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Andragogical Studies

Journal for the Study of Adult Education and Learning

Andragoške studije
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The Importance of Public Pedagogy for Learning in Public Open Spaces in the Time of Covid-19

Abstract: Public open space has been severely affected by Covid-19, which has had a significant impact on how public open space is used, learned, enjoyed, and perceived over the past two years. In this article, we use a variety of studies to analyse how the pandemic has affected the use and perception of public open space. We find that people's attitudes towards public open spaces changed during the pandemic towards a more positive appreciation and awareness of their importance for mental and physical health, community building and belonging to the city. In this context, we introduce the concept of public pedagogy, which helps us to think about the connection between the city, its inhabitants and learning. Through an analysis of the pedagogy of the unknowable, we show how different events, performances, installations, architecture, and space itself are important in opening transitional spaces that enable learning, identity development, and entering into relationships with others. Here we analyse the role of the public educator in public open space. We argue that the role of the public educator is to foster publicness and open spaces where freedom is possible.

Key words: public open space, public pedagogy, pedagogy of unknowable, public educator, learning.

Introduction

In November 2021, the Climate Change Conference was held in Glasgow, attended by more than 120 heads of state and government, delegates, climate activists and journalists from more than 200 countries. The aim of the conference was to take action and make commitments to curb climate change. The threat of global warming, pollution, fossil fuel use, etc. also crystallised during the Covid-19 pandemic, when the air in some countries became much cleaner and air

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pollution was reduced by closing the economy and reducing air, freight and car traffic. Covid-19 was, I might say, a kind of realisation of the need for climate change. However, the pandemic has not only brought to the fore the urgency of action on climate change, but more importantly, a political and public health crisis in which the challenges of sustainable development, social justice and coexistence have come to the fore.

Among other things, the pandemic has shown the importance of public spaces for action, encounter and learning. The emergence of a new virus, which spread very quickly, led to various measures that brought public life, education and the economy to a brief standstill, creating insecurity, fear and subsequently frustration and resistance in society. In terms of public space, the pandemic had a profound impact on meeting, acting and learning and posed a challenge. The closure of public open spaces and the restriction of movement and access to certain public open spaces limited opportunities to learn, act and meet in these spaces. The prohibition on gathering outside the common household made interaction with others, social contact, and community action in public open spaces virtually impossible. Public open space, which was supposed to be democratic, open for use by all social groups and community life (Lipton, 2002), suddenly became a closed and exclusive space without the possibility of community action. By restricting the use of public space and distancing as key strategies to reduce SARS-CoV-2 transmission, people have lost public open spaces as places to meet, act and learn.

In this article, we analyse various findings on the impact of Covid-19 on public open space and highlight the importance of public open space for action, encounter, and learning in the context of public pedagogy. From this perspective, we analyse a) how Covid-19 has influenced the use of public open space, b) how public pedagogy can help us think about public open space, and c) the role of the public educator in promoting learning in these spaces. Our findings suggest that a) residents have come to value public open spaces more and have adapted them to their needs, leading to new activities and use practices, b) public open spaces provide a place for a pedagogy of the unknowable, and c) the role of the public educator is an interruption that enables transitional spaces and acts as a test of publicness.

Impact of Covid-19 on the Use of Public Open Spaces

The Gehl Institute conducted a study on the use and life in public spaces in Denmark during the lockdown in March — April 2020. They observed public spaces in the Danish capital (Copenhagen) and three other major cities (Horsens,

Svendborg and Helsingør) and conducted 60 interviews with residents of these cities about the use of public open spaces. It should be noted that the Gehl Institute had already developed a digital platform, *Public Life*, which allows for efficient monitoring of public life and public spaces, so the researchers were able to compare the data collected during the closure with the data before the Covid-19 virus emerged. Using the data collected, the researchers (Public space & public life during Covid 19, 2020) found that activity in public open spaces downtown had decreased, especially in commercial streets, and that telecommuting and distance learning had significantly reduced the flow of people. There has been a significant increase in the use of public open spaces where residents can exercise, play, and recreate. In this context, researchers observed that residents were inventive in their use of public open spaces, adapting them to their needs even if they were not primarily intended for those activities — new activities and forms of urban public life emerged, especially in city centres. Some public open spaces have become even more popular than before Covid-19 — the time and duration of use has changed. Researchers found that people began to value public open spaces more and sought them out to meet their needs, and that more children and older people used public open spaces than before Covid-19.

