to be consulted. There is a lesson here for learning providers and councils
- Modern marketing techniques that use every medium will succeed where other approaches have not.
- Information should be available 24 hours a day, 7 days a week through a learning hotline.

PARTNERSHIPS AND RESOURCES

A Learning City releases the full potential of community resources, including human resources, by enabling mutually beneficial partnerships between public and private Sectors (from figure 7 above).

Effective information and communication is one aspect of the Learning City's task. It has to fulfil its promise of delivering. And yet, vast new sums of money will not be made available to implement lifelong learning in the city. That is a clear message from cash-strapped city finance departments. And yet new resources will be needed. Where are these resources to come from?

Perhaps the answer lies in recognising the inherent differences within the lifelong learning paradigm. Integrated budgets and a more efficient use of existing plant and equipment can release some additional funds. There are also many unused, unsuspected and untapped resources in all cities. Chapman and Aspin remind us. 'Schools are a community resource,' they say; 'they are funded and supported by the community, and part of their responsibility is to be open, available and accountable to the community. This means that schools need to consider being open for many more hours, making their facilities and skills a general community resource, serving the community of which they are a part.'

This is just one example of underused physical resources. What about human resources? In 'Lifelong learning', Longworth and Davies describe the benefits of a close partnership scheme, 'twinning', between a school in inner London and the IBM City office. The rationale is simple. Establish a close relationship between two organisations and explore how the skills, talents and knowledge resources of one can complement the activities of the other to the benefit of both. For example the availability of 70 highly trained professionals to an inner-city school for an hour a week not only broke down stereotypes but also transformed the perceptions, the understanding and the motivation of staff and students alike. The thirty projects ranging from interviewing skills for sixth-formers, educational clinics, management courses for teachers and mentoring also increased the reputations of both organisations. Figure 8 describes some of the activities in that project.

Figure 8 – The IBM/Woodberry Down School Twinning Scheme

Staff and student visits to IBM to study curriculum areas – eg commerce students to administration departments; maths and business studies to computing department. One week work experience in these departments
Reciprocal visits to the school by staff of IBM to give lessons on business and computing. IBM staff invited to contribute to debates on curriculum
Social events – each organisation entertains the staff of the other – usually accompanied by a short talk on a topic of mutual interest and snacks
A trust fund established for voluntary contributions from staff of both organisations for new careers centre and children to Welsh study centre
Cultural development – workshop for children given by IBM-sponsored Covent Garden Opera company at the school – children’s opera visits.
Scrap computer/typewriter parts and obsolete paper donation to the school
Contacts established in Spain to assist in Spanish exchange scheme
School staff attended IBM management and personal development courses
IBM staff organised interviewing scheme for older pupils at the school
Woodberry Down children joined the IBM sail training programmes;
Termly debates, attended by the joint staffs, alternately at each location.
IBM staff contributed to English, Maths and Science lessons and assisted with sports – high level players of tennis, cricket, soccer and rugby
‘Understanding Education’ sessions at IBM by Head and Senior staff
Joint seminar for government ministers on industry/education partnerships
Frequent exhibitions of childrens’ work at the IBM location
Collage commissioned for display in the central foyer of the IBM location

They illustrate a positive symbiosis arising from the sharing of human and physical resources between two apparently dissimilar organisations. In the United States of America, other companies have also joined in. ‘Adopt-a-school’ is a concept to be found in many an American city, although the trend is more a one-way transfer of knowledge and resources rather than a mutual exchange of understanding. Each project has its own objectives. One features a mentoring programme where employees advise and befriend a student, while another company offers management courses for teachers. Most programmes respond to expressed needs, covering a wide range of social, as well as curriculum, needs.

Another example involving the synergetic sharing of a scarce resource comes from Goteborg in Sweden. The city has equipped a ‘knowledge centre’ on the island of Hisingen, a former ship-building area, with a vast range of information and educational equipment. It is used by small and medium sized high-tech companies, upper secondary schools, the university and trade development organisations. A vibrant meeting place of education and industry, the centre encourages a constant dialogue

reflecting the needs, content and methodology of more than 7000 people and 40 organisations. The availability of well-equipped premises, costly educational and technical equipment and a rare combination of personal skills makes this centre both exciting and economically viable.

These are just three examples of the way in which one sector of the community can be used to provide resources for others in the same community, in neighbouring cities, towns and neighbourhoods. It is but the tip of the resources iceberg. The physical, conceptual and human resources of all communities in every great city can be tapped and used for learning so long as teachers see this as an opportunity to enrich the curriculum rather than a threat to their status. This is why management skills for teachers is so important – so that they can perform their major role as resource managers for the enormous pool of talent out there in the community. And as leaders in that community.

LEADERSHIP IN THE LEARNING CITY

A Learning City links its strategy to the development of leadership and learning counselling skills in and for the whole community (from Figure 7 above).

The concept of leadership is changing. At a period in the development of industry when decisions once made in the executive suite are now made by teams of workers at the most appropriate point, *empowerment* is the more appropriate term of the moment. The process of renewing the city as a learning organisation requires participation by large numbers of stakeholders, as well as devolved decision-making. In most existing city power structures, this is a long way off. As with new movements in general, ideas tend to be imparted by the few with the insight and the energy to take a leadership role. Success depends on the consent of the people, and on empowering as many as possible to play a responsible role in learning city development. In this way the city itself becomes a learning organisation.

A city can organise seminars to develop the leaders who will help in achieving common goals. Such leaders can, and should, come from anywhere in the community, from any background – from industry, voluntary organisations, education, teachers, social workers, managers and councillors – perhaps even from the ranks of the unemployed. They need to understand the nature of a learning city and how to respond to its demands. They should be invited to participate in its development, making available their own ideas and practical advice. Participation and shared objectives are the essence of a modern learning organisation.

Leaders need to develop creativity and know how to develop it in others. Using a cascade process requires each participant to develop another group. Brainstorming with local government, schools and children, the disadvantaged and disabled, universities, special interest groups expand the commitment, and add to the sense of contribution. Leaders need to use all the resources of a community – buildings, streets, parks, theatres, shops, restaurants and public houses in order to spread the message of learning and to involve people.

Glasgow's efforts to achieve a Learning City are developed by the Glasgow Development Agency. Its 'Learning Inquiry' strategy organises leaders into 'themed action

groups', comprising twelve experts whose task is to develop plans, solutions and activities within four overarching themes:

- how to get more organisations involved in developing their people, especially small companies
- how to encourage institutions to improve quality in the supply of access to training and how to evaluate it
- how to stimulate personal motivation to learn, especially where traditional learning achievement is poor
- how to surmount 'Barriers to Learning', a topic addressed by all groups.

The challenge to these groups includes looking at new ways to learn, citizen participation, stimulating learning cultures, wealth creation and identifying best practice.

Each group is supported by a facilitator who advises on the action and work plans. The facilitators work together, consulting the staff within the city's lifelong learning directorate and recommending future activities. Although geared to improving industry's performance and the continuous training of the workforce, the strategy recognises that regeneration and a culture of lifelong learning cannot be accomplished by any one agency alone. All organisations have a unique contribution to make, but they must work together to produce added value.'

Learning cultures also take root in the schools. Since teachers will continue also to be community leaders for many years to come and they will need to develop personal and motivational skills. We now know so much more than before about how people learn; powerful new multimedia and distance learning technologies are already helping learners; people everywhere can be put in touch with each other to advance learning through electronic networks; there are new tools and techniques – personal learning plans, mentoring, audits – to stimulate learning and give ownership to the learner. So what are the tools, the techniques, the skills and the values which will empower the 21st century teacher? Figure 9 below suggests a number of these and suggests the new role of the teacher as learning counsellor in a lifelong learning society.

Figure 9 – Learning Counsellors – Teachers of Tomorrow

- Create the habit of learning in people through a thorough knowledge of how people learn and their individual learning styles
- Optimise the use of open and distance learning technologies to make the best use of their power to create interactive feedback between the learner and the learning programme(s)
- Understand how to develop and administer targeted evaluation techniques and personal progress modules
- Network learners with other learners on a local, national and international basis and develop all the ways of using communications technology to stimulate innovative learning

- Support learning by developing and using partnerships between Industry, schools, higher and further education, local government and the informal education system
- Empower each learner by helping to set and monitoring personal goals through personal learning plans, mentors techniques and individualised learning modules
- List all the learning needs of people in a database by carrying out learning audits in companies, the community and wherever people congregate
- Link these needs to learning opportunities locally, nationally and Internationally and making use of all funding sources
- Organise information programmes and schemes to mobilise the skills and talents of the whole community for education and learning
- Research new learning techniques in the community and incorporate them into courses
- Stimulate learning into an enjoyable and creative experience through a thorough knowledge of the psychology of learning motivation and how to overcome barriers to learning confidence.

These are the skills and competencies of the teacher of tomorrow. Just as doctors, nurses and other professions are expected to stay up to date in their own fields, so strategy to cope with the demand of a lifelong learning world. The next topic describes just one of the new knowledge areas which teachers will need to develop on behalf of us all.

ENVIRONMENT IN THE LEARNING CITY

A Learning city energises programmes which enable all citizens to take positive action to care for the environment (from figure 7).

'Lifelong learning is also linked to sustainable development. Unless people of all ages everywhere recognise the constant threat to our planetary habitat, and are educated in alternative ways in which its resources may be husbanded, the outlook for future generations looks increasingly bleak. Thus lifelong learning is linked to the idea of continuous education for all as a means of creating a society able to respond intelligently to the world predicament'.

So said John Dewar Wilson regarding developments in Australia. The proliferation of environmental documentaries has increasing our awareness that environmental matters are of critical importance to our continued survival on this planet. They also know that action is essential in local communities to demonstrate how both children and adults can preserve and improve their own environment.

We may learn from Thailand, where the concept of 'Khitpen' involves people in preserving harmony with their own environment. It is an essential tenet of Thai culture and a key principle in their learning society. Effective management of local environments extends beyond a single community, however. The depletion of resources and destruction of ecosystems is a menace to all species. The care and maintenance of our only planetary habitat starts in kindergarten in local communities and continues

throughout the education chain into late life. A fundamental principle of the Learning City is to be inventive and innovative about keeping environmental information at the forefront of popular consciousness, mobilising its citizens to 'think globally – act locally' and encouraging people to take care of the local environment.

Environmental matters have caught the imagination of schoolchildren all over the world and UNESCO has harnessed that enthusiasm. It has designated one day each year as 'Earth Day.' All the schools in its 'Associated Schools Project' participate, and the creativity displayed can give ideas to many a Learning City. In Bangladesh, for example, Students of the Viqarunnisa Noon School and the College of Dhaka carried out Earth Day activities by cleaning up their classrooms and school grounds. They organised different contests in order to involve as many students as possible. A poster contest environmental pollution, a public speaking contest on the greenhouse effect, air pollution, water pollution and the health hazards caused by chemical wastes, and a newspaper article contest on 'how to keep the planet free of pollution and how to maintain the ecological balance of this earth which is our abode.'

The students of the Secondary Teachers' Training College of Dubreka in New Guinea improved hygiene in this very crowded area by building latrines and washing facilities in the market-place. These buildings are part of a campaign to improve sanitation and to make the urban population of Dubreka more aware of the importance of a clean and hygienic environment.

Thousands of small local initiatives to actively involve children and families in the improvement, monitoring and maintenance of their own environment can go far to enhancing knowledge of the fragile ecosystems within which we all live. Learning Cities will give that as much priority as they will to that other important new imperative, the effective use of the new information and communications technologies.

TECHNOLOGY FOR THE LEARNING CITY

A Learning city transforms the city into a modern centre of learning by the effective use of the new learning technologies (from figure 7).

Open and distance learning is a central strategy in the pursuit of more effective learning. The UK Department for Education and Employment's green paper 'The Learning Age' says 'As the University for Industry will demonstrate, one of the best ways to overcome some of the barriers to learning will be to use the new broadcasting and other technologies. We expect their role in learning to increase significantly.' Another project, the 'National Grid for Learning' helps teachers and students to obtain access to a wide range of learning materials on-line. It includes a 'virtual teachers centre' to use the internet for teacher support and training.

The successful use of sophisticated broad-band networks to deliver education is a common-place among multi-nationals, notably in the United States where universities cater for learners drawn from industry, public broadcasting networks and so on. Although such high technology is not normally considered useful in schools, Westfield, Indiana, is an exception and perhaps indicative of the way in which public education systems at all levels of the community will change over the first part of the next century.

Westfield High School is situated in a small town in rural southern Indiana. A school that only a generation ago was isolated is today, thanks to satellite technology, very different. Social studies teachers bring into their classrooms live coverage of French farmers demonstrating in Strasbourg, or hold live discussions with lecturers in California who is an authority on sanctions and embargoes. Every classroom and office in the three-school, 919-student school is equipped with a TV monitor and wired into a fibre-optic network. Teachers use a channel changer to display everything from newspaper articles and educational graphics to films and live programming, all via satellite. Much of the material is stored in a distribution centre serving the entire school system. Students become active rather than passive learners in many high-tech classrooms. The technology even allows Westfield teachers to create their own multimedia materials. (Steele 1992)

Such systems require adaptability of outlook, versatility of mind and flexibility of curriculum. For most schools, it will take some time before timetables become more flexible, the curriculum more open and accessible, the assessments systems more adaptable – a difficult task in those countries where the curriculum is national, targets are rigid and examinations are external, inflexible and designed to promote failure as much as success.

We should also be quite clear about the nature of the new technologies. They are many and various. Distance learning is not open learning, although they are often lumped together. Equally the power of multimedia presentation can only be unleashed if developers know how to put themselves into head of the learner and understand his/her need to be active rather than passive. Electronic networks can be immensely potent motivators of learning, but again only when they are imaginatively used to stimulate the learning experience. To know how to insert himself into such a learning process is one of the new tasks of the modern teacher. It is a challenging role.

To be sure, technology can help the development of lifelong learning, but in the new paradigm, education per se is no longer restricted to a provider-centred model. When the focus is on the needs of the learner, learning is more of an equal partnership provider and client; at best it is a means of transferring ownership of content and methodology. The implications of this pedagogical about-face for teachers and students alike need to be urgently addressed.

EMPLOYMENT AND EMPLOYABILITY

A Learning City effects plans to define and develop the skills and competencies which make all its citizens employable (from figure 7).

The effective use of technology also leads to better job prospects. The importance of employability is a major concern of the European Commission White Paper 'Teaching and Learning'. 'Work environment and organisation are much more demanding than before,' it says 'the pace of change is accelerating significantly. People have to adapt to constant upgrading and improving of their personal skills and knowledge.' The same White Paper points out that 'long-term unemployment continues to increase and the spread of social exclusion, particularly among young people, has become a major problem in our societies'.

Municipalities are in the front line of this battle against exclusion. The Learning City stresses the importance of lifelong learning in order to guarantee an employed future for its citizens, recognising the well-researched link between education and employability. The conflict demands four new approaches:

- Projects and plans must be innovative – learning environments and approaches will have to be attractive to those who, for whatever reason, have been alienated by formal education.
- Solutions must be sensitive – the barriers to learning are as much psychological as economic and social. Often the unemployed have skills which they thought were for life (and are now redundant), or they have no skills at all and therefore believe themselves to be unemployable or untrainable. This is often masked by a feigned indifference.
- Certain agencies in the city need to be coordinated within a city-wide strategy since employability covers many industries and several sectors. It is only at the macro level that the vision exists that will bring together the institutions and resources to train and re-skill.
- The link between learning and employment must be positively promoted and focused on eventual success. Failure needs to be taken from the system.

Every country has strategies that support re-training and re-skilling and there are flagship projects in many cities. The day of the specific skill-based course for employment is over – continuous lifelong learning for employability has taken over as a means of enhancing employment prospects. This will be accentuated as the level and complexity of skills increases, and as learning providers, including companies and schools, develop a wider range of personal skills to allow people to be comfortable with continuing change.

Gothenberg is an excellent example of a municipality creating employability among its local government workers. Its strategy for 'Competence in Gothenberg' targeted employees with a lack of deeper or wider competence, at risk of redundancy. 17,000 municipal employees were offered the opportunity to either develop new skills to prepare themselves for new jobs, or prepare themselves for other employment. Courses designed for the project were on-the-job and taken during paid hours. There was a formal lifelong learning emphasis. Half of the financial burden was borne by central government on condition that the City of Gothenberg did not terminate any employment contracts during the project.

The results were interesting. Eighty-eight percent of participating women with low previous educational achievement were very positive remarks in their responses to the courses, especially with regard to personal satisfaction. They were spurred to seek further improvement of their skills and competencies. Another notable result was the perception of the city itself as a Learning Organisation. In Gothenberg, there is now a shift from hierarchical structures and the several levels of management and decision-making, towards more horizontal patterns of organisation.

In relation to this project, Lars Franson, the city's Director of Education, comments: 'The speed of technological change in industry poses an ever-growing challenge to

education in our upper secondary school. Education itself has to be a link in the chain of lifelong learning. The knowledge acquired there by young people must be applicable to the requirements of industry today and tomorrow.'

MOBILISATION, PARTICIPATION AND PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT OF CITIZENS – INVOLVING PEOPLE IN THE LEARNING CITY

A Learning city inspires citizens to contribute to city life and culture by building a database of their skills, knowledge and talents and encouraging them to make them available to others (from figure 7).

While employment, wealth creation and new skills are the major preoccupation of cities in today's globalised environment, we should not forget what citizens can do for themselves in a Learning Community. To be sure, to fulfil even half of its objectives a Learning City needs to encourage the contribution and participation of its citizens. It is a two-way process in which people both develop and donate skills, talents and knowledge for the benefit of themselves *and* others in the community. These are valuable and powerful resources available to every organisation and every individual in the Learning City, and as we have seen, they are largely untapped. Mentoring and partnerships provide a basis for exploring community contribution. A renewed sense of community is strong and growing in many parts of the world, notably in the United States, where vast resources have been devoted at grass roots level to help solve deep-rooted problems.

Another example from UK may be instructive. Once a year 'Community Service Volunteers', a British charity, organises 'Make a Difference Day.' This event, which encourages participation in community projects, provides an opportunity for those who do not mind spending a day working on behalf of the less fortunate, but may not want to commit themselves to a long-term contribution. People are invited to look around their local community to see what needs to be done; they are encouraged to turn it into a fun event with a defined outcome, such as building a community shelter or painting an old person's house. They are encouraged to allocate tasks to different people in the group - someone responsible for publicity, another for fund-raising and obtaining sponsors, another for recruiting experts etc.

Community Service Volunteers provides the publicity leaflets, recruits celebrities to help (a good way of motivating people), gives advice to volunteer groups, creates a database of projects, approaches national sponsors, encourages national and local media support and in general markets the idea. In 1998, Make a Difference saw a group of 30 volunteers from Reading pack boxes of baby clothes for Bosnia (1500 boxes in 6 hours), recruiting ideas on the basis that the 'next person to look in that box would be a Bosnian mum'. In another project a group of 5-8 year olds recruited people to reclaim an inner-city estate park where the playground had been vandalised. 200 young volunteers, with their mothers and fathers, completed the job. Such was the commitment and the sense of achievement that the group designed and manned a float in the following year's procession. More than 200 seniors had their houses re-decorated free of charge with free end-of-line paint and wallpaper donated by local shops.

Contribution is overtly proclaimed or even invited in very few countries or cities. Power tends to be nervous of competition or a mobilisation from below. But in the Philippines there is an exception. It sets out to foster community involvement from an early age. Its constitution says 'the State shall encourage non-formal, informal and indigenous learning systems as well as self-learning, independent and out-of-school study programmes, particularly those that respond to community needs, and provide adult citizens, the disabled and out-of-school youth with learning in civics, vocational efficiency and other skills.'

What an example to a Learning Community that is. In conclusion, I have tried to give a flavour of the current movement in many parts of the world to encourage cities and towns to become Learning cities and towns. The TELS (Towards a European Learning Society) project, which in the year 2000 has developed a questionnaire to encourage 100 cities to examine their record and progress within the nine categories mentioned in this paper is an example of the vast interest in this transformation of municipal view. There are many thousands of examples of good practice from every continent and there will no doubt be many publications on this subject over the next years of this century. We should beware of believing that communities can become Learning Communities overnight, or even within a few years. In some it will be a journey of fifty and more years – there is much to be done. But rather than try to measure the time it will take and the political will it will need, we should perhaps remind ourselves that Learning Organisations can only remain Learning Organisations as long as they are learning. If they stop doing this, they lose their vibrancy, their innovativeness, their *raison d'être*, and then their future. So it is with the Learning Community.

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Chapter 10: Lifelong Learning and the Learning Organization

JAMES WALKER

INTRODUCTION

The idea of a “learning organization” originated in the world of business, and spread from there across education and training, religion, government and non-government sectors, national and international. Although yet to become closely interrelated with the idea of lifelong learning, organizational learning and learning organizations provide potentially some of the most supportive contexts and value systems for lifelong learning. Just as lifelong learning is a condition for the well-being of the individual, organizational learning has become recognized as a condition for the continuing life and vitality of the organization, in whose interest it is to promote the continuing open-ended learning of its members. A strong implication is that the continuing life of the organization depends on the lifelong learning of its members. A corollary is that to the extent that individuals spend their lives working and living within organizations, the lifelong learning of individuals is dependent on organizations creating and sustaining a culture of learning – one of the features of a learning organization.

There is thus a profound implicit connection between the concept of lifelong learning and the concept of a learning organization. Moreover, just as individual learning can be either unconscious, consciously self-directed, or formally organized in social institutions – and this has been stressed by advocates of lifelong learning who recognize that it should not be left to chance or the uncritical endorsement of the status quo (Candy 1991, p.16)—so advocates of organizational learning and the learning organization recognize that these should not be left to chance (Marquardt 1996, p.16). Similarly, advocates of lifelong learning recognize that the development of learning organizations is a trend enabling lifelong learning (Longworth & Davies 1996, pp.34, 73–80). For individual and organization, learning is essential not just for survival but for the quality of life itself.

This chapter describes contemporary thought and practice in organizational learning, and in particular the idea of a learning organization. It also provides an historical background to the idea of a learning organization, showing how thinking about organizations has developed and how the idea of continuing learning throughout life has been implicit. This takes us into a consideration of some of the major models in organizational theory. The reason for looking at organizational models is that how we *think* about organizations is critical for our capacity to learn in them, for our capacity to design environments to promote rich continuing learning.

The literature on these topics is vast and diverse, ranging from academic work published in journals and scholarly books to popular books and magazine articles written directly for people working in business and management, education and training, and several other fields. The present chapter is not intended to be a comprehensive coverage of organizational learning and development, let alone of organizational theory in general, but to give a perspective on the field from the point of view of an interest in lifelong learning. (An excellent scholarly survey and assessment of the field of organizational theory may be found in Pfeffer 1997).

WHY LEARNING ORGANIZATIONS AND ORGANIZATIONAL LEARNING?

As we enter a new millennium, astute individuals and organizations are investing more in developing new skills and knowledge. Continuing learning is essential to career and organizational development. In the commercial world it makes sound business strategy (Rylatt 2000). Indeed, many writers are now suggesting that to survive in the internationally competitive environment an organization needs systematic strategic learning (Bowsler 1998, Guillard & Kelly 1995) including the capacity to “unlearn” the past in order to “compete for the future” (Hamel & Prahalad 1994, pp.64–68). Being a learning organization is becoming a condition for survival. Just as “quality” (in “total quality management” and other forms) was a condition for gaining a competitive edge in the 1980s, but became a condition for staying in the market in the 1990s, organizational learning has been a condition for gaining a competitive edge in the 1990s, but will be a condition for survival in the new millennium, “a core competency to compete” (Schwandt & Marquardt 2000).

One aspect of this is the rate and nature of change. It has been argued that we are now in a period of continuing turbulence, which Peter Vaill (1989, 1998) has called “permanent white water”: surprising, novel, messy, costly, and often unpreventable events. These will proliferate and intensify. We need the capacity to restore and sustain a sense of meaning in this new chaotic environment, to learn, almost paradoxically, as Tom Peters (1987) has put it, to “thrive on chaos” while at the same time creating internal stability; to achieve stabilization without rigidity (Pieters & Young 2000). Indeed, David Hurst (1995) argues that there are times when leaders must deliberately *create* crises in acts of “ethical anarchy” in order to break the constraints of success and renew their organizations. Vaill (1998, p.20) points out that “beyond all of the other new skills and attitudes that permanent white water requires, people have to be (or become) extremely effective learners”. In the same vein, Karen Louis (1994) suggests organizational learning as a model for change management in education, combining managed change and anarchy.

Moreover, the nature of business has changed along with a profound shift in the nature of productive activity in society – the move to a knowledge-based, or information, society. Michael Marquardt (1996, p.xvii) draws attention to Shoshana Zuboff’s incisive articulation of the necessity for organizational learning in her classic book *In the Age of the Smart Machine*. A knowledge-based organization is necessarily ...

“... a learning institution, and one of its principal purposes is the expansion of knowledge – not knowledge for its own sake (as in academic pursuit) – but knowledge that comes to reside at the core of what it means to be productive. Learning is no longer a separate activity that occurs either before one enters the workplace or in remote classroom settings. Nor is it an activity preserved for a managerial group. The behaviors that define learning and the behaviors that define being productive are one and the same. Learning is not something that requires time out from being engaged in productive activity; learning is the heart of productive activity. To put it simply, learning is the new form of labor.” (Zuboff 1988, p.395)

Norman Longworth and Keith Davies note the implications of the information society for lifelong learning:

“The move from the old industrial society model of education, which tends to fragment and narrow it into predetermined patterns and outcomes, is changing to an information society model, which educates for a wider and more responsible role in a democratic society ... At this level, learning is a continuous process carried out by individuals or groups of individuals, and not something imposed from above.” (Longworth & Davies 1996, pp.9–10)

If Zuboff, and Longworth and Davies are correct, individuals and society, sharing an interest in remaining productive, have a joint interest in lifelong learning of all citizens. (This is not to say they will necessarily act rationally in accordance with this interest. For practical purposes, it is in organizations that this shared interest can be most effectively realized. Development of learning organizations is the way this can be done. This is not to deny that finding a genuinely shared interest, in practice, can be problematic. As critics of “the learning organization” have pointed out, the rhetoric of organizational learning and learning organizations can be abused to justify moves to use the cheapest labor available (Schied, Howell, Carter, and Preston 1998, p.288). Moreover, as in any other area of education, not all people start with the same advantages. Educational institutions, government and communities need to address problems of learning disadvantage, exclusion and dropout (Longworth 1999, p.79) and this means starting with the schools to provide people with an education enabling them to access the full range of life choices (Chapman & Aspin 1997).

In the research literature, recognition of the importance of learning in organizations can be traced back to the 1940s, but it was not until the 1980s that the potential of corporate learning to lift performance, increase competitiveness and boost business success was realized in a practical way by companies (Marquardt 1996, p.xviii). The Shell Oil Company was one of the pioneers and quickly achieved competitive advantage over others in the industry. In the 1990s more and more companies proclaimed themselves “learning organizations”, and the movement reached into public sector and non-government organizations.

Having been involved in the developments of the 1980s, in 1990 Peter Senge at the Center for Organizational Learning in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology published a seminal book, *The Fifth Discipline: The Art and Science of the Learning*

Organization, which rapidly became the most influential statement of what it means to be a learning organization. Senge linked organizational thinking to the learning capacities and values of individuals:

“The organization that will truly excel in the future will be the organization that discovers how to tap people’s commitment and capacity to learn at all levels of the organization.” (Senge 1990a, p.2)

Although not using the language of “lifelong learning”, and not writing in that tradition, Senge exemplifies a central realization of work on organizational learning: that the health and success of organizations depend on the commitment and enthusiasm of their people, and that their people need to continue to learn throughout both their own lives and the life of the organization.

LEARNING, HUMAN PERFORMANCE AND ORGANIZATIONAL ARCHITECTURE

Interest in learning in business is growing because of an appreciation that continuous learning is essential for improved performance. Enlightened businesses are aware that learning for performance cannot be separated from learning for the personal fulfillment of their employees. The field of Human Performance Technology has grown up around this realization (Robinson & Robinson 1995, Rummel & Brache 1995). No longer is it satisfactory to run training programs and support training divisions within organizations without demonstrating that the training makes a clear connection to individual and organizational learning leading to improved organizational outcomes (Mohrman & Mohrman 1998), notwithstanding that outcomes may be regularly redefined in view of changing organizational purposes.

Learning needs to be systematically planned and its outcomes measured in appropriate ways. In *Revolutionizing Workforce Performance* (1998), Jack Bowsher, former Chief Training Officer of IBM, demonstrates bluntly that systematically planned learning is essential for outstanding performance. Moreover, learning needs to be planned and conducted in close relation to the actual work the learners do for the organization. This also validates the inclusion of learning in contemporary performance measurement systems (Kaplan & Norton 1996) where learning is amongst the key drivers of organizational performance outcomes. Moreover, research has shown that organizations, like individuals, have learning curves associated with improved performance (Argote 1999, Ch. 5).

Performance, however, cannot be treated separately from organizational structure and culture (Schein 1992). Indeed, one of the lessons of research and experience is that if we want the kind of learning that leads to outstanding performance, we need to *design* our organizations as learning organizations. The design for learning is the *same* as the design for performance – the learning design itself needs to be built into the structure, or the *architecture*, of the organization (Nadler, Gerstein & Shaw, 1997). The story of contemporary organizational thinking is a story of the progressive realization of this truth (Keidel 1995). The first and fundamental task is architectural.

Here there is an exciting intellectual parallel. The importance of organizational architecture has been discovered contemporaneously with developments at a cutting edge of contemporary science. Neuroscience studies the brain (and nervous system) – the organ that learns. Research has revealed the neural architecture, or particular functioning designs, of the brain. This is now being used as a model in the analysis and design of organizations (Zohar 1997). In our view, this is leading edge organizational thinking and experimentation. The story of organizational thinking summarized later in this chapter begins with organizations (and the individuals who belong to them) being regarded pretty much as machines; then conceived as organisms; and finally, as brains.

INDIVIDUAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL LEARNING

If throughout the lifespan individuals do much of their significant learning in organizations, it is important to clarify the relationship between individual and organizational learning. Chris Argyris and Donald Schon have devoted considerable effort to this question. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, before the idea of a “learning organization” became fashionable, they were working on organizational learning. When they started there was skepticism in the academic community about the very idea of organizational learning. Beginning with *Theory and Practice* (1974) Argyris and Schon began exploring the gaps between personal and interpersonal learning, and between those and organizational learning. These efforts culminated in *Organizational Learning* (1978), which attempted to make explicit the relationships between individual and larger system variables.

Argyris and Schon show that limited learning systems within organizations are created by the behavior of individuals whose practices are of limited effectiveness. Limited learning systems, in turn, create organizational patterns in which individuals are unlikely to develop more productive practical models. Research on learning underpinning these theoretical advances uses a methodology based on the kind of action research devised by Kurt Lewin (Lewin & Grabbe 1945). Lewin aimed to introduce “actionable knowledge”, which tells us what and how to implement in the world of everyday practice, as distinct from “applicable knowledge” which tells us what is relevant, but not how to apply it (Argyris 1993). Argyris (1999) argues that most organizational research and consultancy produces applicable, not actionable knowledge. Actionable knowledge is produced by action research drawing on data gathered from studies of attempts to bring about organizational change through learning. This endeavor is described as “action science” (Argyris, Putnam & McLain Smith 1985).

Given, then, that individuals learn, and that they learn within organizations, what does it mean to say that an organization learns? In *Organizational Learning II* Argyris and Schon (1996, p.6) point out that, in many cases, “the knowledge held by individuals fails to enter into the stream of distinctively organizational thought and action” with the result that “organizations know *less* than their members do.” For example, a social service bureaucracy may operate with client categories which its members know fail to capture the important characteristics of their clients, such as “single parents” and “abused children”.

“Conversely, there are situations in which an organization seems to know far *more* than its individual members. Structures, procedures and memories built into the fabric of organizations such as the army or the telephone company may permit an organization to perform brilliantly, at least for a time, even when its individual members seems far from brilliant.” (Argyris & Schon 1996, p.7)

Organizational action is what makes organizational learning possible. Not only is organizational learning a kind of organizational action, but organizational learning is what leads to changes in organizational action. Organizational action is broken up into organizational tasks and roles, a division of labor and a design for the performance of work. This applies whether the organization is an informal one, such as a household, or a formal one, such as a firm, a government department, a school or a labor union.

An individual or a group can act for such organizations. Given that learning is a form of action, individuals may therefore learn for an organization, carrying out on its behalf a process of inquiry that results in learning. Inquiry is organizational when undertaken by individuals who function as agents of an organization according to its prevailing roles and rules.

“When individual and organizational inquiry do intersect, individual inquiry feeds into and helps shape organizational inquiry, which then feeds back to shape the further inquiry carried out by individuals. If, for example, members of an educational television agency get their managers interested in probing how teachers use their programs, the agency may adopt new practices for deciding on program content, which may lead agency staff, in turn, to involve teachers in collaborative program design.” (Argyris & Schon 1996, pp.11–12)

Organizational learning produces organizational knowledge. This may be held in the minds of individual members, in files, or in physical objects members use to guide them in their work. Organizations represent knowledge in the strategies used for performing complex tasks, in systems of belief that underlie action, or as procedural prescriptions.

Argyris and Schon represent such knowledge through what they call “theories of action”. The general form of a theory of action is: If you intend to produce consequence C in situation S, then do action A. Implicit in this are the values attributed to C that make it seem desirable, and the underlying assumptions that make it plausible that action A will produce consequence C in situation S.

There are two forms of theory of action: espoused theory, and theory-in-use. Espoused theory is what people will tell you to justify or explain what they are doing. Theory-in-use is the theory of action that is actually implicit in the performance of the activity, and thus needs to be inferred from observation of the activity. Espoused theory may or may not be congruent with theory-in-use. For example, a business firm may proclaim an official policy of listening to and valuing the opinions of staff (espoused theory) but never seek them, and when they are received unsolicited, ignore them (theory-in-use). The espoused theory is that the information and values in the views of employees are valuable for achieving the ends of the firm; the theory-in-use is that they are irrelevant.

An organization's theories-in-use (like an individual's) are usually tacit rather than explicit, and remain tacit because they are regarded as indescribable or undiscussable. They may be indescribable because the individual members who enact them "know more than they can say and are unable, rather than unwilling, to describe the know-how embedded in their day-to-day performance of organizational tasks." They may be undiscussable because any attempt to reveal their incongruity with the organization's espoused theory "would be perceived as threatening or embarrassing" (Argyris & Schon 1996, p.14).

There has to be a change in individual's theories-in-use for organizational learning to occur. Such changes are produced when, while inquiring into a problematic situation on the organization's behalf, individuals experience a surprising mismatch between expected and actual results of action. They then respond to that mismatch through a process of thought and further action that leads them to modify their images of organization or their understandings of organizational phenomena and to restructure their activities so as to bring outcomes and expectations into line, thereby changing organizational theory-in-use. In order to become organizational, the learning that results from organizational inquiry must become embedded in the images of organization held in its members' minds and/or in the epistemological artefacts (the maps, memories and programs) embedded in the organizational environment (Argyris & Schon 1996, p.16).

For the kind of organizational learning required in the uncertain and chaotic change of permanent whitewater, it is essential that organizations examine critically their fundamental values and assumptions and change them where appropriate, thus producing both new espoused theories and new theories-in-use – new ideas and new practices. It is essential for any organization to be able to monitor and correct errors in existing practices – what Argyris and Schon call "single-loop learning" – but this is insufficient. "Double-loop learning" – critical examination of core values, beliefs, and assumptions, and invention of new practices – is also necessary. Double-loop learning is essential for deliberate and well informed change, and therefore for all innovation and self-managed learning.

A critically important form of double-loop learning is the second order learning through which members of an organization may discover and modify the learning system that conditions the prevailing patterns of organizational inquiry (Argyris & Schon 1996, p. 29). This is the equivalent of what Gregory Bateson (1972, 1979) calls "deuterolearning", or learning how to learn. To establish the conditions for lifelong learning in an organization there needs to be a commitment to deuterolearning.

In order for double-loop learning to occur it is important that the highest quality information be acquired and critically assessed. This means openness between organizational members and acceptance of critical inquiry into one's own thinking and that of others. Ideas and experiences are shared, and not withheld or covered up because of fear of embarrassment or threat. Goals are set collaboratively on the basis of inquiry and high quality information, rather than being unilaterally imposed. Where this is not the case, where there is unilateral imposition and an absence of open inquiry and mutuality, the model of action driving the theories-in-use is described by Argyris and Schon as "Model I". Model I is characteristic of most organizations, and is only eliminated by systematic organizational learning. Where there is openness, mutuality and critical

inquiry, the model driving theories-in-use is "Model II" – mutual learning. William Isaacs (1999) has shown that this requires skills in genuine dialogue, which is more than just the embrace of different points of view, but the creative art of thinking together.

For learning organizations, and for meaningful lifelong learning, we need to put the highest priority on developing Model II theories-in-use in organizations and individuals. This, however, is easier said than done. We have referred to the limited learning systems characteristic of organizations where organizational learning is stunted or nonexistent. These systems are kept in place by patterns of organizational defenses, or "defensive routines" (Argyris 1990, 1997, 1998; Putnam 1993). In order to prevent embarrassment or threat, people communicate inconsistent messages – such as acting as if there is no problem when everyone knows there is – but act as if they are not doing so. For these actions to be effective, they must be covered up, and the cover-ups must also be covered up. To be able to do this, people must learn how to communicate inconsistent messages, and they do this through limited learning systems. Moreover, people on the receiving end must collude: if they do recognize the cover-up they learn to act as if they do not, and they expect the person covering up to recognize the collusions. As a result, everyone feels safe, but the problem is not solved. There is no mutual learning.

Organizational defensive routines inhibit problem solving, decision-making, learning and improvement. They violate trust, formal policies of openness (espoused theory), managerial leadership and stewardship, and principles of quality and performance improvement. Argyris (1997) argues, plausibly, that tackling defensive routines is the next major challenge facing organizations.

The development of lifelong learners offers one response to this challenge. In their "profile of the lifelong learner", Candy, Crebert and O'Leary (1994, pp.43–44) list characteristics such as an inquiring mind, helicopter vision, information literacy, a sense of personal agency and a repertoire of learning skills. To develop both lifelong learning and the learning organization, these characteristics need to be embedded in the processes and outcomes of both formal and informal learning, including workplace learning. The dimensions of the inquiring mind are especially relevant: a love of learning, a sense of curiosity and questioning, a critical spirit and comprehensive monitoring and self-evaluation. These both facilitate and are facilitated by mutual learning in organizations moving toward Model II. They require single- and double-loop learning as well as learning how to learn, deuterolearning. In a useful case study of one company, "Country Practice", Tosey and Nugent suggest that "there might be a threshold in the propensity for companies to become 'learning organizations' ... this may be linked to individuals' ability to shift from a problem-solving approach to one of "inquiring", in the sense of integrating systematic research with personal development" (Tosey and Nugent 1998, p.269–270).

The mutual support of formal learning in educational institutions and informal workplace learning is critical, then, for both lifelong learning and for the learning organization. It is critical that educational institutions themselves become learning organizations (Leithwood & Louis 1998) – a task to be approached with critical awareness of the origins of learning organization thinking in non-educational contexts (Mulford 1998).

Hager and Beckett (1998, p.233) point out that the attributes of the lifelong learner (and so of the organizational learner) not only enrich the learning process, whether formal or informal, but also make learning processes more likely to be *educational* (Hager 1998). The integration of lifelong and organizational learning, in this respect, is likely to protect the lifelong learning movement against charges that it represents an exploitative ideology, in which education is debased (Lawson 1982) and that there is a risk that governments may reduce educational provision because, through lifelong learning, people can learn without cost to the public purse (Bagnall 1990).

This is not the case. Our argument here places clear responsibility on formal educational institutions not only to look ahead to the continuing learning of their graduates – and to contribute organically to the continuity – but also to appreciate the organizational contexts, perhaps particularly the workplace, in which this continuing learning will occur. This will assist the development of learning organizations one of whose contributions will be to thereby more effectively support the lifelong learning of their members. As David Boud (1998, p.216), points out, this imperative is occurring at a time when, in universities for instance, the division between full-time study, when many students are engaged part-time work unrelated to their course, and part-time study alongside full-time work, is breaking down. So the connection between workplace learning and university courses poses not only a challenge to what a university education is, but how it contributes to lifelong learning and, therefore, given the argument of this chapter, to the learning organization.

SENGE'S ACCOUNT OF THE LEARNING ORGANIZATION

For Peter Senge, a learning organization is a space where people are continually discovering how they create their reality, and how they change it. He asserts that real learning gets to the heart of what it means to be human. Through learning we recreate ourselves. Through learning we become able to do something we were never able to do before. Through learning we perceive the world and our relationship to it. Through learning we extend our capacity to create, to be part of the generative process of life. There is within each of us a deep hunger for this type of learning. It is “as fundamental to human beings as the sex drive” (Senge 1990a, p.14).

This, then, is the basic meaning of a “learning organization” – an organization that is continually expanding its capacity to create its future. For such an organization, it is not enough merely to survive. “Survival learning”, or what is more often termed “adaptive learning” (Argyris and Schon’s single-loop learning), is important – indeed it is necessary. But for a learning organization “adaptive learning” must be joined by “generative learning”, double-loop learning that enhances our capacity to create. (Senge 1990a, pp.13–14.)

Senge proposes five disciplines which are necessary for the creation and sustaining of a learning organization:

- *Systems thinking*. Learning organizations develop policies, practices, procedures and designs – organizational systems – to support discovery and error elimination.

Systems thinking is the foundation of a learning organization. People need to recognize that systems often cause their own crises: crises are not always caused by individuals or external causes. Senge shows how to detect dysfunctional systems and substitute learning-oriented architectures.

- *Personal Mastery.* Personal excellence is supported by encouragement of best practice innovation and self-management. The organization and its employees work in partnership to support performance-oriented learning, leading to improved practice and the achievement of exemplary performance.
- *Mental Models.* Mental models are deeply embedded assumptions we make about how the world is, assumptions that shape our decisions and actions. A learning organization supports mental models falling under Argyris and Schon's Model II: constant questioning of assumptions and mindsets, the belief sets or mental models, to ensure that truth, openness and innovation are championed, and not secrecy and politics.
- *Shared Vision.* A commitment to the shared values of learning is displayed in the vision, mission and planning process of the organization. The individual/organization relationship is seen as a synergistic partnership where all parties are listened to, consulted and have freedom of choice. This requires respect, integrity and rapid transfer of information. Only then is a vision truly shared. Individual visions are realized through the organization's vision, which in turn is instantiated in individual visions.
- *Team Learning.* Team learning is used as a high leverage strategy to stimulate growth and achievement. The discipline of team learning enables the development of collective intelligence beyond that of any one individual. It is achieved by aligning individual values to produce team values and developing team capacity to achieve the results all desire. It includes skills in dialogue and collaborative thinking. To achieve this, teams work hard to stamp out destructive behavior that inhibits learning (including defensive routines).

Having considered organizational learning, and presented the most influential picture of the learning organization, we next consider their background in organizational theory and research, tracing the progression from mechanistic through organismic to network models. We then return to the issue of learning, and ask how we might use organismic and network models to build learning organizations for life-long learning.

APPROACHES TO ORGANIZATIONAL ANALYSIS

Gareth Morgan (1986, 1988, 1989, 1993) shows how metaphors from scientific and popular sources determine how we conceive of the features, problems and possibilities of organizations. Metaphors also influence our actions, including actions through which we design and structure our organizations. Metaphors affect organizational architecture, and therefore learning patterns. Morgan's treatment is both historical, tracing the sequence of influential metaphors and images, and practical, offering

suggestions (especially in Morgan 1993) about how we might use our imagination to think of organizations in new and more productive ways.

Morgan shows us how various *frames* of organizations have developed, and how we might *reframe*. Framing and reframing are crucial capacities of individuals, teams and organizations. The need to reframe is part of a four-stage process (including restructuring, revitalisation and renewal) illustrated by the experience of many contemporary organizations in Gouillart and Kelly's (1995) visionary and practical proposals for corporate survival and prosperity. We examine this further below. Schon has shown how framing and reframing need to occur not just at the operational but also at the policy level (Schon & Rein 1994). Policy controversy is a conversation about design among parties with clashing frames.

The idea of framing has been used by numerous writers on organizations. Bolman and Deal (1997) note a variety of concepts that come up in the organizational literature, capturing the idea of framing: schemas or schemata, representations, cognitive maps, paradigms, social categorizations, implicit theories and mental models. A frame provides us with a window on the world, a filter which excludes some things while letting others into our awareness or attention; and a framework enabling us to order our experience and decide what to do (Bolman & Deal 1997, p.12).

In Morgan's discussions, the principal frames of organizations have been as machines, organisms, brains (supplemented with the image of a spider plant), cultures, political systems (clashes of interests and games of "political football"), psychic prisons, flux and transformation, and instruments of domination.

Morgan (1986, pp.321–22) shows that each of these has something to offer, some conceptual validity. Moreover, any realistic approach to organizational analysis must start from the premise that organizations can be many things at one and the same time. That is, we need both *flexible framing*, and the openness to and capacity for *multi-framing*.

For example, a machine-like organization designed to achieve specific goals can be, simultaneously, a species of organization able to survive in certain environments but not in others, an information-processing system skilled in certain kinds of learning but not in others, a cultural milieu characterized by distinctive values, beliefs and social practices, a political system where people jostle to further their own ends, an arena where various subconscious or ideological struggles take place, an artifact or manifestation of a deeper process of social change, and an instrument used by one group to dominate others. On the other hand, certain features of each of these metaphors cannot be mutually present in practice. For example, the species of organism we call a "learning organization" can be like a brain network, but cannot be a political instrument used by one group of people to dominate others.

FROM MACHINE TO ORGANISM

In addition to demonstrating that each of these metaphors or frames has some conceptual validity, Morgan shows that some can be seen as subsuming and advancing on others. For example, the metaphor of an organization as an organism acknowledges

that while organizations do contain mechanisms, they are living organisms – much more than machines. The brain metaphor shows the *kind* of organism, or *aspect* of an organism, with which the organization might most usefully be compared.

The machine metaphor underpinned the modern efficiency movement originating in Frederick the Great's transformation of the Prussian army from an unruly mob into a prototype of mechanistic organization. This was paralleled by the mechanization of industry through the Industrial Revolution. Weber (1947) observed the parallels with the proliferation of mechanistic, bureaucratic organizations.

"Classical management theory" and "scientific management" followed, especially in North America. Classical theory emphasized the design of the total organization. Scientific managers, following Frederick Winslow Taylor, emphasized the design and management of individual jobs. A series of further mechanistic approaches followed, many of which, such as "management by objectives", are still with us.

Taylor and the scientific managers had a Newtonian view of science which is now superseded. Organizations were seen as bound by underlying laws which, when discovered, enabled managers to predict and control the behavior of employees and production, even of markets. We now live in world where quantum theory, chaos theory and increasing social complexity – permanent whitewater – must be part of our understanding. Just as our understanding of science has changed, so must our understanding of organizations change (Zohar 1997).

Mechanists see performance improvement as a technical problem, to be solved by system and job design, and by social control and motivational policies. Organicists, beginning with researchers like Elton Mayo, identify the needs of individuals, especially their social needs. In his Hawthorne Studies Mayo (1933) showed that an informal organization of friendship groups and unplanned interactions can exist alongside the formal organization documented in the blueprints designed by management. Work activities are influenced as much by human beings as by formal design. This dealt a blow to classical (mechanistic) management theory.

Abraham Maslow (1943, 1968) followed with his "hierarchy of needs". A group of organizational psychologists – including Chris Argyris (1957, 1964), Frederick Herzberg (Herzberg, Mausner & Snyderman 1959) and Douglas McGregor (1960) – investigated the integration of the needs of individuals and organizations. "They showed how bureaucratic structures, leadership styles, and work organization generally could be modified to create 'enriched', motivating jobs that generally would encourage people to exercise their capacities for self-control and creativity. Under their influence, alternatives to bureaucratic organization began to emerge." (Morgan 1986, p. 42.) Thus in the transition from mechanistic to organicist thinking the seeds of lifelong learning in organizations were being laid.

Argyris was one of the pioneers. By means of an adaptation of the organicist metaphor, he showed how, in practice, non-mechanistic organizations could be conceived and developed. This has always been at the forefront, not only of organizational learning, but also of the move from a mechanistic, command-and-control perspective, to a human interaction, creative and organic perspective. Argyris and Schon later applied the organicist metaphor in their account of organizational learning:

“An organization is like an organism, each of whose cells contains a particular, partial, changing image of itself in relation to the whole. And like such an organism, the organization’s practice stems from these very images: its theory-in-use is dependent on the ways in which its members represent it. Hence, our exploration of organizational learning must deal not with static entities called organizations but, as Karl Weick pointed out (1979), with active processes of organizing. The members’ evolving images of the organization shape the very object of their investigation.” (Argyris & Schon 1996, pp.16–17)

OPEN SYSTEMS THEORY

Ludwig von Bertalanffy, a theoretical biologist, took the living organism as a model for understanding complex open systems. Unlike classical and scientific management, which interpreted the organization as a closed mechanical system and became preoccupied with principles of internal design, open systems theory (von Bertalanffy 1950, 1968) suggests that we should always organize with the environment in mind.

Consequently, there is an emphasis, for the first time, on the immediate “task environment” (for business: customers, competitors, labor unions, government agencies; for educational institutions: students, families, employers and communities) as well as the broader “contextual” or “general” environment. Part of this context is the whole life of the members of the organization. The division between work and other parts of one’s life is an artificial one, and performance can never be fully understood by studies of the decontextualized individual. Phillip Nowlen puts it eloquently:

If an individual is never merely an individual, so too a job is never merely a job. A job, particularly if held over a number of years, is part of an unbroken succession of holding environments and contains on-going subcultures of loyal friends, working peers, subordinates, bosses, allies, tribes, rituals, values, and webs of favors performed and favors due ... People routinely “take the job home” just as family problems are routinely taken to work, related galaxies within the same universe. The job description is to the job culture as a prevailing wind is to the sea: It suggests the right tack, but only if the course has already been charted. (Nowlen 1988, p.69.)

It is in this context that both lifelong and organizational learning must be understood, and without such understanding genuine learning organizations are impossible.

We have observed that for Senge the learning organization has five disciplines. One of these, systems thinking, integrates the other four – personal mastery, mental models, shared vision and team learning, by fusing them into a coherent body of theory and practice, and preventing them from being separate gimmicks or the latest organization change fads. Senge describes experience with innovative business leaders that convinced him of the importance of systems thinking:

“Too often, the most daring organizational experiments were foundering. Local autonomy produced business decisions that were disastrous for the organization

as a whole. "Team building" exercises sent colleagues white water rafting together, but when they returned home, they still disagreed fundamentally about business problems. Companies pulled together during crises, and then lost all their inspiration when business improved. Organizations which started out as booming successes, with the best possible intentions toward customers and employees, found themselves trapped in downward spirals that got worse the harder they tried to fix them." (Senge 1990a, p.15)

For Senge, systems thinking is essential because organizational ineffectiveness is a function of poorly understood cause-effect relationships. Now the mental models that underlie decisions include our assumptions about cause-effect. By using systems thinking to understand those models, the innovative but floundering business leaders would be able to find out what is going wrong and why, and rectify it. (It should be noted that of course there are versions of systems thinking other than Senge's approach, some of which, notably complexity theory, have recently been applied by Robert Flood (1999) to thinking about learning organizations).

Systems thinking alone is not enough: it needs a new type of management practitioner to make the most of it: a leader who is a designer, a teacher, a steward – and a systematic thinker (Senge 1990b). This leader understands the necessity of, and has the skill of, seeing interrelationships not things, processes not snapshots, thus avoiding static and linear thinking. This leader moves the organization beyond blame when mistakes occur. Blame is inappropriate because it is organizational systems, not incompetent or unmotivated people, that cause most organizational problems. What prevents us from seeing this is complexity of a specific sort: dynamic complexity (Sterman 1994). The new leader is able to distinguish detail complexity (where there are many variables) from dynamic complexity (where cause and effect are distant in time, and when the consequences over time of interventions are subtle and not obvious to many participants in the system). By analyzing the dynamic complexities, and focusing on areas of high leverage in the organization, the leader can promote small, well-focused actions which, if they are in the right place, produce significant, enduring improvements, avoiding merely symptomatic solutions.

Senge's systems approach is consistent with Argyris's view that the primary causes of organizational failure are the defensive routines that individuals pursue. Defensive routines can be mapped as interpersonal and cultural systems, and systems thinking can therefore help us understand them. Moreover, redesigning organizational systems, as Senge points out, is insufficient for organizational success: a new kind of management practitioner, of organizational leader, is required. When we look at the characteristics of that leader, listed above, it is clear that they presuppose mutual learning – Model II. Indeed, Senge explicitly uses the action science approach in understanding the "skilled incompetence" characterizing teams full of people who are incredibly proficient at keeping themselves from learning, and whose teamwork goes to pot when they confront complex issues that may be embarrassing or threatening (Senge 1990a, p.25, referring to Argyris 1990).

Senge is in fact arguing that it is a condition of a productive theory-in-use that it be an example of systems thinking. For example:

“Generative [double-loop] learning cannot be sustained in an organization where event thinking predominates. It requires a conceptual framework of “structural” or systemic thinking, the ability to discover structural causes of behavior.” (Senge 1990a, p.53)

Amy Edmondson points out the background to Senge in the work of MIT electrical engineer Jay Forrester (1961) “who observed that the theory of information feedback systems [cybernetics] could serve as a basis for understanding the interplay between parts of a business system” (Edmondson 1996, p.578). The powerful point is the generalizability of our understanding of the behavior enabled and constrained by a structure:

“If one understands the behavior of a structure in *one* setting, one understands it in all settings. In the inventory-production system, inventory and production are structurally in the same relationship to each other as are position and velocity in a swinging clock pendulum. Both structures tend to produce sustained oscillation.” (Forrester quoted in Edmondson 1996, p.579. For a study of the conceptual threads running through systems theory, see Richardson 1990.)

Senge describes system-dynamic “archetypes” – structures that explain policy errors that reduce organizational effectiveness. These are his diagnostic starting points. Organizational members must participate in the diagnosis, surfacing their mental models and generating new ones. Since the publication of *The Fifth Discipline* in 1990, Senge and his colleagues have built up considerable practical experience in the practicalities of building learning organizations (Senge, Roberts, Ross, Smith & Kleiner 1994; Senge, Kleiner, Roberts, Ross, Roth, & Smith 1999; see also Rylatt 2000, Watkins & Marsick 1993). Consideration has also been given to the impact of globalisation on organizational learning (Senge & Sterman 1994).

ECOLOGICAL MODELS

Organicist thinking has drawn upon ecology, deepening our understanding of organizations by extending the notion of system to include the organization and its environment, developing a model of organizational ecology. Biologists now assume that it is the whole ecosystem that evolves, and that the process of evolution can really only be understood at the level of the total ecology. If so, organizations, as organisms, do not evolve as a result of adapting to environmental changes, or as a result of these changes selecting the organisms that are to survive. Rather, it is the pattern of relationships between organizations and their environments that evolves. Organization and environment are cocreators (Morgan 1986 p.70).

A powerful contemporary application of the organismic metaphor is Guillard and Kelly’s *Transforming the Organization*. “We think of companies as living, volitional beings – like people – complete with body, mind and spirit.” (Guillard & Kelly 1995, p.2.) They produce an analysis of organizations as consisting of twelve biocorporate systems, interconnected in successful and misaligned in unsuccessful organizations.

Using the holographic principle discussed below, they suggest that just as the genetic imprint, or genome, which makes every person unique, is carried within each of the person's twenty three chromosomes – the big is in the small and the small in the big – so the twelve biocorporate systems must proceed from the same corporate genome. Together, the twelve biocorporate systems, or chromosomes, represent the integrated software that governs biocorporate life. They are grouped into four sets, according to their function: reframing, restructuring, revitalizing and renewing.

Reframing chromosomes achieve mobilization, create the vision and build measurement systems; restructuring chromosomes construct economic models, align the physical infrastructure and redesign the work architecture; revitalization chromosomes achieve market focus, invent new business and change the rules through information technology; and renewal chromosomes create a reward structure, build individual learning and develop the organization.

THE ORGANIZATION AS A BRAIN

Using the brain as a metaphor for organizations makes sense, especially if we want to improve organizational intelligence. This means more than brainstorming and think-tanks. It means creating organizations with brainlike capacities dispersed throughout, along the lines of the genetic, biocorporate thinking we have just been considering. Two aspects are significant: first, brains as information processing systems; and second, brains as holographic systems. Let us consider these in turn.

In seminal work on decision-making, Herbert Simon and James March (1958) showed that organizations can never be completely rational, because their members have limited information-processing abilities. Hence the widely adopted notions of "bounded rationality" and "satisficing" ("good enough"). These become even more relevant in situations of uncertainty and limited information, or even inevitable ignorance, of which permanent whitewater is the most dramatic example. All the more reason to design inquiry-based decision-making processes, where errors can be corrected quickly and adjustments made to values and purposes.

Morgan points to an even more significant implication of the decision making approach: if organization is a product or reflection of information processing capacities, then new capacities will lead to new forms of organization. He suggests this has already happened in airlines, banking, insurance, the media, hotels and all high-tech industries including aerospace, electronics and computing. For example, human skills are replaced by electronic processes, and networks of relations between humans give way to interfaces between people and machines. "Organization in such circumstances increasingly rests in the information system" (Morgan 1986, p.84).

The question is: what kind, and what quality, of system? The answer is the kind of system that exemplifies double-loop learning and deuterolearning. To fill out our understanding of this we turn to cybernetics, an interdisciplinary study of information, communication and control. MIT mathematician Norbert Wiener (1961) coined "cybernetics", from the Greek for "steersman", to characterize the processes of information exchange through which machines and organisms engage in self-regulating

behaviors that maintain steady states. Cybernetics emerged during World War II out of the project of designing weapons that could guide and monitor their own behavior – machines with the capacities of organisms. Moreover, early on it was applied to the study of the brain (Ashby 1952, 1960).

The key insight of early cybernetics was that the ability of a system to engage in self-regulating behavior depends on processes of information exchange involving negative feedback – central to the process of steersmanship. This process of error detection and correction is the basis for single-loop learning. It is automatic in thermostats and the human body, regulating body heat, and in human-designed thermostats regulating, for instance, room heat.

Morgan argues that cybernetics leads to a theory of communication and learning with four key principles. Systems must have the capacity, first, to sense, monitor and scan significant aspects of their environment; second, to relate this information to the operating norms that guide system behavior; third, to detect significant deviations from these norms; and, fourth, to initiate corrective action when discrepancies are detected. If these four conditions are fulfilled, a continuous process of information exchange is created between a system and its environment, allowing the system to monitor changes and initiate appropriate responses.

However, the single-loop learning abilities thus defined are limited in that the system can maintain only the course of action determined by the operating standards or norms guiding it. This is fine so long as the action defined by those standards is appropriate for dealing with the changes encountered. But when this is not the case, the “intelligence” of the system breaks down, for the process of negative feedback ends up trying to maintain an inappropriate pattern of behavior.

Simple single-loop cybernetic systems like house thermostats are able to learn in the sense of being able to detect and correct deviations from predetermined norms. But they are unable to question the appropriateness of what they are doing, of the norms which they are maintaining. Similarly, many organizations have become proficient at single-loop learning. For example, they are good at scanning the environment, setting objectives, and monitoring the general performance of the organization in relation to these objectives. Many fewer organizations have successfully institutionalized double-loop learning, such as systems that review and challenge basic norms, policies and operating procedures in relation to changes occurring in the environment; and methods of encouraging ongoing debate and innovation.

Let us turn now to the second way we may consider organizations as brains: as holographic systems (Wilber 1982). A hologram is produced when a single laser light is split into two separate beams, resulting in a three-dimensional image. Holographic film is not only three dimensional, but every fragment of a piece of holographic film contains all the information recorded in the whole. Thus if a piece of holographic film containing an image of an eagle is split in two, and each half illuminated by a laser, each half will be found to contain the entire image of the eagle. The pioneering neuroscientist Karl Pribram realized that the holographic principle provided a way of understanding how a memory, for example, could be found in many parts of the brain, not localized in one spot only. This was found to apply also to vision and other brain functions (Pribram 1977). It is possible to extend this image to create a vision of an organization where capacities

required in the whole are enfolded in the parts, allowing the system to learn and self-organize, and to maintain a complete system of functioning even when specific parts malfunction or are removed. Some highly innovative organizations function in this way, as noted by Gouillart and Kelly (1995). (For a systematic application of holographic theory to organizational transformation, see Mackenzie 1991).

In the brain, there is a massive redundancy of function, in the sense that information is not only widely and repetitively dispersed, but there are numerous capacities for producing the same result. This is known as “parallel distributed processing”. (The classic scientific papers are in McClelland, Rumelhart & PDP Research Group, 1986; for a useful introduction see Bechtel and Abrahamson 1991.) The brain is composed of many systems that are *both* specialized and generalized, and, especially in the human brain, closely interconnected. This allows the brain considerable scope for error correction (single-loop learning), for random results, and also excess capacity that allows new activities and functions to develop (double-loop learning, including deuterolearning). This is what enables self-regulation to move into self-organized evolution. By building patterns of rich connectivity between similar parts we can create systems that are both specialized and generalized, and that are capable of reorganizing internal structure and function as they learn to meet the challenges posed by new demands.

Morgan’s vision of how this can be applied in organizations is exciting:

“The holographic principle has a great deal running in its favor. For the capacities of the brain are already distributed throughout modern organizations. All the employees have brains, and computers are in essence simulated brains. In this sense, important aspects of the whole are already embodied in the parts. The development of more holographic, brain-like forms of organization thus rests in the realization of a potential that already exists.” (Morgan 1986, p.97)

These four principles of holographic design are a starting point for designing learning organizations and, for that matter, learning networks of larger scale – learning communities, regions and cities:

- get the whole into the parts;
- create connectivity and redundancy;
- create simultaneous specialization and generalization; and
- create a capacity to self-organize.

LIFELONG LEARNING AND THE LEARNING ORGANIZATION: A SYMBIOTIC RELATIONSHIP

Holographic design enables us to see how the principles and practices of lifelong learning must be enfolded in learning organizations. From a lifelong learning point of view, it is not just a matter of getting the whole into the parts, it is also a matter of getting the parts into the whole. Just as we want individual learners whose espoused

theories and theories-in-use embrace the principles of the learning organization, as proposed by Senge and others, so we want organizations that embody such characteristics of the lifelong learner as proposed by Candy, Crebert and O'Leary – an inquiring mind, helicopter vision, information literacy, a sense of personal agency and a repertoire of learning skills. We will want organizations to be designed so that, in order to achieve their organizational goals, they require lifelong learners. In this respect an educational imperative will become a driver of organizational design, development and management. In order to meet this requirement, we will need organizations to be designed to support the continuous learning of their members. Argyris and Schon's concept of a Model II organization is an essential starting point.

The process by which organizations will become not just learning organizations, but lifelong learning organizations, is the interactive process of individual and organizational learning explained by Argyris and Schon, in which individuals, acting for their organization, carry out on its behalf a process of inquiry that results in learning, and the learning is then transferred and generalized, and embedded in the culture of the organization. Cultural embedding, as stressed by Schein, is the sign that the organization has learned, and that the learning will survive the departure of the initial individual learners.

This chapter has conveyed a generally positive impression of both lifelong learning and the learning organization. However, we have noted risks and dangers, arising not so much from the concepts and their intent, as from the context of learning and organizational operation in the world of globalization and hypercompetition. Taking account of these risks and dangers means placing the learning organization in a broader context of moral, social and political responsibility.

We started by noting that the origins of interest in learning organizations were in the world of business, and that the idea spread from there across education, training and other sectors of society. Critics have pointed out how the rhetoric of the learning organization can be used to create compliant workers, and as learning makes organizations more efficient, it can lead to reduced costs and job-cutting. Similarly, it has been pointed out that the job and information requirements of business now set an agenda, if not the agenda, for what must be learned, and have established the need for a program of lifelong learning. Not surprisingly, business itself has become a major education provider, teaching and training employees on the job and, in a growing number of instances, taking over the administration of schools as governments experiment with privatization. This gives rise to the concern that education dominated by business may lead to a two-tiered society of information haves and have-nots (Davis and Botkin 1995).

There is no doubt that ideas such as lifelong learning and the learning organization can be abused. It should be noted, however, that critical inquiry is at the core of each of these, and that worker compliance is assumed to be inimical to organizational success in a hypercompetitive global environment. If this is so, then rhetorical abuse in order to create compliance is in the long run economically counterproductive. In this sense, both lifelong learning and the learning organization are hypotheses about the future, and in the nature of the case, the evidence is not yet in.

The question of haves and have-nots is more serious, and cannot be addressed adequately within the business and educational frameworks discussed in this chapter. Even if, as often argued, the move to the knowledge society, the information society, the learning society, or whatever we wish to call it, will produce new jobs to replace those lost through increased efficiencies, this does not happen simultaneously, in the same geographical locations, or with justice and equity around the world as a whole. This is to say that educational ideals and learning programs, by themselves, cannot achieve social justice and individual fulfillment, any more than can business, investment and economic development – an important, but not new, insight. There needs to be a broader framework of social policy developed by government at all levels, including international agencies. This is increasingly being recognized by lifelong learning advocates, and notions of learning communities, learning regions and learning cities are being integrated into wider social and economic programs (Longworth 1999, OECD 1996). These issues are addressed in other chapters of this volume.

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Section 4

The Practice: Informal and Non-formal Initiatives in Learning Across the Lifespan

MICHAEL HATTON– SECTION EDITOR

Chapter 1: Community Colleges and Lifelong Learning: Canadian Experiences

PAUL GALLAGHER AND WILLIAM DAY

INTRODUCTION

The first objective of this paper is to analyze the roles that Canada's community colleges have played in the evolution of Canada as a lifelong learning society. The second but no less important objective is to identify lessons that policy makers, institutional governors and others interested in the promotion of lifelong learning might learn from the Canadian community college experience.

The paper begins with a discussion of meanings and implications of the terms 'lifelong learning', 'learning culture', and 'learning society' as they have been used in Canada. A profile of the development and performance record of community colleges, and community college systems, in lifelong learning in Canada follows. Note is also made of lifelong learning roles played by universities, school systems, and community agencies in Canada.

This section of the paper concludes with the determination that community colleges in Canada, as a general rule with few exceptions, have not been 'stand-alone' lifelong learning centres or providers, but that most of them have played important roles within larger lifelong learning constellations in their communities. The breadth of their mandates and the creativity of many of their personnel have enabled most community colleges to move beyond their core purpose as traditional educational and training institutions that form part of larger education systems. Some of these institutions have been lifelong learning catalysts and activists.

The key lesson that might be learned from the experience of Canada's community colleges is then sketched. That is, it is not necessary to have all-inclusive lifelong learning institutions to have lifelong learning. Indeed, Canadian community colleges, while not being lifelong learning institutions per se, are playing a leading role in encouraging and enabling Canada to become a more complete lifelong learning society, with a firmly established learning culture.

LIFELONG LEARNING IN CANADA

For most Canadian educators and policy makers, 'lifelong learning', 'learning throughout life', 'learning culture', and 'learning society' are attractive yet elusive terms.

'Lifelong learning' has been thought of by many as little more than an updated and more appealing name for adult or continuing education (*Learning a Living in Canada* 1983). Sometimes, it has been seen as an appeal for greater recognition and funding for education beyond formal post-secondary schooling, or simply as another catchy but essentially meaningless slogan or slice of educational jargon (Houghton & Richardson 1974).

Recently, Hatton (1997, p.v) has brought greater clarity and dimension to the terminology by describing lifelong learning "... as learning that occurs in or is related to formal educational and training institutions, including work-related on-the-job and off-the-job training, as well as broader learning within the community and in the home. Lifelong learning takes place throughout the lifespan".

Gordon Selman (Selman & Dampier 1991, pp.6-7), the Canadian historian of adult education, and Paul Dampier, have noted that, in a learning society, "the society's formal educational institutions (schools, colleges, universities, etc.) are only part of the resources in society for the education of the individual; the home, the workplace, one's social and recreational activities and other aspects of life are all seen to be the settings for educational activities in 'the learning society'". Selman and Dampier conclude that: "The terms lifelong education and lifelong learning have now become coin of the realm in educational discussion, embracing but going far beyond the field of adult education."

In recent years, it has been increasingly popular in Canada to refer to 'lifewide' as well as 'lifelong' learning (Cropley 1981). While the term 'lifelong' draws attention only to the fact that people learn throughout life, it is equally important to incorporate the notion that, in a learning society, a broad range of learning opportunities should be accessible by the entire population. The complementary notion is that these opportunities should be available wherever citizens are: in tenant associations, unions, hobby groups, churches, or other everyday locales. (In the balance of this paper, the term 'lifelong' will be used to mean both lifelong and lifewide, or to refer to both duration and scope of learning and learning opportunity).

While lifelong learning has economic, training, and labour market development connotations, its social dimensions are usually referred to as equally significant. In Canada, adult educators have seen 'citizenship education' as a critical feature of a comprehensive learning society, and a major contributor to community development – "a process by which members of a community, however defined, determine to take stock of their community, set goals for desirable change, and work towards those goals" (Selman & Dampier 1991).

Methven and Hansen (1997, pp.3-7), writing from a New Zealand perspective, contrast the concept of lifelong learning with the characteristics of education systems. They make the point that the latter tend to be inert, orderly, bureaucratic, and resistant to change – and assume that one can be educated for life, even though "life itself changes". They go on to note that a lifelong learning culture is flexible, creative, and responsive. It satisfies the needs of societies in which the pace of social and technological change is accelerating and within which a succession of disparate occupations is becoming the norm for those in employment.

They further observe that “in its beginning, and under other names”, lifelong learning was “perceived as an instrument of social change and an augmentor of economic advancement” and “its extension, in the first half of the century, was interwoven with the rise of socialism in its various forms, trade unionism, and the embryonic welfare state. Its intention initially was magnanimously liberal”.

These words fairly describe aspects of lifelong learning as that term is used in Canada as well.

Given this background, lifelong learning, if newly invented as a distinct organized ‘system’ in the contemporary Canadian context, would have the following characteristics:

- it would have a governance structure that included learners and representatives of communities of learners with common interests;
- it would be an instrument for social, cultural, and economic improvement for its learners and communities of learners;
- it would be flexible in operation, with learning of various kinds taking place at times and places convenient to learners;
- it would engage formal education and training institutions as well as workplaces and community agencies in the design, delivery, and mutual recognition of a variety of formal and less formal learning opportunities that are responsive to needs identified by learners;
- it would enable learners to proceed with their learning at their own pace and to serve their own needs;
- it would be accessible by learners of all ages; in particular, by self-defined adults.

To what extent have Canada’s community colleges been ‘inert, orderly, bureaucratic,’ traditional educational institutions resistant to change, rather than lifelong learning institutions or vibrant participants in a Canadian lifelong learning society with the characteristics noted above? To analyze the performance of Canada’s community colleges against these benchmarks, it is necessary to start by providing some context for their establishment and development.

TERTIARY EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY COLLEGE BEGINNINGS

Human capital theory was one of two major philosophical underpinnings of the development of tertiary education in Canada in the mid- to late -1960s (Denison 1962). “Invest in people” was a popular political and academic cry of that day, with the widely held confidence that education and training would lead to economic prosperity, which in turn would lead to improvements in the standard of living and quality of life for Canadians.

The second foundational notion was that of democratic access (Thomas 1987). That is, in an era of unprecedented prosperity within Canada, the circumstances were ripe for enabling broader access to publicly supported post-secondary and adult education and training – and, more generally, for making Canada a much more participatory,

democratic country. Canada, it was argued in public arenas, now had the opportunity – and should have the will – to discard a social and cultural elitism that had prevailed for most of its history.

In effect, there was a confluence of these two frequently conflicting notions – education and training for economic purposes, and democratization of opportunity for social, cultural, and civic purposes. One of the consequences of this coming together was a determination to build new tertiary education systems throughout the country. The rhetoric of that era was that Canada needed to invest much more heavily in post-secondary education to ensure a more highly trained workforce. At the same time, there were calls for a much broader variety of learning opportunities being made accessible to a much broader spectrum of the adult population, to correct perceived social ills of the past and present. The common view was that the leadership for all new initiatives should be exercised by government, because ‘education and training’ would serve the public interest.

A third and less tangible but no less real foundational consideration was a spirit of optimism that pervaded public life in the 1960s and the 1970s. Throughout the country, important education policy studies such as the Parent Report in Quebec, the L’Estrange Report in British Columbia, the Worth Report in Alberta, the Wright Report in Ontario, the Faris and Saskmedia Reports in Saskatchewan, and the Oliver Report in Manitoba were visionary documents received and acted upon with great enthusiasm (Sheffield 1982). Risk taking was valued highly, at least in discourse. The widespread attitude was that ‘anything can be achieved’.

However, translating that optimism and enthusiasm into practical reality became a complex task, partially as a result of jurisdictional conflicts in matters of education and training for people beyond secondary school age.

In Canada, the national government has not had constitutional jurisdiction in matters of education (Cameron 1991). While it was able to encourage and fund the kinds of post-secondary education and training it considered desirable in the national interest, and could operate its own training programs in most parts of the country, there was a continuing tension between federal and provincial authorities in matters pertaining to education beyond primary and secondary schooling. It was left to the individual provinces and territories to introduce the legislation, and set up the operational structures and institutions, to expand and diversify learning opportunity beyond elementary and secondary schooling. This they did in part by creating publicly funded community colleges, using several different labels such as regional college, college of applied arts and technology, and college of general and vocational education.

Thus, although there are structural similarities from sea to sea to sea, twelve (12) distinct approaches to, or systems of, community college education emerged in Canada over time (Jones 1997). There is not, and never has been, a ‘system’ of Canadian tertiary education. However, with the exception of Nova Scotia, which delayed its community college initiatives until the 1990s, every jurisdiction had some form of community college education in place by 1975 (Dennison & Gallagher 1986).

In the debates that preceded and accompanied the establishment of these new institutions, the foundational notions referred to above came into full play, and the curriculum and service possibilities seemed limitless. From a human capital perspective,

community colleges – it was said by some – should become high quality training centres to ensure that Canada would have the qualified manpower necessary to meet the labour market needs of a growing industrial economy. From a democratic access perspective, community colleges – it was said by others – should provide the opportunity for communities throughout Canada to meet all education and training needs not being met well by any other educational institution or agency. The enthusiasts, mainly in the community colleges and the Canadian Association for Adult Education, argued that both objectives should and could be pursued concurrently (Campbell 1971).

Among other initiatives, a national Commission on Community Colleges, established by the Canadian Association for Adult Education (Curtis 1970), toured the country, listening to what citizens and institutional and government representatives had to say, and promoting the democratic access cause. It was a time of authentic excitement about what Canadians could achieve.

In particular, adult educators in different regions rejoiced at the prospect that learning by adults might acquire greater legitimacy, and that Canadian adults might, through these new institutions, finally have the chance to continue their learning of choice with public support. Their enthusiasm was buttressed when ‘lifelong learning’ was adopted as the official position of the United Nations Economic Social and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) following the Faure Report in 1972, and when the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) adopted the allied “recurrent education” concept that was first articulated by Olaf Palme in 1969 and given definitive form by OECD in *Recurrent Education – A Strategy for Lifelong Learning* in 1973 (OECD 1973).

However, provincial and territorial legislators were less willing to convert daring visions and innovative ideas into institutional practice. In legislating into being the new “community colleges” and in determining how these new institutions should be funded, provincial and territorial governments set human capital development as the primary objective for their community college systems, with ‘democratic access’ objectives clearly subsidiary. Almost every jurisdiction in Canada gave priority to “training”, and more specifically to opportunity for secondary school graduates to continue formal studies without the levels of tuition fees that prevailed in Canadian universities. The common core purpose of the community college systems became, by law and in fact, the training of young high school graduates for work in the industrial economy of the time (Dennison 1995).

On the other hand, the mission statements and legislated mandates of community colleges and college systems were, in most cases, sufficiently broad and flexible to allow the institutions to go well beyond their primary ‘training’ responsibility. They were able to provide a wide range of ‘adult and continuing education’ services, subject only to the availability of funding for such initiatives and the creativity that each institution could bring to the task of expanding access to the learning opportunities sought by community members (Gallagher & MacFarlane 1976; Campbell 1973).

In Ontario, the most densely populated and industrialized province, community colleges were named Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology, to make sure that no one would mistake them for universities, and to make very clear that career, technical and vocational training were to be the focus of the work of these institutions. In

Quebec, two major streams of study were established: a pre-university stream for those who planned to go on to more advanced studies at university, and a 'technical/vocational' stream for those who would go directly into the workforce, with the expectation that the vast majority of students would find themselves in the latter category. In provinces such as Manitoba and New Brunswick, institutions which previously had been known as vocational schools or technical institutes initially changed in little more than name when they were converted to 'community colleges'. In British Columbia, both university-parallel, transferable courses and vocational and technical programs were provided (Foot & MacNiven 1990; Campbell 1971).

In almost all provinces and territories, more mature applicants were certainly admitted to training programs, and, in at least some of these institutions, special services to support more mature learners – such as child care facilities – were put in place even in the earliest days. Nevertheless, the culture, instructional delivery methods, and organizational approaches of most of these institutions was 'young adult' in orientation and atmosphere, with older learners having to adapt to the mores of younger people (Dennison & Gallagher 1986).

Also in most provinces and territories, community colleges broadened the traditional curriculum and student base by providing opportunities for adults with limited literacy skills to take Adult Basic Education upgrading courses. Originally such initiatives were justified (and funded by the national government) on the grounds that many potential trainees simply did not have sufficient academic background to be able to cope with technical or vocational training, and that they needed to "upgrade" before entering a specific training programs. It did not take long, however, for college personnel to recognize that Adult Basic Education could be particularly valuable in its own right for many young and older people with limited literacy skills.

In a similar vein, with targeted funding from the national government, many colleges began to offer courses in English or French as a Second Language, first as preparatory to formal training and later as a practical subject of study for many people new to the country – whether or not they wished to pursue technical or vocational training afterwards. With the expansion of activity into both of these curriculum areas – Adult Basic Education and second language development – community colleges became locales for more than narrowly defined 'training' (Dennison & Gallagher 1986).

It was also common for the first community colleges to establish Continuing Education Divisions (or similarly named internal units) whose chief function was to plan and offer a wide range of programming, on a part-time schedule, for adults who wished – at their own expense – to continue their learning on an informal basis or expand their areas of interest and expertise. The presence of these organizational units within the colleges allowed them to identify themselves accurately as 'comprehensive' institutions (Campbell 1971).

Thus, community colleges originally offered many learning opportunities in addition to their core training and academic programs. However, these ventures were clearly of a second order of importance and of a much lower priority for their government funders. "Continuing education" continually struggled for internal legitimacy and for recognition from government as important functions for these institutions. In

the same vein, part-time students in 'non-credit' courses generally were seen as peripheral to the main student population of these new institutions.

In general, governments were willing to provide some limited resources to enable community colleges to develop a continuing education capacity. However, it is significant that community colleges made sure that such less formal and conventionally structured learning was clearly labelled "non-credit" so that it would not be mistaken for the conventional technical, vocational, or academic courses that formed the nucleus of, and gave legitimacy to, these institutions.

It was only in agricultural Saskatchewan and the northern territories that the colleges were originally designed to be community-based, comprehensive learning centres. In Saskatchewan, community colleges outside the larger urban areas were indeed adult-oriented lifelong learning centres that were intended to – and did – respond to a variety of self-identified continuing and community education needs. As well, these centres served as brokers for the delivery of courses, programs, and services from more conventional education or training institutions (Dennison & Gallagher 1986). This model of operation was the only one in Canada explicitly based on the then emerging UNESCO concept of lifelong learning.

Some colleges within the provincial college systems did their best to do what they judged best for their communities, regardless of the funding regulations. They operated on the edge of these systems, offering or arranging for a great variety of learning opportunities for young and older people in their communities, or promoting the potential of distance learning as a new mechanism for increasing access to lifelong learning opportunities. A number of smaller and non-urban colleges, in particular, bent the system rules as much as possible so that they could live up to a vision of lifelong learning that was well supported at a community level but only marginally supported by provincial governments.

Two other components of tertiary education also developed during this period and contributed substantially to the expansion of learning opportunity: universities (and single purpose public post-secondary institutions such as institutes of technology and art schools), and community-based associations and organizations. They, too, faced and struggled with the human capital/democratic access conflict, as did school boards that offered adult education programs.

In the case of the universities, new degree-granting institutions, especially in Ontario, were established and some older institutions were upgraded to university status in the 1960s, as the country responded to a huge increase in demand for university access (Stager 1984). The newer and more established universities did open their doors to steadily increasing numbers of students throughout the 1960s and 1970s, but they neither broadened the scope of their offerings nor embarked on a program of institutional specialization.

The traditional university missions of teaching, research, and community service drove these institutions, with creation of lifelong learning opportunities for a broad spectrum of the population as a very minor area of activity. Continuing Education Centres or Extension Services were established on all university campuses, but they devoted most of their resources and time to continuing professional education and to other campus-based, non-credit activity that was largely inaccessible to people off

campus. Canadian universities certainly contributed to the expansion of access to tertiary opportunity throughout Canada, but were engaged in providing lifelong learning opportunity only for a small segment of the total population and only to a limited degree (Campbell, D. 1984).

Less visible (and less examined) were the lifelong learning contributions of a whole range of community-based organizations and associations established or maintained to serve a variety of individual or 'special' interests throughout the country. Most commonly, local agencies would identify an unmet need and federal or provincial governments would acknowledge that need, and then proceed to fund that agency to meet that need.

Canada became dotted with new, frequently single-purpose, community associations playing one or another community development or community education role with public funding, both provincial and federal. Adults with physical or learning disabilities, members of specific ethnic or cultural groups, people seeking to return to the workforce after being displaced, adults with low literacy levels, women wishing to enter or re-enter the workforce, and people wishing to remain current with political and social issues of the day through public discussion groups were able to get at least some of their learning needs addressed by non-profit societies, religious groups, and other community agencies, rather than through the formal educational systems then in place (Thomas 1987).

Mention should also be made of the numerous conferences and publications, particularly ones funded by the national government, that tried to encourage the development of a learning culture. The work of the Skill Development Task Force (1983), the numerous conferences surrounding the Prosperity Initiative (McCamus & Drouin 1992), and Report of the Special Senate Committee on Youth (1986) are only a few examples of that thrust. They laid some important philosophical groundwork for the creation of Canada as a learning society, but they also demonstrated that philosophy without funding can be more discouraging than enabling.

NEW REALITIES

Despite these issues and problems, the late 1960s to the early 1980s can be thought of as the heydays of tertiary education in Canada. Most institutions, organizations, and associations were staffed with bright and energetic people, almost any learning initiative could be at least tested, and new institutions had no long term traditions to live up to, or down from.

In fact, Canada's early community colleges were in many ways victims of their own successes. The demands for their training and academic programs – and for their less formal offerings – seemed insatiable, and they were continually pressing governments to provide additional funding so that they could provide more courses and programs for applicants who otherwise had to remain on wait lists. Governments came to perceive that colleges were important provincial resources – but also costly ones (Dennison & Gallagher 1986).

By the mid-1980s, many governments found themselves unable – or unwilling, in times of difficult public policy priority setting – to continue to fund community-based

training and education to the same extent as in the recent past. 'Cutback' became a well-used word in Canada. Some voluntary associations and organizations simply ceased to function, due primarily to funding shortages. Many maintained their existence, but little more than that. Government decisions to continue or discontinue funding frequently seemed arbitrary. Nevertheless, voluntary, community-based, specific interest networks of organizations and associations survived throughout the country. They continued to provide a whole range of learning opportunities that otherwise would not have been available (Thomas 1991), mostly through the use of additional volunteer personnel to offset reduced public financial commitment to community-based learning.

Several developments in the 1980s and 1990s influenced the direction taken by almost all publicly supported tertiary education institutions and community agencies, but particularly by community colleges.

RECESSION

Economic recession in the early 1980s ushered in a new era of restraint for community colleges as well as for other government-supported services (Dennison & Gallagher 1986).

In the first phase of recession, colleges were urged by their provincial governments to "do more with less", to economize rather than expect additional government funding, to increase tuition fees where feasible, and more generally to become more creative in the use of their clearly more limited public resources. By the late 1980s, there were further expectations placed on these institutions: to generate an increasing percentage of their total revenues from entrepreneurial initiatives, and to compete in an increasingly diverse training marketplace with private sector trainers, community-based organizations, and the training departments of corporations.

Some colleges were able to compete very well in this environment, notably larger ones in Ontario and Alberta, where some colleges came to generate more than 50% of their total operating revenue from entrepreneurial/contracting activity by the early 1990s (Knowles 1995). It should be noted, however, that much of this revenue still flowed from government sources, via 'third party' arrangements. On the other hand, smaller colleges and those outside larger metropolitan areas were simply unable to generate significant revenue beyond that provided directly by government (Day 1992).

Most colleges saw no choice but to tailor their programming to their financial limitations. Student support and administrative services were first reduced, and then enrolments were capped, even in some high demand program areas. In circumstances such as these, it was understandable that activities at the margins of these colleges would be more vulnerable than the core programming. And that is what happened. Public funding available for continuing education activities was first disproportionately reduced. Institutions were required to be not only self-funding at a program level but also to raise for the institution enough funds to cover the costs of maintenance, lighting, and other "central" or overhead services and, not much later, to provide additional revenue to be assigned to the core activities of the college.

CANADIAN JOBS STRATEGY

Both federal and provincial governments felt the pressures of fiscal restraint in the 1980s. One of the most dramatic initiatives taken by the federal government was to introduce a Canadian Jobs Strategy in the mid-1980s, which quickly turned out to be more a 'training' strategy than an 'employment' or 'jobs' strategy. Central to this strategy was the decision of the federal government to increase subsidies to employers and private sector training organizations, at the expense of public training providers, as a means of encouraging private sector employers to employ as well as train new entrants to the workforce (EIC 1987).

The overall value of this strategy may be open to debate. However, it is beyond dispute that, as a result of this federal initiative, the publicly subsidized institutions were rendered even less able to meet the diversity of demands they were facing. Not unexpectedly, in this competition for dollars within public institutions, the marginal activities of these institutions came under even more threat. Continuing Education operations were effectively forced into narrowing the scope of their activities and moving more and more into the business of part-time training and upgrading so that they could generate sufficient revenue to remain viable, if not profitable. Earlier continuing education and community development activities that had never been, and realistically could not be, net revenue generators, began to fall by the wayside (Hodgson 1987).

By the late -1980s, the demands for economy and efficiency in the provision of all public services became even more insistent. In post-secondary education, a result was that the range of college programming and services narrowed, even in jurisdictions where the numbers of students were on the increase, as in British Columbia. College students who needed more than normal support to be successful in training programs were often unable to complete their training. The most popular – and less expensive – academic and training programs expanded; less attractive and more peripheral ones struggled to survive.

Without question, colleges were required by force of federal training policy as well as financial circumstance to stick to their core funded purpose, or to raise their own revenues if they were to offer much beyond that.

YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

With tougher economic times came a host of social as well as economic issues, and governments were faced with the problem of setting priorities for their limited spending. One of the social problems was a significant rise in the unemployment of young people across the country, with national statistics indicating a serious and growing gap in unemployment between younger and older workers (Hebert 1986). More and better training for the youth population was seen by government as one of the solutions. To be seen as relevant and therefore worthy of continuing government support, community colleges had yet further incentive to focus their attention on youth rather than adult training – and on competing in this arena with private sector trainers (Gigantes 1987).

Here again, external pressures on community colleges prompted these institutions to steer even farther away from being centres of lifelong learning, responsive to a variety of social, cultural and economic needs of individuals and communities. Because the problem of youth unemployment levels persisted throughout the 1990s, there was no let up on the expectation that community colleges would remain with their priority mandate to provide training for young adults before any other learning need is addressed.

KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY

The gradual emergence of a highly competitive, global, technologically driven, knowledge-based economy in the mid-1980s and 1990s also had an important impact on community colleges in Canada. A 'knowledge-based economy' was translated into the view that more Canadians needed more formal education and training to allow Canadian business to be more internationally competitive. Like all other post-secondary education and training providers, the community colleges were expected to adjust their programming to fit the requirements of 'a new economy' (Beck 1992 and ECC 1992). A result of this redirection of the Canadian economy was that community colleges were again under pressure to remain primarily training institutions. Coupled with the continuing expectation that community colleges could and would become more efficient in their operations, the prospect of these institutions converting themselves, or more gradually evolving, into lifelong learning centres was remote indeed.

PARTNERSHIPS

Sustained pressures in the 1980s and 1990s on the community colleges throughout Canada to serve more students with the same or fewer dollars saw governments urging these institutions to find partners, outside the education and training sector, who might help them by, directly or indirectly, sharing the costs and other burdens associated with 'doing more with less' (McCamus & Drouin 1992). In fact, colleges in virtually all jurisdictions took on this challenge with gusto, and many were successful in finding corporate partners anxious to take advantage of their training expertise. Out of this development came a new feature of community college activity in most jurisdictions: the establishment of 'contract training' as a significant and largely independent component of community college operations.

Indeed, in some cases, 'contract training' virtually took over the place that once was occupied by 'continuing education' within the administrative structure of community colleges (Knowles 1995). That is, institutions focussed increased attention on developing partnerships with members of the corporate community, and on providing specialized training under contract with private sector firms and with international clients. When successful, these training contract arrangements generated additional net revenue for the institutions, and encouraged them to develop even more contracts. It should not be surprising that, under these circumstances, continuing and community

education courses and programs without an obvious training focus, and without private sector partners with funds to invest in education and training, would suffer by comparison. In many colleges in different parts of the country, 'contract training' effectively replaced 'continuing education' as a major area of community college activity (Day 1996). For example, in British Columbia, 'general interest' or 'lifewide' offerings of community college continuing education departments dropped from 74% of total service in 1983/84 to approximately 8% in 1996/97 (Day 1992).

DEVOLUTION

The lifelong learning cause in community colleges was dealt another blow in the mid-1990s. The national government decided to withdraw from the provision of training for unemployed people wishing to re-enter the workforce. It turned over responsibility for the delivery of such training to the provinces and territories – and concurrently drastically reduced its financial support to the provinces for post-secondary education, health, and social services. All provinces, except British Columbia, reduced their funding to community colleges.

The issue of 'devolution' of responsibility for this area of training to the provinces and territories was essentially a constitutional issue in Canada, spearheaded by an independence-minded Quebec, but by no means a matter of indifference for other provinces. In a continuing struggle between federal and provincial governments over a variety of jurisdictional concerns, some provinces pressed hard for the right and the resources to manage all training initiatives within their jurisdictions. That pressure increased significantly when it became clear that the federal government was going to reduce transfer payments to the provinces for health, social services, and post-secondary education. When Canada's national government began to work out detailed transfer arrangements with each province and territory, it became very apparent that all of these jurisdictions saw 'training for employment' as of far greater and more urgent importance than 'continuing education' or 'lifelong learning' (Sharpe & Haddow 1997). Indeed, the latter did not even enter into the negotiations leading to the federal-provincial labour market agreements that translated the principle of devolution of responsibility for adult or post-secondary training and labour force development into practical terms across Canada (CLFDB 1997).

CONSERVATISM

Observers have commented as well that, by the 1980s, the enthusiasm and excitement of the early days was replaced by a much more cautious approach to institutional change (Foot 1996). Many of the early 'missionaries' retired or moved out of the community college systems to be replaced by others whose priorities were much more aligned with those of governments: economy, efficiency, accountability, bureaucracy, and performance indicators. Clearly, such priorities did not bode well for the future of learning opportunities of many kinds for people of all ages and interests.

It should not be surprising that many community college teachers would give evidence of resisting change at the rates that prevailed in the previous two decades. The values of most teachers in Canada have long been fundamentally conservative and cautious (Dixon 1992; Henchey 1981), and these values – when job losses in education became a new phenomenon – clearly manifested themselves in public debate in the tough economic times of the 1980s. New economic realities, and the slowing of the growth of community colleges, also provoked more militant positions by organized labour in education. Job security, better remuneration and benefits for college personnel, and measures to slow the pace of unilaterally determined technological change in education took precedence over initiatives to expand access to a diversity of new learning opportunities (Adams 1997).

THE IMPACT OF CHANGE

An early vision of community colleges as all-purpose centres of lifelong learning has not materialized. Canadian tertiary education is farther away today from that vision in the earliest days of the community colleges. It may be that community colleges now serve a narrower spectrum of the Canadian population than they did in their earliest days (Anisef 1982); certainly, they offer today a more restricted range of learning opportunities than they did in those days (Day 1992).

On the other hand, there is no doubt that community colleges have been prime contributors to the increased participation of Canadians in post-secondary education since the early 1960s. It is also true that there are considerably more adults beyond the conventional 18–24 age group participating in post-secondary education and training. Equally, there are many more adult Canadians studying part-time rather than full-time than there were before the establishment of community colleges (Jones 1997). To these extents, Canada is much more a ‘lifelong’ learning society than it was thirty years ago.

However, Canada is not more of a ‘lifewide’ learning society than it was thirty years ago. Most Canadians still value formal education and training far more than other ways of learning; recognition of prior and less formal learning, for example, is still at a very early and tentative stage of acceptance within and beyond the world of formal education. Older Canadians who wish to continue their learning informally, outside the official education and training structures, and at least partially at public expense, find as much difficulty now as they did thirty years ago in pursuing these objectives. The notion that lifelong learning begins with improved pre-schooling and parent support, especially for ‘at risk’ young people, is not yet well appreciated in Canada (Mustard 1995; CCSD 1997; Galt 1999).