On the other hand, researchers (Honey-Roses et al., 2020) have found that the pandemic affected perceptions of the massiveness of public open spaces and behaviour in them. They argue that while public open spaces can still be places for socialising and gathering, spontaneous behaviour, socialising with strangers, and informality are more difficult to realise there. Moreover, public open spaces are an important socialisation factor for young people. They use them to form and express their identities and lifestyles and to socialise (Worpole & Knox, 2007). It is therefore appropriate to ask how the experience of enclosure of public space and the restriction of movement and socialisation in public open spaces affects children and young people's experience of attachment to particular public open spaces that are important to them. Honey-Roses et al. (2020) suggest that they may be less attached to these places following a pandemic and may have become accustomed to online isolation (p. 13).

The pandemic has also raised the issue of exclusion from public open spaces, as some social groups such as migrants, the homeless and the elderly have been more excluded from these spaces. Even before the crisis, researchers had warned of the dangers of gated neighbourhoods (Atkinson & Flint, 2004) and *prickly* or *slippery* spaces (Flusty, as cited in Robbins, 2008) excluding certain social groups from public open space. During the Covid-19 crisis existing inequalities were exacerbated (Kluth, 2020). Van Eck et al. (2020) conducted a study of markets in the Netherlands as public open space during a coronavirus outbreak. They found

that the closure of markets and the stringent measures taken when they reopened had a significant impact on the perception and social dynamics of markets. As market-goers were no longer allowed to linger in the open space of the market, but could only shop functionally, the market became peaceful and orderly. They noted that the market lost its status as social infrastructure and became a *sanitised* (Smith, as cited in van Eck et al., 2020) or *prickly* (Flutsy, as cited in Robbins, 2008) public space that was difficult to occupy or adapt to alternative uses that were not economically motivated. Measures to reduce Covid-19 transmission reduced the self-evidence of physical interactions at markets and altered market-goers' experiences of community and belonging.

Measures taken against Covid-19 also had a significant impact on restricting social movements. Bans on gathering in public places have made protests impossible in many places and have deprived citizens of opportunities to engage in social movements, which are important spaces for citizens' learning, education, and development in democracy, participation, and citizenship (Evans & Kurantowicz, 2018; Kump, 2012).

The pandemic has therefore had a significant impact on our attitudes towards public open spaces. Restrictions introduced to prevent the spread of the virus have affected the quality of life and highlighted the importance of public open spaces for people's mental health and sociability. The introduction of physical distance and the restriction of social contact outside the shared household have reduced social interaction in public spaces and increased social isolation and exclusion. Weaker social groups were more affected by this. Public open spaces have emerged as an important asset in the urban crisis, important for sport, recreation and play, supporting alternative forms of mobility and enabling many, especially the poor, to survive (UN-Habitat key message on Covid-19 and public space, 2020).

The Gehl Institute repeated its study of the use and life in public open spaces after the opening of the country, as the researchers were interested in how the use of these spaces would change compared to the use during the closure of the country. They observed public open spaces in the same four cities (Copenhagen, Horsens, Svendborg, and Helsingør) in May, June, and July 2020, and conducted observations, interviews with residents, and discussions with municipal representatives in the four cities. The researchers (Public space, public life, and Covid 19, 2020) observed, among other things, that children and older people continued to use public open spaces more after the reopening than before the closure and that people were more willing to talk to each other (socialising), as well as more likely to make contact with random passers-by (strangers) or that this contact was more pleasant. The experience of closure made people aware of

the importance of public open spaces for wellbeing, socialising and engaging in a range of activities that were not abandoned even after the site reopened. It is particularly interesting to note that people have adapted public spaces to suit their own needs and that new activities have emerged in these spaces that will continue after the site reopens. So, at this point we should stress the importance of the space being able to be used in a variety of ways, that it has not been designed for a single purpose, but that it can be used by different social groups who can adapt and use it according to their needs and abilities.