Despite public rhetoric to the contrary, Canada does not yet have a well-established ‘learning culture’, nor could Canada yet claim to be a ‘learning society’. Canada’s community colleges have made major contributions to the formal education and training capabilities of this country, but few of them have contributed significantly to other dimensions of lifelong learning as proposed by UNESCO and OECD decades ago, or as many early advocates for community colleges in Canada as champions of democratic access had hoped.

If the performance of Canada's community colleges is assessed against the lifelong learning benchmarks presented earlier in this paper (see pp. 5–6), it becomes apparent that Canada's community colleges have not passed the test, from the perspectives of purpose, governance, participants, programming, and learning methods. On the other hand, there seems much to be learned from the Canadian community college experience about how to contribute to developing a lifelong learning society.

LESSON LEARNED

The most significant lesson to be learned from the Canadian experience is that it is possible – indeed, common – for lifelong learning opportunities to be accessible to, and used by, significant numbers of learners in communities throughout the country without the establishment of lifelong learning centres. The conclusion that physical locations such as 'community colleges' or 'community college campuses' have not become comprehensive 'lifelong learning centres' is certainly justified. And many would say that it was never a realistic expectation for them, in any event.

However, it is also possible to think of, and organize, lifelong learning as a dispersed or decentralized, ongoing activity of individuals and groups, not associated particularly with a specific physical location. In such a model, emphasis is placed on the activity of learning, and the notion of 'centre' is replaced by the notion of 'constellation' or 'network' of institutions and agencies to support learning – where all (or most) resources for learning in a community (or larger jurisdiction) can be seen as different components of a flexible, adaptable lifelong learning web, accessible to all.

With this perspective on lifelong learning, it would indeed be appropriate to claim that Canada's community colleges have been significant components of community-based lifelong learning networks and important agents for lifelong learning throughout an almost 40 year era in which Canada has been developing a learning culture and building a learning society, step by step. They have certainly been instrumental in broadening access to learning opportunity of several kinds for many people in Canada. Many of them have valued and supported lifelong learning to a greater extent than they have been able to translate that value into institutional programming and service, primarily as a result of external pressures.

Indeed, the experience of Canada's community colleges with lifelong learning suggests that Canada may indeed become a comprehensive lifelong learning society in the not distant future through a further step-by-step process. One major step is likely to be an increased if not generalized commitment to pre-school child development as part of a national "children's agenda" proposed by Canada's federal, provincial, and territorial governments (McNaughton 1999). A second step is equally likely: the formal post-secondary educational institutions in most parts of Canada will develop more flexible and more student-responsive mechanisms to facilitate transitions within the broad field of post-secondary education (BCCAT 1999). Initiatives are also being taken in at least some provinces to improve and ease the transitions most secondary school students must make either to the world of work or to further studies at a tertiary stage (BCCAT 1999).

Combining these developments with a decade-long history of schools and post-secondary institutions offering special courses in a wide range of topics specifically designed for senior citizens, it seems that many elements of lifelong learning networks are already in place, though not with that label.

On the other hand, most workplace training programs – as distinct from institution-based programs – still tend to stand alone in most jurisdictions (NAC 1999). In the main, their proponents do not yet see themselves as parts of the lifelong learning constellations now in place in various jurisdictions in Canada, largely because ‘trainers’ and ‘educators’ have traditionally operated in separate and discrete spheres.

Similarly, there have commonly been serious tensions dividing public, private, and community organization providers of learning opportunities in many parts of Canada, and these tensions have tended to increase as public funding for all forms of adult and post-secondary education and training has diminished (CLFDB 1999). How best to incorporate both workplace training and the variety of learning providers into community-based lifelong learning constellations is still not clear.

In all of these more recent developments and projections, it is significant that the Association of Canadian Community Colleges has chosen to become a highly visible advocate for the development of Canada as “The Learning Society”. In a major 1999 publication, that association provided an attractive description of why Canada should become a learning society, what the characteristics of a learning society should be, and how “the learning trend” should be accelerated.

That publication ended with these words: “The development of awareness around environmental concerns was built on a mass of small ideas that permeate every corner of our lives. The behaviour of the majority of Canadians is fundamentally different today in the way they view the environment. The same magnitude of change in attitude and behaviour can be achieved in the development of, and support for, a Learning Society. Many of the elements are already emerging. All that is needed is for a national government to articulate a vision of such a society and adjust programs to support the growth of the reality” (ACCC 1999). While a lifelong learning vision has already been articulated, lifelong learning is still often thought of as little more than a clever catch-phrase. And it is undoubtedly true that many steps still have to be taken “to support the growth of the reality”.

CONCLUSION – A NEW DIRECTION

This paper began with a description of the characteristics of lifelong learning as rooted in both the general literature on this topic and particularities of the Canadian context. It then proceeded to a sketch of the development of tertiary education and community college systems in the various jurisdictions in Canada, and an identification of internal and external factors that militated against community colleges becoming comprehensive lifelong learning centres.

The conclusion of this part of the paper is that community colleges in Canada have generally not become such centres for lifelong learning, as many educators in Canada had hoped they would, but have remained part of the formal education – as distinct from learning – structures of the country. However, most community colleges in

Canada have participated actively, and frequently in leadership roles, in community-based lifelong learning initiatives as that term has been generally understood in Canada. This paper then suggests that, despite supportive rhetoric, Canada has not yet become a 'learning society' nor developed a 'learning culture' so critical to the promotion of lifelong learning.

The paper then proceeds to some reflection on lessons that might be learned from Canadian community college experiences with lifelong learning. It concludes with the observation that, rather than attempting to change their core purpose to accommodate the needs of comprehensive lifelong learning, community colleges in Canada have pursued a more attainable and realistic role with respect to lifelong learning as advocates for the cause and as models of institutional behaviour within lifelong constellations throughout the country.

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Chapter 2: From Literacy to Lifelong Learning in Tanzania

ALIX YULE

INTRODUCTION

In the thirty-five years since independence Tanzania has struggled to develop an educational system that contributes to national unity and national prosperity. The country is justifiably proud of its progress towards unity, characterized by internal peace and political stability, however, Tanzania's economy remains among the weakest in Africa.

Adult education, specifically literacy training, has been an important aspect of the government's education policy since the 1960s. Literacy was considered to be a prerequisite to social change and economic development, however at the time of independence only 33% of the adult population was literate (Mnjagila, 1998). The country faced an enormous challenge. The first president, Julius Nyerere, when introducing the country's first Five Year Development Plan (1964 – 69), stated his belief in the critical importance of adult education:

“First we must educate adults. Our children will not have an impact on our economic development for five, ten or even twenty years. The attitudes of adults....on the other hand, have an impact now. The people must understand the plans for development of this country, they must be able to participate in changes which are necessary. Only if they are willing and able to do this, will this plan succeed”. (Kassam, 1988 p.126)

TANZANIA IN BRIEF

Tanzania is a country of 945,090 sq. km. and 31.3 million people situated on the east coast of Africa. The United Republic of Tanzania was formed in 1964 by the union of Tanganyika (Mainland) and Zanzibar (Zanzibar, Pemba and Mafia Islands). A country of wide variation in climate, vegetation, and topography, Tanzania's landscape includes humid, tropical coastal areas, a dry central plateau and the semi-temperate, fertile, rolling highlands. The country boasts a conspicuous section of the Great Rift Valley, Africa's deepest lake (Lake Tanganyika) and Africa's highest mountain (Mount Kilimanjaro).

The people of Tanzania belong to 126 African ethnic groups, each with its own language and culture, however, the official language, spoken by 96% of the population, is Kiswahili. There is a small number of Tanzanians, less than 2% of the population,

who are of Asian and European origin. Seventy-four per cent of Tanzanians live in rural areas and over 80% work in the agricultural sector. Urban-rural migration is increasing, and the rate of urbanization in 1999 was 6.1%. Cities are hard pressed to provide services and infrastructure, and it is estimated that 90% of the capital city, Dar es Salaam, is squatter planned (Nyenzi.com, 1999). The majority of Tanzanians are Christians or Muslims, with Christianity being more prevalent inland and Islam more common in coastal areas and in Zanzibar. Indigenous religions are also widely practiced.

Tanzania's economy is agriculturally-based (56 per cent of GDP) and agricultural products are the main source of foreign exchange earnings. Major cash crops are cotton, coffee, tea, sisal, cloves, cashew nuts, sugar, and oil seeds. Other exports include minerals, meat products and textiles. The country imports machinery, vehicles, petroleum products, household goods, pharmaceuticals and foodstuffs for a negative balance of trade. The economy has not performed well over the past two decades and per capita income in 1997 was only U.S.\$210, the third lowest in sub-Saharan Africa. The UN Human Development Index placed Tanzania 150 out of 174 countries in 1998.

A number of factors have contributed to the economic crisis in Tanzania. A significant decrease in foreign exchange earnings occurred when world prices for agricultural products dropped in the early 1980's. At the same time, the country suffered from the break-up of the East African Community, rising oil prices, drought, and the cost of the Ugandan War. Social service and infrastructure development projects initiated in the 1970's with bilateral and World Bank funding left the country with large financial demands to operate and maintain the projects, as well as a huge debt burden. In 1986, in response to extensive external pressure, the government of Tanzania accepted the IMF's Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). The SAP initiatives, intended to reduce government spending and stimulate the economy, cut back on key subsidies, removed trade restrictions, devalued the currency, and introduced cost sharing within social services. This resulted in rapid increases in the cost of living without comparable increases in wages and salaries, and retrenchment (layoff) of many public sector workers, which in turn added to the hardship and poor economic and social conditions of poor and middle class families.

These conditions are evidenced by a range of health and education indicators. The infant mortality rate is 8.5 per 100 live births and 27% of children under 5 are malnourished. Maternal mortality rates are 7.7 per 1000 live births and life expectancy is 50 years. Common health problems are associated with unsafe water, lack of hygiene and sanitation, and poor nutrition. Malaria is the most deadly killer, and estimates of adult HIV/AIDS infection range from 9 to 20% (World Bank, 1999) to 35% (TGNP, 1993).

The gross enrolment rate for primary school was 70 per cent in 1993, and only 48% of 6 to thirteen year old children were registered in school. Six% of primary school students drop out annually and the 1995 Standard 7 completion rate was only 38%. Children who do complete Standard 7 perform poorly, with over 80% scoring less than 50% on the national primary school leaving exams (Oxfam, 1999) Tanzania's secondary school gross enrolment rate of 5% is one of the lowest in the region, and

only 0.3% of the population attends higher education. Of the adult population in 1995, 32.3 per cent were considered illiterate and 2/3 of illiterates were women.

The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA 1999) Country Profile Fact Sheet describes Tanzania as “one of the world’s poorest countries”....

“Social service infrastructure is well established with a primary school in every village, health services within 5 km. of 70% of the rural population, and adequate water supplies available to half the peasant families. This sturdy infrastructure, however, in recent years is threatened due to deteriorating conditions... the general economic decline of Tanzania has seriously reduced allocations for social programs.” (CIDA 1999)

EDUCATION IN TANZANIA

Prior to colonization, Tanzania had an informal and traditional education system within which knowledge and values were passed from generation to generation through traditional *jando na unyago* or “coming of age” experiences. In other words, a traditional, strong and effective lifelong learning system was in place. However, German and British colonialists by-passed the traditional system, and its place fostered a western system of formal education designed to train the low-level administrative staff necessary to support colonialist government and commercial operations. Schools were established near the major ports and in areas with export crops. The result was disruption of the traditional system of learning, and replacement of it by an inequitable distribution of schools and opportunities which continues to exist today.

After independence in 1961, Tanzania began a major program of educational reform which included the expansion of the school system, racial and ethnic integration, the adoption of Kiswahili as the language of instruction in primary schools, and the modification of the curriculum. The first university, a campus of the East Africa University (later to become the University of Dar es Salaam), was established in 1967.

Following the Arusha Declaration in 1967, Tanzania’s educational reforms focused on “Education for Self-Reliance” to achieve socialist and nation-building objectives. Included were further curriculum reforms, an attempt to coordinate education with production needs, and a quota system in secondary schools. Primary school was considered mainly as preparation for life in the village with agriculture as the priority, in the hope that better trained farmers would increase production rates and contribute to food security for the nation. Farm training, as well as work experiences, were built into the curriculum at both primary and secondary levels.

In 1974, as part of the Musoma Resolution on educational reform, Tanzania adopted a policy of Universal Primary Education and received significant support from bilateral and multilateral donors to expand the educational system. All primary schools were nationalized and began offering the standard curriculum set by the government. Most communities in Tanzania have a primary school, which is often used as a site for adult education and literacy classes as well as for primary schooling. Typically government and community primary schools are concrete block construction with a corrugated

metal roof. Many rural schools do not have electricity, and water is provided by a single standpipe. Furnishings include wooden desks and benches and a chalk board, although there is a shortage of furniture and in many schools there are not enough desks and benches for all of the children.

In 1966 public secondary schools could accommodate 15.5% of primary school leavers. However, as the country strived to achieve universal primary education, the number of Standard 7 completers increased to the extent that, by 1984, only 1.6% could be accommodated in government secondary schools. The government then embarked on a campaign to build more secondary schools, implement a "double shift" system and encourage the establishment of more private secondary schools.

Education in Tanzania is implemented at four levels: national, regional, district and ward. Policy, funding, teacher training and curriculum are the responsibility of the central government and school management is the responsibility of the District Councils, specifically the District Education Officer. Each District Education Office has individual officers responsible for primary, secondary and adult education as well as administration, and each ward has an Education Coordinator who coordinates and provides support to all levels of education within his/her ward.

Despite high levels of donor assistance and policy support on the part of the government, major inequities continue to plague education at all levels within Tanzania. The system is characterized by serious under funding, inefficient use of resources, low enrolment rates, low quality teaching, and gender inequalities. The government introduced cost-sharing in education as part of its Structural Adjustment Program in order to shift part of the burden of education costs to users and their families. The result has been that real per capita spending on education has followed a steady downward curve. Government expenditure on education fell in real terms by about 30% between 1992 and 1993, and 32% between 1994 and 1995 (Cooksey, 1996).

To address continuing issues of quality, equity and access, the government initiated a new Education and Training Policy in 1995, and hosted the first Joint Government-Donor Review of Primary Education. It was clear within the education sector that uncoordinated efforts of a variety of donors implementing disjointed projects throughout the country was having very little impact on the overall system. At the same time, the World Bank, as part of its Structural Adjustment Program in Tanzania, was implementing Sector Investment Programs, and donor organizations, spearheaded by the European Union, were advocating a more coordinated model of development assistance to address all development needs.

The government convened the Arusha Conference in 1996 to plan for policy interpretation, strategy formulation, assessment of program targets, and management and implementation of its new policy, and embarked on a new "sectoral development" approach to educational policy and implementation. An Education Sector Co-ordinating Committee was formed along with an Inter-Ministerial Education Task Force (now the Sector Management Group). A Sector Development Program (SDP) was formulated along with a Basic Education Master Plan (BEMP) in 1997. The BEMP includes four major programming areas and over 30 individual components which represent the sector priorities and goals related to improvements in quality, access and efficiency (SDP, 1997).

The goal of the BEMP is to increase gross primary school enrolment rates to 85% by the year 2002. However, there are many barriers to the achievement of this laudable goal. The economic reality for poor families includes the inability to pay fees and other school expenses, and, just as importantly, the need for children to work either at domestic chores or in revenue generating activities. Families depend on children to look after younger children, the sick and the elderly, to gather water and firewood, to herd livestock, to assist with domestic and agricultural chores, to sell produce in markets, to assist in family micro-enterprises, and to work as petty traders. As the quality of primary education is perceived to deteriorate, and the economic benefits of school attendance are perceived to be low, fewer families are willing to make the economic sacrifices necessary to send children to school.

The outcome of low enrolment rates and of low quality programming is a youth and adult population with very low levels of literacy, numeracy and skills for employment. The need for adult education and non-formal education as a basis for and component of lifelong learning is, therefore, enormous.

NON-FORMAL EDUCATION DEFINED

According to Wilson (1997) the most commonly cited definition of non-formal education (NFE) is that provided by Coombs and Ahmed which differentiates NFE from informal and formal education.

“Formal education is the institutionalized, chronologically graded, and hierarchically structured educational system, spanning lower primary school and the upper reaches of the university.

Informal education is the lifelong process by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes, and insights from daily experiences and exposure to the environment.

Non-formal education is any organized, systematic educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups of the population, adults as well as children.”

(Wilson, 1997, p.86)

This definition, however, does not recognize the relationship that often exists between formal and non-formal education. Wilson goes on to point out that some NFE programs are in fact created or managed within the formal system, and that some NFE programs are in reality alternative forms of delivering formal education.

It should also be noted that there is a strong link between non-formal and informal education. The recent advent of the “learning organization” as a philosophy of corporate management, reflects an attempt to structure “daily experience and exposure to the environment” within a workplace in such a way that predefined learning objectives are met through everyday work experiences. Similarly, successful models of capacity

building initiatives within non-governmental organizations (NGO's) and community-based organizations in developing countries, indicate that the process of acquiring skills and accumulating knowledge can be enhanced through a variety of planned interventions not normally considered part of "on-the-job training". Such interventions include interaction with counterparts, modeling, peer coaching, redefining job responsibilities, increased access to information, and formative approaches to performance evaluation.

Wilson further suggests that it is useful to make a distinction among different types of NFE according to the purpose of the NFE program, i.e. "Those oriented towards productive employment, those oriented towards supplemental, or equivalence, education, and those oriented towards mobilization, community development, and consciousness-raising" (1997 p.86).

The government of Tanzania has attempted to provide all three types of NFE programs as described below. Some of the government programs are linked to the formal system and programs offered by NGO's are often more experiential or informal. Together, this has formed the basis for a crude but developing lifelong learning system within Tanzania.

NON-FORMAL EDUCATION IN TANZANIA

At the time of independence there were few formally educated Tanzanians and 67% of the population was considered illiterate. The first president, Julius Nyerere, saw adult education as the critical vehicle to social and economic development. The Arusha Declaration of 1967 defined broad national goals and committed the country to a socialist program of self-reliance, loosely based on the Chinese model of communism. The cornerstone of the new philosophy was "ujamaa", a collective system of village organizations in which villagers owned land and resources communally, were self-governed, and became self-reliant. This was a major change from the colonial political and economic system and required a major shift in people's understanding, values and attitudes. To achieve this shift, Nyerere believed the people needed information, consciousness-raising and mobilization, and to receive these, they needed to be literate.

Initially, two small scale literacy projects were implemented in six districts as pilot projects. In 1971, based on the achievements realized in the pilot projects and with assistance from UNESCO, the government launched a nation-wide literacy campaign aimed at eradicating illiteracy. A National Literacy Centre was established in Mwanza to provide leadership and resources for the campaign, and a Directorate of Adult Education was established within the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC). A 1975 evaluation of the campaign showed impressive results. Specifically, it indicated that illiteracy rates had dropped from 67% as measured in 1967 to 39% when measured in 1975 (Mnjagila, 1998).

The literacy program was then extended to include post-literacy programs. These programs were intended to prevent neo-literates from relapsing into illiteracy and to enable the newly literate men and women to use their literacy skills both in socio-economic pursuits and for lifelong learning. These early post-literacy programs tended

to be of the “supplemental or equivalent to formal education” type, with set subjects similar to those offered in primary and secondary schools, (eg. mathematics, political education, Kiswahili, agriculture), at different levels. Mnjagila commented on their ineffectiveness:

“The adult learners enthusiasm for, and participation in, post literacy programmes diminished as the programme could not be instrumental in solving their daily life problems. The curriculum did not provide the work oriented skills needed by the learners...” (Mnjagila, 1998, p.8)

The implication was that literacy in and of itself did not automatically lead to lifelong learning.

In 1985 a new post-literacy program was developed by the Directorate of Adult Education with cooperation from the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA). Its aim was to provide adult education that was client appropriate, work oriented, related to problems of daily life, literacy reinforcing, and that promoted self-reliance. Books were designed in three curriculum areas: agriculture and animal husbandry; domestic science and health education; and crafts. More than 1,000 literacy centres (10 in each district in the country) were established in order to launch the program (Mnjagila, 1998). Although far more successful than previous post-literacy efforts, the curriculum still had shortcomings, a major one being the lack of sensitivity to gender issues and the specific needs of women.

Women had always outnumbered men in Tanzania’s literacy programs, probably because of the greater number of illiterate women – a function of the historically lower enrolment rates and higher drop-out rates among female students in formal schooling. The portion of women in literacy classes in the late 1980’s was around 63% (TGNP, 1993 p.89).

In 1987, in response to this oversight, the Institute of Adult Education coordinated a review of the post-literacy curriculum by a group of women experts, and the curriculum was modified to include simple technologies, skills and income generating concepts intended to help ease the burden of women’s work. In addition content was added to the curriculum that would stimulate awareness and raise consciousness about existing oppressive gender relations and inequities.

The MoEC also recognized the need to create a permanent literacy environment in which literacy would be encouraged, practiced and embedded in day-to-day life. Literacy was seen as fundamental to lifelong learning, but it needed to be applied. To this end, the government, with NGO support, established: rural newspapers, rural libraries, folk development colleges, adult education radio programs, educational films, special skills training centres, and correspondence education courses. The literacy and post-literacy programs were deemed successful as illiteracy rates continued to fall. When measured in 1986 illiteracy had been further reduced to 10% cent of the adult population, compared to 39% in 1975 and 67% in 1967 (Mnjagila, 1998 p.10). This was an incredible achievement.

In addition to the MoEC, several other ministries were involved in the provision of adult and non-formal education. The Ministry of Social Development, Women and

Children was responsible for training programs that alleviated social and economic hardship for women and children and that raised awareness of women's issues. One of this ministry's largest NFE programs was the Child Survival, Protection and Development Program which supported grassroots nutrition and health education. This program provided capacity building to local groups and used animation techniques to raise awareness about primary health care, child development, and gender issues, all of which are pivotal to community-based lifelong learning in the Tanzanian environment.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives provided training and development to small scale farmers and peasants through district based Agricultural Extension Workers. The Institute of Adult Education was given responsibility for training adult education officers from all ministries in adult learning methodologies and to assist with the development of adult education curriculum and learning materials. The Institute also implemented a mandatory workplace training program in 1974 and was given responsibility for the delivery of correspondence courses.

NGO'S IN FORMAL, NON-FORMAL AND LIFELONG LEARNING

International agencies and NGO's, local and national NGO's, religious organizations and community groups have provided a wide variety of NFE services in Tanzania both pre- and post-independence. This has been facilitated since independence by the open position of the government of Tanzania towards NFE sponsorship by such groups, and by high bilateral and multi-lateral donor interest in human resource development in Tanzania. In addition, Tanzania's commitment to secularism and freedom of religion has permitted a strong network of religious organizations of a variety of faiths to flourish throughout the country, of which many are involved in the provision of a myriad of learning opportunities. Religious organizations have, for example, provided leadership in vocational and craft training, education for people with disabilities, pre-school teacher training, and in support to women's groups.

International funding and technical support for lifelong learning, and non-formal education in particular, as well as other forms of community development was extensive in the 1970s and early 80s, then tapered off prior to the implementation of SAP in the late '80s, and then began to increase again in the 90s. There has been concern about "donor dependence" among NGO's, a situation in which local organizations become dependent on foreign funding to operate and on foreign experts for decision making. The result is organizations which do not respond to local needs and are not sustainable.

However, there are international NGO's which have made significant contributions to NFE in Tanzania, for example, African Medical Relief (AMREF) which took a leading role in the battle against HIV/AIDS. AMREF carried out a program of action-oriented research and animation education to inform women and men about the risks of HIV/AIDS infection and appropriate preventative measures. They targeted high risk groups and conducted education campaigns along truck routes, targeting sex workers and truck drivers, and placing educational posters and materials, along with condoms, at guest houses and truck stops (TGNP, 1993 p.106).

The Canadian organization most extensively involved in literacy, post-literacy and other lifelong learning programs in Tanzania has been CODE which has been active in Tanzania since 1984. CODE has implemented programs to increase and support literacy including: support for indigenous printing and publishing of local textbooks and rural newspapers; national distribution of reading materials and books for school libraries; support for the establishment of rural libraries and community resource centres; the Children's Book Project which published over 79,000 copies of 27 books by local authors; and the training of teachers in methods of teaching reading and promoting literacy. In 1996 CODE received a gold medal for 25 years of work in literacy in Tanzania (CODE, 1999).

An important aspect of the extensive role played by local NGO's in the provision of NFE is the involvement of women. Although disadvantaged in many ways, women in Tanzania have been at the forefront in the formation of organizations designed to raise consciousness, mobilize for social change and alleviate poverty, all of which are critical societal-level goals related to lifelong learning in Tanzania.

One such organization is TAMWA, the Tanzanian Media Women's Association, which publishes *Sauti ya Siti* a widely read journal about women and development. TAMWA, by joining forces with other national media organizations, has been successful in raising awareness and knowledge about a wide variety of gender and development issues.

Similarly, TGNP (Tanzania Gender Networking Programme) promotes gender equality and the transformation of society, through networking, solidarity, advocacy and education. TGNP's main activities include education and training, animation workshops, participatory research, development and dissemination of educational communiques and publications, and lobbying. One of their main roles is to increase the organizational, planning, management and leadership capacity of local women's groups and community-based development organizations. TGNP carried out voter education in 9 districts and regions of the country prior to the 1995 multiparty elections. (TGNP, 1993)

These groups typify the growing number of indigenous NGOs which appear to exemplify the traditional spirit of unity and self-reliance, and which are responding to local and national lifelong learning needs.

IMPACT OF LITERACY AND POST-LITERACY PROGRAMS

Since the beginning of the 1990's educational indicators in Tanzania have shown declining enrolment rates and decreasing literacy rates. The peak primary school gross enrolment rate of 96% in 1981, fell to 70% by 1995, and the peak literacy rate of 90% in 1986 had fallen to 70% by 1995 (UNESCO, 1998). This serious situation with regard to declining literacy rates was illustrated in a Participatory Rural Survey conducted jointly by MoEC, the Saskatchewan Institute of Applied Science and Technology (SIAST), and the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) in 1992. The survey indicated a dramatic drop in literacy rates, a dramatic drop in attendance in literacy and post-literacy classes, and further noted that many literacy activities in the

country had ceased to function. The survey also showed that literacy rates were lowest among women, and that many adults had no opportunity to apply, and therefore retain, acquired literacy skills. (Blunt,1996)

In part, the increase in illiteracy was a result of the declining enrolments and quality of education in primary schools. However, the MoEC recognized that decreases in literacy rates were also a function of the failure of the government's literacy and post-literacy programs, so in November, 1994, the MoEC conducted a workshop in Moshi to explore the problems and develop alternative strategies. Problems included poor attendance, early withdrawal, lack of benefits resulting from participation, lack of program sustainability, and the unwillingness or inability of participants to contribute financially to the program.

Workshop participants observed:

- the programs were too centralized and too formal;
- the subject matter was set by specialists without addressing the needs or interests of the target group;
- the use of non-participatory and "primary school" methods were not appropriate for adult learners;
- the lack of local involvement in implementation had resulted in programming dependent on the central government.

The MoEC officials concluded that the top-down, centralized approach that they had been using for literacy programs had been ineffective (Mnjagila,1998).

In addition to the workshop outcomes, an evaluation report prepared by Kassam in 1988 indicated that the literacy programs had been only somewhat successful in promoting socio-economic development. Kassam measured performance on 13 development indicators and found significant positive change on only three.

Mnjagila (1995) summarized the Directorate of Adult Education's position:

"We have learned in Tanzania that the eradication of illiteracy per se is not necessarily an automatic instrument for bringing about socio-economic and political development."

He suggested that in addition to literacy, communities require mobilization, awareness raising, conscientization, and visioning. He also concluded that teaching adults new skills or knowledge without providing the funds needed to implement the new practices was not only ineffective in promoting change, but actually precluded most of the potential for lifelong learning on the path towards self-actualization.

That Tanzania's literacy program, which had been hailed as a model of success for the establishment of a platform for lifelong learning in the 1980's, had come to be viewed as ineffective in the 90s, was the result of a complex set of internal and external factors:

- The program was built on the erroneous assumption that literacy alone would lead to lifelong learning and, in time, socio-economic development;

- Early evaluators measured success on a scale of literacy rates rather than looking at community outcomes and socio-economic indicators;
- The programs were not equipped to deal with the increasing number of illiterate youth who had not been served by the deteriorating primary school system;
- The centralized management of the programs was prone to bureaucratic inefficiencies and was unresponsive to local needs;
- The curriculum was set by “experts”, was not related to practical needs and was viewed as irrelevant by participants – all of which was counterproductive to the establishment of lifelong learning;
- Teachers were poorly trained in andragogy and frequently used methods inappropriate or offensive to adult learners;
- The program was not integrated with other development initiatives and efforts to implement new practices learned in post-literacy classes were hampered by poor health, insufficient funds, lack of infrastructure etc;
- Some of the post-literacy supports such as rural newspapers and resource centres were donor dependent and when donor funding and support decreased the programs gradually ceased to function;
- The program was underfunded as was the rest of the education sector. Physical facilities deteriorated and materials could not be provided. The increasing rural poverty and hardship resulting from SAP, droughts in some areas, flooding in others, made it impossible for participants to pay fees;
- Although the original purpose of the literacy program was to support *ujamaa* – village cooperation, self-awareness and self-reliance – the centralized and top-down nature of the program did not allow village decision making or ownership.

INTEGRATED COMMUNITY-BASED ADULT EDUCATION

Participants at the Moshi Workshop in 1994 proposed a new model for literacy and post-literacy programs that they felt would address the problems and eliminate some of the shortcomings of the existing literacy programs. The approach they recommended was Integrated Community-Based Adult Education (ICBAE). This approach combines support for literacy training, non-formal education and community development in a decentralized, community driven, flexible program. The core principles of ICBAE are community participation, empowerment, ownership and sustainability. Within an ICBAE program communities take full responsibility for the design, planning, implementation, management, financing and evaluation of their learning activities. In other words, a system of (lifelong learning) rather than a component (literacy) is the driving philosophy.

The MoEC decided to pilot the ICBAE approach in four wards with technical and financial assistance provided by SIDA and SIAST (funded by the Canadian International Development Agency). Four wards in different regions were selected: Kishinda in Mwanza Region, Kiroka in Morogoro Region, Soni in Tanga Region and Sembeti in Kilimanjaro Region. The pilot projects used a participatory approach which attempted to help villagers build on their local resources including indigenous

knowledge, labour, social organizations, leadership, land and capital. Initially facilitators used the UNESCO / UNICEF community development strategy known as "Triple A" (assessment, analysis and action). Facilitators found this approach useful but noted that the process was sometimes hindered because action began before literacy and numeracy skills had been acquired. (Mnjagila, 1998)

The project team then adopted the "REFLECT" methodology, an approach developed by a U.K. based NGO, ActionAid, and which had been successfully implemented in Uganda. REFLECT (Regenerated Freirean Literacy Through Empowering Community Techniques) is based on the work of Paulo Freire, and ties basic education and literacy activities to community development and empowerment. The approach uses participatory techniques, such as those found in Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), to help group members identify and articulate local problems, while at the same time developing pre-literacy and literacy skills. Each group or "circle" identifies and analyses issues, designs learning activities, participates in problem solving, and plans and implements mini-projects which will help overcome some of the identified problems. There is no fixed curriculum and no textbooks. The topics of the circle meetings are unique to the individual circle, and the learning materials are constructed by the members based on existing knowledge and identified needs. The amount and level of reading, writing and numeracy training included are determined by the need for these skills to solve a problem or implement a mini-project. (Archer, David and Cottingham, 1996)

Participatory techniques used in the Tanzanian pilots for assessment and analysis as, well as for teaching and learning activities, have included mapping, charting, developing calendars, constructing matrices, role playing, dancing, singing and performing dramas. (Mnjagila, 1998)

A unique component of the ICBAE/REFLECT methodology is the up-front acknowledgment that the process is designed to be an impetus for local action that brings about social and economic change, and that action requires human, physical and financial resources. The members of the group provide the human and physical resources, and the program provides a mechanism for supplying financial resources through the provision of a Revolving Loan Fund (RLF). The RLF functions as a small micro-credit scheme managed by the circle members to provide the start up costs of their mini-projects. Loans are repaid with interest so that future projects can be started.

MoEC started the pilot projects in the spirit of avoiding the pitfalls of the old "top-down" approach. The pilot wards were selected from a group of wards whose local officials *volunteered* to participate in the pilot. The project began with sensitization and awareness-raising activities for regional, district, ward and village leaders and officials. This was followed by training of trainers and administrative staff in ICBAE principles and REFLECT methodology. Participating villages formed their own literacy circles and selected a local facilitator. The ICBAE trainers conducted facilitator training in adult education principles, REFLECT methodology and PRA techniques. The project team provided monitoring and follow-up support to the facilitators and Ward Education Coordinators. Where necessary the project training team assisted with facilitation of literacy circles, the initiation of mini-projects and the implementation of the Revolving Loan Fund. The project team also produced and distributed resource

materials and manuals for the trainers and the circle facilitators, provided a second phase of facilitator training and carried out a review and evaluation in 1997, after two years of pilot operation.

During this two year period, the ICBAE / REFLECT methodology had been introduced in 10 villages in each of the 4 participating wards. Thirty-eight ICBAE circles were formed, some new groups and some rejuvenated literacy groups, and each group participated for the duration of the pilot project. The review conducted in 1997 was qualitative and the results expressed anecdotally, however, the Directorate of Adult Education found the results to be so positive that expansion of the ICBAE model was integrated into the official MoEC Basic Education Master Plan (BEMP) in 1997.

The reports of this early review recorded the changes resulting from participation in the ICBAE/REFLECT literacy circles as stated by the participants themselves. The results include changes in knowledge, skills, attitudes and behaviour as well as a list of mini-projects initiated by the groups. Interestingly, participants in all four wards noted the benefits of working in a group and an increase in cooperation and teamwork among members. Other generic skills reported to have been enhanced included: reading, writing, planning, budgeting, account keeping, ability to analyze things and life skills. Participants in all wards also noted increased awareness related to health, nutrition and environment. Three of the four wards recorded changes in women member's behaviour, especially willingness to speak up in the group. Clearly, lifelong learning had taken root.

The mini-projects started by the circles included fish ponds, charcoal production, brick firing, goat rearing, piggery, furniture making, plant nursery, clothes making, shoe making and tree planting. Even at this early stage some groups identified positive impacts resulting from personal changes and from the mini-projects including pride in accomplishments, increased recognition within the community and increased family income.

Although the expansion of ICBAE was included in the MoEC's BEMP, the plan, as part of the MoEC Sectoral Development Program (SDP), was dependent on donor funding. In 1998, the government of Tanzania was negotiating for funding to restructure the education system following the SDP, and many new initiatives, including ICBAE, were delayed pending allocation of resources. The Directorate of Adult Education used this hiatus as an opportunity to revisit all of the ICBAE pilot project sites to provide follow-up assistance, monitor sustainability and conduct a more thorough evaluation of the results of the pilot project. Twenty-nine of the initial 38 circles were visited. Nine circles could not be visited due to inaccessibility caused by flooded roads. The reports provided the following information.

The evaluators documented the operational details for each of the 29 circles. Common elements included:

Meetings: All circles met at least once per week, and many met 2 or 3 times per week. Some meetings focused on literacy, participatory analysis and discussion, others were used to work on the mini-projects. Meetings took place in a variety of locations, often in primary schools, but also in community resource centres, private homes and open spaces.

Table 1: Summary of ICBAE Pilot Projects

Ward	Total population	approx number illiterate	No. ICBAE circles	No. participants.	No. female	No. male	age range	No. projects
Kiroka	17,274	3,873	7	172	87	85	20 – 67	25
Mini projects	Gardening, grass charcoal making, fish ponds (3), chickens (2), ducks, pencil making, bicycle repair & rental (2), thatch roofing, restaurant, tree planting (2), market stall, embroidery, goat rearing (2), piggery, chair making, farming							
Circle topics	Health, village health, village mapping, tree mapping, water access & rainfall, disease, gender workloads, literacy, bus literacy, business possibilities, crops							
Soni	12,825	714	12	150	58	92	14 – 58	20
Mini Projects	Shoe making, tailoring (3), clothes ironing (2), carpentry (3), restaurant, agriculture (3), poultry (2), pottery, needlework, tree planting							
Circle topics	health, village mapping, gender workloads, crops, incomes and expenditures							
Sembeti	n / a	n / a	8	57	43	15	18 – 60	8
Mini Projects	Bakery, broom making, making uniforms, crocheting, making school desks, making tables & chairs, running a social centre, home brewery, hairdressing							
Circle Topics	Crops, village mapping, incomes & expenses, community resource centre, business planning							
Kishinda	3,919	n / a	5	142	44	98	16 – 60	14
Mini Projects	Furniture making, farming (3), tree planting, market stall, gardening, tea room, making local medicine, health clinic for women & children, corrugated iron roofing, cattle raising							
Circle Topics	Health, crops, natural resource mapping, agriculture, village mapping, market prices, incomes and expenses, hunger calendar, rainfall patterns, local medicine							
Total			29	521	231	290	14 – 67	67

Membership: Membership was fairly stable, however several groups had accepted new members. There were very few drop-outs and almost all drop-outs were a result of moving away from the village. Some groups charged a small “joining” fee.

Facilitators: Most circle facilitators were primary school teachers who had been selected by the groups because they were literate. The facilitators were also group members, and were paid a small honorarium by the group, the district council, or the MoEC. (During the pilot phase the honoraria had been paid by the project). In many cases the facilitator’s honoraria was overdue.

Learning Materials & Methods: All groups had used participatory methods including matrices, charts, graphs, maps and calendars. In most cases these graphics were created on the ground with sticks, stones etc. or on a concrete floor with chalk and natural material, and later transferred to paper. The participants often copied the graphics into notebooks for further reference and for literacy practice.

The reports of this monitoring and evaluation initiative substantiated the findings of the earlier review. The circle participants identified the benefits they believed they had gained as a result of participation in the ICBAE/REFLECT circles. These are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2: Benefits of participation in ICBAE

No. of circles reporting (of 29)	Benefit to members
16	Increased literacy, ability to read and write
15	Increased skills used in mini-projects to generate revenue or improve standard of living
15	Improved cooperation and team work among members
10	Increased household income
8	Increased food production and thereby better nutrition
7	Improved ability to keep records and accounts
6	Increased awareness of environment & natural resource conservation
4	Increased confidence in women to speak up & participate
4	Knowledge of better farming & agricultural methods
4	Improved ability to plan, budget and manage small projects
4	Enhanced confidence, pride, self esteem and respect
4	Problems solved by helping and learning from each other
3	Improved knowledge of health and nutrition
2	Better constructed houses
2	Better access to markets as a group
2	Increased skills in arithmetic
2	More efficient work methods adopted
1	Improved ability to analyze

The team of MoEC evaluators concluded that the pilot projects had been successful.

One of the evaluators, C.J. Simbila, wrote,

“Something is definitely taking place in Kishinda creating a good environment for literacy to prosper. The acquisition of literacy skills and income generating activity is occurring. The participants are actively involved and seem enthusiastic. They are making choices and carrying through on their own decisions. They are addressing the issues of illiteracy, poverty alleviation, gender equity, health and nutrition, housing and environmental concerns, and they are improving the quality of their lives.” (Simbila, 1998 p. 44)

MOEC’S CURRENT PLAN FOR NON-FORMAL EDUCATION

The MoEC’s ICBAE Expansion Plan, included in the Basic Education Master Plan, outlines the extension of the ICBAE program, in phases, to every region of Tanzania. The program would be partnered with COBET (Complementary Basic Education in Tanzania), a program to provide supplemental and equivalence education to out-of-school youth – those who have never joined formal education and those who have dropped out. The COBET program has also been successfully piloted with assistance from UNICEF. The aim of COBET is to provide competencies similar to those of the primary school system, but in a delivery mode more suitable to out-of-school youth, ie flexible time-tables, modularized content, individualized programs, and continuous evaluation. The curriculum is designed to facilitate re-entry into the mainstream education system as well as to provide life-skills and pre-employment training.

The Directorate of Adult Education considers ICBAE and COBET to be complementary programs which would be implemented together in a given ward as part of the overall lifelong learning system. Youth would be able to select the program most suited to their personal goals, the Ward Education Coordinators and District Adult Education Officers would be able to provide support to both groups during monitoring visits, and the groups (based on similar principles) would be able to support each other and share resources.

There are many challenges to the successful implementation of the ICBAE Expansion Plan, the most obvious being the same barrier facing implementation of the rest of the BEMP and programs in every other sector in Tanzania – lack of resources. The government lacks the human resources, the infrastructure, and the financial resources, to implement Sector Development Programs. In terms of ICBAE, the ministry only has a few people well trained in andragogy and in the principles and methodologies of ICBAE and REFLECT. There are limited facilities and materials for training at regional, district and village levels, and many communities are inaccessible due to the poor state of the roads, and MoEC officers rarely have access to vehicles.

Other challenges to the implementation of ICBAE seem small. The approach appears ideally suited to the Tanzanian context and the pilot projects appear, after preliminary evaluation, to be effective and sustainable. Two years after the end of SIDA and SIAST funding for the pilots, in July, 1999, Ward Education Officers in all four pilot wards reported that the literacy circles and mini-projects were continuing to function (Taylor, 1999).

The keys for growing lifelong learning in Tanzania through ICBAE include the following:

- The literacy circles are locally “owned”. Members make decisions about curriculum, meetings, facilitator, group goals and activities, and administration is decentralized to the ward level. This creates commitment, responsibility and sustainability.
- The approach ties literacy to the larger lifelong learning issues of problem solving and socio-economic development. Literacy is not viewed as an end in itself, but is perceived by members as a tool to create a better quality of life.
- The method encourages consciousness raising, facilitates assessment and analysis, and builds cooperation. Members become more confident in their own ability, and feel empowered to address social, political and economic issues.
- The REFLECT methodology allows people of varying levels of literacy to work together in the same circle and to learn from each other.
- The method, although focused on the grassroots circles, puts great emphasis on the sensitization of government and education officials and community leaders at all levels to ensure the program is understood and supported.
- The program emphasizes and supports training to ensure that the methodology is implemented effectively. The REFLECT “Mother Manual” is used to train trainers, and local manuals are developed for trainers and for facilitators.
- The program acknowledges the need for funds to implement the mini-projects and provides a Revolving Loan Fund, and clear guidelines, and a simple accounting system to administer the fund.
- The scheme is cost-effective. There are few recurrent costs to operate the circles. Start-up costs include sensitization sessions, facilitator training and initial facilitator honoraria, and the Revolving Loan Fund. Once circles have begun income generating projects they are able to repay their loans with interest. This allows the group to pay the facilitator honoraria and make additional loans for new mini-projects.
- The program encourages linkages between ICBAE and other government programs, including community resource centres and NGO’s.

CONCLUSION

Although there has been a decline in literacy rates in Tanzania over the past decade, the rate of literacy is still higher than in many other African countries. Further, the government of Tanzania has not wavered in its commitment to adult education and lifelong learning. The Directorate of Adult Education, with the MoEC, has made significant efforts to analyze the causes of growing illiteracy, and has initiated projects to find ways to address these and to provide alternative and better programs to provide literacy training and non-formal education in support of lifelong learning. The ICBAE model of adult education has been piloted and evaluated, and the expansion of ICBAE has been included in the MoEC’s Basic Education Master Plan.

The literacy and lifelong learning initiatives within Tanzania are complemented by the large number of human resource development and capacity building activities being carried out by Tanzania's growing network of NGO's. Tanzania's long standing political stability and commitment to social development (it has the highest Human Development Index performance related to GDP in the region according to the UNDP) suggest that locally appropriate learning programs of all types will enhance the growing platform for lifelong learning in Tanzania. Further evaluation of ICBAE after its expansion into other regions will indicate if it can be as effective as the pilot projects suggest, and the MoEC hopes.

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Chapter 3: Lifelong Learning and the Private Sector

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THE CHANGING NATURE OF EDUCATION

For the most part, discussions of lifelong learning, so prevalent today, are based on an image of society in which education is being transformed from the traditional top-down model to one where the learner is at the center of an ongoing, lifelong process. This vision presupposes a society in which demand for education, and higher education in particular, increases dramatically, and where the educational establishment demonstrates concrete commitment to address the needs of a radically changing constituency. Necessary to this picture is the establishment of many more and different avenues for access, implementation of a host of delivery methods, and the adoption of a miscellany of flexible educational goals. All this will require a complete re-thinking of what and why educational institutions do what they do, both for the vocational preparation of learners and for their personal development, and how it gets done.

The “canon” is being transformed into practical and discrete “skill and knowledge sets”, distinct learning modules that can be packaged to suit the purpose of the day. The educational issues of the 20th century include prior learning assessment, course and program packaging, just-in-time delivery and mastery learning. Lifelong learning is the new hallmark, and the notion of the “educated citizen” based on a one-time educational experience is fast fading. Now is the age of the perpetual learner. Many of the traditional courses and programs of post-secondary institutions have lost their luster, and, increasingly, learners are demanding that their needs take precedence over institutional and system factors.

As societies adjust to freer trade and an information age driven and characterized by rapid change in communication technologies, there is extraordinary pressure being placed on our educational systems. Growth in the world’s storehouse of knowledge is expanding exponentially, and this is fast increasing the basic knowledge and skills required for many of the most productive workers in our societies. Workers must continually update their knowledge and skill base in order to remain employed, and a continuously developing workforce is required by all economies in order for them to remain competitive in the global market. Individuals must reinvent their knowledge base repeatedly as they move from one career to the next. Yet neither workers nor their employers can afford extended periods away from the workplace, and traditional educational structures continue to be expensive and time demanding. The attitudes of senior managers to training and learning have undergone a radical shift, and most now view ongoing education as critical to the success of their businesses. Those that are

able, as we will see, are re-tooling to address changing industry demands and learning needs. Training departments are being re-invented and technology is playing an important role in the re-engineered corporation. Those that can't afford such massive restructuring are facing the same pressures, and they, too, are looking for solutions. Faced with the restrictive pressures of limited time and increasing financial constraints, and fuelled by the growing need for more higher-level knowledge and skills, workers and employers are being forced to look for radical alternatives to traditional educational models. Increasingly, these do exist.

During the course of the past decade, much re-structuring of technical and vocational knowledge and skills into discrete and measurable learning outcomes has taken place. This has opened the door to modularization of most any educational content and the resulting availability of skills and knowledge content in most fields in almost any configuration. Now, in many areas of study, and beyond the purely technical, learners can select *what* they want to learn, and learn it *when* and *how* they need to learn it. Supporting and, perhaps, driving much of this change is the revolution in communication technologies. The Internet, the World Wide Web, tele-conferencing, multi-media – all have presented new opportunities for access and delivery. But as Ward, (1994, p.4) has indicated,

“What’s important about information technology is not its hardware or software but its disrespect for boundaries – all boundaries, including academic boundaries. Information technology can play a major role in breaking down both the mental barriers imposed on us by nineteenth-century thinking and the physical barriers that become meaningless on the twenty-first-century educational scene, replete with new learning environments and networked resources.”

Increasingly, the private sector is carving out a larger niche, often by default, in the lucrative and growing market for just-in-time, sophisticated, high-level technical training. Capitalizing on the use of newly developing technologies, large companies are marketing packaged training and training support to business and educational clients. A recent article in *The Economist* (see *A survey of universities: The knowledge factory*, 1997, October 4, p. 11–12) referred to the new (as opposed to traditional educational institutions) players in educational delivery. Saratoga and Synervision, both providers of tailored educational packages, are but two examples of such players.

Saratoga has developed an educational delivery system based on an audio and video enabled software application program named STUDENT (Satellite Transmitted Universal Distance Education Network). Described in company literature as the next wave of training and communication technology, STUDENT “enables professional trainers, instructors and educators to ... interactively communicate with students via cable modems, the Internet, company networks and/or through satellite transmissions.” Promotional materials for this product demonstrate a clear understanding of the changing nature of education: the product overcomes geographical constraints, significantly reduces training costs, and maximizes the use of multimedia in the learning environment. Absent from the selling proposition are institutional characteristics or teacher expertise. Instead, the entire focus is on *learners’ needs*. Clients tend to be from

the private sector. Mainstream educational institutions have difficulty imagining how such a system would fit within their institutional cultures and teacher-centred paradigm.

Synervision's Learning Network combines the Internet with satellite technology. Here, the focus is on the provision of high quality, interactive training courses on demand. The Learning Network boasts low-cost training, satellite coverage to half the globe, and has announced plans to incorporate interactive television and other new technologies as they come on stream. Who will use the Learning Network? Clearly, businesses wanting low cost on-demand instruction that incorporates interactive technologies and allows for flexible upgrading of employee skills and knowledge will be attracted to this system. The potential for a company to develop an in-house learning culture and carve out a broader, competitive advantage is far greater with this system than would be the case if the organization opted to send employees to a traditional day or evening school. The quality and flexibility of the programming will almost certainly exceed any fixed place, single institution training simply on the basis of economies of scale.

Another major development in the world of higher education is the astounding proliferation of online universities. Renowned among them is the University of Phoenix, an explicit for-profit institution currently serving more than 50,000 students taking degree-credit courses. Within the last five years, the University of Phoenix has established 57 training centers throughout North America. The ambitions of this well-capitalized educational enterprise are not limited by national boundaries, and it is exploring the full range of international articulation agreements, partnerships and corporate training initiatives. Its parent, the Apollo Group, recently reported quarterly profits of \$12.8 million (before taxes) on sales of \$86.5 million. Apollo also owns the College for Financial Planning (22,000 noncredit students), Western International University (1,800 students), and an Institute for Professional Development that provides contract services for "program development and management" at 19 colleges. Clearly, Apollo has found a potential mother lode and is busy establishing beachheads.

There is much, much more. Worldwide, more than 17,000 courses are now available entirely on-line. Thousands more combine an internet component with some "on-campus" requirement of varying length. According to the Massachusetts-based International Data Corp., about 15% of all post-secondary students (2.2 million students) will be enrolled in online courses by 2002 in the U.S. alone, compared with 5% last year. Major corporations such as Microsoft, IBM and Disney are spending billions to cash in on the boom. Micron University, the result of the partnership of Micron, a major American computer manufacturer, and Ziff-Davis, a major computer publisher has already developed over 250 information industry courses. IDC says that the web-based learning market will grow to \$8.3 billion by 2002. (*Maclean's*, September 6, 1999 p. 22-23).

There are many more examples of new and established private suppliers of educational services and programming who are relying on emerging technology to create a differentiated presence. These companies identify a distinct need, package a product, and deliver it to the marketplace as quickly as possible. They differ from universities by identifying and providing what the client needs, not simply what the organization

has to offer. Regardless, this paper argues that these companies are neither the most worrisome nor the most direct threat to traditional academic institutions. As will be pointed out, that role is reserved for business – large, multi-national corporations with both the capital (financial and human) and the incentive (properly trained employees) to compete against the traditional university enterprise.

The first forays into these waters can be seen in the creative partnerships initiated by many businesses. One such is MVAC, the Michigan Virtual Automotive College, a creation of the state of Michigan, the University of Michigan and Michigan State University, the major automakers, and the United Auto Workers. MVAC's goal is to become the focal point of the auto industry education and training needs – be it assembly workers or engineers. The potential of this type of venture is staggering. An industry group combining to address its own educational needs, designing courses as needed, guaranteeing the quality and relevance of the training offered, bringing in appropriate experts, and assuring access within the framework of the industry concerned. MVAC has already prepared over a hundred courses with faculty from 27 different universities, courses that are competency-based and of high quality. In addition to substantially decreased reliance on “traditional” educational institutions, MVAC and similar groups will be able to virtually guarantee enrollment. They will provide current, industry-demanded courses to a population anxious to ensure continued employment and appropriate use of time invested in education. Enrolling 2,000 students in the fall of 1999, MVAC has tremendous growth potential through the effective marketing of its products to the other major auto manufacturers and auto industry workers around the world. This type of combine, bringing financing, motivation and the student market, presents an educational and training organization against which few colleges or universities could compete.

Training is now viewed as critical to competitive success, but traditional methods are seen to be expensive and frequently ineffective. More people need to learn more, and to do so more cost-effectively, a problem of both quantity and quality. In an information-based economy, the key assets are knowledge and human capital, and to cope with rapid technological and organizational change, people need to master more new knowledge and skills than at any previous time. And, as the need for continuous upgrading becomes entrenched, learning, too, increasingly needs to be a continuous, life-long process. Expensive and labor-intensive traditional methods will be unable to address training issues of this scale, and expanding conventional classroom capacity to meet the demand would be prohibitively expensive. New information technologies allow educational and training organizations to address a number of the issues raised by the need to equip an adequately trained workforce and the associated costs of both time and money. Live and recorded television and video programs, satellite delivery, Web sites, computer software and CD-ROMs enable the same material to be accessed and mastered by an almost infinite number of learners. Interactive multimedia programs enable learners to discover and absorb knowledge for themselves and help them to measure their progress. Modules of electronic training can be embedded in the work process or used just-in-time, and computer based tutorials are non-critical, always-present mentors. Teleconferencing of various kinds takes the trainer to the learner, regardless of distance. Through the World Wide Web, learners can now be connected seamlessly with teachers, information and

colleagues in a way that may become the new model of lifelong learning. The rapid growth of the internet and of networked computing, the convergence of computing and telecommunications, and the dramatic changes in the economics of both are revolutionizing working and learning environments.

This explosion of communication technologies is creating opportunities for consumer choice in education on an unprecedented scale. Mostly through the use of newer technologies, specialized institutions are offering their products on a broader scale, and the previously absolute demarcations of place and time are fading. One of the most influential products of this increased competition will be the appearance of knowledgeable consumers. Increasingly, they will determine not only what and when, but how and where. Like the rest of the economy, higher education is being subsumed in a mass market shaped by the interests as well as the whims of an increasingly aggressive set of shoppers. Not just the number, but the variety of vendors is impressive, suggesting that to serve this market's expanding convenience sector means becoming more adept at packaging, at providing alternate points of access, and at anticipating where the market is headed. There's obviously growing demand for flexible, efficient, convenient, economical – and mostly practical – postsecondary instruction and credentials. Some of this arises from sheer student interest (due to expanded leisure and prosperity) but more appears to be the product of our fast-changing economy and its evolving and specialized personnel requirements. New suppliers find relatively few barriers to entry. There aren't many regulatory hurdles. Federal and state subsidies are widely available. New technologies make it relatively simple to inaugurate programs and institutions that might once have required elaborate facilities and staffing.

With broader access and more providers, there will be growing sophistication among learners and businesses when it comes to selecting providers. Reputation and continuity will continue to be important, but flexibility, quality and portability will be the new key criteria in the decision matrix. Like it or not, most traditional institutions of higher education will be forced to play a new game by a different set of rules if they are to survive.

What has been the response to date of traditional institutions to an environment where learners can increasingly access a variety of educational options when and where they choose? In fact, for the most part, colleges and universities are still trying to decide how to react, even as study after study (see for example, Halal, 1996; Hall, 1995; and even the American Secretary of Education, Richard Riley, 1995) heralds the "new learning society". In 1993, discussing the new "knowledge workers", Peter Drucker (p.186) wrote,

"Knowledge formation is thus already the largest investment in every developed country. Surely, the return which a country or company gets on knowledge must increasingly be a determining factor in its competitiveness. Increasingly, productivity of knowledge will be decisive in its economic and social success and its entire economic performance."

Drucker envisions a restructuring of learning, one in which schools no longer hold the monopoly. Clearly tying knowledge to economic well-being, he sounds a clarion call

to change, a re-conceptualization of what learning is all about, as well as the structural traits of those institutions involved in the learning process. But, conservative by nature, institutions of higher education envision mostly traditional learners incorporating some new technologies *as an adjunct to traditional structures and delivery*. They do not see the changes in society as transformational, at least as it relates to post-secondary education. Moreover, change is happening at an ever increasing rate. Secure behind the hallowed walls of academe, many institutions have yet to realize that the very structure of educational "institutions" is changing, rendering many of the traditional barriers to post-secondary study irrelevant. The traditional campus model is based upon a large, vertically integrated organization, protected by legislation and the sheer cost of maintaining a centralized pool of intellectual capital. This structure has allowed traditional institutions to maintain an exclusive franchise on higher education. The evolving model, however, is distributed and network-based, allowing for the rapid structuring and re-structuring of many different types of training centers. The once competitive advantage of necessary physical centers is no longer. The one-time advantage of vertical integration has become a liability, making traditional institutions less nimble and less able to react to rapid change. As well, the removal of the need for a physical capacity has allowed many new competitors to enter the educational arena.

Determined to maintain the keys to the kingdom, universities have contented themselves with dipping their toes in the waters of change. The next section of this paper discusses how the key player in the 21st century educational drama, business, is moving quickly to capitalize on the new opportunities.

THE BUSINESS OF EDUCATION

Many of the most successful private sector organizations worldwide have already incorporated the use of new media and technologies to ensure the ongoing development of a highly skilled workforce. Advances in information technology have affected every part of society, changing the way we learn, work and conduct business. Organizations that don't keep up will face extinction. Writers like William E. Halal, professor of management science at George Washington University, have written about the need for companies to emphasize training of future employees. He suggests that the radical transformation of the nature of work will require an equally dramatic change in both the training of workers and the preparation of managers (Halal, 1996, pp. 132-144). Though much of the programming and training found in business organizations is new, it needs to be emphasized that much of it has also been available for some years.

McDonald's Hamburger University, though still unknown to academe, has been in the training business for 38 years. Their presence on the World Wide Web (<http://www.mcdonalds.com>) provides the "surfer" with a wealth of material, both for informational and recruitment purposes. Over this period of time they have graduated 50,000 managers. Teachers work with an international client group, utilizing materials that they are able to deliver through state of the art technology in 22 languages. McDonalds has always incorporated high-end technology in the learning environment, and this, along with other marketing strategies, has created a very successful organization in a

difficult-to-differentiate, low-technology field. McDonalds has ten international training centers, including new universities in England, Japan, Germany and Australia. Offering courses in Business Management, Business Operations, and Human Resource Development, specifically tailored to their needs, McDonalds ensures that the workforce they require is ready when they need it. One of the worlds largest employers, with more than a million employees around the globe, McDonald's is able to offer graduates a range of careers in restaurant management, a strong and effective attractor for "student" enrolment. Traditional universities are loath to admit the notion that McDonalds could actually have a university, let alone a university that prepares and accredits graduates for success in the world of business. However, the fact remains that McDonalds is large, effective and growing all the time. It incorporates technology and techniques to create an exceptionally strong learner-oriented educational paradigm.

More recently, Rover Groups relationship with the University of Warwick and Motorola University are examples of the growing trend for business to be involved directly in education and training. Motorola University, an offshoot of the U.S. site of Motorola Corporation, grew from a dedicated, in-house training center, to an institution that has set as one of its goals the development of the capacity to learn, create, and transform the business well into the future. In promotional materials widely distributed to American households, Motorola encourages parents to take part in creating "a future that works." One of their key suggestions is urging parents to "practice the habits of lifelong teachers to raise lifelong learners." What is in it for Motorola? The corporation credits Motorola University's contribution when assessing the (recent) 139% increase in productivity.

Recognizing a good thing when they see it, Motorola University has ventured deeper and more broadly into the education business, offering training and education solutions for the corporate sector. Their ads for corporate training claim that "Motorola University can do it all, from personalization to total customization." Promising to respond directly to employee needs, the company offers everything from needs assessment to the delivery of the appropriate Motorola University training modules, modules proven to be effective in its own training program. Smaller businesses will happily turn to Motorola to ensure similar results, and larger businesses are already studying means to develop similar training centers.

Britain's Rover Group, the U.K.'s largest car manufacturer, has gone through a major company-wide transformation over the last fifteen years, restructuring in order to regain their competitive edge within the automobile production industry. A key component of this process was the re-education of existing personnel and the training of new employees through a co-operative agreement with the University of Warwick, initiated by Rover and designed to suit its needs. Through the development of a tailored "dedicated educational scheme", Rover claims dramatic success in preparing the employees/learners of the future. The company also became, in its own words, a "learning organization." As financial partners, and jointly responsible for the building of management development and training centres, Rover and the University of Warwick jointly developed a Masters Degree in manufacturing systems, and now offer both Diploma and PhD options. Employees, known as "associates", are actively encouraged to access these programs on their own time, and a select few are provided

paid release time to this end. Line managers at Rover have an active voice in program design and delivery, and are often directly involved in course delivery as lecturers. All programs are directly relevant to the participant's job. The goal is to take the learning back to the workplace. To date, one in fifty Rover associates have completed one or more of the programs. In addition to their relationship with Warwick, Rover has also developed open learning centers at each of their sites. These centers are open to all associates for study on their own time, or, if nominated, for study during work time.

Fundamental to Rover's new learning philosophy is the notion of each employee taking responsibility for his own development. Each associate has a *Personal Development File* with a *Personal Development Plan*, reviewed regularly by supervisors who suggest appropriate learning options. Rover has also established *Educational Option Centres* with local secondary schools. These "sell" the idea of a career with an employer who is committed to helping employees manage their educational needs. Rover actively recruits and trains young people "in all disciplines", offering "standard courses on quality control, computer-aided design, supervisory management, etc." Rover has launched a *Rover Learning Business* and is actively developing intranet/internet training potential. Rover has been transformed from a company that experimented with in-house training activities in order to survive, to a corporation that has discovered the possibilities and profits associated with focused, flexible training. Instead of waiting for educational institutions to address pressing needs, Rover developed programs and certification. It is now actively competing with traditional schools (among them, the University of Warwick) for the same secondary school graduates.

These companies have discovered that active involvement in employees' training is an excellent investment in their own future. And they are not alone. Microsoft is involved in a multi-million dollar project with Cambridge University, British Aerospace is in the process of establishing a "virtual university", and Disney offers an MBA program (both for its own employees and for those of other firms) (see *A survey of universities: The knowledge factory*, 1997, October 4, pp. 11-12). By being actively involved in employee development, these companies are able to better match employees' learning needs with the skills required by the organization. While Rover deals with the University of Warwick, Motorola and McDonalds have proved that a middleman is not necessary. While the use of academic language by business is sometimes far from comfortable, it reflects something real, "...the growing elision between the presumed jobs of the university (basic research, general education) and that of the company (applied research, job-specific training)" (the *Economist*, 1997, October 4, p. 19). For many, this begs the question, Does business really need colleges and universities?

For established businesses and entrepreneurs-at-large, the postsecondary education and training market looks huge and ripe for the picking. Morgan Stanley Dean Witter (Educon review 1996, vol.31, no.5, p.1) has characterized it as an "addressable market opportunity at the dawn of a new paradigm." In dollar terms, close to \$300 billion is spent a year in the higher education market. Several Wall Street houses have set up "education industry" workshops for potential investors. A recent report from Nations-Banc Montgomery Securities (*ibid*) claims that \$1.7 billion has been raised on Wall Street since 1996 to finance private sector ventures into this new frontier. Such reports

routinely characterize the “educational industry” as being, “inefficient”, “cottage industry”, “low tech”, and “lacking professional management.” The conclusion, of course, is that this industry could explode if properly managed.

The emergence of alternative forms of higher education will also have a significant impact on public policy, in particular the way different levels of government finance higher education. Up to now, higher education has operated as a regulated monopoly enterprise. As in other industries, competition in higher education raises the possibility of deregulation as a means of stimulating quality and responsiveness as well as driving down costs. While colleges and universities have been protected from real competition by the physical constraints of geography on student mobility, the academic constraints of accreditation and financial aid, protectionist policies, and the financial subsidies typically offered to public institutions, these barriers are now rapidly falling—and businesses are ready to leap into the lucrative breaches. New developments in information technology and the explosive growth of networks will continue to erode the hegemony of traditional higher education. Students, especially adult students, will be more likely to select educational institutions based on offerings, convenience and price than on geography. This competition will not be limited to the U.S. or North America; it will be global. In a world where learners have many choices, only world-class, relevant, appropriately priced learning offerings will survive and prosper.

These trends are already visible in the US \$58 billion a year being spent by industry for employee training and development. With cost savings of 15–50% associated with training that incorporates newer technologies, the majority of the Fortune 500 already have one or more forms of distance education, and some of these institutions are actively targeting traditional university business. Kaiser Permanente, a major player in the health industry, has doubled its distance learning sites to 300. This allows it to reach an even larger audience of nurses and doctors, the former seeking degrees and the latter continuing education. Metropolitan Life and Drexel have partnered in the development of a M.A. in information systems. This trend presents an obvious threat for established colleges and universities, particularly in extension learning and continuing education.

For many institutions, extension learning and CE provide a key source of revenue. For those institutions wishing to compete in the education and training market, the question of whether to develop course materials from scratch or opt for purchasing commercially developed courseware may become critical. Further complicating the picture is the growing demand for recognition of expensive certification courses, such as those offered by Microsoft or Novell. New consumers will expect to receive post-secondary credit for such brand-name course credits taken online. Students will go to institutions willing to accept these courses. Witness students taking Microsoft or Novell certification courses — which can cost more than \$10,000 — in any of 100 authorized ITCAP centers around the country. In order to get a transferable college credit, students enroll at institutions such as Tucson’s Pima County Community College. Institutions that don’t accept such transfer credits run the risk marginalizing their training. While a small number of high-end universities may be able to sell the traditional arguments on the need for a purely academic or scholarly education, the majority of post-secondary institutions won’t. As students become more focused on filling their educational quivers with the appropriate skills, they will pay greater attention to which institutions provide

the greatest flexibility and recognition. In a recent article (Holmes, 1999, p.15) William Holmes of Washtenaw Community College states,

“Corporate universities, which represent the fastest growing segment of higher education, currently utilize established colleges and universities to validate their work through certification and accreditation. When there is a national, or global system for validating learner outcomes and competencies, private sector education and training providers will no longer need traditional validation.”

In a recent study, *Corporate Quality Universities: Lessons in Building a World-Class Workforce*, author Jeanne Meister (1996) paints an intriguing picture of schools that will be “on the fast track to the future.” Her vision does not include the traditional attributes of universities: classrooms, lock-step curricula and recycled lectures. Indeed, her vision does not include universities, or rather, does not include traditional universities. Corporate universities will evolve, granting degrees comparable to traditional awards. Open to students outside of their employee pool, these institutions will offer a transcript detailing the learner’s acquired skills, knowledge and experiences, as opposed to the very generic and “useless certificate” offered by traditional institutions. Better yet, the modularized design will allow for fast, flexible and cost-efficient delivery suitable to the business environment. Delivery of learning options will utilize every method available, maximizing the use of new educational technologies. Best of all, corporate learning centers will return profits.

Meister’s vision may not be all that far-fetched. Once businesses have discovered the utility and profit in educational endeavors (making money on training and selecting the best graduates for themselves), they will be only more encouraged to bring business know-how and packaging to bear on the “business”. Unlike simple purveyors of training technology, corporations that have transformed themselves into learning and training institutions can and will compete directly with universities and colleges. They are the sharks. The narrow vision and conservative response of most universities and colleges will encourage corporations all the more to move in this direction. And how will learners respond? The prospect of job security, or a package of desirable (and transferable) skills and knowledge, may become an irresistible lure. The company of the future will not only provide financial security, but it will be a lifelong learning provider.

THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION OF THE 21ST CENTURY?

The challenge to traditional educational institutions is clear. Learn to compete in the educational market of the 21st century or face a shrinking share of the market and a less consequential role in the educational matrix. There should be no confusion about workforce preparation being the primary role of educational/training institutions. Clearly, the majority of students enrolled in traditional institutions are not preparing for a career in Academia. Yet, the very structure of these universities and colleges is a hangover from the 12th and 13th centuries where the focus was on preparing graduates for this eventuality.

Although a minority of graduates may create a career within ivy-covered walls, the greater majority are ushered into the workforce with a piece of paper that doesn't demonstrate what skills or knowledge sets the learner has mastered and, particularly for arts graduates, bears little relationship with the needs of business and industry.

To counter this challenge, universities and colleges have claimed that a liberally educated individual is more flexible, can think creatively and has learned how to acquire necessary skills or knowledge demanded by their employers. While there may be some truth to this assertion, there has been no study conclusively proving it, and the attributes claimed are, by and large, not measurable. As well, there is no indication that the university process is instrumental in providing these skills, that individuals don't come by these attributes on their own, that they may not be acquired in other ways, or that 3 or 4 years of general, full-time study is required to get them.

The end result, in terms of both learning and subsequent performance, is often unsatisfactory and generally not measurable. Lessons learned in classrooms are frequently forgotten or cannot be applied in the workplace. The traditional educational model where instructors impart knowledge to passive students has been repeatedly challenged, and newer models indicate that effective learning is an active process of discovery by the individual, with the teacher, if present at all, acting as a guide.

Society needs a competent and adaptable workforce; individuals who understand and can work within the structure of their employ. Learners must be prepared to learn for the future workplace, one which will be different from that of today. The class of the year 2001 will be confronted with more new information in a year than their grandparents encountered in a lifetime. In a recent interview (*Slicing the learning pie*, 1996, Sept./Oct., p.2), Stan Davis commented on the nature of the learner of the future, stating that

“...the half-life of what a person learns is getting shorter and shorter. Today, half of what an engineer learns as a freshman is effectively obsolete by the time he or she graduates from college and enters the labor force. When you have that speed of change you must upgrade your education throughout your life cycle.”

Knowledge is currently doubling every seven years. Re-skilling the workforce has become a major, time consuming and expensive characteristic of modern business life. For example, in the evolution from mainframe to client-server application, re-skilling of a single worker requires up to 350 hours of training at a cost of U.S.\$35,000 (Oblinger, 1996). This represents two-thirds to three-quarters of a year of study in a traditional institution. Rarely are workers able to leave jobs for the length of time required in a traditional college or university to acquire skills and knowledge that change from year to year. Companies are continually re-defining goals and restructuring work processes, making greater and more varied demands of workers. Flexibility is no longer just a desired trait; it is a requirement for job security. The bottom line is that there is a severe misalignment between what educational institutions provide and what our economy needs, and an ever diminishing relationship between what is taught in schools and what is needed in the workplace (Oblinger, 1996). Business has already begun to respond to this gap, what of the educational establishment?

Certainly, universities and colleges have not been oblivious to the changes in society generally and education and training specifically. Many have experimented with new technologies and many have some form of a distance education program, open learning center or on-line education offering. But most universities and colleges employ these as complementary strategies to their principle role of providing a traditional education in a traditional format. Although numerous studies (see papers in Hatton, 1997) have identified changes that universities and colleges need to undergo in order to meet the challenges of providing for the development of a learning society, few have made substantive inroads towards this transformation. Inhibitors to change include the academic culture, entrenched faculty interests and public funding.

Either the traditional sectors of higher education are too conservative to exploit new developments and possibilities, or, when they do, they're so inefficient, slow moving and expensive that they may as well not bother. The new competitors can be not only a threat, but an opportunity for alliances and partnerships. They are a threat because the elimination of time and distance barriers will result in the erosion of traditional geographical monopolies. Through the consequent erosion of revenue, universities will lose a funding source. While these are real threats, it can be argued that higher education is on the brink of one of its greatest opportunities. The appearance of new providers on the educational marketplace may also signal the beginning of a new paradigm in higher education. What is certain, however, is that the overall postsecondary market will grow dramatically and established institutions will have to rethink their role in the new order—at least those that have the will to survive. Responding to new realities will lead to interesting partnerships, and adaptable institutions will find partners to whom they can "outsource" some activities, improving both quality and the "bottom line". Universities could become a resource to individuals and firms for lifelong learning – independent of time and place, through strategic alliances—building as well as joining networks of providers that are as likely to include for-profit as not-for-profit enterprises. Successful competitors would enhance value for money by sharing educational and service resources and focusing their faculty on quality issues.

Dynamic and flexible institutions will take advantage of these opportunities. Many more, however, are simply too stodgy to respond. Traditional academic institutions identify with a place. Students are expected to come to the institution, not the reverse. Faculty have established teaching methods and styles, mostly antithetical to a learner focused model. As well, most faculty resist any change that requires them to become learners themselves, or incorporate tools with which they are unfamiliar and uncomfortable. Largely ignored, or at best underutilized, today's technology provides a dramatic opportunity to shift from the traditional book-oriented, lecture-delivered and teacher-focused structure found in most institutions. Finally, ongoing financial support from public coffers, regardless of performance, breeds a type of dependency that may be the strongest inhibitor of change. Residential undergraduate education will become a smaller proportion of the overall educational market as communication technologies change the nature in which the learner interacts with educational providers. Institutions that don't adapt will simply wither away.

It's correct to say that restructuring for lifelong learning, becoming educational brokers, linking with businesses, packaging education in a variety of formats, and

becoming learner- focused require careful consideration and critical assessment. This can't be rushed. However, like governments, academic institutions are too cautious when reacting and responding to environmental change. They are particularly reluctant to relinquish control of the educational process and educational funding. However, the battle-cry of business, *better, cheaper, faster*, is a reality of the modern economy, and hide-bound institutions, aging, older and slower, may in the end be obstacles rather than conduits of change. In particular, the inability of colleges and universities to successfully adapt to and harness advanced technologies in a timely fashion is a weakness of such magnitude that this alone may put them out of the race to attract and service learners in the 21st century.

Shifts toward a global economy and the development and use of communications technology will drive changes in the nature of education and training. Rather than focusing on facts, learners will develop problem-solving skills. Rather than individual learning, students will learn to work as teams. Rather than receiving information, they will learn to interact with and process information. Rather than having technology set apart from education, it will become an integral part of learning.

Increasingly, business and educational institutions are competing. Instead of focussing on the inputs of teaching, as most educational institutions are prone to do, business focuses on the outcomes of learning. More importantly, business is far more likely to make the necessary commitment to move quickly, implant the use of advanced communication technologies, and develop the learning structures of the next century. As Denning (1996) puts it, "When a new company offers a better design, customers migrate to it from other companies." In his scenario, the institution with the obsolescent business design is the university. In a similar vein, Stan Davis (1996), cited earlier, suggests that universities are like fourth-quarter entities in a business cycle.

"Fourth-quarter entities usually don't disappear, they just do not dominate in the subsequent life cycle. They...rarely are able to bootstrap themselves into being dominant players...Because they have established ways of doing things, they do not embrace the new technologies and do not comprehend the new definition of what the need is out there that they are serving. So they lose market share, which is exactly what is happening to the education system as people are abandoning it."

For the first time in modern history the private sector views higher education as an attractive business opportunity. At the moment, most corporations continue to be more interested in partnerships with universities and colleges than they are in direct competition. However, the demography of higher education has been radically changed, with only one-sixth of all college students attending full-time. New students want an entirely different relationship with universities than did their predecessors, placing a premium on convenience, service, low cost and quality. They are uninterested in paying for any service or activity they do not use. They are calling for a stripped down version of higher education and are very likely to embrace technology that will allow education to occur at home or in the office. This is a model that business understand a university partner may be more of a hindrance than a help. If higher education is unable to learn, we may soon witness the final lesson.

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Chapter 4: Recent Trends in the Practice of Lifelong Learning and Adult Education in Russia

JOSEPH ZAJDA

INTRODUCTION

The current fate of lifelong learning and adult education in Russia is linked with the monumental and unprecedented political, economic and social transformation between 1985 and 2000, which began with Mikhail Gorbachev's radical policy of *glasnost* and *perestroika*.

Before the collapse of the USSR in 1991, the entire system of education and training in the Soviet Union was a massive exercise involving more than 100 million individuals. The lifelong learning and adult education sector, which amounted to a voluntary training system operating outside the government compulsory education sector, involved a clientele of some 43.5 million youth, older workers and professionals who were engaged in re-training or upgrading their qualifications and skills.

Following the break up of the USSR in December 1991 the entire Soviet education system, in common with many other institutions in the now Russian society, was seen as requiring restructuring. In consequence, the Ministry of Education issued major and significant education policy documents, which defined both the structure and content of all education in post-communist Russia, between 1992 and 2000. In 1993 temporary school curricula and programs at all levels, including the lifelong learning and adult education sector, were adopted.

The State Education Standard document (1998) was introduced in response to decentralisation and diversification in education – to ensure the equivalence of education standards and academic qualifications across Russia's 89 regions and to facilitate the movement of individuals from one *oblast* (region) of the Russian Federation (RF) to another. One of the goals of education standards rhetoric is the preservation of the ideals of a 'common education space', defined as an equivalence of educational experience and qualifications in each of the 89 regions.

Since then, the two major education policy documents for reforming education were adopted in 2000. The National Doctrine on Education Growth (Doktrina), was approved on 17 February 2000. The Federal program on Developments in Education (Federalnaia programma rezvitiia obrazovaniia) defined priorities and strategies for education and the Russian Federation for the year 2010. Furthermore, a single national examination is planned for the final year of secondary education in the Russian Federation in 2003 – which proved to be the most widely discussed issue, according to Filippov (*Uchitelskaia Gazeta*, 2000, 29 August:10). Finally, the new (and controversial for many Russians, who had lived under the ten-year schooling for 60 years) Basic Curriculum Plan (novyi

bazisnyi uchebnyi plan) for a twelve-year schooling to be adopted in 2003, has been widely discussed in 2000. Various models of curriculum programs for Grades 1–12 were published in *Uchitelskaia Gazeta*. The Ministry of Education has shortlisted some, and will select the winning curriculum model of a new 12-year schooling.

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF ECONOMIC FACTORS AFFECTING ADULT EDUCATION

Although Russia is the largest land nation in the world, its 1996 population of 148 million, including 38 million pensioners comprising 26% of the population and 78 million wage earners enjoyed a per capita GNP income of US\$2,490 (compared with \$28,020 in the USA), placing it at the 50th position in the world. Russia's unemployment had risen to almost 14% by July 1995 and poverty had also risen dramatically, with the World Bank 1996 estimate showing that 31% of the population were affected (*World Development Indicators* 1998, p.65). In the formal school sector, enrollment patterns have been negatively affected by Russia's imploding economy and the financial hardship experienced by the average household. Gross enrollment ratios showed declining enrollments in secondary schools, from 96% in 1980 to 87 percent in 1995. Although in 1980 the USSR occupied the fifth place in the world in secondary education enrollments, by 1995 the nation had slipped to 31st place. Similarly, enrollments in higher education had *declined* from 46% in 1980 to 43%, placing it 15th in the world. This decline took place at a time when other nations were experiencing a significant increase in higher education enrollments (eg., Canada from 57 to 100, United States from 56 to 81 and Australia from 25 to 72% in 1995). Now Russia, once part of a global superpower which had placed strong emphasis on educational achievement, showed a steady decline in enrollment in both secondary and tertiary sectors.

With expenditures on education set at 15,689,360 million roubles, or 3.6% of the budget in 1996, the lifelong learning and adult education sector was battling for survival in a climate of economic austerity and hardship. The new clients of the sector were drawn from among the unemployed, often workers retrenched, due to restructuring of industry, and from partly educated youth and school drop-outs who were increasingly alienated and prone to question the utilitarian vocational functions of education as well as its ideological purpose. Education for what? students asked the author at a Moscow in-service training institute for teachers? For unemployment? The morale among educators and students at all levels had reached the lowest ebb.

Many teachers, in search of better-paid jobs in the private sector, were resigning, and their students, lured by the promise of instant wealth, were dropping out in order to exchange educational studies for business experience. Some 4 million school-age students in the ex-USSR and 2.5 million in Russia did not attend school in 1995. For many, the school had lost its educational and vocational appeal and relevance.

Whatever the reasons, Russian students have caught the "disease" of the affluent West, what we may refer to as the "reluctant learner syndrome", and have begun dropping out of school at the age of 15 in search of jobs and the dream of a quick road to riches. When this optimism is not rewarded, early school leavers increasingly turn to the new and

growing number and variety of evening schools, which have begun to operate within the lifelong learning sector.

ADULT EDUCATION AND ITS HISTORY

The now growing but financially constrained lifelong learning and adult education sector has as its foundation a very impressive seventy-year sector history in the USSR and Russia. Like adult education in England, defined by Charnley and Stock (1988, p. 38) as courses provided by adult education centres, community centres, and youth clubs, the Russian system of adult education provided in equal measure general and vocational education and training for working adults. It represented at least four major functions: a) *adult education as literacy*; b) *adult education as community development*; c) *adult education as extension education*, and d) *adult education as compensatory education*

Adult Education as Literacy

The eradication of illiteracy in Soviet Russia during the 1920s and the 1930s was one of its finest achievements. Lenin's famous December 1919 decree "On the Eradication of Illiteracy among the Population of the RSFSR" directed individuals from 8 to 50 years old to become literate. In the 1920s some 100 million illiterate people, mainly in the rural sector, had to be educated. By 1927 Soviet Russia was already 19th place in world literacy levels and by the early 1940s the literacy in the 16 to 50 age group reached 90%. By 1960 the USSR was claiming 100 percent literacy (Zajda 1992, p. 5).

Adult Education as Community Development

Adult education played a very significant role in community development by rising educational standards, general knowledge, and cultural expectations. It reflected the needs, desires and aspirations of the community.

Adult Education as Extension Education

This involved skill/vocational training required by various sectors of the economy. Examples included skilled workers, middle-level professionals, technicians, tradesmen and administrators

Adult Education as Compensatory Education

Compensatory Education was available for those who, for one reason or another, were unable to complete their secondary education. During the 1950s and 1960s this form

of adult education was offered in evening and through correspondence schools. During the 1960s and the 1970s adult education also included the so-called non-formal sector (*neformalnye struktury*), which included People's universities (*Narodnye Universitety*), public lectures, Party education and the Knowledge Society (*Znanie*). More recently, in the economic climate of rationalizing and downsizing, the former aims of adult education in Russia have been reduced to two major roles: a) to provide vocational training as dictated by societal needs; and b) to spot and develop capable and gifted individuals (Kalinkin 1990, p. 7).

Today Russian lifelong learning and adult education, like the British system of adult education, is a complex and diverse network of multi-layered institutions, which include vocational education, liberal arts adult education, extramural departments, as well as professional, industrial and commercial in-service programs. In both countries it historically combined the government education sector—with various institutions offering evening classes or external programmes and the public sector—with its own and even more diverse network of education and training for specific purposes.

The most popular form of lifelong learning in Russia is in-school education (similar to Poland and Hungary). It parallels the school system and its certificates are the same as those awarded by normal schools. In-school education and training takes place in education centres (*tseñtr obrazovaniia*) and the increasingly popular education consulting centres (*uchebno-konsultatsionnye punkty*). According to Tamara Ivanova, a specialist in adult education, (the Ministry of Education), these new centres provide a more flexible and need-based education and vocational training for young adults who have completed basic schooling, school drop-outs, and individuals who are either employed, or unemployed (*Uchitel'skaia Gazeta* 2, 18 January, 2000, p. 8).

ADULT EDUCATION IN RUSSIA AFTER 1991

The term “*adult education*” is losing the concrete meaning it had in the 1950s and 1960s when it referred to evening schools (*vechernye shkoly*) and correspondence schools (*zaochnye shkoly*) for working adults only. The term became even more obscure during the emergence of continuing education in Russia. In the 1960s and 1970s adult education included many other organizations, both voluntary (including the People's universities and the *Znanie* Society) and government institutions. In the 1990s the newly restructured adult education centres offered courses for a heterogeneous audience, which now included young adults, adolescents, unemployed, migrants, ex-convicts, adults with special needs and pensioners. In 1999 there were 3,083 such centres, and 1,706 evening schools, with a total enrolment of 487,401 students, representing 6.3 percent increase on the 1998 figures (*Uchitel'skaia Gazeta* 2, 2000, p. 8).

The structure of lifelong learning and adult education in the Russia after 1991 is illustrated in *Table 1*:

Lifelong learning and adult education after 1991 had become increasingly vocationally oriented. It focused on preventing structural unemployment by providing the necessary re-training programmes, and preparing qualified personnel for the economy in the post-communist Russia. According to one estimate, the changing nature of jobs

Table 1: The Structure of Lifelong learning and Adult Education in Russia

General Education	Vocational Training	In-Service Education and Training	Industry-related Education and Training	Community-based Education and Training	Self-Education
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due to economic restructuring, including the closure of State-run industrial enterprises, and the down-sizing of the military sector and its industries, was expected to generate 20 million redundant workers (Kalinkin 1990, p. 8). Lifelong learning and adult education in Russia is by necessity becoming more flexible and more adaptable, responding to the changing needs of the economy.

NEW POLICY DOCUMENTS ON ADULT EDUCATION

The Ministerial directive of May 1993 'On Preserving the System of Evening General Education Schools' was a public declaration guaranteeing part-time evening schools for both adolescents and adults. The Ministry of Education had defined the "basic function of the evening school" as one of providing "general secondary education for those adults lacking it and adolescents who have commenced work" (*Rossiiskoe Obrazovanie* 1991, p. 48). The Deputy Minister of Education, A.G. Asmolov, admitted that new economic conditions and deterioration in facilities had seriously weakened the adult education infrastructure. Some 60% of adult education centres were housed in unsuitable or condemned buildings, lacking in safety, let alone basic hygiene. The fundamental principle of "restructuring adult education" was one of qualitative change. The document mentioned the creation of new, multi-profile education centres that would provide education and training. Asmolov emphasized the "more active" use of the newly restructured evening schools in providing continuing education and training for all working and non-working individuals (Asmolov 1993, p. 4).

The above directive was accompanied by another document on the evening school, defining its structure and operations. The 1993 Act "On the Evening General Education School" re-asserted the policy of providing continuing education for all Russian citizens, and providing the foundation for "post-secondary schooling and self-education... choice and mastery of occupation, formation of the general culture of the learner...and self-realization of one's identity (Article 1). Article 2 defined the minimum number of students for such centres as 100 in urban areas and 80 students in rural areas. More importantly, community groups, societies and industrial complexes (Section 9) could now establish evening schools. The education programme (Article 3) consisted of Level 2 or basic secondary education (5 years of post-primary schooling), and Level 3 or complete secondary education (3 years of upper secondary schooling). As in the past, the academic 36-week year commenced on September 1st. Working adults qualified for a shorter working week on full pay. The class structure (Article 5) re-affirmed multi-age groupings of students, including youth and adult learners.

ADULT EDUCATION CURRICULUM

The new Adult Education Curriculum was introduced in August 1993, following the introduction of the July 1992 'Law on Education'. Like the general education secondary curriculum document it emphasized the compulsory subjects—sciences, mathematics, humanities and language studies and also included electives. The core curriculum, according to this policy document, represented “societal ideals” and “cultural traditions” deemed necessary for providing the unity of educational programs and standards and for the formation of the learner’s identity (*Vecherniia Sredniaia Shkola* 1993, 5, p. 15). The 1998 revised Adult Education Curriculum had increased the weekly sessions to 26 class hours (22 hours before) in Grades 7–9. This increase was necessary to meet the State standards (this refers to the Education Standards document), and to equip the learner with the adequate knowledge of the secondary school curriculum and vocational training. *Table 2* below illustrates the content of the new adult education curriculum:

Table 2: Adult Education Curriculum-Evening Schools

Subjects (weekly hours)	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12
Language and Literature of the Republic	2	2	2
Russian Language and Literature	4	3	4
History	2	2	2
Social Sciences	–	–	1
Economics	–	1	1
Information Technology	1	1	–
Geography	1	–	–
Mathematics	2	2	2
Biology	–	1	–
Physics	2	2	2
Chemistry	2	2	2
Foreign Language	2	2	2
Sub-Total(+4hrs consultation and seminars)	18	18	18
Total weekly hours	22	22	22

In addition to completing their secondary schooling, individuals were encouraged to undertake some form of vocational training in these new education centres. *Table 3* shows the programme of studies with a vocational profile:

In addition to covering the programme in nine school subjects, individuals undergoing professional training were required to spend up to seven weekly hours studying their chosen profession. Vocational training commenced as early as Grade 5, but the normal

Table 3: Adult Education Curriculum (Vocational Profile)

Subjects (weekly hours)	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12
Russian Language and Literature	3	3	3
Foreign Language	2	2	2
History	2	2	2
Social Sciences	–	–	1
Mathematics	3	3	3
Geography	1	–	–
Biology	–	1	–
Physics	2	2	2
Chemistry	2	2	2
Sub-Total	15	15	15
Special Subjects	5	5	5
Electives and Seminars	2	2	2
Total weekly hours	22	22	22

path for vocational training began in Grades 10–12. Adult education centres were one of the first institutions which responded to Russia's transition to market economy, and the resultant "market forces", by offering training in high demand occupations, such as banking, business management, marketing, hospitality and the service sectors.

NEW INITIATIVES IN ADULT EDUCATION IN RUSSIA

One of the most significant developments in Russian adult education was the launching of the first Open University (*Otkryty Universitet*) in 1990. In an interview with the author in January 1992, Professor B.M. Bim-Bad, then Vice-Chancellor of the Russian Open University indicated that September 1992 the Russian Open University (ROU) had more than 60,000 students, in 21 different faculties, 10 research centres, and 6 experimental laboratories, with many other campuses outside Moscow, including Krasnodar, Vilnius, and Nizhni Novgorod. As Russia's first independent and private higher education institution, ROU was founded in August 1990, on the initiative of the Russian Teachers' Creative Union.

Another, equally significant development, this time at the policy level, was the publication of the "Draft on Education Centres" in 1993. It laid down the principles for establishing new education centres, which were designed to meet the needs of school dropouts, school-leavers and adults. L. Lesokhina, coordinator of the Adult Education Research Centre of the Institute of Adult Education at the Russian Academy of Education, writes that the document provided the necessary legitimacy and unity of purpose for a vast network of other adult education centres (Lesokhina, 1993, p. 12). These included

TSOMs (Youth Education Centres), TSOVs (Adult Education Centres), TSONs (Community Education Centres), TSNOs (Continuing Education Centres), and UKPs (Education Consulting Centers) The newly defined education centres provided a more unified and common structure for adult education. Such centres would have been ideal in 1991, the re-structuring year. For unlike the old-type *vecherka* (evening schools), which were not always popular, the new education centres had acquired a more desirable social status and, more importantly, they were locally-funded and managed.

The Education Centre Document included articles defining aims, structure, organization, management and financing. It provided coherence for adult education programmes, and as one of the dominant education discourses in post-communist Russia, it re-affirmed principles of participatory democracy. Article 1 in the document stated that the fundamental goal of the Education Centres was to be “the concern for social justice”, and achieving this through education:

“to give all individuals, irrespective of their age, sex, ethnicity and educational qualifications an opportunity to continually supplement and develop their knowledge and skills in various spheres of life.” (Vecherniia Sredniaia Shkola 1993, 1, p.13)

The more specific aims of the Education Centres were: a) to enrich the social experience of one’s identity and participate in its civic, professional and *moral* development; b) to bring one’s education and training closer to everyday life; c) to participate in the socialization process, social adaptation and, if necessary, social rehabilitation of the identity; d) to bring about the internalization of democratic principles of social life; and e) to contribute to active and meaningful influence on the education services market.

New also was the entrepreneurial mission of the above centres. They were encouraged to be more competitive, to organise “productive work” for both adult and youth learners and to engage in corresponding business activities (Section 1.4). More importantly, education and training, within the frameworks of State education standards, was free to all. As in other government educational institutions, individuals had a choice between either general-academic or academic-vocational curricula.

ADULT VOCATIONAL TRAINING IN EDUCATION CENTRES

The new educational policy documents between 1993–1998 emphasize the vocationalization of education. The deficit model of the unschooled or partly educated adult and adolescent is particularly relevant to Russia and has been addressed by adult education centres. These centres now provide initial training, retraining and continuing education for a very diverse body of students, ranging from 12-year old school dropouts to adults. Major types of curricula and training programmes include: a) compensatory education; b) accelerated learning programmes; c) initial vocational training and d) short-term intensive re-training in new skills.

Learners learn at their own pace (e.g., contract learning and individualised instruction programmes) and accumulate formal qualifications, ranging from basic knowledge

and skills to access to further and higher education. Assessment is now criterion and personally referenced, and includes a range of subjects, academic and vocational in nature, and takes into account personal development learning outcomes. According to Galina Koroliova, a principal of Moscow's evening school number 18, "*vecherka* (a colloquial term for the evening school-JZ) is capable of becoming a genuine centre of the all-round education, helping young people to achieve their goals" (*Uchitelskaia Gazeta* 10, 14 March, 2000, p. 9). In this centre, the age group of learners range from 12 to 40 and above. Students completing basic school (Grades 5–9) attend daytime classes. Those who need to complete secondary school certificate courses attend the evening classes twice or three times a week. Seminars and group activities are held on Saturdays. This centre is so attractive to employed and unemployed adults that it had 6 classes of Grades 9–11, with some 150 students.

The deficit model of the unschooled and untrained adult has been used in Karelia, where once silenced and marginalised people, especially in the rural areas, were able to play a powerful role in the social and economic development of the region. Aleksei Andeiko established a very successful rural centre of adult education, offering a very wide range of services, ranging from secondary schooling to education for life and leisure. "Without adult education it is impossible to get the village on its feet", and to make it economically viable, writes Andeiko. His adult education centre, operating in the local village, provides a differentiated education and training, including preparation for further education, computer literacy, farm management, music, technology, and provides a whole range of counselling and educational services. The number of adult education centres in the region has grown from 5 in 1996 to 8 in 1999, serving some 450 adult learners (*Uchitelskaia Gazeta* 10, 14 March, 2000, p. 9).

PARADOXES IN RUSSIAN ADULT EDUCATION

One of the paradoxes of adult education in post-communist Russia is its enforced commercialization. Despite the all-important Presidential Decree on education, guaranteeing free access to, and funding of education, many institutions were inadequately funded and therefore forced to find ways of attracting funds from other sources or face possible amalgamation or closure. Writers like Goldshtein, who is particularly critical of the blatant *kommertsializatsiia* (commercialization) of the adult education sector, believe that adult education, particularly evening schools, find it difficult to function effectively in the world of "profit and unscrupulous trade" (Goldshtein 1993, p. 23).