Based on the findings of various studies (Honey-Roses et al., 2020; Public space & public life during Covid 19, 2020; Public space, public life, and Covid 19, 2020; Van Eck et al., 2020), we conclude that a) a mix of different programmes, services, green spaces and their accessibility is key to resilient city centres and cities should provide access to public open spaces, which in turn should enable different types of activities; b) public open spaces have been identified as an important asset for the mental and physical health of residents and essential for the economic resilience of city centres; c) they are an important space for building communities and belonging to the city and a socialising factor. It is therefore important to consider the resilience of public open spaces to make them crisis-proof, adaptable, multifunctional and flexible. Furthermore, it is important that cities not only invest in public open spaces in city centres, but also ensure that they are evenly distributed — including on the periphery of cities and in other neighbourhoods. It is important that residents have access to public open spaces and that they are close to them. They are important not only for health or social interaction, but also for sharing and learning common values, behaviours, social cohesion (cf. Public space, public life, and Covid 19, 2020; Van Eck et al., 2020; UN-Habitat key message on Covid-19 and public space, 2020). In our view, the pandemic has highlighted the importance of public open spaces as a necessary and crucial part of the social fabric. It is important to pay attention not only to the design, planning and layout of public open spaces, but also to the opportunities and possibilities they provide for people to learn, act and meet.

Promoting the Pedagogy of the Unknowable in Public Open Spaces within the Framework of Public Pedagogy

The term public pedagogy first appeared in 1894 when authors used it to describe a form of pedagogical discourse in the service of the public good. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the term public pedagogy was used by authors to present a multidimensional understanding of learning and education and their function

in a democratic society, drawing on the idea of public education associated with the development of an ideological socio-political nation in people's lives. They locate public pedagogy in the act of public speaking itself, and the public refers not to the physical arena of education but to the idealised outcome of educational activity — the creation of a public sphere aligned in terms of values and collective identity (Sandlin et al., 2011b).

The concept of public pedagogy flourished in the 1990s when it was introduced to the broader educational research community through the work of Carmen Luke and other feminist writers and popularised through the work of Henry Giroux in the late 1990s (Sandlin et al., 2011a). Giroux (2004) was a key author in the development and dissemination of the concept of public pedagogy. In his earlier work, public pedagogy is a means of critical analysis and intervention in popular culture and media. He drew on cultural studies, which offered many educational researchers a way to critically examine the spaces of public and popular culture, particularly in terms of how these spaces reproduce and challenge common human and oppressive narratives of reality. The terrain for exploring public pedagogy in relation to popular culture was Gramsci's (1971, p. 350) idea that "every relation of hegemony is educational". Giroux's focus on the hegemonic aspects of popular culture has been expanded by some scholars (e.g., Guy, 2004; Sandlin & Milam, 2008; Tisdell, 2008; Wright, 2007) to explore the critical and counter-hegemonic possibilities of popular culture, with an emphasis on using popular culture as a potential arena for social justice, cultural critique, and reassessing the possibilities of democratic life. Over time, the concept of public pedagogy has evolved beyond popular culture as researchers have begun to use it to explore other arenas in which public pedagogy can take place (Sandlin et al., 2010, pp. 2–3). Thus, public pedagogy has taken on various definitions and meanings as the concept has evolved, with researchers most often emphasising its feminist, critical, cultural, performative, and activist dimensions (Sandlin et al., 2011b).