The adult education sector also faces the challenge of providing *compensatory* education for individuals who have been disadvantaged by the proliferation of differential curricula and programs, with varying teaching methods, subject choice, assessment techniques and standards of achievement. Re-structuring of education since 1991 had produced a very diverse educational sector, including single-discipline schools, open schools, and electives-rich schools, which raised the problem of equivalence of academic standards. Fifteen-year-olds completing the Grade 9 exit point pursuit of professional or vocational training have begun to exhibit different levels of competency in school subjects and skills. Adult education centres often had to re-educate their

new students even in the basic subjects. At the same time unemployment among youth and school leavers is very high, forcing them to continue their education and retraining in evening schools.

Educationally disadvantaged youth and unemployment are the two new elements in enrollment patterns in evening schools – adults now constitute about one-third and 15 to 18-year-olds almost two-thirds. In a typical illustration, the Ivanovsk region has 5,500 individuals attending 20 local evening schools, of whom 72% are in the 15 to 18 age-group, and one-third are unemployed. The rest are adult learners. They attend classes from 2 to 4 days weekly with one day allocated for tutorial consultation, while others attend compensatory classes (Goldshtein 1993, p. 24). The region's adult education sector faces shortages of qualified teaching staff, resources, textbooks and even suitable buildings to hold classes.

Privatization and sale of property has resulted in many adult education centres being relocated, paying higher rents or being forced to close. Only three out of the 20 evening schools in the Ivanovsk region continue to occupy their original sites. Between 1983 and 1993 evening schools were being closed at the rate of 3 per year in that region alone with similar trends observed in other regions of Russia. Paradoxically, the closure of such schools, which in the past had performed invaluable social and educational roles in working with the least educated and "the most complex adolescents and "at risk" youth, occurred at a time of growing social problems (Goldshtein 1993, p. 25).

Part-time evening schools had always suffered from low social status and prestige. In the current official documents, evening schools or *vecherka*, figure prominently as the "Evening Secondary General Education School". Attempts to change the social status of these schools by changing names to more popular labels such as "people's schools", "people's universities", or "community schools" have failed to win popular support. For some school principals, changing the image of low-status evening schools continues to be an urgent task, especially during their transition to new education centres.

Adult education experts and school principals addressed problems confronting adult education in the evening school sector at the 1993 Ministry of Education Seminar in Moscow. It was noted that some 500,000 individuals attended evening schools, of whom some 30 per cent were adults. Principals reported that in addition to unemployed youth and adults, these schools also attracted ex-servicemen or re-trenched armed forces personnel seeking re-training. Training in new professions such as advertising, marketing, and promotion, accounting, banking, beauticians, hairdressing and bodyguards was reported to be in high demand. Other, equally popular Western-style professions, new to Russia included butler, nanny, governess, tutor and home nurse.

The most commonly cited problems of the new education centres include their *academic* status as diploma-awarding institutions, their changing enrolment patterns to include younger students, unemployed and those considered at risk, and the unregulated profusion of educational programs. Prominent adult educators like N. Gurova suggest that adult education needs to become more adaptable, incorporating the latest advances in training methodologies and specialised vocational programmes. She argues that the centres should also offer compensatory and remedial education for students with special needs, as well as courses for young adults and parents in interpersonal communication,

language skills, courses in parenting, and strategies for preparing children for school. One Moscow evening school teacher, Z. Ivanova, identified problems dealing with teacher stress, social factors, lack of motivation to study, shortage of teaching material, students' preference for making money and the proliferation of educational programs. "There are no incentives to study," she writes. "Today" (for a typical school leaver) "to buy and sell is much more spellbinding" (Ivanova 1993, p. 9).

Matveeva, of the Institute of Adult Education stresses the rehabilitative function of evening schools, arguing that such institutions are more adaptive to social change, and notes the "intensely *humane* nature of the evening school system", seeing it as the "only system that took upon itself to educate, train and rehabilitate young adults" (Matveeva 1993, p. 11).

The problem of academic standards, equivalence and recognition continues to haunt the evening school sector. G. Gleizer, Academician, and Executive Secretary of the Russian Academy of Education, welcomed the recent introduction of two education policy documents dealing with school curricula and defining school programmes and regulating academic standards. The March 1996 *Attestation and Accreditation Act*, issued by Y. Tkachenko, the Minister of Education, is applicable to all educational institutions and aims to enforce government control of educational standards, focusing on excellence and quality at all levels of schooling, including adult education. The new education centres and the issuing of documents concerning the structure and content of the school curricula and accreditation criteria should combine to give adult education a new respectability.

TOWARDS A NEW PARADIGM OF ADULT EDUCATION IN RUSSIA

Russia's radical post-communist ideological transformation, with its emphasis on privatisation and global capitalism has created the need for a new paradigm in adult education. Jackson suggests that the need for a new approach to adult education and training taking into "account people's relations to *civil society* as well as to *the labour market* is most apparent in areas where *high unemployment* and *industrial restructuring* are reducing the quality of life and *life chances* most dramatically"(emphasis mine). Russia, currently undergoing politico-economic transformation and social dislocation, has already developed a significant inequality gap between the rich and the poor by creating a new stratum of "semi-citizens", "with little power in the marketplace and little purchase on obscure democratic processes" (Jackson 1997, p. 53).

In practice, driven by market-dictated policies, Russian adult education in the 1990s increasingly adopted a "value for money" metaphor rather than concern for social justice. This trend finds parallels with concerns expressed in the Russell Report (1973) on adult education in England, which contained two major themes in adult education outcomes. First, it perceived its vital role in contributing to the quality of life, the potential for personal development, and guiding the individual's place in society – in industry or in the family and community. Secondly, it suggested that such contribution could be facilitated by comprehensive and pluralistic politics. As Jackson explains: "It proposed comprehensive planning of the 'explicit and latent demands of all kinds of

adult education, which would be the responsibility of democratically elected local government” (Jackson 1997, p.48)

Russian adult education, has also been influenced by market-driven forces – as demonstrated by hurried and ill-thought privatization. Adult education in Russia, like its counterparts in Great Britain and Canada, is no longer committed to the teleological (pursuing some purpose laid down by socio-historical necessity) goal of building a democratic society. The current debate on the nature and purpose of adult education in Russia, centred around the new education centres debate, can be viewed in terms of structuralist, interpretive, critical and post-modern paradigms – for they are all relevant in evaluating the impact of social change on education. The post-modernist pedagogy of engagement and resistance, which echoes a philosophy of adult education of Eduard Lindeman and other progressive thinkers, is applicable to the critique of the changing face of adult education in Russia with its search for national identity, cohesion and destiny. Lindeman, as a progressive thinker, believed in 1937 that adult education was the only “instrument of action” that could create a just social order, provided it came from the grass roots: ‘...we must quickly bring into existence an adult education movement which springs from the “grass roots” of... life’ (Lindeman 1945, p. 123).

If one is to accept the notion that the new post-communist Russia is undergoing its own “dialectic” of the commodification of life and of culture, Lindeman’s ideas on adult education as the praxis, are particularly relevant. The description of adult education as born of “discontent” and representing a “grouping of the people toward recognition” (Lindeman 1932, p. 70) is certainly applicable to the trend in some newly re-structured adult education centres. In one case, the adult learners at the Bagski state farm (Novoodesk region in the Ukraine), studied the culture of family and life, while at the same time upgrading their professional qualifications. The result was a two-fold decrease in the rural to city migration and decrease in divorce (Yagovitin 1993, p. 10). Another school reported on its success with the so-called “non-standard” learners, or educationally and socially disadvantaged young adults. Attendance rates are high, demonstrating high student motivation, and successful teaching methods, and the relevance of adult education curricula. Students, including those who were expelled from secondary schools, like the new evening school, where “it is nice” and where they are treated with respect.

Matveeva (1993) is convinced that the evening school sector, working according to the model of the Education Centre, is one of the most important channels for completing secondary education for youth and adults. Gurova (1993), on the other hand, stresses the values education potential of the new adult education centres, believing that the TSOVs are ideally suited for developing special courses for parents and other working and non-working adults. One is reminded of Lindeman’s notion of adult education as born of “discontent and unadjustment” (1929, p. 29), and where genuine adult education is also “social education”, where “every social-action group should at the same time be an adult-education group...” (Lindeman 1945, p. 119). Lindeman’s pedagogy of emancipation and engagement is very close to the ethos of the new TSOVs. The new evolving paradigm in adult education in Russia includes, among other things, ethical (values education framework in various self-help courses) and instrumental (knowledge and skill-enriching) dimensions.

Adult education in post-communist Russia seems to be following the pattern seen through much of the world, particularly in Britain, USA and Canada, which have been influenced by economic rationalism and neo-conservative ideology. Ideals of collectivity, social justice, human rights, and ethnic tolerance are exchanged for key concepts from business management discourse of productivity, efficiency, competitiveness and the "bottom-line" of profit.

As the UNESCO's humanistic-social justice-human rights tradition, so influential in the 1960s, was weakening, the economic and techno-determinist paradigm of the OECD, the World Bank and the IMF was gaining in prominence. Reich (1993) argues that the future standards of living in any country, including Russia, will depend on the ability of the population to sell its labour skills in a global market (Walters 1997, p. 17). In short, the neo-liberal and neo-conservative ideology, which has re-defined education as an investment in "human capital" and "human resource development", has also influenced the thinking of policy makers in Russia. Adult education in Russia, as elsewhere in the world, has been affected by the crisis of the welfare state and the weakening of civil society. As such, it has shifted its focus, from the "learning of meanings" to the "learning of earnings".

EVALUATION

Education and economic reforms in post-communist Russia, which re-defined the nature and direction of adult education and training, attempted to respond to the market forces and demand for privatization, deregulation and localization. Russia, like other nations, has rejected a rational foundation for the modern *welfare state*, choosing "charismatic" leaders in Yeltsin, and currently Putin, forsaking humanistic and rational ideals, and preferring a culture of "personal gain" rather than "communal goals" (Swing 1992, p. 6).

In Russia, education reform after 1991 was an orchestrated attack on what was now perceived as the ideologically impure Soviet system of education, with its ubiquitous centralization, communist ideology and bureaucratic inefficiency. Attempts were made to Westernize Russian education, reflecting the crisis of identity and teleological goals. Alternative curricula, new methodologies and structures were offered. More importantly, a significant degree of autonomy in the teaching/learning process, previously unknown, was given to local educators. The Ministry of Education lost its power and control. In Russia, these education reforms represented a radical shift in ideology and values and appropriately typified the inevitable outcome of the global *Weltanschauung* of modernity.

Having been influenced by the Western-inspired paradigms of neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism in the economy and education, Russian adult education policy-makers are hoping to create a new cultural and economic synthesis that will meet the needs of a changing world. The concerns of Russian adult educators interviewed between 1990 and 1996, indicate their active involvement in educational renewal. In some ways this seems to reflect the cultural ideals articulated in the 1973 Russell Report, particularly the theme of recognizing the importance of adult education to the

general quality of life. Russian adult educators are beginning to focus more on the individual's cultural and personal needs. It is for this reason that compensatory and rehabilitational roles of adult education are gaining so much attention.

The impact of globalization and modernity on adult education is a "two-edged sword". On one hand, it "removes competence from the national context" and undermines the institutions, which "civil society and the democratic public" have used for communication (Walters 1997, p. 23). In the past, the decisive actors on the international arena were stable nation-states. Globalization, with its emphasis on the global, rather than national, tends to erode the political and economic foundations of the nation-state. On the other hand, globalization opens up new possibilities for a democratic influence. One of the more radical consequences of globalization in Russian politics, education and society was the rejection of the command economy of the Gosplan. In terms of the bottom-up process of social transformation taking place in every sphere of life, adult education plays a very significant role and can be seen as the bridge for life and career in the global labour market.

Given the radical transformation in Russia, adult education is besieged by other problems and priorities. Archer's critique of bourgeois postmodernity could be applied to Russia's intellectual elite who appear to seek:

"...a life of postmodernist self-enrichment amid Third World poverty where the next meal is no simulacrum and the next international deal is not just a local language game." (Archer 1998, p.10)

These words are particularly relevant to adult education in Russia, torn between the tyranny of tradition and imperatives of modernity, and currently experiencing the influx of alienated and disposed young adults. For Russian adult educators who are struggling to find an *ethical* and *social* basis for their methodology, it could mean adopting the following four principles:

1. Scientific rationality has to be relinquished if the intent of the Enlightenment's emancipatory project is to be continued.
2. Adult education needs to be viewed in Foucault's sense of a "discursive formation".
3. Adult education needs to reflect ethical rather than economic focus.
4. Adult education needs to respond to a postmodernist challenge and its critique of Grand Narratives.

Ultimately, adult education in Russia will need to develop a new synthesis of post-modernist (and post-ideological) and post-hegemonic paradigms in educational philosophy and practice. Such education becomes what Briton calls a "pedagogy of engagement", rather than a pedagogy of vocation and capital (Briton 1996, p. 116).

Let us return to the beginning of the paper and Russia's radical transformation affecting adult education. The future of adult education is not, as Lenin's much-quoted aphorism suggests, "the *svetloe budushchee*" (the bright future of socialism) but it is a new beacon in the turbulent decade of empowering collectivity. Russian adult education has a potential to emerge as a powerful social and cultural force.

CONCLUSION

Having been influenced by a severe economic recession resulting from political and economic restructuring, Russian adult educators are experiencing “hard times”. Those who have rejected the Soviet vision of adult education are now looking for an alternative model and a politically correct perception of education and training. At the policy and legislation level, at least three trends can be observed: administrative and educational decentralization, greater democracy in decision-making, and pluralism in pedagogy.

The discourse of the market—Russia’s transition to the market economy and resultant privatization, has affected all levels of education. Russian adult educators now need more than ever before to “re-discover” the humanizing power of adult education, and more importantly they must “separate themselves out from human resources development and human capital formation”, the discourse of the market (Cunningham 1996, p. 183). As Cunningham argues:

“Such education (ie. market-driven J.Z.) is rarely culturally contextualized and links the amelioration of social disorganization to a competitive economic vision...Nor can adult educators be uncritical in response to social demands made by those who are marginalized.” (p. 183)

Russian adult educators will need to continue building their new system of adult education that is more collaborative, capitalizing on learners’ experiences, cultivating critical and reflective thinking (adulthood) and teaching dialectical thinking, and emancipatory learning, within the ethos of mutual respect.

In seeking to adopt adult education policies in support of local communities and popular movements, a prominent American adult educator suggests the need to study *privilege*, (to which we can add power, status, and wealth) and “how it affects the struggle for a more participatory culturally pluralistic democratic society”, to which Russia is aspiring, in its attempts to rewrite the past and reinvent the future (Cunningham 1996, p. 183). The need for critical reflection is particularly relevant if adult education in Russia is to increase people’s *consciousness* of their rights and develop their skills for full participation in a pluralistic democracy.

Recent years in adult education in Russia have witnessed a substantial expansion in the learning opportunities available to young adults and school dropouts. There has been a significant redefinition of adult education. The learning paradigm has replaced traditional education, offering new and more flexible programs, especially for the unemployed and disadvantaged. Adult education has responded to both social and market demands. Currently, the market and social demands for adult education are coming from the underprivileged strata. In Russia, as elsewhere, there is a trend to promote the education of adults into a consolidated effort as human capital formation for those who are disadvantaged, unemployed and in need of training. Despite these efforts, inequalities in learning opportunities and participation continue to exist. The inequality debate needs to be addressed as adult education in Russia continues its complex transformation within the transitional context of socio-economic, cultural and pedagogic change.

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Chapter 5: Community Empowerment through Lifelong Community Learning in Developing Countries

SHARMALA NAIDOO

INTRODUCTION

At present, the socio-economic situation in many developing countries is deteriorating given the current context of globalization, declining terms of trade, mounting external debt, rising unemployment, and economic and political instability. While donor assistance continues to pour into developing countries, the gap between rich and poor is widening. Amidst this climate of escalating poverty, it has become increasingly clear that if social change and sustainable development are to occur, communities must be at the forefront of this change, empowering themselves and participating directly in the development process.

This chapter will explore the use of lifelong community learning as a means of empowering marginalized communities in developing countries. In the context of this chapter, lifelong community learning refers to the long-term process of learning, education, training and capacity building within a community. Its objectives are to stimulate the minds and creativity of learners, as well as build their skills and knowledge base. It involves all members of a community from all disciplines and walks of life.

This discussion will begin with an examination of the experience and methodologies of participatory community activists and popular educators, e.g. Paulo Freire, in the development of a culture of lifelong community learning and education in developing countries. In many developing countries, practical participatory approaches are being used to promote lifelong community learning and community empowerment. Three participatory approaches will be explored in this paper: community publishing; rural libraries; and study circles. This chapter will then conclude with three case studies from Zimbabwe: the Chiyubunuzyo Local Leadership Programme; Rural Library Programmes; and the Study Circle Programme.

LIFELONG COMMUNITY LEARNING AS A FORCE FOR SOCIAL CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT

“Learning throughout life is a continuous process for each human being of adding to and adapting his or her knowledge and skills, and his or her judgement and capacities for action. It must enable people to become aware of themselves and

their environment, and to play a social role at work and in the community at large.” (UNESCO 1996)

Lifelong community learning is an end-goal in and of itself as the development of a learning culture within communities results in active, learning and growing communities. “There is wide acceptance that people engaging in educational activities are enriched by having their view of the world and their capacity for rational choice continually expanded and transformed by increasing varieties of experiences and cognitive achievements that the lifelong learning experience offers.”(Chapman & Aspin 1997) The benefits of lifelong community learning are both personal and social as it contributes to individual growth, as well as enriches community well being and development overall.

In the case of many developing countries where poverty, apathy and despair are common, lifelong community learning can be used as a force for social change and development. Apathy is common in many developing countries for several reasons. For example, increasing marginalization and disparity and a lack of progressive socio-economic development leads to a sense of futility. Many community members lose faith in their leaders due to mismanagement and corruption. Perhaps the most serious factor relates to a loss of confidence in one’s ability to make a difference, either individually or as a community, largely as a result of long-term marginalization and oppression. However, community-based programmes which support learning, education, training and overall capacity-building can be used to expand the knowledge and skill base of marginalized communities, as well as to conscientize, mobilize and empower them to take steps to change their socio-economic situation.

Community learning and training programs promote lifelong learning as well as offer affordable, accessible and appropriate forms of non-formal education to marginalized communities, particularly in rural areas. According to the South African Reconstruction and Development Plan, “[e]ducation and training, or human resource development, are seen as central to creating the participation, knowledge and skills which are necessary conditions for reconstruction and development and the building of a democratic society” (African National Congress).

Through learning and education, impoverished communities can become aware of the structural forces which perpetuate their marginalization, think and reflect upon them critically and collectively develop strategies to constructively change this situation. The empowerment of communities takes place once they begin to actively analyze their development problems, find ways of addressing these and mobilize to take action.

Popular education is one innovative way of promoting lifelong learning and community empowerment in a developing country context. Popular education is “...a form of adult education that encourages learners to examine their lives critically and take action to change social conditions. It is ‘popular’ in the sense of being ‘of the people’”. (Kerka 1997) Its main objective is to support the capacity of individuals to change their socio-economic situation through a collective problem-solving approach that emphasizes community participation, reflection and a deep analysis of development problems. (Ibid) According to Paulo Freire, through a process of conscientization, marginalized people can become aware and reflect on the causes of their oppression, and can then take constructive action to liberate themselves. (Moyana 1988)

“[Freire] emphasized that education should make the learners critically aware of their false consciousness and of their social condition. In becoming aware, they should reject many of the myths erected by the ruling elite that prevents them (the learners) having a clear perception of their own social reality.”(Jarvis 1988, p.46)

Conscientization implies a search for knowledge, “...a critical reflection on reality, followed by action that carries an ideological option... and includes the transformation of one’s own world, be it a community, a social condition, or something else.” (Freire 1972) Once marginalized people or communities are directly involved in the process of learning, and are not merely passive recipients of knowledge, they can actually analyze and relate to the information being received, and take action to change their socio-economic situation.

“...[T]he learners are encouraged to participate in dialogue and to problematise the reality in which they are immersed. This is a deliberate attempt to make the learners question what they had previously taken for granted, so that they can become aware that they have been socialized into the culture of the colonizers and that their construction of reality may be false within the context of their indigenous heritage.”(Jarvis 1988, p.170)

The popular education pedagogy stresses that learning materials must reflect the realities, perceptions and views of the learners concerned and should enable them to participate directly in the process. (Campfens 1997, p.38) Incorporating the culture, values and symbols of the learners into learning materials is essential, as well as building on their traditional knowledge and life experience, as it enables learners to easily relate to and identify with learning materials as opposed to feeling alienated by them.

Popular educators believe “...that education is not about classrooms and predetermined curriculum. Rather it is about facilitating a learning process arising from the local expression of need. Education takes place in the social and economic context which has to be understood and responded to.” (Purcell) Popular educators hold the belief that education and learning have the power to liberate the oppressed by providing them with the skills, training and awareness to address their development challenges and develop collective strategies for change. Some of the guiding principles of popular education for social change include the following:

- Marginalized people need to be listened to and given a voice where they have previously been silenced and ignored
- People must do things for themselves, lead their own process for social change, as empowerment is an internal process which cannot be imposed from outside
- Only once people are empowered will they have the capacity to actively work together to change their social conditions
- Learning materials must reflect the values, experiences and culture of the learners; local content is key
- Sustainable and democratic social change requires the full participation of marginalized groups in decision-making and planning processes.

Perhaps this last point is one of the most crucial, as it has become increasingly clear that without meaningful participation, community empowerment and long-term democratic development are impossible. In the context of this chapter, participation refers to "...taking part, as an individual and as a community, freely and fully, in decision-making at each step of the development process." (Africa Community Publishing and Development Trust 1998, p.28)

"For many years in developing countries, development agencies and academics have assumed that people from rural communities were intellectually inferior and therefore incapable of carrying out research, writing books and planning programmes to transform their situation. Rural development research, documentation and planning tended to be carried out by highly educated and highly paid urban-based professionals without feedback or participation from the communities concerned." (Ibid, p.39) This lack of active involvement and participation by communities in their own development activities actually worsened the situation as communities lacked ownership and commitment to the development process. However,

"[b]eneficiary participation in development is [now] widely believed to be an essential ingredient of the development process. Most supporters of the concept perceive participation as having some redeeming or liberating value. It enables beneficiaries to influence the decision and policy-making processes. It facilitates the designing and enhances the implementation of plans, programmes and projects. Participation results in the development of a feeling of ownership and belonging among beneficiaries. This feeling, in turn, goes a long way to ensure the successes of a project or programme." (Makumbe 1996, p.107)

Participation requires the full involvement, action, cooperation and decision-making of communities in the development process. Hence the need for participatory approaches in promoting community-based development and empowerment in developing countries. Rahman (Rahman 1983) asserts that:

"[P]articipation is a continuous educative process – a process of progressive conscientization. Through collective self-reflection on their experiences and problems, people become more aware of the dimensions of their reality and of what they can do to transform it. With this awareness they decide upon and take collective action, and analyze its results to promote their awareness (knowledge) further. Thus they move on with progressively advanced knowledge of their evolving reality."

Given that the participation of communities in their own development is critical to achieving sustainable development, community-based initiatives which seek to promote lifelong learning as well as support social change, must utilize a participatory approach. This ensures that communities are directly involved in planning, decision-making and implementation.

PARTICIPATORY APPROACHES FOR PROMOTING LIFELONG LEARNING AND COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT

The following describes three practical approaches for promoting lifelong learning and community empowerment in rural communities. All are based on the philosophies and teachings of popular educators.

Community Publishing for Sustainable and Democratic Development

Community publishing is an innovative approach to lifelong community learning and participatory development, which builds the skills, confidence and creativity of marginalized communities by involving people in the collective production and distribution of books. It uses community development and publishing to enable marginalized communities to participate directly in their own development process by actively learning, researching, writing, reflecting and assessing development challenges and needs, and by developing a plan of action. (Africa Community Publishing and Development Trust 1996, p.1) The community publishing approach is based heavily on the theory and practice of popular educators. Its underlying philosophy is that as

“...[a]ll human power agreements are expressed and recorded in the form of publications, one crucial aspect of deepening democracy is to give communities who were previously marginalized, mastery over publishing (one of the most elite of all human activities). ...Although the books give participants a sense of pride and achievement, the process is far more important than the products, i.e. how the people grow while working on the books, learning the skills, attitudes and relationships which are necessary to take control over the development process.” (Bond-Stewart 1999)

Skills Development, Training and Capacity-Building

Through a community-based development program, community members are involved in on-going learning and training in a range of areas that include literacy, leadership, research, advocacy and civic education. This training provides them with the skills needed to actively conduct research in their communities on development problems and prospects, investigating issues of concern to the community, and collectively finding solutions to address these concerns. Enabling community members to conduct research into their community's development problems is an important part of the conscientization process, as they are able to develop a greater understanding of the issues at the root of their development problems. (Hope & Timmel 1984, p.49) This provides a strong basis for developing strategies to address these problems.

Community members are also trained in organization, development and management of financial resources, thereby providing them with the skills needed to collectively develop, implement and manage community-based strategies for local

development. This training often takes place through village and ward-level workshops on a monthly basis, and the communities manage and organize the workshops themselves.

Community members also develop advocacy skills which enable them to effectively represent and articulate community concerns to outside agencies, such as governments and donors, and to develop and implement strategies for change. They also become effective community mobilizers and trainers, passing on their newly acquired knowledge and skills more broadly.

Giving Marginalized Communities a Voice

The research and reports produced by the communities are then published, providing community members with an opportunity to voice their concerns, to make their views known to the world, and to read and learn from their own materials, which reflect local culture, symbols and language. Community members are educated about critical issues, which promote discussion and stimulate collective analysis of community problems. The community publishing process validates the community's experiences, perceptions and views, which may have been previously ignored. The research and reports are also used to disseminate information on development needs and problems to relevant governmental and non-governmental organizations, as a means of obtaining assistance. Of particular significance is the importance placed on listening to the views of the most marginalized members within a community, often women, children and the elderly.

Building Whole Communities

A key objective of the community publishing process is to enable and empower communities to address their own development needs and find solutions collectively. Through the development, publication and dissemination of community-based research reports, communities are able to collectively analyze development problems and find appropriate solutions. These reports can then be used as a basis upon which to develop long-term development plans for the communities. The development plans take a holistic approach to development, ensuring that all sectors are considered and assessed, including health and sanitation, agricultural productivity, roads and infrastructure, education and community-based economic development. Through the development of sector plans or strategies, communities can begin to analyze what is needed to achieve their objectives and to identify local partner agencies and funding institutions that can assist with financial support or technical expertise.

Preserving and Promoting Traditional Knowledge

The community publishing approach is grounded in the belief that traditional knowledge must be preserved and promoted. Elders are actively involved in the learning and

development process by contributing traditional stories, oral history and traditional knowledge in a range of areas. Examples might include the use of wild plants for traditional healing, farming techniques and ancestral knowledge, which are documented, published and used as learning materials within the communities.

The role of elders is similar to that of elders in Aboriginal communities in Canada where they are viewed as “lifelong learning facilitators”, using story-telling and proverbs as a means of passing down information about culture, identity, history and ancestry to community members of all ages, particularly youth. (Rice & Steckley 1997, p.218) This enables the community to preserve traditional knowledge, to promote cultural survival and develop cultural understanding and respect among children and youth.

Mobilizing Communities for Social Change

It is often the case that people living in extremely poor and marginalized circumstances have lost faith in the belief that things will improve and that their circumstances can change. Unwillingness to get involved and participate in community-based learning activities is common. Many people become suspicious and even resentful of those who seek change, as many have witnessed the failure of development efforts in the past. Perhaps one of the most significant aspects of the community publishing approach is the psychological and spiritual effect it has on the communities themselves in terms of building self-confidence and motivation. Through this process, community members realize that they have the power to change their situation. By training community members, equipping them with new skills, stimulating a process of on-going lifelong community learning and involving them directly in the development process, they become aware of their collective power to mobilize themselves for change and find appropriate solutions to their problems.

According to Stephan Karuma, a Zimbabwean war veteran formerly involved in the community publishing process:

“If given the chance to learn community publishing methods, communities... will realize their roles in development. They will not be pushed around politically, economically and culturally by individuals who manipulate them for selfish gains. The communities will be able to retain their pride and present themselves as equals. Community publishing gives the majority the opportunity to decide their own destiny in practical terms.” (Bond-Stewart 1999)

Rural Libraries and Community-based Information Warehouses

In many developing countries, the majority of the population lives in rural areas, which, due to a lack of resources and infrastructure, distance, and poor road and weather conditions, are often difficult to access. The relative inaccessibility of these communities tends to negatively affect their ability to access information and learning

materials. Many schools and communities are cut off from information sources such as local and national newspapers and magazines, and often cannot afford to purchase reading materials for community use. Rural communities also tend to have limited educational resources and facilities. As a result, these communities are in many ways unaware of and excluded from decision-making processes related to economic, political, cultural and social development issues which directly affect their well being. In response to this situation, rural library programmes have been established to facilitate the flow of information to rural communities, promote a culture of lifelong community learning, and support community empowerment.

Rural libraries promote and strengthen lifelong learning in rural communities in several ways. They provide rural and often marginalized communities with access to essential information through the provision of reading, learning and training resources, thereby expanding the knowledge base of community members, and acting as an information warehouse for the community. Many library programmes strive to ensure that an emphasis is placed on acquiring materials with as much local content as possible to ensure relevance. In addition, rural libraries often support local publishing programmes by disseminating locally produced books and supporting local authors.

Rural libraries are an important means of facilitating the flow of critical information and awareness to rural communities. In some countries, information flow is limited purposely by political forces to ensure the passivity of the rural population. However, once information flows are established to and within these communities, awareness can be created and communities can gain access to the information needed to critically assess and change their situation.

Rural libraries cater to learners of all age groups, and also tend to work in partnership with local literacy, civic education and health awareness programmes and other community information agencies. Resources for such programmes can be accessed at the library at times convenient to community members. The libraries also serve to support adult learners who are continuing their education through distance and continuing education programmes by providing them with ready access to learning and reference materials. In addition, rural libraries provide community-based self-help groups with access to relevant information on skill development and training.

Not only do rural libraries serve as a place to obtain reading materials, they also provide community members with an opportunity and a place to meet and discuss learning materials, as well as other issues of common concern. They act as a centre for community mobilization and stimulate the development of a positive atmosphere for lifelong learning. They are often used as focal points for community activities such as study circles, drama, story telling, arts and for various community group meetings. In this way, they serve to strengthen community cohesion and organizing efforts.

Rural libraries emphasize the full involvement and participation of the community concerned, and the establishment of rural libraries tends to be facilitated by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) who work directly with the communities. A teacher/librarian is usually selected by the community to help organize and manage the community library and this individual is usually provided with basic training in library science, research skills and participatory community development methods. Funds are often obtained by the community, through local government and community organizations,

to build the library building, while community members manage the library and are actively involved in the selection and safekeeping of books. Where there are extremely isolated households, some libraries are provided with a donkey and scotch-cart, a bicycle or a motorcycle, which are used to transport books to and from library members, effectively serving as a mobile library. A reading community is a lifelong learning community and a learning community is a force to be reckoned with.

Study Circles: Collective Learning for Social Change

Study circles are another innovative tool for promoting lifelong community learning and community empowerment, particularly within a developing country context. A study circle is an informal group of 6 to 12 people, who meet on a regular basis, to read, learn, discuss and debate social, political and community issues. Study circles, based on the belief that people have the innate desire to learn, use collective group learning as a tool for promoting lifelong community learning and social change. The study circle methodology stimulates lifelong community learning through cooperative learning, democratic participation, respect for individual views, and learning from the collective wisdom of the group. (McCoy, Emigh, Leighninger & Barrett 1996) Participants feel equal with one another, which is important for promoting dialogue and discussion, particularly in communities where people lack confidence in themselves and their abilities. This is common in communities where people have been oppressed and marginalized for a long time.

Study circles use a participatory approach to learning, which requires the active involvement and participation of learners in establishing and running the study circles. Individual members organize the study circle discussions as well as take responsibility for facilitating them. They teach and learn from each other by sharing their experiences and knowledge. The group selects materials beforehand, ensuring that these are of interest to all members. During the session, the group goes through the materials, helping each other to understand concepts, to identify problems and issues of concern, and to address these collectively. Study circles use materials which are directly relevant to the communities, with as much local content as possible. The goal is to contribute towards improving and enriching their lives and situation.

Most study circle discussions follow a basic set of steps which include:

- *Preparing for the study circle* – the facilitator arranges the venue for the study circle discussion, ensures that all members have received background information prior to the discussion, reviews the discussion material and anticipates possible questions or issues which may arise from the discussion
- *Beginning the study circle* – members introduce themselves and discuss important issues or news which have arisen since their last meeting; this provides members with an opportunity to relax and feel comfortable with the group
- *Establishing clear ground rules* – at the beginning of the discussion, the facilitator sets some basic ground rules which all members should agree to, such as respecting the views of others, and setting a time limit for individual contributions

- *Reflecting on background material* – participants either review materials distributed before the meeting, or materials are distributed at the meeting and participants are allowed time to read and reflect upon them
- *Discussing and deliberating* – participants respond to the discussion questions and comment on each other's views
- *Summary and common ground* – participants summarize their main points, and identify any common concerns or issues; possible steps for action outside the study circle may also be discussed
- *Evaluation and next steps* – feedback on the session is provided by participants and plans for the next study circle discussion are made.

Community-wide study circle programmes are of particular relevance to the promotion of lifelong community learning, as they provide a mechanism for enabling community members to meet on a regular basis to discuss, learn and analyze materials together. Study circles can be organized specifically around the learning and acquisition of specific skills; the research and study of thematic materials; or problem solving specific to such issues as civic education, income generation, entrepreneurship and agricultural practices. They can also be used to provide communities with the opportunity to study development problems and assess options and strategies for addressing them. In turn, this supports community mobilization and empowerment.

“...New approaches to solving community problems emerge as people better understand that their personal concerns cut across the entire community: How do we encourage our young people? How do we make sure that people can get decent jobs? How can we stem crime and violence? ...The study circles often result in action steps that include everything from new playgrounds, increased volunteerism in current programs, to new large-scale programs designed to address community problems.” (Ibid)

In developing countries where resources and opportunities for continuing education and training are often limited, unaffordable or inaccessible for a large segment of the population, particularly those in rural areas, study circles present an innovative method of stimulating community learning. Study circles do not require a formal venue like a classroom, as they can take place virtually anywhere, such as under a tree, in someone's home, at a community centre or in a rural library. The resources required to start a study circle are minimal. Study circles are also flexible in terms of timing as they can be arranged around the schedules of the study circle participants, which is an added advantage in rural communities where planting and harvesting seasons are busy times of the year.

In most rural communities in Africa, the burden of childcare and subsistence agriculture falls on women, and opportunities for formal education past primary and secondary school are often limited if non-existent. The flexible and adaptive nature of study circles makes them an innovative tool for promoting lifelong learning particularly among rural women as they can be arranged to accommodate household and child-rearing demands, while providing women with the opportunity to meet, learn and

discuss new issues and skills. They also afford women the opportunity to mobilize for change on issues which concern them, including health care, family planning, education, sanitation and economic self-reliance. Study circles also help community members to bring out into the open, sensitive issues such as sexual abuse and domestic violence, which may be difficult to talk about in other community fora.

CASE STUDIES: LIFELONG LEARNING FOR COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT IN ZIMBABWE

The Zimbabwean Context

Approximately 61 percent of Zimbabwe's population presently lives below the poverty line, struggling to survive under harsh economic and social conditions. (The Financial Gazette, January 28, 1999, p.1) At present, an estimated 75% of the population lives in the rural areas, (Rural Library Resources Development Programme Jan-Apr 1995, p.1) where the incidence of poverty is higher than in urban and suburban areas. In terms of land distribution, roughly 6 million black Zimbabweans occupy 42% of the land. However 74% of this land is poorly suited to farming. Conversely, 4,660 predominantly white commercial farmers occupy 34% of the land, with the majority of it being located in Zimbabwe's most fertile agricultural regions. (UNDP, Poverty Reduction Forum & Institute of Development Studies 1999, p.16)

While significant donor assistance has poured into Zimbabwe since Independence in 1980, very little of it has reached the poor and marginalized. Bribery, corruption and financial mismanagement of the economy are worsening, exacerbating existing deprivation and inequality. This has resulted in increasing apathy among the majority of Zimbabweans, such that citizen participation in national economic, political, social and environmental issues is negligible. Low voter participation in recent local and national elections also illustrates the high level of apathy and the general loss of hope characteristic among many Zimbabweans. (Makumbe 1999, p.1)

In response to this situation, several community-based initiatives have been developed. These promote lifelong community learning as a tool to combat apathy, increase participation and promote sustainable and democratic development with a particular focus on marginalized rural communities. The following case studies describe three innovative programs based on the participatory approaches discussed in the previous section.

The Chiyubunuzyo Local Leadership Programme: Building the Capacity of Communities to Uproot Poverty and Strengthen Democracy

The Chiyubunuzyo Local Leadership programme was established in 1997 by Africa Community Publishing and Development Trust (ACPD), a Zimbabwean NGO, to build the capacity of impoverished Zimbabwean communities to tackle poverty and strengthen democracy at the local level through the use of community publishing

methods. Simchembu and Nenyunga wards in Gokwe North district were selected as the first pilot area for the programme as they represent some of the most deprived and isolated communities within Zimbabwe. The adult illiteracy rate in these communities is as high as 85% compared with Zimbabwe's national average of 25%.

The Chiyubunuzyo (which means revelation in the Tonga language) strategy involves liberating the minds and spirits of Chiyubunuzyo participants and residents of Simchembu and Nenyunga wards through:

- training in local leadership and community development;
- community-based research, writing and learning;
- building strong local organizations, based on participatory methods and self-managed workshops at village and ward level; and
- economic and social development related to the establishment of a wide range of community-based facilities and services.

Chiyubunuzyo is based on Freire's teachings related to adult education, critical consciousness and community empowerment. The programme uses the community publishing approach whereby all members of the community, and women, the elderly and children in particular, are involved in the community development process. One of the programme's main goals is to strengthen the capacity of local communities and institutions, empowering them to manage local development activities effectively and in a sustainable and transparent manner. Through an on-going process of training and learning, communities develop the skills and confidence to solve their development problems.

Community members are selected and trained in research and community mobilization skills. Based on these skills, they are able to conduct research in their communities on issues of concern. Listening surveys are used, which enable community researchers to meet with and listen to community members about their views and perceptions on key development issues that include education, health care, infrastructure, water and sanitation. These surveys are analyzed by the community researchers and ACPD and are then used to develop problem-posing materials to stimulate community discussion and eventually, community action.

According to Joseph Sibanda, the Coordinator of the Chiyubunuzyo programme:

“The participants are very happy about doing their own research, and the community is happy too. A stronger relationship is developing between young and old in the community. These people feel a pride in producing their own books. Once people have carried out their own research and writing, they are in a much better position to plan and implement development programmes effectively.” (Africa Community Publishing and Development Trust 1998, p.39)

Chiyubunuzyo participants are trained through village and ward-level workshops, which is part of a long term learning process. Participants put into practice what they have learnt in their own environment, then meet again at a subsequent workshop to review progress, acquire new skills and information, and plan for the next stage.

As a result of the programme, 158 young participants from a background of extreme poverty, are presently carrying out their own research, producing their own books, and planning and beginning to implement their own development activities. Participants have collectively published a series of publications which include: a collection of life stories and traditional stories, a village survey, and situational analyses of children and the elderly in Simchembu and Nenyunga wards. They have also designed and started a literacy programme for illiterate women, and have collectively published a three year development plan for their wards, in consultation with relevant local and national governmental agencies, donors, traditional leaders and extension workers.

Given the relative isolation and inaccessibility of these communities, it is often difficult for people to buy and read newspapers. The communities have therefore mobilized themselves and have begun to produce their own monthly newsletters, in an effort to improve the information flow within their wards. While the technology at this stage is still rather basic, consisting mainly of an old typewriter, plans are underway to establish village publishing units, which will eventually be operated by solar power, as the wards are not yet electrified.

Simchembu and Nenyunga are predominantly Tonga-speaking communities, a minority language in Zimbabwe. However, school curricula is taught in the Shona and Ndebele languages, and most learning and reading materials are unavailable in the Tonga language. For the first time, through the Chiyubunuzyo programme, these communities have been able to actively research, write and publish documents in their own language. Additionally, these documents have been translated into Shona and Ndebele for use in other communities throughout the region.

Through this programme, new and existing community institutions and members are being trained in organization, development, leadership and management skills – as well as information retrieval, research, documentation, processing, presentation and storage. Traditional institutions within the community have also been involved in this process and have been strengthened as a result through collective decision-making, research and the involvement of traditional leaders and elders in preserving and promoting traditional knowledge. The communities have made important inroads into the documentation and preservation of traditional knowledge, customs, oral history and stories.

The community publishing process has been a positive force for change in Simchembu and Nenyunga. The programme's focus on promoting lifelong community learning and training has empowered the communities. In response to their newly acquired advocacy, organization and development skills, the communities have begun, with assistance from relevant government agencies and NGOs, to initiate a preschool programme, establish a water and sanitation programme, develop and construct roads in and to the communities, build a post office, start a savings club, and develop rural libraries and study circle groups in each village.

The following poem is based on participants' comments after their first year with Chiyubunuzyo.

Chiyubunuzyo is:
the Tonga word for revelation;

the process of revealing what was previously secret:
the reality of our poverty as well as our creativity;
through research the root of everything.

Chiyubunuzyo is:
a clear structure for uprooting poverty,
developing our area through developing our minds,
creative effort, power in development, beauty.

Chiyubunuzyo is:
sharing leadership,
helping people with their problems,
meeting for a purpose,
without gossip or quarrels,
building strong groups,
loving each other,
having friendship with others in justice.

Chiyubunuzyo is:
our process of becoming leaders, researchers, writers, artists,
teachers, producers and decision-makers;
feeling:
happy, proud, hopeful,
independent in mind and heart;
feeling freedom.

(Chiyubunuzyo Programme 1998)

Rural Library Programmes in Zimbabwe: Facilitating Access to Information

“It is an astonishing fact that Zimbabwe, after 20 years of a rule that has starved libraries and schools of books, is full of people who yearn for books, who see them as a key to a better life, and whose attitude is similar to that of people in Europe and the USA up to 50 years ago who read because they agreed with Carlyle’s dictum ‘that real education is a good library’ – and aspired to be educated.”
(Lessing 1999, p.158)

The Rural Libraries and Resources Development Programme (RLRDP) is a Zimbabwean NGO which was established in 1990 and is currently based in Bulawayo, Matabeleland South province. Its main objectives are to promote and support the development of library and information services in rural communities in Zimbabwe, through the provision of material and technical support. It also trains rural librarians, produces publications, and promotes community development activities, as well as academic, preschool, adult literacy and other community learning programmes in rural communities. (Rural Libraries and Resources Development Programme 1997)

There are presently over 126 rural school/community libraries, 6 donkey-drawn mobile cart libraries and 130 book delivery bicycles in Zimbabwe, run through the RLRDP. (Zenda 1999) These libraries were concentrated primarily in Nkayi district of Matabeleland North province and in Nyanga district in Manicaland province. However, in March 1999, the programme was expanded to cover two additional provinces, Mashonaland West and Matabeleland South. Community libraries are either housed in their own buildings or in storerooms or classrooms, which have been converted into libraries. Each area has a working structure called a cluster, which consists of a group of four to five libraries that are located near each other and have a networking relationship. The communities participate directly in selecting books and helping to manage the library.

Not only do the community libraries provide easy access to relevant books and learning materials, they have also contributed significantly to the development of lifelong community learning within rural communities in Zimbabwe. Rural communities use libraries to store information on issues related to farming as well as important information about the community. The libraries are also used for community training and awareness sessions, and for community gatherings. Study circles have also been formed in conjunction with rural libraries, as they provide an accessible meeting place and relevant materials for group study, learning and discussion. The libraries are also beginning to provide the communities with access to existing and new information communication technologies such as email and internet. For example, in Nkayi district, a mobile library cart was recently equipped with a computer, telephone and email facilities, all operated through solar panels and satellite connections.

There are several rural library programmes operating in Zimbabwe which are being run by other NGOs. Africa Book Development Trust (ABDT) is one example. As ABDT and RLRDP have similar goals and objectives, they work closely together in facilitating book access for rural communities. ABDT uses a participatory approach, which ensures that communities are directly involved in the selection and safekeeping of books. Thus far, ABDT has established rural libraries in the communities of Tsholotsho district in Matabeleland North province, Gokwe North district in Midlands province, and most recently in Kezi and Umzingwane districts of Matabeleland South. ABDT presently assists over 50 rural libraries in Zimbabwe.

In Tsholotsho, the libraries are located within community schools and are run by the teachers, while in Gokwe North, the communities have opted to keep the libraries within the villages at the homes of the librarians. The reason for the difference is that the relationship between the teachers and the communities in Tsholotsho has been very positive, with substantial support from the teachers for community development efforts and the establishment of community libraries. In Gokwe North, however, the situation has been different as the teachers have come from outside communities and speak a different language than the predominantly Tonga-speaking communities. As a result, some miscommunication has arisen. For this reason, the communities have elected village librarians to manage the libraries in each village. Despite the different approaches used, the libraries in both districts have been well received by the communities.

In Zimbabwe, many commercial farm communities are left on the periphery of socio-economic development. They are often seen as part of the farm owner's private property, and as such, are not the focus of development programmes. (Africa Book Development Trust 1999) Learning opportunities for farm workers and their families are therefore generally quite limited. In response, ABDT has started establishing rural libraries within these farm communities, as a means of providing them with much needed learning materials and resources for promoting community learning. In most instances, the farmers have been very receptive and have contributed resources for the purchase of books.

In reference to ABDT, Doris Lessing writes:

"A certain trust sends boxes of books out to villages which might seem to the ill-informed no more than clusters of poor thatched mud huts, but in them may be retired teachers, teachers on holiday, people with three or four years of education who yearn for better... . In a bush village far from any big town, or even a little one, ... a trestle with 40 books on it has transformed the life of the area. Instantly study groups appeared, literacy classes – people who can read, teaching those who can't – civic classes and groups of aspirant writers. A letter from there reads: '*People cannot live without water. Books are our water and we drink from this spring.*'" (Lessing 1999, p.158)

Rural libraries in Zimbabwe have been effective in meeting the needs of marginalized communities for learning materials. They have improved access to books and information, encouraged the desire to learn within the community, improved community cohesion, and supported community empowerment.

Study Circles in Zimbabwe: Learning for Change

Marginalized rural communities often suffer from not only a lack of resource and economic opportunities, but also from the lack of access to formal learning and education. Distance and high transport costs to urban centres, poor educational infrastructure in rural communities, and the inability of many rural residents to afford school fees for formal education are several causes.

In recognition of and in response to this situation, Africa Book Development Trust (ABDT) established a study circle programme in 1997 in several rural communities in Matabeleland South and Midlands provinces. The goal was to promote learning and education in marginalized communities which lacked access to formal education. Although ABDT had been primarily involved in establishing rural libraries, it saw the need to take the library concept further by initiating and supporting group learning and discussion. The programme is based on the philosophy that community learning develops the foundation whereby marginalized communities gain the skills and knowledge to research and understand their development challenges.

The establishment of study circles begins with participatory village and ward-level workshops. The workshops are run by ABDT and provide training for study circle facilitators and organizers. Selection of facilitators and organizers are generally based on previous association with ABDT's rural library programme or involvement in

community organizing and development activities. Individuals who are committed and interested in promoting lifelong learning in their communities are ideal candidates.

Once group leaders have been trained, the selection of materials by the study circle participants takes place. Existing learning materials can be used or new community-based materials can be developed in accordance with the study circle's needs and interests. Participatory manuals on civic education, poverty alleviation, wealth creation and community development are some of the themes which the study circles have begun to explore. Civic education materials have been well received as they enable participants to discuss issues related to democracy, governance and human rights – all of which are important concerns in Zimbabwe at present.

Agricultural research and learning materials are also being used. Communities in Gokwe North for example, expressed the desire to learn about cattle marketing, grazing and dip tanks, and farming. Based on this request, participatory learning materials were prepared by ADBT on these issues, and were then reviewed, tested and evaluated by the study circle facilitators to ensure that the language and content were appropriate. The materials were well received by the participants, particularly as cattle have special significance in many African societies, both materially and culturally.

The study circles generally meet once a week. Study circle facilitators and organizers are trained in participatory methodologies for stimulating debate and encouraging group participation. The study circles tend to meet in community centres and local clinics or at the homes of participants. ADBT's study circle programme complements its rural library programme, as study circle participants are able to benefit from the resources in their local library, and often use the library as a venue for their study circle discussions.

Although the study circle programme is still in its infancy, it has been met with considerable interest and enthusiasm on the part of participating communities. One of the practical benefits experienced by participants in Gokwe North in response to the study circles is that they have been able to identify cattle-related problems by referring to their study circle materials, and have also contacted their local veterinary office for assistance. More generally, the study circles have resulted in improvements in community relationships and welfare. For example, one study circle group in Gokwe North discussed the issue of unsafe drinking water and identified ways of overcoming the problem. Previously, residents in the area did not have the knowledge or the courage to articulate community needs and speak freely about such issues, whereas now, participation in study circles has provided them with the confidence and capacity to discuss critical issues and develop strategies for addressing them. The study circle program will also likely lead to the development and establishment of income-generating activities in these communities, as participants acquire skills in specific areas, such as poultry farming and carpentry.

ADBT has found that the study circle methodology is also an innovative way of disseminating civic education materials to marginalized communities. This is significant in a developing country like Zimbabwe, where no civic education has been provided to citizens since Independence in 1980, and is only now being addressed through countrywide civic education workshops. While the use of workshops is an important means of information dissemination, the study circle methodology enables

learners to proceed at their own pace, and provides them with enough time to critically discuss civic issues. Zimbabwe's Church/NGO Civic Education Project, which is comprised of six of the country's leading human rights and social justice NGOs, has also begun to train its civic education facilitators in the study circle methodology.

CONCLUSIONS

Lifelong community learning is an important method of stimulating and supporting a culture of on-going education, learning and training within marginalized communities. This benefits individual community members as well as the community as a whole. It enables communities to gain an awareness and understanding of their social situation, and to develop the knowledge and capacity to find ways of addressing their development problems.

Given that community participation is critical to sustainable and democratic development, learning initiatives must ensure that marginalized communities are directly involved in the decision-making process. The participatory approaches examined in this chapter highlight the involvement of local communities and the ways in which programmes can be adapted to meet the special needs of the communities. Key characteristics include flexibility, minimal resources, local content and the involvement of women and other marginalized groups.

The empowerment of communities and their participation is critical to sustainable and democratic development in developing countries. Communities must be involved at all stages of development, driving the process, participating actively, and mobilizing themselves for change. Participatory adult education methodologies which seek to conscientize community members are an important tool for promoting lifelong learning and community empowerment.

These participatory approaches are extremely relevant for marginalized communities in the developing world, particularly where there is lack of community involvement in the development process. They help communities which have been previously oppressed or marginalized to become active participants in improving their lives as opposed to relying on external agencies. They also tap and harness the creative and intellectual potential of community members, develop the capacity of community leaders, and strengthen community pride and motivation. They are community-focused and community-led, and they help communities begin the process of thinking critically about their situation and how to change it. In addition, they are affordable, easily accessible and offer practical alternatives to formal academic training which can be inaccessible for many communities in terms of location and cost.

The use of participatory approaches for lifelong learning and community empowerment is also relevant for marginalized communities in developed countries, such as Aboriginal communities in North America. They address issues related to apathy and loss of hope, which is common to many communities which have previously been oppressed, and which suffer from poverty and social and economic breakdown. They also ensure that the unique culture and linguistic traditions of a community are preserved and are used to mobilize the community and promote learning. Learning

materials incorporate the culture, views and symbols of the community, which builds on traditional knowledge and experience, and ensures that community members are not alienated from the learning process. The participatory approaches explored in this case study highlight the important relationship between lifelong learning and community empowerment, and how both are critical components of sustainable democratic development.

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Chapter 6: Lifelong Learning, The Individual and Community Self-Help

JOHN WILSON

INTRODUCTION

UNESCO's Asia-Pacific Centre of Educational Innovation for Development (ACEID) reflects the view of lifelong 'learning of UNESCO's International Commission on Education for the 21st Century (1996) *Learning: The Treasure Within*. The Commission, chaired by Jacques Delors, sees lifelong learning as education throughout life pursued to promote continuous human development. Human development focuses on enlarging human choices and developing all talents, especially those that are 'hidden', on the basis of acceptance of universal human rights within a framework of social justice, sustainable development and a culture of peace.

The Commission further describes lifelong learning as "a continuous process of forming whole human beings – their knowledge and aptitudes, as well as the critical faculty and the ability to act. It should enable people to develop awareness of themselves and their environment and encourage them to play their social role at work and in the community" (International Commission 1996, p. 21).

Thus self-help, in this view of lifelong learning, is about actions that promote individual and community growth and development towards this goal. Singh (1996), in an Epilogue to the Delors Report, sees the criteria as including (a) the preservation and enrichment of planet earth, and (b) the promotion of life values of love, compassion, caring and charity, friendship and cooperation as against hatred and bigotry, fundamentalism and fanaticism, and greed and jealousy, whether at the individual, group or national levels.

Such a value orientation is informative and important since the concept of self-help could embrace a variety of interpretations. At one level almost any action could be construed as 'self-help': getting up in the morning and eating one's breakfast, for example. Self-help can be seen, from the individual perspective, as furthering what an individual decides is right to do for that person, irrespective of its consequences for others. Indeed there are many examples where self-help can be anti-humanistic, and can carry negative implications for human growth and survival at both the individual and community levels. One can think of individuals who satisfy their narcissistic tendencies through selfish actions, driven perhaps by greed, at the expense of the happiness, well-being and even the life of others. Another example is fundamentalist sects that, because of their commitment to a collective ideology, may deny their members access to medical treatment which could save lives.

For individual and community self-help through lifelong learning to occur, certain conditions must be present. Those who manage the national community must create these conditions. Geremek, in another Epilogue to the Delors Report, argues: “the State is the emanation of a collective identity...and all its action is aimed at supporting that identity by basing it on the memory of a common past or the defence of common interests. The State must also consider solidarity as both the basis and the objective of its various policies: social policy designed to help the weak or reduce material inequalities; educational policy ensuring free access to knowledge and creating opportunities for communication among people; and cultural policy supporting creative activity and participation in cultural life” (Geremek 1996, p. 210). The State must ensure access to opportunities for education and training directly, or through other agencies, for individuals within the range of communities that make up the society.

But in addition to access, for self-help to occur, there must be incentives to participate. It must be in people’s interests to want to learn – they must see some benefit from it in terms of, for example, material well-being, self-expression and fulfillment, and sense of membership in a ‘just’ and ‘caring’ society. Furthermore, for people actually to benefit from their desire to be ‘helped’ there must be support for, and challenge in, the learning process. Support may be in the form of a means to express their ‘felt’ needs, a place to learn, teachers to guide them and give feedback, learning resources, and a sense of membership of a social group. It cannot be assumed that everyone is a “self-directed learner” (Brookfield 1991), and perception of the availability of such support may be an important factor in promoting participation. Challenge means that they must be engaged, and feel that, though the task of learning is perhaps difficult, it can be done and is worth doing. The final condition for people to engage in learning as ‘self-help’ is the evidence that it leads to beneficial outcomes – material, social and psychological – so that the investment of time and energy is seen to be justified.

Thus, in the context of UNESCO/ACEID’s view of lifelong learning, individual and community self-help may be interpreted to mean:

- Commitment to the *criteria* for individual and community development outlined by the International Commission (1996).
- Creation of *conditions* which will encourage individuals within, and through, communities to work towards such goals, including identification, articulation and matching of perceived needs at national, community and individual levels.
- Provision of *learning opportunities* – directly or indirectly, through formal, non-formal and informal means – that are responsive to those needs.
- *Motivation* of individuals to participate by, for example, free or subsidised access to these learning opportunities.
- *Support* for individuals to achieve through the learning process, taking account of their backgrounds, previous experience of, and success in, learning.
- *Follow-through* so that learning that results is applied in relevant occupational, personal and social contexts.

If these factors are present then worthwhile individual and community self-help may be said to be occurring. Such self-help should then be translated into improved personal and community quality of life.

Drawing on the above framework, this chapter reports on national developments in lifelong learning in Thailand. It briefly describes the social, economic, cultural and educational contexts, and details how, within a decentralised administrative system, Government and Non-Government Organisations (NGO) work with, and through, local communities to promote individual and community development on a lifelong learning basis. The chapter draws specifically on examples of individual and community self-help for women in rural village communities in Chiangrai and Phayao provinces in northern Thailand. Data were obtained through desk study of relevant reports, an interview with the Deputy Director of the Department of Non-Formal Education (DNFE), (Ministry of Education, Bangkok), and a five-day field visit to Chiangrai and Phayao provinces, arranged by DNFE. Several Community Learning Centres were visited, including one in a remote hill tribe village. The author also met with the Member of the Lower House of the National Parliament for Phayao Province, Ms Ladawan Wongsriwong. The chapter claims no more than to be illustrative of community and people-centred developments related to lifelong learning for women in two rural provinces in northern Thailand in 1999, as presented from, mainly, a DNFE and Ministry of Education perspective, to a Western academic.

CONTEXT

Thailand is a constitutional monarchy of 61 million inhabitants, 95% of whom are Buddhists. Its growth rate in the early 1990s was around 9%, but in 1998 and 1999 the economy has been in deep recession. The boom led to migration to cities, with consequent undermining of the social fabric of many rural communities. The economic collapse led to unemployment, with loss of income to dependents in rural areas, and return to villages of those who became unemployed when factories closed. GNP per capita in 1998 was estimated at USD\$2740 (Educational Management Profile 1998). Thailand is a relatively 'young' democracy, and the country suffers in that there is a lack of trust in politicians. It is alleged that corruption is widespread.

The majority of the population lives in villages and engages in subsistence agriculture. The north and west of Thailand includes extensive hill areas with remote villages, populated by hill tribes. The villages are accessible by road only in the dry season. The tribes speak their own languages, which in many cases exist only in oral form. The border area has a history of heroin growing and drug (amphetamine) trafficking, and incidents of violence to villagers by insurgents from neighbouring countries have been reported. In April 1999 nine villagers from Chiangmai province were murdered, and drug-dealing was the assumed motive.

The northern provinces are also a source of supply to the sex industry. In April/May of each year, during the school vacations, parents may be approached to make their daughters available for employment in hotels and bars in Bangkok and elsewhere. As an inducement to part with their daughters poor farmers are offered sums of money

that, if accepted, would make them relatively well-off. They are also assured that their daughters will send them money once in employment. The girls, who are aged 12–13 and have just completed compulsory primary education, may find that their work is a form of prostitution. Some are virtually slaves to their employers and endure deprivation and violence; some develop HIV and eventually return to their village to die.

The status of women in Thailand is a matter of some complexity. The UNDP Human Development Report for 1995 noted that on the gender-related development index (GDI) Thailand ranked 31st out of 130 countries, thus falling into the ‘progressive’ category. In fact the country’s GDI increase was greater than for any country over the past 20 years. According to this report, Thailand “has succeeded in building the basic human capabilities of both women and men, without substantial gender imparity” (as quoted in *Lonely Planet* 1997, p.134). However, in legal terms – and the law is under review – men currently enjoy more privileges than women. For example, they may divorce their wives for adultery, but not vice-versa. Also men who take a foreign wife continue to have a right to purchase and own land, while Thai women who marry foreign men lose this right.

Although women are prominent in Thai public life they face many disadvantages (Tantiwiramanond 1998). There exists what has been described as a “glass ceiling effect” i.e. the existence of invisible barriers that prevent women from moving up in career terms. Other manifestations of the disadvantage women suffer include the “leaky pipe” or early drop-out of many girls from education, and the “sticky floor” – the cultural and psychological factors which prevent women achieving or seeking to achieve. Men dominate the decision-making machinery, and it is alleged that they do not understand why women are concerned about their status in society. When women’s issues are discussed it is in terms of their rights i.e. to social mobility, which is a concern of the elite, or of prostitution i.e. deviancy.

Newspaper reports in 1999 indicate that around 6 million Thais live at, or below the poverty line. The Government has provided financial assistance to the poorest families to encourage them to continue to send their children to school. Girls’ education is, however, likely to be at risk in some cases. In addition, the AIDS epidemic has posed a significant challenge to the community. The impact of the economic crisis on planned growth in educational expenditures remains to be seen.

Partly stemming from economic growth, and from the desire to modernise the economy, considerable efforts have been made in recent years to extend formal educational provision to all sections of the community, and to improve its quality. Thais have, on average, only 5.3 years of schooling and rapid social, economic and technological changes have been influential in giving renewed impetus to embrace lifelong learning as a goal for the education system. Non-formal education, initially targeted on those who missed out on formal schooling, has also been re-conceptualised on a life-long basis with priority being given to promoting self-sufficiency through schemes for income generation.

A revised Constitution was introduced in October 1997 providing scope for decentralised administration. A National Education Act (ONEC 1999) sets new directions for the education system.

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT TOWARD LIFELONG LEARNING

Formal Education

In 1998, 91 per cent of the relevant age group of children in Thailand were enrolled in pre-primary and primary schools, 73% in lower secondary and 47 per cent in upper secondary (Educational Management Profile 1998). Primary education extends over 6 years and is compulsory. Under the Eighth Educational Development Plan (1997–2001) and the revised Constitution, compulsory education will extend to 9 years in the immediate future. It is also proposed that the state should provide free education up to grade 12 for all citizens. Upper secondary comprises a general course, linked to university entrance, and a vocational stream that prepares students for the skilled labour market. Government expenditure on education is planned to grow from 3.8% of GDP to 6.7%.

Participation rates in initial education are lowest for children of the non-Thai speaking northern (hill tribe) and southern (Muslim) communities. Thailand publishes few educational statistics on a desegregated basis. Those available demonstrate that access, as reflected in enrolment of the sexes in primary and secondary education, is equal (Tantiwiramanond 1998). More females than males complete secondary school. Though fewer proceed to tertiary education females make up 44% of those enrolled in vocational education and training, 53% of undergraduates, 77% of medical students and the majority in all other fields except the natural sciences, engineering and agriculture (UNESCO 1998).

The scope of the 1999 National Education Act is wide-ranging, covering formal, non-formal and informal education. It endorses decentralisation, and states that the curriculum will be student-centred and inclusive, and promote lifelong learning skills such as learning to learn, active learning, problem-solving and creative thinking.

The Act defines lifelong education as “education resulting from integration of formal, non-formal and informal systems of education so as to create ability for continuous lifelong development of quality of life” (Section 4).

A strong emphasis is placed on community-based learning. Section 29 states that “educational institutions in cooperation with individuals, families, communities, community organizations, local administration organizations, private persons, private organizations, professional bodies, religious institutions, enterprises and other social institutions shall contribute to strengthening the communities by encouraging learning in the communities themselves. Thus communities will be capable of providing education and training; searching for knowledge, data and information; and able to benefit from local wisdom and other sources of learning for community development in keeping with their requirements and needs; and identification of ways of promoting exchanges of development experience among communities”.

While lifelong learning is not a new idea in Thailand, the Act articulates a new philosophy for Thai education. It marks a departure from the idea, prevalent in many Asian societies, that pupils are the ‘white cloth’ that teachers and adults may colour (Varawan 1998). It is an affirmation of the rights of young people and of education as a means to enhance understanding of these rights. It also asserts the role of the community in the continuous education of its members.

Non-Formal Education

The Department of Non-Formal Education (DNFE) was established within the Ministry of Education in 1979 to provide basic literacy training, and to assist those with newly acquired literacy skills to consolidate them. Its targeted clientele include women, local leaders, religious practitioners, military servicemen, prison inmates, the general labour force, farmers, students and youth, the elderly, the disabled, slum dwellers, hill tribes and Thai youth and children living overseas.

DNFE operates through offices in the 5 regions, 75 provinces and 861 districts (tampeh) and sub-districts (tambons) into which Thailand is divided. A sub-district comprises a number of villages. Under current reforms educational administration is being decentralised to tambons where elected village leaders, senior members of the community and local professionals are charged with responsibility for promoting economic development, and local resource and culture conservation. DNFE's national, regional and provincial structures are responsible for setting national policies, encouraging attempts to realise policies, undertaking follow-up and evaluation, and supporting local community representatives who are being provided with training for their roles (Somtrakool 1998). For DNFE, decentralisation represents an evolution of policies that were trialled in its early years in introducing literacy to the non-Thai speaking communities. In that context it was necessary to harness the 'wisdom' of the leaders of the local community in deciding the approach to take, and the curricular examples that would have cultural significance.

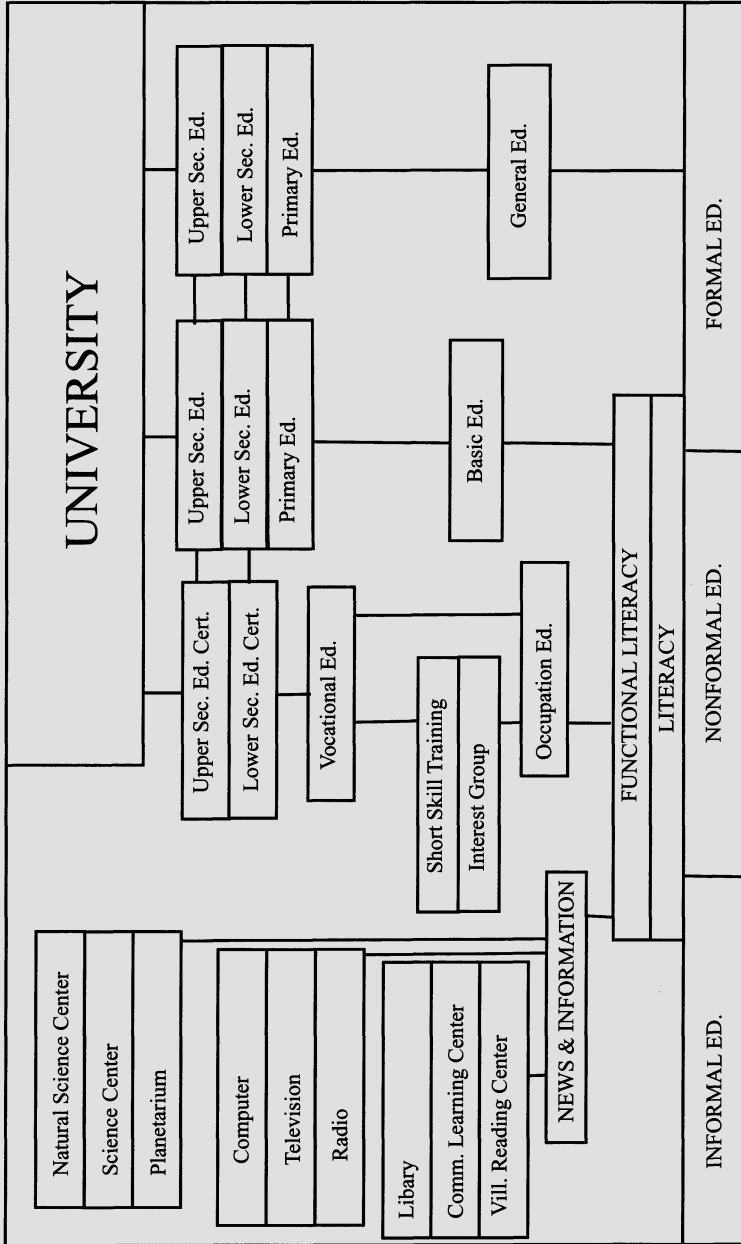
DNFE offers three main kinds of support to rural communities:

- basic education i.e. functional literacy for people unable to read and write; and classes 'equivalent to' initial education for those who, though literate, have missed out on primary and secondary education. (The Educational Management Profile estimated in 1998 an Adult Literacy rate of 93.8%, with 2.61 million illiterates aged over 15, and women illiterates outnumbering men by 2 to 1. In 1996 more women than men (59% compared to 41 per cent) were enrolled in these classes. In 1995 over 2 million people were studying 'equivalency' courses, with 339,328 in primary, 1,286,523 in lower secondary and 55,394 in upper secondary)
- vocational education i.e. interest based courses, and courses of differing lengths geared to skill development and vocational certification
- information services through 34,000 public libraries, village reading centres, science and technology centres, the planetarium in Bangkok, radio and TV programmes, community learning centres and lifelong education programs.

In 1998, DNFE presented its 'map' of lifelong learning provision in Thailand (Figure 1) at a seminar in Hanoi (APPEAL 1998b). It shows a concept of lifelong learning as embracing all aspects of formal, non-formal and informal education.

The Minister of Education brought forward a proposal to establish a Centre for Women's Lifelong Learning, but this was turned down by Cabinet in 1996. Various Ministries have an interest in women's education, and it is claimed that one problem is identifying which Ministry has prime responsibility for the issue.

Figure 1 DNFE Summary of Lifelong Learning Activities in Thailand Source: APPEAL (1998), Draft Final Report on Sub-Regional Workshop on Continuing Education for Development, Hanoi 29 June-8 July 1998, UNESCO Principal Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific, Bangkok, p.34.



However, the Ministry of Education has established its own Centre within DNFE and a national coordinator and regional counterparts have been appointed. A national policy framework is being established with 5 components:

- Needs assessment of local women.
- Literature review of Thai women's studies.
- Conducting regional workshops for women's leaders.
- Promoting lifelong education for women.
- Creating newsletters and media awareness.

Though DNFE is the main agency of non-formal education, several other Government Departments are also active in the field. These include Ministry of the Interior, which has some responsibilities for Community Development, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, Department of Vocational Education, Department of Skill Development, and Ministry of Agriculture. These bodies liaise with each other and with DNFE.

Informal Education

Thailand, in common with most Asian societies, has a strongly developed informal education system based on the family and religious observance. The strong pattern of cooperative behaviour among members of the extended family stems from rural work patterns associated with rice cultivation, though urbanisation, industrialisation, modernisation and increasing education have challenged many traditional assumptions. Some of these tensions are reflected in themes in Thai TV soaps where women are portrayed challenging traditional stereotypes: daughters rebelling against ascribed sex roles; and wives using dramatic means to deal with husbands portrayed as lazy, over-indulgent in alcohol, and on occasions violent.

The influence of Buddhism is also strong, the temple being the place where young men traditionally learned to read, write and behave morally. Buddhist monks are respected and influential members of their local community able to share wisdom, practical knowledge and skills. Many male students are ordained as novices for periods ranging from a few weeks to one year, and adult men, too, may make a 'retreat' to review their lives and contemplate how to cope with personal and/or career problems. Women may become monks too, but their status is lower, stemming in part from Buddhist belief (not reflected in Buddhist writings) that they must be reborn as men before they can attain nirvana.

The idea of 'making merit' permeates Thai social life, causing moral responsibilities and duties to be highly conscious. Schools promote such values by, for example, celebrating Mother's and Father's Day in the school calendar. There is also a day for the Teacher. Yet the expansion of education is viewed ambivalently in some quarters because compulsory primary education removes young boys from temple education where they would have been ordained as monks. It is argued that without a flow of suitable recruits, the monkhood will not be able to provide the spiritual and ethical leadership that the community requires.

Thai KHITPEN philosophy is based on the pursuit of happiness, attained when the individual is in harmony with his environment. Masaeng (1997) describes the role of adult education in this quest as follows: "Education must aim to increase happiness of human beings and help them in their search for harmony. To achieve a state of harmony and to construct alternative courses of action one should gather the widest possible range of information about technical, social and environmental aspects, as well as information about oneself. Finally one will choose knowledge which best satisfies his search for harmony and the ultimate goal of happiness" (p. 60).

COMMUNITY LEARNING CENTRES

In Thailand the first Community Learning Centres (CLC) were established in the late 1980s. Perhaps reflecting economic growth, and the success of basic literacy campaigns, many CLCs have been established in recent years so that each tambon now has one. It is an objective of DNFE that, within five years, all villages will have established CLCs as a means to consolidate basic literacy and to promote the quality of life within the community.

Most CLCs are built and maintained by the community on land that is made available, within a temple or Wat, by the community supplying for example a primary school surplus to requirements, or by individual donation. Each CLC is managed by a committee of local people, elected by the community.

DNFE provides material and human resources to CLCs, and assists in securing help requested from other Government Departments and NGOs. Material resources include newspapers, magazines and books, curriculum materials for 'equivalence' courses, satellite TV dishes to receive programmes transmitted from Bangkok, TV and video recorders, and videotaped materials for training and discussion. These latter materials may focus on health and social values issues. For example, the Office of the Prime Minister authorised production of a series of videotapes to promote knowledge and attitude change among parents on the issue of selling girls into prostitution. Accompanying resource materials comprised five modules which contextualise issues surrounding child prostitution. They provide national statistics on AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, and show what happens to some Thai girls who are illegally sold into prostitution in Thailand and other countries, and the physical and emotional hurt they experience. They raise issues of social values for parents, families and communities. A Thai evaluation of the effectiveness of the materials has suggested that they make considerable impact on knowledge and attitudes of those exposed to them. In Chiangrai these resources may be delivered to villages without CLCs through two 'Mobile Learning Teams' which use 4-wheel drive vehicles, necessary for navigating rough terrain, at meetings to promote awareness of health and social issues such as immunisation, treatment of mosquito fever, drugs abuse, AIDS, and child prostitution. Hand glove puppets – a technique favoured by Paulo Freire – have also been found to be an effective means of dramatising some of these issues for villagers. Funding for the development of the videos and other resources was provided by Asian Women and Children's Network, Japan.

Human resources provided by DNFE for CLCs include teachers and librarians. There are two categories of teacher: 'regular' teachers and 'volunteer' teachers. Regular teachers are trained teachers, some with BEd degrees, who teach basic education and the subjects of the primary, lower and upper secondary curriculum to adults over 18 on 'equivalence' courses as mentioned earlier. The teachers are paid on national incremental salary scales. At one Teachers Training College at Chiangrai a module on teaching adults in the community has been introduced into the training course.

Volunteer teachers are recruited and trained by DNFE to assist CLC committee members to identify their community's vocational training and non-formal education needs, to provide these courses, or to identify persons who can act as resource persons. In lowland areas volunteers may work across two CLCs. They are paid on a fixed rate of Baht (Bt) 6360 per month, which is adjusted in line with inflation.

Most villages in remote hill areas are provided with a resident volunteer teacher, though caution is exercised where villages have a history of drug-trafficking or other anti-social activities. Getting to the village may involve a long walk. Once there the teacher will develop a curriculum around the community's felt needs. The teacher will also assist villagers to develop in other ways that seem to be helpful for them, for example by teaching them Thai, and making them aware of other agencies working on the hill, such as Border police, Community Development and Forestry Department.

The curriculum identified by DNFE for hill tribe communities is based on the principle of responding to the situation of the people. It comprises twenty modules on family, community, food, sickness, mother and child, crops, land and how to use it, conservation, forest, opium, feeding animals, occupations other than agriculture, hand-crafts, and local science e.g. plant growing and natural phenomena. Another component is identifying 'good things of the tribe' i.e. the culture to be preserved. Module 20 is an Open Unit on important learning requested by the community.

Basic literacy and 'equivalence' courses are free of charge. Vocational courses cost Bt1 per hour of instruction, and participants are expected to supply their own raw materials. DNFE draws expressed CLC needs to the attention of other Government agencies, NGOs and bodies, such as Agricultural Research Institutes. These agencies may provide funding for equipment and courses offered at CLCs. In response to the economic crisis, the Government has funded courses for the poorest members of the community and subsidised participant attendance. At one sewing/dressmaking course visited Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs paid each participant Bt50 per day for attending.

APPEAL (1998a) – UNESCO's Asia-Pacific Program of Education for All – provides an account of the work of 8 CLCs in districts in Chiangrai (Figure 2), based on a short visit by participants in a Working Group. The CLCs varied in location, number of staff, range of clientele, length of existence and range of learning opportunities provided. The report includes ratings of the extent to which community ownership was perceived to be evident (1=low – hardly any community involvement in initiating and maintaining the CLC; 10=high – all members of the community are fully involved in initiating and maintaining the CLC).

Centre 2 in Figure 2, for example, is a Catholic foundation, established in 1972, which caters for 120 students from one hill tribe by providing training in sewing. Centre 6 is a Buddhist foundation catering for school age children, villagers and the elderly. It offers a wide range of courses in health care, day care, vegetable growing and vocational training, and receives community financial support that makes it independent of government funds.

While community participation was evident in the ways in which CLCs were established and supported, the report noted that the community had little control over curriculum materials, time allotment, teacher appointment and salary, all of which were decided by DNFE. Equally it was often the already established groups which contributed to CLCs, so that ordinary persons were less likely to get involved.

Another example of how CLCs function is provided by Phayao Provincial NFE Centre, which is collaborating with the Phayao Primary Education office, and the Tambon Administrative Organisations, with further collaboration from APPEAL, as part of Thai-UNCAP (United Nations Collaborative Action Plan) support for the Eighth Development Plan in Phayao Province. This project aims at 'people-centred development'. Rojanaphouk (1999) defines this as 'development that sees people as whole persons'. People-centred development employs two master strategies: (a) empowering people through developing their capacities and giving them a say in decision-making, on the basis of gender equality, and (b) creating an enabling environment, through access to opportunities such as resources, credit markets and equitable social and economic systems.

The project has two complementary aspects: promotion of income generation projects for adults through the 70 CLCs that have been established, and reform of the primary curriculum to make it more skills focussed. Primary schools have proposed that skills training be the main subject in the curriculum and have invited resource persons from DNFE and the local community to provide training to students. Community participation is reflected in the ways in which villagers have improved the school environment by constructing pathways, digging fish ponds and improving the soil for growing vegetables. Parents have also contributed to school management and to designing activities for school curriculum.

There are several other features of this project. Some primary schools offer education for all groups in the community, and participate in environmental re-generation activities. CLCs, primary schools and the community use waste compound for integrated farming – fishpond development and chicken raising, vegetable and fruit production. The products are used for school lunches or sold via the newly established Community Market Centres.

Further developments include provision of training materials, courses for managing community development, strengthening of the primary curriculum, with school staff and parents preparing short- and long-term development plans based on the local curriculum. Exchange programs are to be organised for CLCs and primary schools to learn and share experiences (Riewpituk 1999).

Figure 2: Perceptions of community learning centres in Thailand Source: APPEAL (1998), Draft Final Report on Sub-Regional Workshop on Continuing Education for Development, Hanoi 29 June-8 July 1998, UNESCO Principal Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific, Bangkok, 037.

CLC	Target group	Activities	Weak Points	Strong Points	Level of Community Ownership (between 1-10)	General Remarks
1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> primary students adult illiterates 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> literacy courses formal schooling on primary level health care 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> lay-out of education materials not suitable for rainy season low community involvement budget is high gender bias 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> simple building material learning by doing community and co-operation of workers very well organized patronage of Queen's mother, thus inputs will always be there convergence of govt. resources 	5, 5, 2, 9, 2, 2, 5 average = 5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> good learning environment expensive project good effort
2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> adolescent girls (15-18 yrs) of Akha tribe 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> vocational training (sewing, stitching) formal education on primary level looking after children of neighbouring primary school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> religious bias low community involvement only one kind of activity limited sources for a particular group 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> dedication of the pastor and church well established and fully supported alternative employment opportunities for girls convergence of govt. resources 	6, 2, 2, 5, 2, 7 average = 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> good place for girls education very sustainable
3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> children (3-5 yrs) novice monks monks few villagers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> day care activities lower sec. and higher sec. schooling computer training for monks and interested community members vocational training 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> centre mainly to train monks low community involvement limited access for girls and women students are a way from home 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> well supported by the community prominent role of Buddhist monks as the change agents future monks will have a wide knowledge of new methods (computers) 	5, 3, 2, 9, 8, 6 average = 4	
4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> illiterates drop-out from Sec. School unemployed youth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> vocational training adult literacy NFE learning on weekends 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> centre started only 5 months ago low community involvement lack of monitoring teachers not paid by NFE Dept. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> district, sub-district, and govt. cooperate students can learn, while they learn in the farms 	6, 7, 7, 3, 3, 8 average = 6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> more ownership of community required
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> unemployed youth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> flower raising vegetable growing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> should be taken to a larger scale 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> good use of community resources 	9	
6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> senior citizens small children other villagers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> vocational training for senior citizens vegetable growing health care day care 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> based on interest of Chief Monk lack of education lack of monitoring 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'centre' operating before adoption by govt. good leadership 	8, 9, 8 average = 8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> centre supported financially by community, not dependent on government funds
7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> drop-outs from Sec. School adults 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> basic education adult literacy NFE learning on weekends 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> target area too wide no program for youth, women etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> strong community participation good co-ordination between formal and non-formal depts. 	7, 7 average = 7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> other programmes for other people could be undertaken
8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> unemployed youth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> vocational training (stitching, silverscraft) basic literacy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> infrastructure too small for the large area low community involvement lack of education lack of monitoring target group is limited all organized by NFE Dept. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> dedication of the govt. workers/staff good network nice facilities teacher/learner relationship good arrangement of vocational training workshop 	5, 3, 3, 7, 4, 5 average = 5	

INCOME GENERATING PROGRAMS

Thailand could be said to have initiated the idea of education and training for economic self-sufficiency and income generation. A prominent role in developing this idea was played by the current King and Queen of Thailand. In the mid-1970s His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej recommended a new economic model for cultivation to promote family self-sufficiency in food and water for Thai farmers, and to conserve the environment. His scheme is based on development of a fish pond, and division of the remaining farm land for various purposes, including planting of crops that make different demands on the land and contribute to its well-being. By adopting such a system, farmers can best exploit the resources available to them. Her Majesty the Queen was active in promoting training for village women in local handicrafts.

Vocational training for many other products has developed in the intervening years – including sah paper production, mushroom growing, bamboo basket making, fish pond cultivation, mosquito screen making, flower making, chicken rearing, plant breeding, lemon growing, products from water hyacinths, and hats from palm leaves. Courses have also been developed for service occupations including vehicle maintenance, welding, hair dressing and beauty enhancement. Most of these courses are supported with a practical illustrated resource booklet prepared by DNFE. Learning these vocational skills, which may lead to income generation and economic self-sufficiency, is linked to practising and developing literacy and numeracy skills, as well as such business skills as planning, management and accountancy. In the current economic situation, income generating programs are now a priority for DNFE.

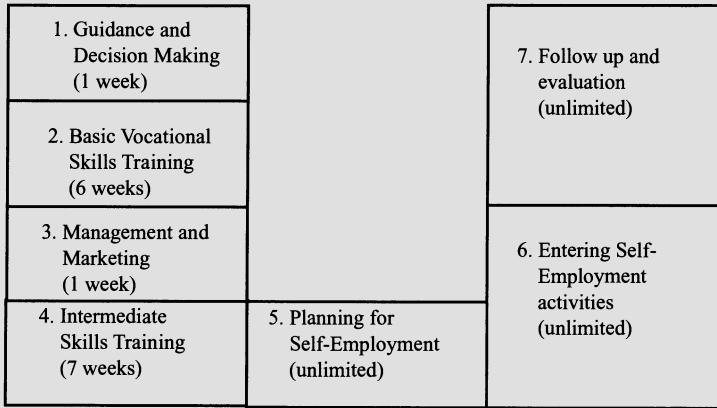
The number of courses offered at any one CLC reflects demand, accommodation, equipment and the identification of a suitable resource person. The length of a course may vary from a few hours to several hundred hours. 'Interest courses' are from 5–30 hours. They often include an 'occupational tour' such as a visit to a village to study the fish farm, and to tap into the 'local wisdom' underlying its success. Fish from the farm may then be taken back and nurtured, applying the principles exemplified in the model. A DNFE volunteer may act as coordinator, and the local wisdom of the successful entrepreneur is made available to the wider community.

Other vocational courses extend from 15–300 hours or longer, and follow a documented curriculum leading to a vocational certificate. DNFE can write, approve, or extend the scope of the subject in response to local needs. These courses are offered on a flexible basis. For example, some are provided on a 5 days per week basis from 8.30 a.m. to 4.00 p.m.; one 100 hour hairdressing course visited had classes 3 hours per day.

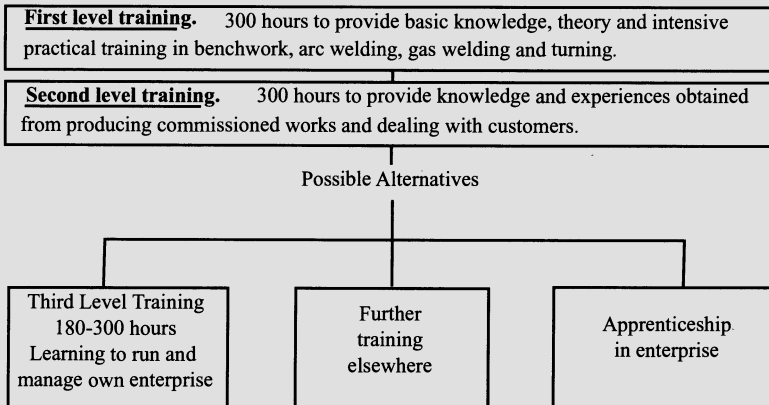
Figure 3 shows three models of income generation programs in Thailand as described in a manual developed by APPEAL (APPEAL 1993). Model I illustrates a short course geared towards training individuals in skills that will enable them to become self-employed. Model II is an example of business-oriented vocational training – undertaken in conjunction with local employers – leading to employment in an organisation, or self-employment. Model III shows a process whereby leaders in the local community are identified and trained to assess the occupational needs and growth potential of their community. It also indicates how practitioners, many from within the

Figure 3: Three models of income generation programs in Thailand
Source: APPEAL (1993), Training Materials for Continuing Education Personnel (ATLP-CE) Volume V; Income Generating Programs, UNESCO Principal Regional Office for Asica and the Pacific, Bangkok, p34.

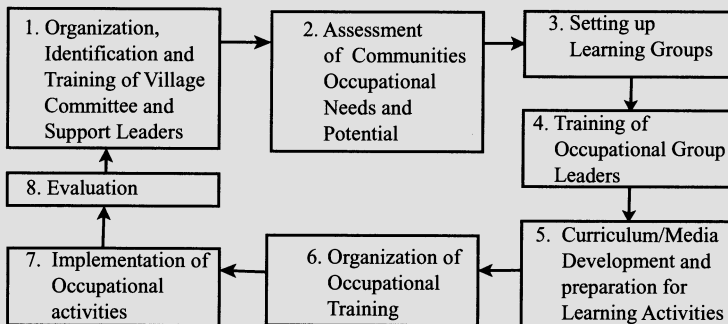
a) Model I : Vocational Training for Self-Employment



b) Model II : Business-orientated Vocational Training



c) Model III : Non-formal Vocational Education for Rural Employment Promotion



community, are identified and trained to offer learning opportunities to others. These models share common characteristics in that they:

- Aim to bring about economic benefits to learners during the course of training or immediately after
- Are designed to assist learners in the entire cycle of the income generation process which involves: surveying the needs of the local or national labour market, deciding on a particular vocation for which there appears to be a demand, acquiring relevant skills and using them in employment
- Include comprehensive curricula with support services and actual working experiences as part of the program
- Are planned and implemented by DNFE, and carried out in close cooperation with the community's local resource people, private business sector and other development agencies.

In addition to fostering motivation in learners and learning groups in the community, income generation programs can strengthen indigenous learning networks via parent education, village technical cooperation, use of folk artists and religious leaders, and the establishment and strengthening of resource centres.

Learners

Learners opt to enrol in training. Those on 'equivalence' courses must be 18 years old and have attained primary 4 Level. They may learn by attending classes, by studying through distance education using satellite broadcasts and video materials supplemented by printed resources – the most popular method – or by the self-learning method. In this last case they may meet the teacher infrequently, for example around 6 hours per semester.

Learners on vocational courses normally live within the CLC sub-district. They include a wide age range and backgrounds. Many are farmers, or mothers whose children have grown up, or unemployed persons. However, some are already in employment and seeking simply to extend their skills, for example primary teachers on vacation. A number attend several courses so that they have a broader range of skills. Each course admits, normally, around 15 participants. Technology available varies. In some sewing courses, for example, participants complained that the machines were not only insufficient for class numbers, but also obsolete. In one case participants were reported to have pooled their Bt50 daily attendance allowance so that additional machines could be purchased. The small charge for attending vocational courses may be a disincentive to attendance for the poorest section of the community, who struggle to feed and clothe themselves.

In hill village CLCs, volunteer teachers may undertake a range of projects in cooperation with local people. In one village of 600 families, 18 projects were being undertaken. One was breeding hens imported from Malaysia. These hens were said to be capable of growing to 8 kilos. Eighteen members of the community were looking after them on a rota basis!

Thai society is still coming to terms with attitudes towards persons infected with HIV. There is evidence that such persons are treated as outcasts in some communities. However, acknowledgment of infection is a pre-condition for benefit from Government assistance. One example is a Department of Labour and Social Affairs funded course on paper flower-making for women in Phayao province where each participant was paid Bt50 for attendance between 9.00 a.m. and 4.00 p.m. every day (except Thursday) over 3 months. The Department supplied materials for this course. Additional benefits for participants included free monthly medical check-ups, and a grant of Bt500 per person per year from the Ministry of Health.

LIFELONG LEARNING, THE INDIVIDUAL AND COMMUNITY SELF-HELP

This section reviews the provision made for adult education, the achievements, and the role of individuals and the community in promoting self-help for individual and community development on a lifelong learning basis in terms of the framework introduced earlier.

Criteria for Self-help

The 1999 National Education Act indicates that the Thai Government is promoting lifelong learning in the context of the criteria identified by the International Commission for UNESCO. Within initial education the planned direction of change is towards developing informed, creative and critical-minded citizens. Implementation is likely to present a challenge to teachers, administrators and many parents. Government also is committed to education in and through the community to ensure full and continuous development for adults.

At the same time in Thailand, as in many societies, there is a wide gap between the criteria government and other groups officially espouse, and those on which people actually base their actions. Thailand is a society where people talk openly of corruption by some in government, the military, private business interests, and even some monks. Ordinary people read in their newspapers every day about educated and powerful people 'helping themselves' by appropriating funds that have been earmarked for those in need and other public benefits. In the light of such evidence they may well ask why they shouldn't follow the 'get rich quick' path when the opportunity presents itself rather than living honestly but at a subsistence level. The most dramatic example of the clash between traditional and modern attitudes within the rural community is the dilemma faced by poor farmers offered large sums for selling their daughters. In view of the information now available through Government inspired videos there is less chance of them being ignorant of the future that their daughters are likely to face if they are sold. But the short-term advantage – for other members of the family as well as for the parents, perhaps – now has to be weighed against these longer-term implications. Bridging this gap between knowledge and action at every level of Thai society remains the challenge for promoting human values through lifelong learning in a context of social justice.

Conditions for Self-help

Decentralisation, and government commitment to supporting local communities, are critical factors related to self-help.

Decentralisation has provided local communities with the potential for managing their own affairs. Rural communities in general are 'strong' on social capital, or a sense of social obligation and inclusiveness (Schuller 1996) and rural Thailand is no exception. At festivals such as Songkran (New Year), people give presents such as bedding and household goods to monks, who, in turn, generally hand these over to the poor. At full moon, it is common for villagers to donate food, and monks often pass this on to prisoners in jail. In one community of 20 families it was reported that every family pays Bt10 on the 4th day of each month to the CLC to pass on to poor families.

CLCs are a physical expression in rural Thailand of this social capital. They reflect the community's desire to provide its members with direct local access to formal and informal learning opportunities for all on a lifelong basis. The community representatives give of their time to support the CLC, and they articulate the felt needs of the community for skill-improvement opportunities. Numerous examples may be pointed to of realistic planning leading to tangible benefits for individuals and the community as a whole; but there are also examples of a 'begging-bowl' mentality, and of over-ambitious projects left abandoned when initial enthusiasm is dissipated.

The role of Government in responding as a constructive partner to the felt needs of the local community is crucial if communities are to believe that 'formal' devolved power means anything. Central Government would appear to have created the local conditions for positive attitudes to self-help through DNFE, an agency capable of interacting constructively with the local community, and with sufficient resources to be able to make a tangible difference to the quality of life in many villages. The quality of its work has won international recognition.

The role of DNFE as an agent of the national community is to promote the local community's efforts to help itself, and to be responsive to felt needs. The effectiveness of DNFE depends crucially upon the selection and training of its administrators and volunteer teachers. With regard to the latter there is no national policy on selection, though practical tests of motivation and commitment have been used in some areas. Training for staff focuses on assisting community leaders to articulate their needs, and working along with communities to meet them. Generally this appears to work well, but criticisms have been expressed of local bureaucracy, and of government officials who are rigid and paternalistic, and who distrust the local community (Rojanaphouk 1999). Initiatives can be easily undermined and destroyed.

But DNFE is not merely responsive to felt needs. It also adopts an educative stance through ensuring that villagers in even the remotest communities have the opportunity to hear about international, national and local developments. It does so through satellite TV and newspapers, and through its promotion of information about health and social values. It also channels resources of other government agencies and NGOs in productive directions. There is currently a significant shift in emphasis in its work. In the past it facilitated courses on the basis of individual demand, often to those who had missed out on formal education, and who now wanted their 'second' chance to acquire

a qualification that they could trade against employment in the new industrial sector. However, education and training provided a credential that took people *out* of the community. This option remains, but the current aim of DNFE is to assist communities to take responsibility for the learning and subsequent employment of their members *within* the community. Opportunities are also being created to share experience, so that models of good practice may be shared across districts, provinces and ultimately the nation.