Public pedagogy thus occurs in popular culture (e.g., television, film, music, the Internet, magazines, shopping malls), informal educational institutions and public spaces (e.g., monuments, zoos, museums), dominant discourses (e.g., capitalism, neoliberalism), and public intellectualism and social activism (e.g., social movements) (Sandlin et al., 2010).

We think about public pedagogy in public open spaces in the context of Ellsworth's pedagogy of the unknowable. Ellsworth (2005) invites us to experience public pedagogies not only in public spaces, but as public space, meaning that the latter is itself already a public pedagogy. For her, transitional or in-between spaces open up space and time between experience and our response to it — giving us space and time to move away from familiar ways of experiencing

the world around us and ourselves as citizens, city dwellers and consumers and creating a discontinuity (p. 57). For Ellsworth, interaction with public space, with architecture, with a work of art, with a theatre performance or an artistic intervention is crucial. The key is the conflict we experience when we come into contact with an intervention/installation/architecture/space, which evokes in us conflicting feelings, discomfort, hesitation, and which awakens in us questions, learning and searching. Architects, artists, street artists of all kinds create processional routes, communication channels, urban critiques, theatrical performances, provocative interactive encounters, spaces and urban landscapes in public spaces that challenge and encourage participants to go beyond learning through understanding, but to engage in attempts to invent new ways of seeing and knowing that ultimately transform knowledge, understanding, respect, memory, social relationships, experience and the future. These spaces and activities are experienced by the learner in motion, where they change, become and emerge — for knowledge is not created, defined and secured in advance, but emerges with the learner (pp. 1–2).

The learning process takes place not so much within the users, but between their internal world and the external world, hence Ellsworth (2005) introduces a spatial dimension to the learning process. This relates primarily to the dynamic between inside and outside, to the encounter with the space of the Other. This in-between space is the place where personal, social and cultural transformations take place — it is the only space around and between identities where they become open and relational. Learning is therefore always connected to the user's inner world and outer experience (p. 123). Transitional spaces allow us to cross an inner boundary — the boundary between the person we were but no longer are and the person we are yet to become. They are spaces of play, creativity and cultural production, and it is their transitivity that allows us to explore and experiment with the non-linear, three-dimensional space, body and sensations offered by public spaces, art and performance (p. 62). Furthermore, they are often areas of tension as they interrupt everyday practices and ask us to reconsider our feelings, our experiences and our understanding of ourselves and the world around us. Ellsworth calls this pedagogy a *pedagogy of the unknowable* because the outcome of learning is unknown. Learning, she argues, is always in motion, always in the making, and the outcome is not necessarily achieved, nor is it guaranteed. Architecture/space thus becomes education and pedagogy becomes architecture/space when together they create a fluid, shifting site of rotation that relates inside and outside, self and other, personal and social. Performance/art becomes education and pedagogy becomes theatre/performance/installation when together they have the potential to disrupt and change self and society. In the

hands of artists, architects and performers, public pedagogy becomes a dynamic that creates an experience, a way of understanding oneself, the world and the self in the world. It becomes a force that triggers an inner experience of the self so that the learner comes to know the *outer not me* — a future in the making (p. 38). The pedagogy of the unknowable conceives of learning as open and relational and acknowledges the unpredictability of the learning encounter. Its aim is not to achieve a fixed identity for the learner, but to enter into a relationship with others, history, culture and social issues in which the learner questions his or her own feelings, emotions, thoughts, desires and memories and encounters the discrepancy between self and others. Therefore, a pedagogy of the unknowable can create democratic spaces for learning where conflict is recognised as a legitimate way of dealing with plurality and diversity (Wildemeersch, 2012).