Learning Opportunities

This study has identified six kinds of learning opportunities provided through CLCs:

- Basic literacy in Thai for both native, and non-native speakers (hill tribe villagers).
- Functional literacy provision for hill-tribes through the negotiated twenty-module curriculum.
- Equivalence skills based on second chance education in the primary and secondary curriculum.
- Vocational skills training for those able to pay for attendance at DNFE facilitated courses.
- Vocational skills training through special subsidised programs, organised by Government Departments, for the poorest people, and for those with HIV.
- Social awareness and values education, sometimes through Mobile Training Teams, to promote quality of life for individuals and communities, on such issues as health, human rights, environmental protection, and sustainable development.

It is interesting, but not surprising, that the felt needs of village communities commonly relate to courses of the conventional kind. Other community education projects have reported similar results. In a project in Scotland, Lovett (1988) found that, when offered a choice of what to study, articulate women in a working class community expressed a similar desire for courses that led to certification, but that were offered informally. This reflected the prevailing negative image of formal education institutions. On this evidence decentralisation does not lead people in rural communities to ask for courses which examine the 'bigger issues' of social justice, or the rights of women. Indeed, it would appear that it is only through initiatives by Government and dedicated individuals that social issues gain a place on the local community learning agenda.

Perhaps the most striking example of the 'power of one' is provided by Ms Ladawan Wongsriwong, Member of the Lower House of National Parliament for Phayao province, and a native of Phayao, who identified girls aged 12 and 13 at risk of becoming prostitutes in Phayao and Chiangrai provinces. Ms Ladawan raised funds to secure them scholarships, bicycles, dormitory accommodation, and interest-free loans so that they could continue their education at secondary school. She also promoted community awareness of the issue through her Young Northern Women's Development Foundation. Her aim was to raise Bt10 million for this purpose, and in 1994 her fund received a contribution of Bt1 million from the mother of the King of Thailand. In 1998 Japanese funding enabled

her to build a CLC on land that she donated. The CLC includes dormitory accommodation for 70 persons, a display area which will provide a shop window for the range of artefacts produced by learners on vocational courses, a meeting hall and several classrooms.

Ms Ladawan can already point to success in increasing the number of at risk girls who continue to secondary school. She intends to extend her work into all provinces of northern Thailand, and to offer vocational education for girls who do not proceed to higher education so that they may acquire skills that offer them alternatives to prostitution.

Motivation

Motivation relates to incentives to participate, set against the potential costs involved. There is strong evidence that both equivalence courses and vocational training are sought after. Certificates of completion are valued by some because of their market relevance; for others, the skills acquired are what count. However, as Figure 1 indicates, the concept of 'pathways' between initial education and subsequent tertiary qualifications has yet to be developed in Thailand.

Participants in vocational training are from the better organised and more articulate section of the community. The poorest are effectively debarred from participation in many of the available learning opportunities because they cannot afford the small hourly charge, the cost of supplying their own raw materials, and the uncertain return from investing in training. On the other hand they can benefit from courses offered through other Government Departments and through NGOs.

Individual self-help can call for courage. The Nation reported (Rojanaphouk 1999) on negative attitudes to HIV sufferers demonstrated in many rural communities, and the misappropriation of Government funds allocated to improve their lot. Clearly DNFE has much work to do on attitude formation. Yet, at one CLC it was reported that women who had acknowledged having HIV had received subsidies for course attendance, and free medical check-ups as a reward for their courage, while incidentally securing the important social support of the other members of the class.

Support

Community action is evidence of the collective actions of individuals. Besides those who manage the system and take advantage of it as learners, the contribution of 'local wisdom' is also crucial to the success of CLCs. There are numerous stories of individuals who share their special skills and experience with others. KHITPEN philosophy teaches that it is a duty and an honour for everyone to do something good and useful for others. In hill villages 'local wisdom' is recruited and trained as teachers to lead community development.

Teachers, both regular and volunteer, also demonstrate initiative in seeking to assist those who want to learn to take advantage of the opportunities provided.

While acknowledging the value of their training participants also request more varied training, longer training, and more investment in training through the provision

of free raw materials, and more up-to-date technology. In the information technology age, CLCs need to be supplied with computers and other relevant technology.

Follow-through

Follow-through relates to translating newly acquired skills into activities that result in improved income or enhanced quality of life. For this to happen two circumstances would appear to be necessary. The first is where effective marketing of services and products has developed, either within the local community or nationally. There are examples where such outlets have been identified, sometimes involving NGOs, and where profitable enterprises have evolved. For example, it was reported that one children's dressmaking course was supplying an order for 1000 dresses from Bangkok. The dresses were sold to the retailer for Bt50 each, though their street price was expected to be 100–300 per cent higher than this. In another village participants had learned how to make organic fertilisers at a cost of Bt80 per ton, and this had developed into a small business, with sacks being sold to local farmers at Bt60 per five hundred-weight bag. Given the limited and dated technology available on many of the courses, such an achievement – especially in national markets – is commendable. There are also examples, however, where no viable market had been identified, perhaps because of over-supply, or because design and quality were not competitive. Clearly these issues have to be addressed.

The second factor is the need to ensure that employment opportunities are linked to training. Some CLCs have handicraft centres close by that potentially could provide employment. Not only is there a large pool of skilled operators and modern equipment, but also it is easier to experiment with creative approaches to design, extending beyond the traditional patterns.

Even when participation in vocational training courses does not lead directly to income generation, it has other important benefits resulting in improved quality of life. Participation enhances feelings of self-worth through skill acquisition, and their own efforts may enable participants to feed and clothe themselves and their families better, and to experience a sense of social inclusion and community participation.

CONCLUSION

In the national context, the economic crisis remains. Realising the vision of the 1999 National Education Act depends in large part on the budget and overall economic performance. Regardless, it is clear that there is a move towards lifelong learning that is individual and community-based and that has the potential to provide the skills and motivation to pursue learning throughout life.

Rural communities in Thailand are poor and some are overwhelmed by the HIV epidemic. Skill development is widely acknowledged to be a means whereby individuals – and especially women – in communities can help themselves to be self-sufficient, and to enhance their quality of life. People are willing to spend time and money

building CLCs and identifying the felt learning needs of their community. Many women participate in courses, though the poorest members of the community may be disadvantaged. Some participants actively seek to improve the quality of the course experience on a self-help basis. They do so by pooling their allowances so as to buy extra or better technology, or they bring equipment from their home to the class. CLCs find a willing and enthusiastic response from many staff in DNFE, whose regular and volunteer teachers, and senior administrative staff, can assist in the prioritising of goals and in their realisation, often by harnessing 'local wisdom' within the community. DNFE's policy is to equip CLCs better and to establish one in every village. In the short term, however, the issue of marketing the products of the vocational courses needs to be addressed.

This chapter has described ways in which communities at national and local levels are working together to promote each other's goals. It has also described some of the tensions within Thai society as the country seeks to promote a modern outlook. Individuals and agencies have a crucial role to play in identifying problems, contributing ideas for their resolution, and sharing knowledge, skills and understanding to promote lifelong learning on the ACEID and UNESCO model.

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Chapter 7: New Lives for Old: Lifelong Learning Among the Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan and Canada

HUANG TUNG-CHIOU (AKIYO PAHALAAN) AND JOHN STECKLEY

INTRODUCTION

On November 20, 1998, David Mulrone, director of the Canadian Trade Office in Taipei, and Hua Chia-chih, chairman of Taiwan's cabinet-level Council of Aboriginal Affairs, signed a memorandum of understanding between their two countries. The signing initiated a ten year program, the purpose of which is to strengthen cooperation in indigenous affairs and to promote indigenous culture exchanges, including opportunities for lifelong learning, between the two countries.

This commitment explicitly reflected the newly recognized value of the customs and traditions of indigenous peoples and the special importance they have on lifelong learning processes. Lifelong learning is not merely a series of techniques or approaches that exist in a cultural vacuum. Lifelong learning must be grounded deeply in a living, traditional culture in order that participants feel comfortable with themselves and their places in their own society. Only after they are grounded in this tradition will indigenous peoples continue to develop through further lifelong learning and adapt as they see fit to changing societal structures and norms.

It has recently been recognized that Native people in Canada and the indigenous peoples of Taiwan have much in common. Each group of indigenous peoples can benefit from learning about what each other is doing in order to reclaim tradition and use lifelong learning as a process for finding a place and moving forward in a rapidly changing society.

THE NATIVES OF CANADA AND THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF TAIWAN

Both peoples are "First Nations" in their countries. Natives have lived in Canada for 12,000 to 20,000 years or longer. The indigenous peoples of Taiwan are thought to have been living there for 3,000 to 4,000 years. Both indigenous peoples have seen trickles of immigrant groups turn into floods over the past 400 years. Though precise figures are difficult to obtain, the officially-recognized Native population of Canada is about 800,000, constituting between 3.5% and 4.0% of the population. In Taiwan, the population of indigenous peoples in 1995 totaled 349,120 persons, or about 2% of the population. Both peoples experienced suppression of key aspects of their culture well into the twentieth century, which in turn had a devastating effect on their traditions and lifelong learning.

Indigenous languages have been the particular targets of cultural suppression. In Taiwan, the "Mandarin movement", that came into effect with the coming of the Chinese government of Chiang Kai Shek, prohibited the teaching of indigenous languages in schools. In Canada, residential schools in operation throughout most of the twentieth century aggressively attacked Native languages, punishing children severely for speaking the language of the "home." These cultural suppressions seriously reduced the number of speakers of the languages, although in both countries monolingual speakers of indigenous languages still survive. Most problematic, the policies of cultural suppression helped to promote a negative attitude among the peoples themselves concerning their ancestral languages and other key aspects of their culture.

It is difficult to quantify how much learning is language-based or even language-dependent. However, it is not difficult to imagine how impossible it is to learn about your culture, your needs, your opportunities and indeed your life when you are not encouraged, or in the extreme not permitted, to speak your own language. In fact, the explicit message received by indigenous peoples was that their language and culture did not have value.

Indigenous groups, though often treated as the same, have a very large variety of distinctive traits that distinguish one group from another. Primary among these is the diversity of languages. In Canada for example, there are roughly fifty Native languages still alive, although at least eight of these are borderline extinct. The fifty are separated into eleven different language families or language isolates (eg, Algonquian, Iroquoian, Siouan, Athabaskan, Wakashan, Salishan, Eskimo-Aleut, Kutenai, Haida, Tlingit and Tsimshian). In Taiwan, there are 15 indigenous languages still alive, although six of these are nearly extinct. These languages belong to four groups, three of which (Atayalic, Paiwanic and Tsouic) are part of the Formosan branch of the Austronesian family, and one language (Yami) that has closer relatives in the northern Philippines than in Taiwan. There are significant differences among these four groups. To give a rough parallel for speakers of European languages, consider the differences between English, Spanish, Russian, Greek and Hindi, all of which belong to different branches of the Indo-European language family.

The writers of this paper believe that effective programs and practices pertaining to lifelong learning for the indigenous peoples in Canada and in Taiwan are integrally tied to the strengthening of cultural identity, and that this strengthening must be accomplished in ways that unify people. Tradition-based song and dance activities can achieve this goal as these activities are common and central to the traditional culture of the diverse indigenous peoples in each country. Learning the song and dance complexes will ground the indigenous peoples in their cultures, following which they will be able to use lifelong learning opportunities to reclaim, grow and develop in other areas.

While the authors will be discussing these issues generally, there will be especial focus on the Amis people of Taiwan, the tribal group to which one of the authors belongs, and on the Anishnabe or Ojibwa people of Canada, a group that the other author has studied for more than fifteen years.

LIFELONG LEARNING: SONG AND DANCE

A fundamental and shared element that can play a significant role in the lifelong learning of the Native people of Canada and the indigenous peoples of Taiwan comes from the interlinked cultural complexes of song and dance. Song and dance are often closely linked in indigenous cultures in ways that are difficult to express in English, and likely impossible for many of western European descent to appreciate fully.

To begin, consider the fact that in the Huron culture of seventeenth century Ontario, Canada, the two elements of song and dance were so closely linked that the same word, the noun root “rend”, was the sole term of reference for the former and the main term of reference for the latter, and often referred to the combination of the two. In short, the two notions are very closely related.

Songs and dances in indigenous cultures are different from those of more recent immigrants. Songs in indigenous cultures could be personal possessions inspired by visions or dreams that reminded the individual of his/her spiritual connectedness and path of life. Warriors possessed death songs, to be sung before battle or before any other dangerous undertaking, to prepare them for what lay ahead. Songs could be attached to names, as part of the learning one had to know in order to acquire a name. These songs, typically clan possessions, told the history of the name, of the person's clan and more generally that of the people. In effect, songs told people who they were. Songs confirmed the individual's value and that of the cultural group. Ultimately, songs were a form of lifelong learning that taught how a person should live.

These song and dance complexes, like languages, have been suppressed in both countries, through marginalization, or even outright banning. In some cases they have been turned into tourism oddities rather than appropriately incorporated into classroom curricula. In Canada, this suppression took legal form. In 1884, the potlatch of the Northwest coast and the spirit dance of the Salish people, also living in British Columbia, were made illegal.

“Every Indian or other person who engages in or assists in celebrating the Indian festival known as the “Potlatch” or in the Indian dance known as “Tamanawas” [Spirit Dance] is guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be liable to imprisonment for a term of not more than six nor less than two months in any gaol or other place of confinement, and any Indian or other person who encourages, either directly or indirectly, an Indian or Indians to get up such a festival or dance, or to celebrate the same, or who shall assist in the celebration of same, is guilty of a like offense, and shall be liable to the same punishment.” (An Act to Amend the Indian Act.)

Yet the complexes were key elements in the culture of their people, fundamental to their lifelong learning. In 1895, this ban was extended to the Sun Dance of the peoples of the Canadian prairies, again the central ceremony of these peoples. In 1906, all similar forms of ceremonies centred on song and dance were banned. By 1914, many Natives (particularly of the Prairies region) were only allowed to perform dances at fairs or festivals, and only if they had written permission by an agent of the Canadian federal government.

The potlatch law was repealed by 1951, but by that time the cultural damage had been done. Not only song and dance complexes, but also the means for lifelong learning, had been lost for most Natives in Canada.

THE ROLE OF SONG AND DANCE IN LIFELONG LEARNING

In 1978, Ali Mazrui wrote about how the song and dance traditions of African people were put on the periphery of education in African universities despite the central role those traditions played in pre-colonial and contemporary life:

“[S]triking as an omission in the education systems of most African countries is the study of African music and musicology. This factor can all too easily be relegated to the ranks of the frivolous. But in fact dance and song in African societies continue to play a more important sociological role than they now play in the western world. Yet the decision as to which kind of subjects ought to be given priority in Africa is reached as a result of examining what is regarded as important in the western world, with special reference to the particular colonial power which ruled a particular African country. Since in Europe song and dance have substantially become domains of leisure rather than of work and productivity, except among professional entertainers, educational institutions in Africa have on the whole treated African song and dance as if it were similarly divorced from the work place and the basic social system.” (Mazrui 1978, p.299)

Mazrui stressed that it was an important step in the identity-building of African peoples that the teaching and demonstration of these song and dance traditions be part of the education of all Africans. Although he did not articulate the words specifically, we can say that he had our understanding of lifelong learning in mind. He saw this form of what he termed “cultural liberation” as taking place in two stages:

- “cultural revivalism”, involving readiness to pay renewed homage to local traditions and incorporate those traditions into the educational system more systematically;
- “cultural innovation”, entailing a process of synthesizing the old with the new, and then moving on in independent intellectual directions. (Mazrui 1978, p.297)

As we will see, revivalism and innovation are taking place in Canada and in Taiwan and are clear expressions of lifelong learning.

SONG AND DANCE: NATIVE PEOPLE IN CANADA

The role of song and dance traditions in the contemporary lifelong learning of Native people in Canada combine two key elements of learning for these people: therapy and identity. Concerning the former feature, Devereux, in his classic 1972 study of the

previously-banned Spirit Dance of the Salish, or Sto:lo, people of the Pacific coast in Canada and the United States, writes of how, in the 1960s and early 1970s, the Spirit Dance performed useful therapeutic functions:

“In the Upper Fraser Valley, winter unemployment is prevalent not only among the Indian population. The association of such imposed idleness with marital and intrafamily conflicts, alcohol, narcotic and psychedelic drug abuse, increasing demands for medical attention and hospitalization due to psychogenic symptom formation, is obvious to all social agencies and health professionals in the area. In this situation, the holding of spirit dances throughout the winter season represents a most valuable annual therapeutic enterprise for the benefit of the local Indian population. This enterprise integrates a variety of therapeutic techniques, including occupational and activity therapy, group psychotherapy, cathartic abreaction, psychodrama, direct ego-support, and physical exercise.” (Devereux 1972, p.86)

The spirit dance has not diminished over the past thirty years.

The connection between identity and therapy in the song and dance traditions of the Native peoples of Canada can be seen by looking at the Medicine Dance of the Ojibway or Anishnabe peoples. The Medicine Dance is a tradition-based ceremony, that has been of notable identity-strengthening, values-reinforcing and therapeutic worth to those Anishnabe communities into which it has been introduced.

The Medicine Dance takes place in a Midewewin lodge, a sacred structure that has connections deep into the Anishnabe past. The dancers go through a progression of what are termed “seven songs.” The first involves a request for healing made through an offering of tobacco. It is a standard practice in Anishnabe ceremonies to invoke the presence of the spiritual with tobacco.

The second song relates to a key component of Anishnabe identity: the name in the Ojibwe language. The acquiring of names in their own language is a critical part of the revitalization of Anishnabe culture. In contemporary Anishnabe cultural names are often given to an individual through the medium of an individual whose responsibility it is to have a vision in which the name appears. Such a name is bestowed in a ceremony similar to that of the Medicine Dance. It is said that this name is known by the Creator. Having acquired a name through such a means is a source of cultural pride to the person and for the community.

The third song involves the dancers identifying themselves by “dodem” (the Ojibwe word from which the English “totem” is derived). As with names, an aspect of the contemporary revitalization of Anishnabe and other Native cultures is the strengthening of clans, and employing research in order to identify people by their clans.

During the fourth song, the dancers dance clockwise around the lodge. This is referred to as the direction of life as it is said to follow the movements of the sun. In the fifth song the dancers move in the opposite direction, tracing back the course of their lives. In so doing, they come to understand what in their past is troubling them.

In the sixth song, the dancers move vigorously to shake off the emotional burdens they brought to the surface in the previous song. According to James Dumont (1989.

p. 2), professor of Native Studies at Laurentian University in Sudbury, Canada, "this is the point at which the healing spirits are brought in to administer their healing."

The seventh song involves a celebration of healing and of life. During this song, the dancers demonstrate the highly valued quality of generosity by giving gifts to family and friends who have come to the Medicine Dance to support them.

It is relevant to note that this dance is currently available to Native people of all ages through the revitalized Midewewin or Three Fires society, a traditional religious organization that is playing an increasingly important role in the lifelong learning of the Anishnabe people.

It should be stressed that the Anishnabe Medicine Dance has appeal and value for people of other First Nations. James Dumont (1989, p.10) stresses that "the healing and therapeutic process itself appears to work quite well for Native people of various cultures facing the stresses and problems of living with their 'nativeness' within the contemporary context".

The Powwow

Lifelong learning is also expressed through dancing at the traditional powwow, a growing phenomenon in Native communities throughout Canada. The powwow represents a modern twist on an old cultural form. Participation in a powwow is a more obvious form of lifelong learning.

The heart of the modern powwow is the drum. The drum requires singers and drummers to learn not just how to play and sing together, but to also learn how to act out through drumming their tribal and general Native identity. This is also true for the dancers, who through their performances form the main feature of the modern powwow "show." Many Canadian Natives are following this path in order to develop a deeper understanding of and participation in their own culture. In a recent powwow, held at the Six Nations community in southwestern Ontario, Canada, there were 356 dancers. Dancers are of different types, depending on gender and on the level of difficulty of the dance. The dance is sometimes competitive, with prizes.

But the drumming and dancing at powwows are not just for show. They play an important role in lifelong learning, strengthening cultural identity and identity-based healing. This identify strengthening and healing is nicely detailed in a newspaper article where Jim Caagoonse McCue, a 44 year old Anishnabe dancer, tells his own story (Ball 1999).

"I used to dance in powwows when I was a kid but then I put my regalia away... .
I entered a different world. I lost my way and I was addicted to drugs and alcohol."

Then one day when he was attending a powwow, he heard the drums and started to cry.

"A young dancer came over, put his arm around me and said 'welcome back,'... .The drums called me back."

He returned to dancing seven years ago and has been clean of drugs and alcohol ever since.

“This is part of my healing... This has helped me get a better understanding of who I am. It has helped give me back my identity. It's part of making my life one of balance and wellness.”

The women's Jingle Dance provides eye and ear catching sights and sounds at many a powwow, but its main function is not one of entertainment. Thought to be about 60 years old, and to have its origin among the Saukteaux (the name given to the Anishnabe people of western Canada), healing was its original purpose. The parts of the women's outfit have meanings that remind women of some of the main teachings of the people. There are 365 jingles, made of metal circles (until recently, snuff can lids), that are curled around to form bell-like jingles. The 365 jingles represent the year, and symbolize the women's role in the year-like circle of life. Women work hard in developing individualized dresses that are steeped in their sense of Native identity.

With song and dance, it is common for traditions to be shared among different Natives peoples, linking them with a common identity. Powwows typically include dancers and dances from different First Nations. While dancers may tend to specialize in the dances that have the greatest meaning to their own nation, they also learn and perform the dances of other peoples.

The potential unifying effects of modern song and dance complexes was demonstrated very powerfully to one of the authors of this paper in 1988 when he saw a performance put on in a small theatre in St. John's, a provincial capital on the east coast of Canada. The dance was performed by a troupe of young people from the Naskapi or Innu and from the Inuit of Labrador. The performers began by dancing out traditional stories of their people, with the most poignant part coming when they merged the two dances into a story of how the two peoples first met. The young dancers were learning and demonstrating with their performance lessons in unity.

TAIWAN'S INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

One very promising initiative in the lifelong learning of indigenous peoples in Taiwan has been taking place at the Provincial Boys' Senior High School in Hualien, a medium sized city in central Taiwan. At that school, one of the authors teaches Taiwan's first class in indigenous language and culture to be offered within the public school system. Implementing this program has been a challenge since the concept of incorporating indigenous language training side-by-side with the “regular” school programs is a concept without precedent in Taiwan. Also challenging is the fact that the indigenous students typically come from three different tribes, the Amis, the Bunun and the Atayal, the first two languages belonging to a different language branch from the other.

In 1990, the same school established the Miyanun Indigenous Languages and Cultures Club, initially just for the indigenous students. Increasingly, however, non-indigenous students participate. Recently, a substantial portion of the activity in both

the class and the club involves song. The club helps extend the cultural expressions found in the classroom activities more broadly into the school, the homes of the students, and throughout the local community.

As the program is new, few textbooks have yet to be produced, a problem also faced by many teachers of Native languages in Canada. Song is highlighted because it is through them that the lyrics describe stories detailing cultural heritage. The elders know the songs, and when the younger generation learns to share these keys, cultural links across generations are formed. Mutual respect is a natural byproduct. This inter-generational link is very important in the cultural identity strengthening process that is central to indigenous lifelong learning.

Interestingly, indigenous performers have become a focus for contemporary dance music within Taiwan. This is having a national and international influence. Chang Hui-Mei, for example, is one of the top female pop music stars in Taiwan. She incorporates the tribal music of her people, the Puyama, into her songs. For many indigenous youth this encourages and validates lifelong learning associated not only with the tribal music but also more holistically with their culture, a significant change from as recently as twenty years ago.

This modern song composition involves more than merely adding chants or tonal structures that are indigenous and traditional. It also includes writing lyrics that are new and strongly identity and issue focused.

In 1995, the German rock group Enigma recorded the song "Return to Innocence" which included a haunting tribal chant sung by a 76 year old Amis singer, Kuo Ying-Nan (Amis name: Lifwan) and his 74 year old wife Kuo Hsiuo-Chu. The next year this chant was adopted as CNN's theme song for the Olympics, and Amis music was broadcast to the world. The success of this song helped paved the way for Amis folklore singers to tour the United States in 1998.

Although the "success" of this song has helped reaffirm the value of indigenous culture and lifelong learning in Taiwan, it was also a clear case of exploitation. In the first instance, a French ethnomusicologist recorded the singing of Mr. and Mrs. Kuo and submitted the recording to a museum in France where it became part of a CD entitled "Polyphonies vocales des aborigines de Taiwan". The members of Enigma heard the recording, and paid the recording company and the Chinese Folk Arts Foundation for the "rights". Mr. Kuo knew nothing of this until he heard his voice on the radio.

One of the few texts developed for indigenous language training in Taiwan is *Minanam To Sowel No Toías Pakayni I Radiw*, translated as "Learning the Mother Tongue through Singing". Huang (1994, p.10) teaches us that singing "helps all the people learn the language of the Pangcah [Amis] as well as appreciate the value of the Amis culture. Learning a language through singing, as everyone knows, is one of the best ways to master it. Through singing the popular songs, with melodies and rhythms, everyone will find that the language is so easy to remember, easy to hear, easy to hang on to."

The textbook is based on four traditional folk songs, and is written in Amis, Mandarin and English. The lessons begin with songs and then progress to vocabulary, the sounds of the language, and some pointers on syntax and morphology as well as other important aspects of Amis culture. Each lesson has a series of objectives, which include explaining how the Amis spend their recreational time, learning how to

pronounce new words and use them in daily practice, identifying edible river- and seafood, detailing the characteristics of the Amis peoples, and understanding the process of marriage and the purpose of life. (Huang 1994, pp.13, 20, 31, 38)

COUNTER-PENETRATION

Mazrui (1978, pp. 314, 317) argued that change is required in African universities and other institutions, a change based on what he called the need for “counter-penetration” of indigenous cultures in the education process. Mazrui was referring to the potential, or need, for cultures other than those with western-European roots to influence what he termed “world culture”. In effect, he believed that the process of globalization is developing a world culture too heavily weighted by western-European values, processes and beliefs. Greater influence by other cultures, all cultures, is needed in order to create a global community that recognizes, incorporates and celebrates basic values from around the globe. It is not just African universities which need to change; rather, all institutions in all cultures should actively contribute to the process of globalization by championing indigenous values.

What is the relationship between lifelong learning and counter-penetration? First, by creating an environment where the values and artifacts of indigenous cultures are included alongside those of the majority, validation occurs. With this will come a renewed interest among indigenous peoples in their culture. The bridge between elders and young people will be re-established, and learning throughout the lifespan about one’s heritage and culture will be central to life itself. This is critical for indigenous peoples as it identifies and secures their heritage, their values and their very lives. Second, and more broadly, all peoples will learn about and be influenced by a more capacious variety of values, beliefs, and systems of life, healing and community from cultures around the globe. The result will be greater learning, understanding, harmony, balance, tolerance, and peace. For many indigenous cultures, achieving these goals begins with song and dance.

Lifwan’s chant in “Return to Innocence” and the success of the American tour of the Amis folklore singers may be seen as quite modest, yet they represent important steps in the right direction. The same is true for Taiwan’s Yuan-Yuan Indigenous Culture and Troupe, a performance group of indigenous people who highlight and showcase their culture through dance. The troupe has traveled abroad extensively in order to “preserve ... distinctive folksongs and dances,” let “others understand the great wisdom of the elders of the indigenous tribes in Taiwan as well as the individual significance of each song or dance,” and to “acquaint the younger generation of each of the tribes with their own cultural heritage...”. (Taiwan Yuan-Yuan Indigenous Culture and Troupe R.O.C . 1997)

CONCLUSION

In both Canada and Taiwan, song and dance complexes play an important role in building cultural identity through lifelong learning for aboriginal and indigenous

peoples. Song and dance keep traditions alive and vibrant, rather than relegating them to museum pieces. As Mazrui (1978) notes, song and dance complexes go beyond cultural revivalism; indeed, they are tools for championing tradition-based "cultural innovation". The key to the significance of song and dance in lifelong learning lies in the connections these complexes build between people and their cultural identity; between generations; between "tribes" or First Nations within their homelands; between indigenous cultures around the world; and between indigenous cultures and the rest of the world.

It is important to emphasize the intrinsic value of song and dance complexes as lifelong learning tools. This recognition restores these artifacts to the position they once held, central to the learning journey one takes throughout life. Song and dance complexes must become an integral part of the formal education of indigenous peoples. This recognition, at all levels of the school system, is a critical element in the validation process for indigenous peoples, with benefits that will be enjoyed around the globe.

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Chapter 8: Promoting Lifelong Learning in Developing Countries: The Institutional Environment

RAVI PALEPU

INTRODUCTION

In developing countries, institutions are faced with a myriad of pressures, which threaten their effectiveness and ultimate survival. Such pressures include globalization, a weak or non-existent infrastructure, limited resources, increasing unemployment, the HIV/AIDS pandemic, famine, a "brain drain," and civil conflict including regional and civil wars. All of these influence the ability of individuals and organizations to function well and to implement lifelong learning programs and associated processes.

Losses resulting from the pandemic and brain drain are so great that many organizations in both rural and urban areas are training two or three candidates for each available position. Replacing staff costs a great deal of time and money, to say nothing of the damage to the institution's knowledge base. It is vital that institutions develop viable strategies to address these issues. Strategies must also promote the retention of institutional memory and experience that might be lost through rapid staff turnover. Hence, lifelong learning is critical to both the institutions as a whole and to the individuals staffing those institutions

As well, the application of the principles and practices of lifelong learning can be promoted to address the challenges associated with socio-economic issues and rapid globalization. Developing countries are increasingly faced with the variety of trade and development nuances, created primarily by and for the systems of developed countries. They must not only react, but they must also learn from those experiences and build on it in order to be adaptive and move forward the socio-economic agenda. Lifelong learning must be an inherent part of both the individual and institutional experience.

Before focusing on institutional learning, we must define the term "institution" as it is employed in this chapter. Here, the term is broadly used to include any organizational body or conceptual framework. Local and traditional government authorities, conceptual entities such as sectors in the economy, educational facilities and private businesses, are all examples of such institutions, while a mode of thinking such as the scientific method exemplifies a specific conceptual framework. Institutional memory in this chapter refers to the shared collective knowledge and experience. The development of knowledge or institutional memory is referred to as institutional learning.

Institutional capacity or organizational strength refers to the abilities of the institution meet its objectives and to evolve as the environment changes. Institutional capacity can also refer to the level of acceptance or value that members of the society

place on a particular mode of thought or concept. Institutional strengthening refers to the actions or transformations required by an organization to meet objectives effectively and efficiently in an ongoing manner. It often involves the following:

- re-defining or reinventing an institution through the strategic process of evaluating its position with the overall environment;
- promoting acceptance and early adoption of a new or changed concept.

Some institutions change very little over long periods of time. These institutions enjoy significant periods of stability because their value is strong and deeply embedded within the society. Examples of African institutions which illustrate this longevity and stability include community-based trading and traditional dance. These institutions survive because they have met certain basic needs over the centuries, and continue to do so. Other institutions, such as western concepts of sexuality or mental illness, have been continually reinvented throughout history. Still others, such as traditional medicinal systems or models of mental illness, have been discredited and transformed in relatively recent times through processes such as colonization and cultural indoctrination.

The need for reinvention or institutional evolution is most obvious when institutions lack context; they no longer meet societal needs. For example, the institution of marriage may be criticized for not meeting societal needs that include respect for fidelity and the social welfare for the family (see Bowler 1991). But this institution, and others like it, can be reinvented if a lifelong learning context is applied. Then the institution would not remain static, becoming further distanced from societal needs, but instead it would become dynamic, changing in tune to the requirements of an evolving society.

INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT

Institutions that are central to lifelong learning in Africa are many and varied. Examples include state, church and other civic institutions; national identity, pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial heritage; race relations, culture and traditional knowledge systems; capacity building and other training organizations; NGOs and CBOs; and micro-, small-, medium- and large- scale enterprises.

Many of these institutions encounter common barriers affecting their lifelong learning effectiveness and potential. These barriers often stem from similar histories of colonial rule, more recent structural adjustment programs, and the influence of foreign aid donors. In many developing countries, including those in Africa, institutions have maintained administrative systems from the colonial period, as opposed to reverting to traditional systems or developing new, yet appropriate, ones.

In some cases, the implications of such "baggage" from years of minority rule is manifested in the prevalence of non-indigenous ownership of key institutions, large enterprises, and the more productive lands. The owners or managers of these organizations, enterprises and lands value the indigenous population as inexpensive unskilled labour, and almost without exception support the *status quo*. Without minimal respect, indigenous employees will likely not expect career development

opportunities. Therefore, they are effectively prevented from taking part in lifelong learning, and see little potential for development or advancement. Commitment to the *status quo* is clearly antithetical to lifelong learning.

In post-colonial times, multi-lateral and bi-lateral organizations, as well as international NGOs, have provided considerable direct donor support and loans for reconstruction, development and poverty alleviation. At first blush, these activities would seem to encourage lifelong learning. But in fact they have proven to be a mixed blessing. Large debts have been incurred through some of this programming, which in turn has led to IMF-imposed structural adjustment programs. These programs have forced organizations to streamline their operations for a western production model. This has been at great human cost, leading to severe economic instability. In fact, it is now clear that the emphasis on foreign input in the development process has in many cases actually been an impediment to lifelong learning. Foreign aid has led to donor dependency, and mitigated against independent thought, culturally-based solutions and new learning. Local NGOs and CBOs are routinely referred to as “potted plants”, nurtured by ideas, funds and personnel from outside the continent.

Barriers that are characteristic of institutions in developing countries include the following:

- high staff turn-over in most organizations;
- top heavy management, colonial baggage, and donor dependency;
- conflict between modern and traditional knowledge systems;
- just as institutions suffer from a societal disconnect, there is no “customer driven” focus;
- unresponsive to changing values, needs and demographics;
- lack of project management, program evaluation and monitoring procedures;
- poor information access and flow, along with limited capital and resources;
- economic and political instability, related to and perhaps flowing from
- corruption, nepotism and lack of transparency in administrative procedures.

LIFELONG LEARNING WITHIN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Lifelong learning expands on traditional views of learning and education by emphasizing the availability of and need for learning across all facets of life and throughout the lifespan. A lifelong learning culture is flexible, creative and responsive. It satisfies the needs of societies in which the pace of social and technological change is accelerating, and within which a succession of disparate occupations is becoming the employment norm. Lifelong learning implies that learning opportunities are available outside the formal school system, and that adults, both those who are employed and those who are unemployed, must learn in order to cope with the rapidly changing demands of the work place

The institutional environments in developing countries greatly influence how effectively lifelong learning concepts can be embraced. Where there is economic and organizational instability, it is difficult for organizations and individuals to invest in or implement learning systems. Instead, the focus is on day-to-day survival. As well,

an outmoded view of training and the command-oriented institution, with little legitimization for or empowerment of staff and customers, does not promote stakeholder commitment or embrace learning opportunities.

Nonetheless, embracing a lifelong learning philosophy can strengthen all institutions. The promotion of a lifelong learning ethic within organizations involves team building and a process of open collaboration, building trust through information sharing, encouraging change and preparing for it, identifying and examining underlying societal and individual assumptions about learning and education, clarifying misconceptions, identifying barriers to cooperation and change, and making use of change management tools.

BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES

Many of the barriers that prevent the effective implementation of lifelong learning stem from problems in organizational form and work flow processes. Institutions must reevaluate many of their fundamental assumptions including concepts of effective organizational design and the value of lifelong learning. Institutions must progressively and aggressively embrace concepts that promote reflection, staff empowerment, delegation, and active learning.

Internal methods by which organizations can promote lifelong learning include enhancing organizational form and structure, adopting and adapting management consulting tools to the local context, developing and rewarding a lifelong learning ethic within the institution, actively and openly documenting business activities and operating procedures, and ensuring learning resources are widely available. Conscientization activities focus on the act and utility of learning, as well as promoting systems for contributing, sharing and using information through coaching and mentoring. External to the organization are the benefits to be derived from institutional networking.

Some of the more progressive management consulting tools focus on best practices that can be utilized to promote an institutional environment that supports the development of a lifelong learning organization. Such tools can be used to support and promote an open management structure, systems thinking, creative problem solving, and an environment conducive to learning from mistakes.

Nevertheless, there are problems with many of the western tools. One of these is that certain fundamental assumptions in many western-based management methods do not take into account the importance of cultural differences. Still, some of the proposed practices are useful and can be applied in a modified form. Demming (1990) identified the quality centric philosophy practiced by many successful Japanese organizations following World War II. From this context, the Total Quality Management (TQM) and Continual Improvement (CI) methods of organizational change evolved, and which are now commonly practiced within many western organizations. To use TQM and CI tools effectively, an organization needs to be able to assess and adapt to new practices. In effect, it must have the potential to employ lifelong learning at an institutional level.

In some instances, redesign rather than the more simplistic "improvement" process is called for. Known as Business Process Reengineering (BPR), this approach reflects

and responds to the need for a faster pace of change and the increased complexity of “doing business” within a global environment. BPR is a significant step towards developing a learning organization as it involves re-inventing the organization, or at least re-confirming, at all levels. The result is adaptation, and few lessons are more practical and holistically relevant. Revan’s (1980) concept of “action learning” affirms that learning by doing is a more effective approach, a concept typically applied to individual learning, but equally relevant to organizations. BPI promotes on the job training, coaching and mentoring, which in turn leads to intra-organization sharing, and the development of institutional memory B all critical facets of lifelong learning.

As difficult as the application of these processes are in developed economies, the challenges are magnified many times over in a developing country. Taylor’s (1996) research on the challenges of human resource development programs in developing countries highlights why the transformation is a long-term process. Specific issues include:

- the investment required for training and retention strategies is very costly, and perhaps viewed as prohibitive for many organizations;
- strategic planning is often rendered ineffective resulting from the high and volatile levels of inflation often seen in developing economies;
- the highly visible and often employed autocratic model of power, where employment is often used as a patronage tool for political support, typically departs from the state’s policies and strategies regarding recruitment, promotions and reward allocations;
- extraordinarily low wages and benefits that preclude the potential for employees to develop a “hearts and minds” commitment to the organization since it is not possible to earn a basic living from one employer;
- “real commitment” lying outside the organization, within perhaps the extended family and the tribe, and thus preventing the development of organizational allegiance.

It seems unlikely that, in the face of retrenchment exercises resulting from structural adjustment, employees will respond positively to reduced job security and increased workload. Decreased prospects for promotion and advancement dramatically reduce potential commitment to lifelong learning.

Having highlighted these challenges, it becomes apparent that a holistic approach to promoting a lifelong learning culture is necessary. Employing management tools and change processes alone will not create new organizations embedded with strong and powerful lifelong learning practices. Realistically, changes in organizational form and processes must be complemented by supportive economic and political policies that promote stability and equity. As well, participatory processes encompassing stakeholder representation and involvement are necessary to create support.

LIFELONG LEARNING WITHIN INSTITUTIONS

As noted, a variety of institutional effectiveness barriers typically found within developing economies hinder the potential for the effective use of many of the development

and change tools and techniques described above. However, some of these can be reasonably and effectively adapted to meet the needs of institutions in developing countries.

A positive organizational learning ethic encourages individuals to appreciate and promote the utility of sharing knowledge, documentation, and library systems. For this to be effective, however, people must be keenly aware of and appreciate the organization's "life", including its history and its lifelong effectiveness. The result is that a strong positive learning ethic promotes a collective long term thinking process among all the individuals associated with an organization.

A basic foundation for developing individual appreciation for institutional or organizational knowledge requires ensuring that they have all the information necessary to participate in activities, and more specifically to complete their work effectively and efficiently. If this is not the case, frustration stemming from the lack of information will almost certainly promote a negative learning ethic and sense of futility within the environment.

The following are both simple and essential to the promotion of a learning ethic within an institution or organization:

- clearly identifying and making available knowledge or information assets such as descriptions of the organization and the core business activities, problem resolution techniques, and operating procedures;
- developing occupational profiles and job descriptions and ensuring these are available for training purposes;
- documenting all business procedures and operational tasks in order to minimize the impact of staff turnover;
- creating up-to-date library facilities, providing ongoing training, and developing a centralized approach for managing new knowledge assets;
- increasing the broad flow of information throughout the organization in order to ensure that there is a collective awareness of the process regarding resource allocation and scheduling.

As with most management tools, the effectiveness of process can be measured by how (or if) people embrace them. Tools and methods must also be complemented by champions, coaches, mentors, and facilitators. Organizational mentoring programs are particularly important, as these ensure opportunities for individuals to receive guidance for personal development as well as long term career planning. Without this perspective, people will not commit to the organization.

Networking and Linkages

Another technique for addressing barriers to lifelong learning is by networking among institutions. This provides institutional learning opportunities and encourages cross pollination. However, it is important to recognize that building institutional linkages or "...patterned relationships between the institution and other organizations and groups

in the environment” (Essman 1969) is a difficult process. Some of the key challenges to effective institutional networking include the following:

- delineating roles and responsibilities is problematic;
 - accountability is difficult to define;
 - learning capacities and ethics will vary, leading to inconsistent participation levels among institutions;
 - conflicting organizational cultures may create highly emotional conflict
- reduced institutional autonomy requires trust and vision.

To develop and promote lifelong learning networks among institutions, it is necessary for all institutions to understand, agree upon and commit to a customer-driven focus for all stakeholders. This includes viewing each network member as a customer, a service provider and a team member. Without this ethos, the potential for optimal effectiveness is lost.

It is also important to acknowledge and compensate for the power relations and sanctioned, or “formal”, representation versus grass roots participation. Consider, for example, donor aid programs. These tend, for a number of reasons, to support sectors aligning with the sponsoring country’s development priorities, and to work primarily through various NGOs. In these cases, it is not uncommon for target communities to play a very small role in their own development planning. This approach minimizes lifelong learning opportunities for communities, though on paper the institutional networking element, and related learning, appears strong. Overall, this process further marginalizes communities. Contrast this with an approach whereby aid related organizations work directly *for* communities, instead of on their behalf. A change of this magnitude would have an important and highly beneficial influence on institutional and individual lifelong learning.

In order to promote local ownership within the development process, local NGOs and CBOs should facilitate a bottom up process which enables communities to create their own development plans. One of the emerging roles or responsibilities required of local agencies is to seek donor sponsorship in order to empower communities. Unlike the traditional top down development programs, a participatory bottom up process ensures that community priorities are respected and that development plans encompass integrated approaches (see Burkey, 1991). To realize effective institutional strengthening through networking, there should be an emphasis on the need to evaluate power relations as well as to identify responsibilities among members of the network.

Examples of networking through a shared and customer-oriented vision are becoming more common. Instructive examples of this approach from the African development sector include the Zimbabwe Women’s’ Resource Centre and Network (ZWRNCN), the Church and / NGO Civic Education Network, and the Sustainable Farm Network (SFN). Each of these networks is composed of member organizations that meet to collaborate on programming as well as to reflect upon and learn about best practices. In general, a network’s strength lies in broad-based membership, combined experience and skills, and commitment to sharing. Also important is the ability overcome different capacity levels and a variety of organizational cultures and norms.

Technology

Industrialization within Africa, and the rapid pace of technological change everywhere, encourages or perhaps even requires that processes be automated. Requirements for unskilled labour to do highly repetitive work is declining everywhere, including Africa. Today, knowledge workers are required everywhere, and nowhere are they more valued than in Africa. As a critical organizational asset, knowledge workers need to be equipped, largely through technology, with the timely and relevant information necessary to make better informed decisions. Zuboff (1989) describes the new role of technology to act as an 'informating' agent rather than an automating agent.

Technical tools that support the informing process require substantial financial, capacity building, and organizational development investments. Necessary infrastructure includes computers and networking facilities. These technologies should be thought of as enabling technologies which will empower knowledge workers.

As described earlier, all occupational groups within an organization should contribute to the development of an institution's memory base. However, with increasing retrenchment common to many organizations, reduced workforces, and increasing workloads, any commitment to institutional documentation is often thought to be a low priority on the institutional agenda. However, some organizations have maintained a commitment to the development of an institutional memory base at a modest workload cost through the use of appropriate technology.

As is the case with several developing countries in Africa, Zimbabwe has a variety of institutions with up-to-date networked computer technology. However, although systems are networked, these are used primarily for simple tasks such as file and printer sharing. In fact, there are number of other functions that could be supported by these networks in order to promote institutional learning.

For example, an on-line institutional database cataloguing institutional assets could be used as a vehicle to inventory capacity and resources. In addition to acting as a resource, the process of implementing the knowledge base provides for a variety of learning opportunities. Second, the analysis and exchange of institutional experience and knowledge can be created through the design of templates or forms that provide strict formats for information assets, facilities for converting emails and documents into knowledge base ready assets, programmed retrieval systems for detailing information in a spreadsheet or other forms, and integrated email systems linked to automated services for documentation retrieval. Third, a beneficial knowledge base can be created on a platform of the collective knowledge found in electronic mail libraries. This can be viewed as a component of the institutional memory and evidence of historical processes. If all business-related e-mail was stored on a central server, then it could be categorized, indexed and integrated with a search facility. This approach has been traditionally utilized in customer service facilities in order to create a knowledge base of queries directed to that specific department. Finally, technology can also play a large role in capacity building and training. Institutions can develop and offer context-specific training programs by using job profiles developed by staff in those positions. Computer Based Training (CBT) employing multimedia can cater to various learning needs, patterns and preferences.

These tools and approaches must be based on both form and approach. A well designed intranet can do justice to most if not all of them by using a web browser interface to facilitate access to the organization's computer resources. The intranet can provide centralized or decentralized information brokering models for both content creation and dissemination, as well as combine internal information with that gleaned from the web. The intranet can incorporate the knowledge base and training components and present all of the data and processes through a single interface. Intranet facilities can also provide facilities for generative dialogue through discussion lists and online forums that allow for anonymity as well as for authentication.

These technical tools are only described as complementary to the non-technical tools and methods described earlier. Without incorporating workflow that embraces learning opportunities, the technology will not be effective in promoting lifelong learning.

RURAL / URBAN DIFFERENCES

In developing countries, urban and rural environments differ immensely. While most of the methods and practices mentioned above are primarily applicable to urban settings, it is important to emphasize that any methods and practices, mentioned here or not, if applied to the rural setting, must take into account the prevalence and role of traditional values and knowledge.

Although often pushed to the periphery, or even ignored, by science-dominated, paper-based western countries, systems of traditional knowledge in developing countries are particularly effective in holding societies together and supporting a variety of lifelong learning practices. Traditional story telling, by elders to youths, which often articulates history and wisdom, is analogous to mentoring and coaching practices in learning organizations. Collaborative decision making and broad consultation are other forms of indigenous behaviour that are analogous to western concepts associated with effective learning organizations.

In addition to traditional knowledge systems, rural "appropriate" technologies are often not well understood or fully appreciated by western society. The result has been that these technologies, often highly appropriate for rural setting, are not well shared among communities in developing countries. Recently, though, there has been a wider recognition of and support for the value of endogenous technologies. The most obvious areas of interest include medicine, pharmacology as well as sustainable agriculture and land use. With increased legitimacy and recognition, there are greater opportunities for institutions in developing countries to embrace their own appropriate technologies, as well as share these and benefit from examples found elsewhere through increased networking opportunities.

Institutions that provide service to rural people often do not take into account the capacity for stakeholders to contribute to the development and decision making process. In particular, rural women are often marginalized from community decision making, even though many or even most "developmental" issues have a direct effect on them. As Jacobs (1996) notes, rural women [in particular] possess a rich cultural heritage, which they cannot easily transfer to their school-going children because

schools are western-centered and do not value or facilitate this transfer. In effect, substantial community knowledge is lost and lifelong learning opportunities foregone. These institutions do not develop confidence, leadership, coaching, or mentoring skills in women, and in fact it is most likely that they interrupt what was once a natural process deeply embedded within rural culture. The process of legitimizing rural capacity and transforming values and processes in rural institutions to facilitate the [re] development of learning communities will be a long and challenging one.

CASE STUDY IN LIFELONG LEARNING

CAMPFIRE is the acronym for Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources, a program designed to assist rural African communities manage wild-life and natural resources in a sustainable manner for community betterment. The program is based on two fundamental principles: providing communities with access to and responsibility for a natural resource base; and working with and strengthening community governance at a very basic level. CAMPFIRE programming most often includes activities such as trophy hunting concessions; forestry and forest product harvesting; eco-tourism; and live animal sales.

CAMPFIRE is an instructive example of lifelong learning activities in practice within Africa. Participants in CAMPFIRE programming are by definition and activity lifelong learners; the organizations which give life to CAMPFIRE programming demonstrate many of the institutional lifelong learning traits discussed earlier in this paper; more than one major NGO is using CAMPFIRE activities as a target for the development and implementation of learning programs; and various CAMPFIRE communities (or communal areas) are discovering the benefits associated with participation learning networks. Added to this is the specific targeting of CAMPFIRE and related NGO activities to local governance at a very basic level.

Local CAMPFIRE committees, working in liaison with community-based local government authorities, plan and implement income generating activities most often in the forestry and tourism areas noted above. Profits from these activities are in most cases directed towards the development of community-driven infrastructure projects including the building of schools, cattle and sheep dips, and road improvements. However, in order to effectively participate in the planning and management of CAMPFIRE programs, community members must have accounting, marketing, monitoring and advocacy skills.

Participants in these programs are most often adults, many of whom do not have formal or informal education or experience in project administration. The World Wildlife Fund in Zimbabwe, an NGO with credibility and commitment to basic level community institutions, has been using lifelong learning as a tool to develop and employ institutional strengthening materials and action-learning tools in this context.

The CAMPFIRE game has become one of the best known tools for this purpose. Created by World Wildlife Fund, the game is loosely based on the board game MONOPOLY. However, instead of the streets which characterize MONOPOLY, there are "properties" with the names of districts and wards. Participants move around the

board buying wards and deciding whether or not to develop each ward's tourism potential by building safari camps or hotels. As in MONOPOLY, each player participates in a variety of financial exchanges either paying or receiving money.

Whereas for many people in the developed world the notion of buying and selling property and assets is as common as reading a daily newspaper or listening to world news, accounting and finance, even at a very simplistic level, is quite foreign to a rural, African communities where cashless transactions, communal living and an oral tradition represent the long established norm. In this game, however, each player quickly learns to keep a cash-book, issue receipts and write payment vouchers. Additional skills build on this platform, and though the game is hardly a panacea for formal management training, it is a first and critical step in the development of skills which allow the community to participate more fully in the game of life. Important to stress is that the organization and implementation of CAMPFIRE, and the game, focuses on the local level of community development and governance. Only when the community is ready for the program, and only when the community is able to implement the programming directly, do the NGOs and other organizations working with the community put the resources in place.

During training exercises with the CAMPFIRE game, participants are asked to develop their own community-based operating manuals for the playing of the game. This encourages the development of an appreciation for institutional memory, documentation of policies and practices, and basic literacy skills. As well, people learn that "rules" (read policies and practices) are simply what people want them to be. Communities learn that policies and practices from "outside" or "above" are often arbitrary, and not necessarily representative of community needs or goals.

The CAMPFIRE game is also geared to develop skills in simulation and cost/benefit analysis which are essential for enhancing long term planning skills. For example, participants familiar with the game may be required to develop strategies to achieve certain goals within a limited time frame. They are then responsible for strategy development, operational frameworks, and budget development before the game begins. This exposes players to the experience of trying to keep to a budget and priorities in a dynamic setting.

The skills acquired through the use of the CAMPFIRE game are particularly important for effective natural resource management as they strengthen accounting and math skills, and transparency in record keeping, which are critically important to sustainable and equitable community development. Training communities in financial and resource management enables people to take control and manage their finances and resources effectively on their own, as well as to make decisions beneficial to the community as a whole regarding the use of those resources. More generally, tools such as the CAMPFIRE game provide learning opportunities that cater to and encourage adults to acknowledge that the learning process is continual as well as to develop learning processes within local community-based organizations.

CONCLUSION

The institutional environment in developing countries incorporates many barriers that impede the development of a lifelong learning culture at the individual and institutional

levels. Nevertheless, the principles, practices and benefits of lifelong learning are more visible than ever before, and can be used to strengthen institutional capacity that responds to the effects of increasing globalization and ongoing socio-economic challenges in developing countries.

Embracing institutional lifelong learning as an essential element for increasing institutional effectiveness requires commitment to the development of a learning culture; institutions of all stripes must become learning organizations. The transformation toward collaboration from command-oriented structures, as well as entrusting and empowering people with information and an ethic of critical assessment and continual improvement, will not always be embraced by those currently wield the power. Machiavelli (1988) wrote that there is nothing more difficult to carry out, more doubtful of success, nor more dangerous to handle than to initiate a new order of things". And, "the reformer has enemies in all those who profit by the old order, and only luke-warm defenders among those who would profit by the new order."

Whether the context is knowledge workers on the cutting edge of new technology, or rural communities steeped in centuries of tradition, it is fundamentally important that stakeholder involvement and grassroots participation be central to the change paradigm. In order to promote a learning culture, tools must be accompanied by champions, mentors and coaches who reside within the institutions. Learning organization are not created or designed through a top-down process. Instead, the architecture must reflect a collaborative learning culture.

A lifelong learning culture can be beneficially embraced by individuals, societies and institutions in both the developing and developed worlds as a means of increasing participation, effectiveness and well being. Particularly within the African context, lifelong learning is the means for survival.

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Chapter 9: Learning in the Third Age

LESLIE DALE

INTRODUCTION

Third Age learners are at the end of the lifelong learning spectrum but most educators appear to see them as beyond the end, invisible and no longer their responsibility. Yet they are living examples of the effectiveness or otherwise of the education systems that influenced them. Their attitudes towards education can be used to assess how well the principles of lifelong learning have been translated into practice.

This chapter is about Third Age learners, their interests, needs and aspirations. Evidence is presented to show that Third Age learning does not fit comfortably with the formal education policies and practices of many countries. The need for serious consideration, consistent with the principles of lifelong learning, to be given to the learning needs of the Third Age population will be demonstrated.

A NEW VOICE IN SOCIETY

Growing numbers

Population ageing has been well documented and continues to be a matter of concern to governments. Most countries in the world are affected by it, particularly in those developed countries where population control has been effective for many years. The trend is projected to increase (Brink 1997).

In Europe, North America and Australia between eight and nine percent of the population were aged 65 and over in 1950. By 1990 the percentages had increased to 13.4% in Europe, 12.5% in North America and 10.9% in Australia (United Nations 1993).

This growth is continuing. In the United Kingdom in 1995, 18.2% of the population was over pensionable age (65 for men, 60 for women). By 2010, 23% of the European population is expected to be over 60 (Age Concern 1999). In Australia, the proportion of Australians aged 65 and over is expected to increase from 12% in 1991 to 13.8% in 2011, 17.3% in 2021 and 20.3% in 3031 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1996).

Political involvement

Of significance to politicians who want to stay in power is the proportion of older voters rather than the proportions of older people. In the United Kingdom in 1990, 34%

of the voters were over 55 with an increase to 41% expected by 2020. Comparable figures for other European countries are Germany 32% to 45%, Italy 33% to 44%, and France 32% to 40% (Wilson 1993).

The political involvement of older people in Europe has been documented by Walker who sees it as one of the most important issues confronting the European Union (Walker 1998). He mentions organised pressure groups such as the Grey Panthers in Germany, The National Pensioners Convention in United Kingdom, The C Team in Denmark and the Party of National Solidarity in Portugal. These are only examples of a world wide increase in interest being shown by older people in the political process.

Walker points out that the increasing involvement of older people in the political process makes it desirable that governments involve older people in all policy making likely to affect their welfare and well-being (Walker 1998).

Demands on health services

Australia, with a population that is relatively young by world standards, provides an example of the challenge facing governments in relation to management of health services.

The Australian population has been ageing comparatively quickly in recent years, particularly in the growth of numbers of people 80 years old and over. Canada and Japan have similar increases (Gibson 1998). In her publication *Aged Care*, Gibson has raised issues of management of the increase in numbers and the need for appropriate changes to policies and practice.

The concern about increasing demands on health services, at a time when the proportion of workers paying tax is decreasing, is very real and has led to increased research into ways that older people might support themselves and maintain their health and independence for as long as possible. Therein lies a paradox since improvements in the health of older people might increase longevity and hence lead to a further increase in numbers.

The potential problem of the cost of population ageing was described early by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development as an impending world wide issue (OECD 1988). The concern that a financial burden will be imposed on society by "unproductive" older people continues, although the assumptions upon which the concern is based may not yet have been analysed fully.

A new group

The world has always had Third Agers, only some of whom persisted in leading active and productive lives after retirement from full-time employment. Most older people in the past apparently have been content to live out their few remaining years peacefully, working in their gardens, playing bowls, and looking after grandchildren. The main responsibility of society and of government was seen to be the provision of support in the form of pensions, health care, senior citizens clubs and hostels and nursing homes.

Those who were mentally and physically active were considered to be able to look after themselves. The possibility that the older people might want more and might even be of benefit to society if given the opportunity appears to have been given little consideration.

Today the picture that is emerging in many countries is very different. The nature of the older community has changed globally due to changing work patterns, longer life expectancies and better financial security. Numbers have grown so rapidly, at a time when population controls are limiting numbers of births, that older people are now a significant proportion of the population and this proportion is still expanding. In the following sections it is shown that many modern Third Agers are achievers who are still mentally alert and physically active and they are dissatisfied with the options now available to them. Many are fitter both mentally and physically than previous generations of older people, with an expectation of many years of active life ahead. Many are looking for opportunities to continue learning and to keep their minds and their bodies active.

THIRD AGE LEARNING ORGANISATIONS

In response to the demand for a wider range of learning opportunities for older people, many new organisations have appeared in recent years in many countries. In Europe, the United States, Canada, South America, United Kingdom, China, Japan, the Middle East, South East Asia and Australia there are now many ways in which older people can attend organised learning programs. Many of these programs are offered by universities, particularly during the summer when the campuses are free of their normal student load. Others are run by small community groups, churches, art and literary groups and other kinds of associations. Some are supported by government, others by universities or colleges, while others are run partly or wholly by volunteers in whatever accommodation they can find.

The number of organisations now offering Third Age learning, or interested in its development, is such that it would be impossible to list them in a publication of this type. A selection of such groups is described below. Additional details are supplied on some aspects of Australian organisations.

Elderhostel

The Elderhostel movement in North America is a good example of an organisation which has grown internationally, far beyond the expectations of its originators. Elderhostel was founded at the University of New Hampshire in 1975 with the goal to provide learning experiences for people over 60 (McCullough-Brabson 1995). "Elderhostel is for people on the move who believe learning is a lifelong process. ... Elderhostel is a non-profit organisation providing educational adventures all over the world to adults aged 55 and over." (Elderhostel 1999).

In the summer of 1975 five colleges and universities in New Hampshire offered programs and 220 "hostelers" participated. Five years later, Elderhostel programs were

being offered in all fifty States in USA and in most Canadian provinces. In 1998, more than 270,000 hostellers participated in over 10,000 Elderhostel programs in approximately 70 countries (Elderhostel 1999).

Elderhostel programs are for travellers to new destinations with instruction and all meals and accommodation provided. A typical program extends over one week, with three to four hours of instruction each day, as well as field trips and social activities. The maximum group size is fifty and the cost averages US\$390 per person. International programs provide more extended tours, and service programs enable the hostellers to participate in such activities as archaeology and conservation. Other special activities are also run, such as intensive study and programs requiring the use of off-the-road four-wheel drive vehicles.

The Elderhostel movement is funded by tuition fees which are kept low to encourage participation, and by charitable gifts. All members are encouraged to contribute to the latter.

Pre-dating the Elderhostel organisation, but now part of it, are independent Institutes for Learning in Retirement (ILRs). The first of these was the Institute for Retired Professionals at the New School for Social Research in New York City. It commenced operation in 1962. Each ILR is affiliated with a college or university and its mission is "to serve adults in the local community by offering a non-credit academic program geared to their interests and talents". An Institute is a centre "for intellectual and social activity which welcomes older adults into the life of the college or university" (Elderhostel 1999). The main features of ILRs are sponsorship by a college or university, a community basis with open membership, no academic pre-requisites, courses designed, conducted and attended by their own members who are friends, co-volunteers and classmates and who offer voluntary services to the community and to the sponsoring organisation.

The Institutes for Learning in Retirement now form part of the Elderhostel Institute Network (EIN) which is a voluntary association of over 220 independent ILRs in USA, Canada and Bermuda. They are increasing in number at the rate of about 25 ILRs per year and, in 1998, had over 52,000 members running 3000 courses per term (Elderhostel 1999). An Australasian version of the Elderhostel movement, which runs some programs in conjunction with Elderhostel, is the Australian and New Zealand College for Seniors, based at the University of Wollongong (Swindell 1991).

University of the Third Age

Another fast growing Third Age learning organisation is the University of the Third Age. The first University of the Third Age was L'Universite du Troisieme Age which was formed at the University of Toulouse in 1972. The purpose was to improve the quality of life for older people through the use of university facilities and staff, providing study tours, cultural events and leisure activities. The movement spread rapidly through France into Belgium, Spain, Italy and Poland by 1974 (Fieldhouse

1996). (The acronym UTA is used for continental Universities of the Third Age. The term U3A was introduced for the modified British model.)

The first British U3A was formed in Cambridge in 1981, following guidelines set up by Dr Peter Laslett of Trinity College (Laslett 1989). The Cambridge model gave British U3As a different orientation, setting them up as self-help organisations independent of university or college support. All U3A members participated by teaching, learning and assisting with planning and administration. They decided what courses they wanted to do and selected tutors for those courses from among their own members. Each U3A was autonomous. There were no course fees, no entry requirements to courses, no assessment of achievement and no academic or professional qualifications were gained.

The number of U3As in the United Kingdom increased rapidly and an umbrella organisation, the Third Age Trust, was formed in 1983. The aim of the trust is "to promote learning, research and community service among Third Agers everywhere" (Third Age Trust 1999). It encourages the formation of new U3A groups and organises subject matter networks. By 1999, the Trust had over 360 U3As with over 75,000 members (Third Age Trust 1999).

The University of the Third Age movement spread rapidly to countries as far afield as China, Australia and Argentina (Swindell and Thomson 1995) and continues to grow.

Most of the continental European UTAs are based in and sponsored by a university. These UTAs are University based groups, using University staff and facilities mainly in vacation times in a form of university extension operation. The development of a relatively independently operating group of program providers (U3As) run by volunteers, with no entry requirements or awards given emerged in the United Kingdom. In North America there are two comparable sets of organisations although, in this case, they developed independently with Elderhostels commencing later than the Institutes for Learning in Retirement.

U3As in Australia

In Australia, the U3A movement began with a small public meeting in Melbourne in August 1984 which resulted in three U3As commencing operation early in 1985 (Picton 1985). The rate of growth since that date has been rapid, particularly in Victoria, the Australian U3A State of origin. The movement spread rapidly through Australia and to New Zealand so that by 1999 there were approximately 176 independent and autonomous U3As in Australasia with a membership approaching 43,000. Currently there are over 60 U3As in Victoria alone, with some 13,000 members participating in over 100 different kinds of courses (U3A Network 1999). This growth has occurred without promotion of the concept other than by word of mouth (McDonnell and Dale 1998).

The Australian U3As have followed the British model in that each is autonomous and has adopted a similar voluntary, self-help approach. All members contribute to decision making about what courses should be run, how they should be conducted and

by whom, and how the organisation should be managed. Courses are many and varied and usually have a learning or a physical activity component. They are designed "to provide ... programs of learning activities – and the social contacts arising from such programs – which will give stimulation and development to their lives" (McDonnell 1998a).

There are no course fees charged in U3As and membership fees are normally in the range of \$20 to \$30 a year. In Victorian U3As, membership gives an entitlement to attend as many courses as a member may wish. Members are also welcome to attend courses in other U3As, without the requirement for a further membership fee to be paid.

Lifelong learning in two Asian countries

Many Asian countries are also active in their acceptance and promotion of lifelong learning for Third Agers. Two are mentioned here in order to provide a comparison with Western countries in respect to the provision of learning opportunities for older citizens.

In Japan, lifelong learning has always been associated with those activities "undertaken for pleasure, mainly by housewives and retired people" (Sawano 1997) and many opportunities exist for older people to participate. This is an interesting contrast to what has happened in Western countries where the principles of lifelong learning have been applied in schools, colleges, universities and other institutions of formal learning. The problem in Japan is how to introduce new lifelong learning principles into formal education, introducing a more humanitarian approach which treats the learners as "sensitive human beings" and makes their learning activities more enjoyable (Chukyoshin 1996).

In China, consideration for the welfare of older people has always been a concern of the people in general. Wu and Ye, reporting on lifelong learning in the People's Republic of China, state "there is increasing recognition that lifelong learning perpetuates a long term, overall increased quality of life" (Wu and Ye 1997, p 349).

In 1998 there were over 120 million Chinese aged 60 and over and "the majority ... long to learn new things" (Yu 1998 p 65). Learning opportunities are provided by special universities for the aged which were initiated in 1983. By 1996 there were some eight thousand universities or schools of various sorts across China providing appropriate programs for older people. Over 690,000 students were in attendance (Yu 1998). Yu goes on to report that these people benefit by renewing their knowledge, increasing their proximity with society and enhancing the quality of their lives. The result is that "their spirits got heightened" and "over 60% of the aged people are re-employed or find certain things to do" (p 66).

International organisations

While the Elderhostel and U3A movements and the attention given to Third Age learning in China and Japan are worthy of special mention they are only part of a

world-wide development in provision of learning opportunities for older people. Many other organisations are making such provision in many countries.

Most of the European UTAs are loosely linked through the Association International of Universities of the Third Age (AIUTA). Its main function is to run international congresses to spread ideas on successful activities and to provide stimulation and positive reinforcement for those participating. These are held biennially. In 1998 one was held in Germany with 460 delegates from 31 countries attending (McDonell 1999).

Others links are provided through the TALIS (Third Age Learning International Studies) network which is a non-profit organisation incorporated in France, involving individuals from Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, The Netherlands, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Norway, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom and USA. The main activity of TALIS is to run an annual research seminar, the proceedings of which are published in TALIS, the bulletin of the TALIS network.

Yet another organisation with an international role is the European Network "Learning in Later Life" (LiLL) which was founded in Ulm, Germany, in 1995. LiLL is "an amalgamation of university-level institutions of continuing education for the third age and other institutions from 18 European countries" (Learning in Later Life 1999). The coordination office for the network is run by the Centre of General Academic Continuing Education (ZAWiW) at the University of Ulm. In the space of three years LiLL has attracted the attention of many Third Age organisations and is establishing a large electronic information system in English, German, French and Spanish. Current emphasis is on the use of the Internet to improve communication among people interested in lifelong learning

Finally, another organisation worthy of mention is the International Council of Adult Education (ICAE) which was formed in Canada in 1973 to facilitate the networking process by establishing a global network of organisations involved in adult learning and older people. The Asia South Pacific Bureau of Adult Education (ASPBAE) has accepted responsibility for part of this network and has appointed Adult Learning Australia (ALA) – formerly the Australian Association for Adult and Community Education (AAACE) – to create a network in the Asia and South Pacific region. A current ALA project is OPAL (Older People and Adult Learning) and its purpose is to promote adult learning for older people in the Asia-Pacific Region. Current membership of ICAE comprises 106 regional and national member associations in 85 countries (International Council of Adult Education 1999).

The Third Age learning movement

While many of the Third Age learning organisations involved in the movements described above began in association with formal education institutions, universities and colleges in particular, the picture emerging is one of a new movement driven by the interests, motivations and efforts of the Third Agers who are participating. In the case of the U3A movement, it found its own feet in the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand only after separating from what were seen to

be limitations due to close association with sponsoring universities. In the case of the Chinese and Japanese people, the provision of learning experiences for older citizens appears to stem largely from the high regard for those citizens held by society in general and partly from initiatives taken by non-education social and community organisations.

The role of the older learners themselves in establishing and running their own learning organisations is of interest and fits with an image of healthy and active people who know what they want and are willing to work to achieve it.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THIRD AGE LEARNERS

The need for more research

Education researchers are only beginning to think seriously about Third Age learners and have some distance to go before the motivations and needs of this group will be fully understood. Most studies of older people have been carried out by demographers, sociologists, medical researchers and gerontologists. Certainly, relatively few education researchers have shown an interest in what adult education has to offer to Third Agers.

In Australia, an assessment of the research literature on women and ageing found extensive research, 440 items in 18 broad areas of significance (Feldman 1995). However, other researchers drew attention to the fact that not one of the 440 papers was about the education of older people (Hurworth and Crombie 1995).

One problem with much of the research reported is the quality of the data, particularly where researchers have depended upon data collected by government bodies. In Australia, for example, learning opportunities for Third Agers are offered mainly by community providers. They cater for around 70% of all adults participating in adult education, 74% of whom are women (NCVER 1999). The National Centre for Vocational Education Research is the main body reporting on Adult Community Education and its data refers only to those community providers registered as such in order to receive government grants. Information on what is happening with many other community providers, including some U3As and program providers such as art galleries, churches and community societies and clubs, is not included.

Consequently, there is a wide open field for research into what drives Third Age learners, what benefits they gain personally, their development potential and what benefits they can give to the societies in which they live (Schuller and Bostyn 1992).

Third Age Learners

Much of the adult education provision throughout the world, particularly in developing countries, is directed towards the basic educational needs of the population.

Included are such aspects as adult numeracy and literacy, entry qualifications to enable study at formal education institutions, vocational training to make employment or change in the nature of employment possible and on the job training for the employed (Hatton 1997).

While some of these aspects of formal learning remain of interest to some Third Agers, in general they look for other opportunities to learn. Studies of participation rates show that a very low percentage of older people participate in formal educational activities. Most of those that do participate are women. For instance, the Carnegie Inquiry into the Third Age population of 14 million in Britain found that only 5% were enrolled in adult education courses. Of this 5%, 5% were men taking vocational courses and 11% were women taking vocational courses (Banks 1992). The rest were taking non-vocational or leisure type courses.

By comparison, in Australia the desire of Third Agers to participate in educational activities in Australia was examined by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (Population Survey Monitor 1995). Participation rates in adult education and training increased with income, occupational status and previous educational attainment. This suggests that Third Age learners may be predominantly people who appreciate the value of learning and of lifelong learning, and tend to be people with higher than average income and educational qualifications.

There is limited research on Third Age learners in Australia but some indication of their characteristics can be gained by examination of work done by Hawthorn U3A, one of the larger U3As in the Melbourne metropolitan area. Hawthorn draws on suburbs of relatively high socio-economic status but the findings of their studies appear to reflect the characteristics of Victorian U3As generally (Dale 1999a).

Hawthorn U3A has monitored its own development and has produced three research reports, in 1988, 1993 and 1997. One study examined the characteristics of its members (Hawthorn U3A 1997). Membership in 1996 was 923, comprising 78.4% women; 23% had been members for over five years; 56% were enrolled in more than one course run concurrently. Ages ranged from below 54 (2.0%) to over 85 (5.3%) with a median age of 71 years. Seventy percent were born in Australia, the remainder having been born in 34 other countries. Years of formal education were generally high with 18.1% having up to ten years and 56.1% more than 12 years. An examination of previous occupations of members revealed that few (2.8%) had been manual workers although many (22.4%) had been in clerical or secretarial positions. There were high percentages of teachers, researchers and academics (23.5%), people employed in business and commerce (18.8%) and in health related activities (19%).

Thus, the Hawthorn experience is that there are sufficient numbers of people of lower income, lower occupational status and lower educational attainment attending U3As to indicate that many more Third Agers could participate and benefit, given the opportunity.

The evidence examined suggests that Third Agers may have a different set of motivations for learning. With retirement comes the loss of ability to earn income through full time employment and this may result in a loss of incentive to take accredited courses in formal education settings in order to gain further qualifications.

BENEFITS PERCEIVED

The European Older Students' Research Group investigated 4461 older students in Belgium, France, Germany and the United Kingdom, who were studying in universities, U3As, local colleges and adult education providers. Their reasons for continuing to learn were consistently similar, expressed in terms of a need to keep their minds active, to pursue new interests and for personal development (Clennell 1990 1994).

Hawthorn U3A, with over 600 members and offering over 80 courses in 1992, reported on members' perceptions of benefits they had gained. In order of frequency of mention, respondents included enjoyment, entertainment and stimulation (33.5%); knowledge gained (26%), and benefit from meeting people (22%). Eleven percent referred to widening horizons and 6.5% mentioned making new friends (Hawthorn U3A 1993).

Hurworth (1995) reported on the findings of the Active Seniors Project study which involved older people who were attending various kinds of learning programs. The benefits they perceived were social contacts gained, keeping up-to-date, less pressure than in earlier education, personal development, life skills gained, improved quality of life, power gained from participation in the learning group, keeping the brain active and improved health.

The people who are participating in and benefiting from both Elderhostel and U3A activities give similar answers when surveyed. They talk about their pleasure in learning in areas they had previously not experienced or have been unable to access. They refer to the need to keep active in both body and mind and how much they have gained from participating in certain activities. Above all, they talk about how much more interesting and rewarding life has become, how many friends they have made and how much better they feel about themselves and life in general.

Health and Well-Being

Health researchers have carried out a considerable number of investigations into health problems of older people and ways of treating the major life threatening conditions, and the medical profession has had substantial success in the implementation of new treatments. A relatively new applied field of investigation, however, is into factors affecting lifestyles of older people, particularly those contributing to the adoption of a positive approach to ageing

Schuller, for example, referred to a mass of anecdotal evidence about the effect of education on physical and psychological well-being and made a plea for carefully designed case studies to be carried out to substantiate such evidence (Schuller 1993).

An issue of immediate importance to health service providers and to governments financing that provision is the possibility that promotion of positive ageing might reduce the demand on health services. While most attention by gerontologists and institutes established to study the ageing processes is still focussed on disabling and life threatening conditions, awareness of the potential benefits of positive, healthy lifestyles of older people is increasing. In Victoria, a comprehensive, 580-page report on

Positive Ageing was produced at the end of 1997 after a year of intensive consultation with interested organisations and individuals (Family and Community Development Committee 1997). The report states that "participation in social, leisure and physical activities are positively related to higher levels of health, self-esteem and life satisfaction" (p xviii). Later in the report, the Committee states that "financial resources spent on promoting a healthy ageing approach not only improve the health of the community but can also reduce the health costs associated with caring for older Victorians" (p 197).

Some evidence supporting this assertion comes from a Hawthorn U3A study of its members in 1992. They found that 60% of the members rated their health as very good or excellent and 97% rated their health as good or very good or excellent (Hawthorn U3A 1993).

Support for a link between Third Age learning and well-being comes from an examination of studies into mental functioning, including memory and cognition. These studies led to the conclusion that it is possible that healthy individuals who keep their brains active will show little or no loss of intellectual abilities even into their eighties and beyond (Schaie and Willis 1991).

Further support comes from an Australian study which found that older people wanting to study in formal settings rated computer courses as the kind of courses they most wanted to do (Hurworth 1995). Since then, the demand for computer courses in U3As in Australia has increased to the point where one of the biggest problems faced and expressed by U3A administrators is how to cope with that demand (U3A Network 1998).

OECD has examined the connection between learning and health and has reported that non-vocational and personal enrichment programs contribute both to performance and productivity and to general physical and mental health (OECD 1996 p 154).

While more evidence is needed, there is now a widespread belief that health benefits are gained by keeping both mind and body active.

Quality of life

Two early studies reported on benefits perceived by Elderhostel course participants (Brady 1983, Kinney 1989). A wide range of benefits was reported with a general emphasis on personal benefits as individuals, people wanting to continue to maintain quality of life and personal well-being. Frequent mention was made of benefits such as intellectual stimulation, an opportunity to learn about new things, meeting new and interesting people, keeping up-to-date, enjoyment from learning, new friends, sharing experiences with others, increase in confidence and self-esteem. These benefits are broader than an improvement in physical health, as they embrace both mental and psychological aspects.

An Australian study looked at both the personal and wider contexts and obtained very similar responses to the above but with an added dimension. Participants experienced feelings of strength and a sense of power gained by the mutual support and group solidarity in the learning environment (Hurworth 1995).

A more recent Australian study found that adults taking adult education courses gain a great deal of satisfaction from what they do. The proportion taking accredited courses that lead to increased opportunities for employment or to access to further courses of study was low and relatively few moved on to some form of further study. Participants in those courses stated that they were studying to improve their chances of employment. Many also spoke about a desire to enrich their personal lives.

Those not taking accredited courses, 90% of all participants in the study, gave their reasons for being there as seeking to achieve dignity and feelings of self-worth. They spoke of the need to be able to study at their own pace, at times that were suitable to them. An overall requirement was that they wanted to do things they enjoyed doing (Teese 1999).

From these findings a picture of the Third Age learner emerges – someone who knows what he/she wants, who is aware of potential benefits to mind and body due to participation in learning activities, and who will participate enthusiastically under the right conditions. An overall consideration is that the learner must enjoy the activities in which he or she participates. The net result expected is an improvement in quality of life.

PROBLEMS IN PROVISION OF APPROPRIATE LEARNING ACTIVITIES

The kinds of learning activities that should be offered to older people have received sporadic and disjointed attention by researchers. Fields of investigation have tended to concentrate on what can be offered to adult learners by formal educational institutions. Areas investigated include the needs of people who were born in other countries, particularly those from non-English speaking countries, needs associated with major life transition periods, the needs of women, and training in basic skills as preparation for work, including voluntary work. The results of those studies offer little to those seeking guidance on what kinds of program should be offered to Third Age learners.

A study carried out on behalf of the Adult, Community and Further Education Board in Victoria, Australia found that adult education providers often do not know what kinds of programs to provide for older learners (Hurworth 1995). Another study in Maine, USA, also reported that little is known about how educators view the learning needs of elders who live in their communities (Brady, French and Peck 1989). Indeed, Laslett, the father of the Cambridge U3A model, frequently refers to the tendency for Second Age educators to pontificate on rather than conduct research into what is best for Third Age people.

Problems in formal settings

The world wide movement to provide education opportunities for older people began in the early 1960s with the establishment of the first Institutes for Learning in Retirement (ILRs). It developed in the 1970s (U3A 1972, Elderhostel 1975) as a form of university extension provision to meet a need expressed by the intended beneficiaries.

While older people appear to have been involved in planning and implementation of the programs offered, management remained in the hands of the sponsoring institutions. This had the distinct advantage of providing suitable accommodation for the classes, continuity of management, ready availability of academic tutors and equipment, and provision of necessary funds to run the activities. However, the range of courses available was limited to what the sponsoring institution was able to provide, a small selection of what was offered to other students.

Formal education providers for Third Age learners include universities and colleges of advanced education, colleges of technology, and adult education providers. In those institutions emphasis is generally on entry qualifications, achievement of specific knowledge, assessment of progress, and opening up of pathways to further learning or employment much of which is irrelevant to the Third Age learner. Barriers that restrict opportunities to study in formal courses have been described by many researchers, including Martindale and Drake (1989), Kolland (1994), Versen (1986), Bornat (1993), Riggs and Mott (1993), and Evans (1995). They point to a discontinuity between the offerings of formal educational institutions and the goals of Third Age learners and offer some explanation for why continuing or adult education courses offered by such institutions, while of interest to older learners, often attract relatively few.

Problems associated with the programs offered to Third Age learners, the learning environment and the cost of taking a formal course will be discussed briefly below.

Programs offered

A study conducted in USA found that the two main reasons why older adults did not participate in traditional educational activities were a negative self image and, for those who were motivated, lack of interest in the courses offered (Peroto 1990).

Other reasons for reluctance to participate do not appear to have been documented but there is ample anecdotal evidence.

After selection of a course that appears to be of interest, the first barrier appears to be that of course entry requirements. Lack of flexibility in considering past achievements of older people can be frustrating and discouraging.

Further frustration can occur after examination of course objectives, content and conditions. Few institutions are prepared to modify objectives and conditions set for young students preparing for employment and careers for the sake of the needs of potential older students.

Assessment requirements can offer a further disincentive. Some older students want the associated qualification and are content to accept the assessment requirements but many more want to take courses for the experience and enjoyment of learning itself. To them, formal assessment is irrelevant.

For institutions serious about attracting Third Age learners, one of the most obvious areas for attention is the nature of the programs offered. Successful completion of a formal course is usually measured in terms of knowledge and skills gained and access opened to further study or employment. Such criteria are incidental to the main objectives

of Third Age learners who measure their success according to how much better they feel about themselves, how many new friends they have made and how worthwhile the activity has been to them as individuals (Hawthorn U3A 1993).

Course development for Third Age learners requires consultation with a representative group of older people, trial in a setting involving older people and evaluation by potential course participants. Once developed, the course should be presented flexibly, varying content and pace to suit the individual group concerned, modifying the approach and even course content to suit the needs of the particular class group. Furthermore, the friendliness of the class setting and the level of enjoyment of class members should be a prime consideration.

Affective objectives may be included in formal course curricula in traditional tertiary institutions but assessment of their achievement is seldom mentioned. Their achievement in Third Age learning activities is paramount.

On reflection, most educators would agree that in any learning environment concerned with the values of lifelong learning the omission of affective objectives is a serious oversight. Second Agers must have knowledge and skills and associated formal qualifications in order to gain employment, to earn money to enable them to live comfortably, to raise their children and educate them. They also need to develop a love of learning, an interest in continuing to learn and an appreciation of the value of learning. A commitment to lifelong learning requires achievement of affective objectives involving personal satisfaction with the learning process, not so different from the outcomes cherished by Third Age learners. This is a lesson yet to be learned by those formal course developers who declare their commitment to lifelong learning objectives with no intention of designing activities to achieve affective objectives or measuring the extent to which they may have been achieved.

The learning environment

The environment in which formal courses are offered varies a great deal but, in general, includes a large building with stairs, many rooms and people moving to a planned and complicated program of lecture and tutorial timetables. Most older people prefer a more comfortable and relaxed environment.

The nature of the student body can also provide disincentive. Sociologists tend to argue that older people should become as integrated into society as possible, carrying out activities in family and mixed age groupings. Many older people, particularly those more physically active and mentally alert, may agree in principle but set limits in practice. In general, they say that they prefer the company of those of similar age group and of like minds (Dale 1999a).

Cost

A major barrier for many Third Age learners is the cost of formal programs. Most Third Age learners have limited income and no opportunity to increase it so must budget

carefully in order to continue to feel financially secure. The cost barrier for many who might contemplate taking a formal course can be insurmountable. In Victoria, Australia, a reasonably affluent State by world standards, this is certainly the case. A recent study into post-retirement incomes showed that approximately 60% of retirees had annual gross incomes less than A\$30,000 and 72% of over 60s had incomes less than A\$12,000 a year, with women significantly worse off than men (Centre for Stress Management 1996).

An examination of costs of formal courses can be revealing. Current Australian University charges for undergraduate courses are of the order of A\$1000 per subject. Higher degrees or single subjects taken for personal interest usually attract fees that are considerably higher. Typical fees for adult education courses offered by the Council of Adult Education and by community providers in Victoria vary from around A\$15 to A\$30 per session of one and a half to two hours, most being around A\$20 a session. Over a full year a single sequence of such courses would cost the student around A\$700. By comparison, in most U3As the cost is between A\$20 and A\$30 for a full year irrespective of the number of courses taken. No course fees are charged. On the average, U3A members take two courses simultaneously, each for a full year.

Even institutions established for the purpose of provision of adult education to the community, for example education providers in Australia providing courses under the aegis of Adult, Community and Further Education (ACFE), have difficulty in attracting older learners. Only one in ten of adults attending such classes in Victoria take formal courses and only one in three of those taking formal courses continue with further study (Teese 1999). Many ACFE courses are designed with formal entry requirements and classroom organisation, and assessment of achievement with pathways to employment or further study in mind (ACFE Board 1997).

Current practice in many formal education institutions is inconsistent with the needs and aspirations of the majority of Third Age learners.

Problems in non-formal settings

While Third Age learners are showing a strong desire to participate in learning activities, the effective provision of such activities includes aspects which could be limiting actual numbers of participants. Most of the following examples of problems encountered are from Australian U3As, assuming a strong probability that other Third Age learning providers experience comparable difficulties.

McDonell has estimated that approximately 1.5% of retired people in Australia attend U3A courses and suggests that it should be possible to increase this percentage significantly if some of the associated problems could be solved (McDonell 1998b).

In a recent survey of U3As in Australia and New Zealand, administrators cited a shortage of volunteers, both tutors (U3A teachers are known as tutors) and administrators, as the main deterrent to future growth (Swindell 1999).

The emergence of community based, autonomous learning groups in the Institutes for Learning in Retirement in North America and self-help Universities of the Third Age gave Third Age learners the opportunity to develop the groups in a way that

appealed to them. The success of programs such as those offered by ILRs and U3As are largely due to the fact that most of the problems associated with formal courses have been reduced to levels acceptable to the client group. Courses are designed and taught by older people who respond to the needs of their class participants. The atmosphere is friendly, relaxed, non-competitive and encouraging. The goals set are mainly the unexpressed personal goals of those taking part. Their classmates are of a similar age and of like mind. Costs to the participants are comparatively reasonable.

Organisation operating costs

While keeping costs low increases opportunities for Third Agers to take courses, it creates a problem for the organisation offering such courses by limiting income. The fact that U3As are able to operate on very small budgets is due mainly to the fact that no person receives payment for his/her services. All tutors, organisers, administrators and office staff are volunteers. The main costs in most U3As are accommodation rental, equipment and day-to-day running costs and all of these have to be kept as low as possible.

In contrast to other community providers in Victoria, U3A operational costs are minimal. This can be demonstrated by an examination of comparative costs. The system of grants offered by the Adult, Community and Further Education Board to community providers to run approved courses is calculated from an estimate of costs of providing such courses, expressed in terms of Student Contact Hours. In 1998, grants were based on a Student Contact Hour rate of A\$5.01 (Eastern Metropolitan Region of ACFE 1998). That is relatively low for formal education but is high compared with the cost of offering U3A courses. In Manningham U3A in suburban Melbourne, which had 570 members and offered 51 courses most of which extended for the full year, the Student Contact Hour cost in 1998 was approximately 65 cents (Dale 1999).

While U3As are able to operate successfully on such low incomes they cannot pay commercial rates for rental of premises and have difficulty in purchasing basic equipment. A substantial equipment investment, such as setting up a computer training facility, is generally beyond their resources. While the grant money available to them from Adult, Community and Further Education sources is limited, there is usually enough to enable basic office and classroom equipment to be purchased.

It is interesting to note the extent to which individual U3As in Victoria accept the U3A principles of self-help, independence and autonomy. Only 8.6% of the Victorian U3As surveyed saw finance as a major problem (U3A Network 1998).

Accommodation

The biggest problem facing providers of non-formal learning activities and the U3As in particular, is that of accommodation. The U3A Network-Victoria survey in 1998 revealed that 40% of Victorian U3As found accommodation to be a major problem and

a further 16% regarded it as a moderate problem. Inability to pay commercial rents has meant that classes are run in private homes, libraries, church halls, premises of sporting clubs and anywhere else in the community where low cost accommodation can be found. Some local government bodies assist by providing free or low cost accommodation in the community interest but that kind of support is the exception rather than the rule (U3A Network 1998).

Numbers of volunteers

In U3As, dependence on volunteers to carry all teaching and administrative duties creates some problems, particularly in organisations with low membership numbers. The U3A Network survey showed that 14% of Victorian U3As found that finding tutors was a significant problem and 9% had a problem finding enough volunteers to help with management and administration (U3A Network-Victoria 1998).

Accessibility

In order to make courses readily accessible to Third Agers, geographic accessibility is essential. In suburban Melbourne all community providers of adult education are accessible by public transport and most are within five kilometres of their potential course participants. Many older people, particularly those less confident about driving their own cars, are able to attend locally run courses (Dale 1999).

Advances in communication technology are beginning to make it possible for education to be provided directly into the homes of Third Age learners. As more older people become familiar with computer technology they will be able to benefit from courses offered by universities, colleges and adult education organisations which have established virtual campuses and are able to provide access at reasonable rates.

In 1999, the first "U3A Without Walls" was set up in Australia for older people who are isolated by distance or circumstance, such as illness or being a care-giver. Course participants use the Internet to take part in two eight-week pilot courses, Writing Family History and Botany For Knowledge And Enjoyment, developed by U3A course leaders. An evaluation of the project to date suggests that the Internet will become an important medium for providing intellectually stimulating programs for older people everywhere.

LIFELONG LEARNING POLICIES AND THIRD AGERS

In 1972 the UNESCO International Commission on the Development of Education released a report recommending the adoption of lifelong learning as the basis for educational policies in the years to come. The report described the traditional role of education as being too restrictive in its concentration on training the young for anticipated employment and preparing future leaders for the nation (Faure 1972).

Over the following years the principle of lifelong learning was developed by UNESCO and OECD. In 1972, the World Assembly on Ageing, in adopting the Vienna Plan of Action, made a specific plea, in Recommendation 45, for the development of education policies that recognised the right of education for the ageing and the provision of educational programs tailored to their needs (United Nations 1982).

In 1996 OECD warned of significant growth in demand for adult education in coming years and argued that adult community education facilitates individual empowerment, promotes social cohesion and strengthens democratic culture (OECD 1996 p 161).

The work of UNESCO and OECD has led to a general acceptance of the concept of lifelong education and recognition of its value to societies worldwide. Educators and policy makers have adopted the principles and given attention to how their formal education systems might be modified to accommodate them.

One might argue that formal educational institutions have a first responsibility to prepare young people and adults to enable them to obtain gainful employment, pursue a career, educate their children and take their place in society as responsible citizens. Acceptance of that premise implies that any provision of courses for older citizens who have completed their careers and have left the work force, even though they may persist in remaining active in mind and body, is a secondary consideration and one that may well be overlooked in times of economic stringency.

This point of view is supported by an analysis of the content of a recent publication on lifelong learning (Hatton 1997). Its chapters are a selection of descriptions of lifelong learning approaches and philosophies in countries on the Pacific rim which include Asian countries, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Of the 26 papers presented, 18 made no reference to any aspect of Third Age learning, six made incidental or passing reference to it and only two gave it serious consideration.

Attention has been drawn to the tendency of government to fund lifelong learning in the context of labour market training and retraining with the result that funded programs tend to become unavailable to people after their retirement (McDonnell 1998b).

Researchers in many countries have reported disappointment at the lack of attention given to education of older people and many have stated the need for specific policies to be introduced to remedy that situation (Schuller and Bostyn 1992, Thompson 1994, Oussoren 1995).

Difficulties in introducing policies to improve learning opportunities for older people can be illustrated by reference to the Australian experience. In 1988 the principles of lifelong learning were accepted by the Australian government as a guide for the development of education and training policy (Dawkins 1988). Following the release of that policy statement, the principles of lifelong learning were adopted as policy by all government departments and providers of education, in the context of education for employment and training which included general adult education, the sector providing opportunities for Third Age learners.

Three years later, attention was drawn to the relative neglect of the adult and community education sector, describing it as the Cinderella of education provision in Australia (Senate Employment and References Committee 1991). The Senate

committee plea for special consideration for that sector was again not successful in achieving a significant change in policy.

Six years later, a more strongly worded report was released (Senate Employment and References Committee 1997) pointing blame at the Federal government policy makers' conceptualisation of education and training and the way in which they had allocated funding to the various sectors. Emphasis had been placed on preparation for employment, re-training and the creation of a globally competitive work force. Non-vocational courses and the provision of general adult education received only token recognition and nominal funding.

In practice, nothing has changed. The same policies and lack of support for general adult education persist. The need to bridge the gap between the original policy of life-long learning for all and the practice carried out by educational providers is more urgent than ever as the demand for Third Age learning has increased considerably in the intervening years.

This problem is not confined to Australia. It affects Third Agers throughout the world. The European Commission has stated that "if it is to secure its place and future in the world, Europe has to place at least as much emphasis on personal fulfilment of its citizens ... as it has up to now placed on economic and monetary issues" (European Commission 1996 p 11).

Jarvis has drawn attention to the fundamental difference between traditional education practice and Third Age learning. "Third Age learning is non-vocational, is cooperative, aimed at human fulfilment and it is a leisure time pursuit. It is a re-emergence of liberal adult education." (Jarvis 1998 p 28)

Indeed, one might well argue that Third Age learning is exposing a fundamental weakness in the way education has developed during the latter half of the twentieth century. The values of Third Age learners are the values of all individuals, from the First to the Fourth Age. Irrespective of age, people need to feel good about what they do. In addition to earning a living, maintaining a lifestyle and keeping up with the latest developments, they need to develop personally as individuals and as members of society, participating in appropriate learning activities that they enjoy and that enhance their well-being and quality of life. Vocational education seldom addresses these values.

CONCLUSION

Preparation for Third Age learning in the twenty-first century requires a reassessment of the role of education in the development of the individual, an objective that appears to have been neglected in the rhetoric of modern educational practice.

Current developments in Third Age learning can be seen as a compensatory movement, an attempt to restore equilibrium between considerations of economic welfare of a country and the welfare of the individual as an informed and well-adjusted member of society. The pursuit of high Gross Domestic Product and high living standards has swung the education mission pendulum far away from acceptance of responsibility for how people feel about themselves. Evaluation of the success of education as a whole

must embrace such values as personal dignity, self-respect and well-being and be judged on criteria in addition to those concerned with success in earning money or excelling in business or academia.

Third Age learners are a relatively new phenomenon, under-researched and under-resourced but with potential to be of considerable benefit to society and to the economies of all countries. The interest of Third Agers in participation in educational activities demonstrates the need for lifelong learning to be about personal fulfilment and the promotion of the well-being of individual citizens as well as being concerned with social, democratic and economic development. They may be at the vanguard of a re-assessment of the objectives and practices in education for adults of all ages.

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