Public educators should promote critical, transformative learning through aesthetic and non-cognitive ways of being and knowing by encouraging exploration and avoidance of the ultimate right outcome of learning (Ellsworth, 2005). This type of transformative learning "challenges the assumption that reasons for action in the public sphere are based on linguistic claims about knowledge" (p. 29), because according to Ellsworth, learning and personal development do not take place in a rational and linear way, but in a multidimensional and diffuse way. The pedagogy of the unknowable embraces the transpersonal process of change at the meso level, as Lange (2019) distinguishes another approach to transformative learning. Practices in public open spaces that go beyond psychic mechanisms to include imagination, rhythm, and movement foster multidimensional learning that moves beyond the individual into the realm of the soul. They also encourage new ways of experiencing, feeling and sensing through which individuals re-experience themselves and the world around them — engaging with inanimate objects and environments to bring them to life, looking beyond themselves and entering the space between identities, between the inner and outer self, between the future and the past, to experience the three-dimensionality of space, body and feeling. In public open spaces, individuals encounter not only others, but also monuments, architecture, nature, animals, and the mythical. They can be a space of connection with the unreal, inanimate world, a space of contemplation, deepening and reflection, a space of personal growth and development.

Public pedagogy often takes as its starting point the movements, events, developments, and conflicts in the society it perceives as learning spaces. Although the Covid-19 virus is very elusive as it is difficult to define in time and space, it has triggered many conflicts, movements and events in society that have shaken our habits, beliefs and established patterns of thought and behaviour. It has forced us to change our habits and find new ways of living in the world. This

is where the need for public pedagogy in public open spaces comes into play. In the era of coronavirus disease, these have become, on the one hand, the site of political struggles, demonstrations, the display of ideologies, distrust of medical professionals, fake news and conspiracy theories, but on the other hand, the site of solidarity, mutual aid and community building. If we understand events, movements and conflicts, and public open spaces themselves as a form of public pedagogy, then they can open up transitional spaces where transformative learning can take place, where there is space to rethink our own experiences, thinking and feeling, where we interrupt our everyday practises through the tensions of public open spaces and consider reconceptualising them. Covid-19 in public open spaces open up new procedural pathways and channels of communication through which it invites us to invent new ways of seeing, perceiving, feeling and thinking about ourselves, others and society. Covid-19 in public open spaces thus enables disruption by creating dissent that is the basis for learning and, as Biesta (2012) puts it, a test of publicness.

Bengtsson and Van Poeck (2021) examine the Corona crisis as a large-scale, unplanned, and unintended global experiment in public pedagogy. They find that the virus affects both our environment and the way we coordinate with our environment. The virus assembles a public without the virus or the public being fully aware of each other. Based on Masschelein's theory, they conceive of Covid-19 as something that speaks — it "can be seen to bring about a milieu, or it is environing in the sense that it bends and brings into being environments gathering assemblies (places), bending times, and shattering projected futures" (p. 285). They consider the virus as a hyperobject that participates in public pedagogy. Based on Morton's concept of the hyperobject (Morton, as cited in Bengtsson and Van Poeck, 2021), they define Covid-19 as a viscous hyperobject that cannot be avoided because it is too close and we are trapped inside it. They compare the coronavirus to Auge's (2011) concept of non-places that cannot be defined by identity, relations or history. These non-places do not allow for identification as they are empty and anonymous spaces. Similarly, Covid-19 creates neither a singular identity nor relations, but only solitude, and similitude. According to Bengtsson and Van Poeck (2021), the coronavirus shows that the public spaces were not really ours and that we who were in these public spaces were not alone. Furthermore, they define Covid-19 as non-local — as something that cannot be defined spatially or temporally, as an undulated time, since the virus has existed as a family of coronaviruses for millions of years and its current appearance in human history has a limited temporal impact. They also describe the coronavirus in terms of phasing, meaning that we pay less attention to the virus itself (e.g., under the microscope) than to the things the virus causes, and

finally they define the coronavirus in terms of interobjectivity, based on the concept of hyperobject, since we do not experience it directly, but only through other entities in a shared sensual space (p. 290). Covid-19 as a form of public pedagogy tells us that the environment itself is pedagogical, "where things are made present in the full realization that there is always more than which is/can be (directly) experienced, and that this requires a specific attentiveness characterized by openness and precariousness" (Bengtsson & Van Poeck, 2021, p. 290). Covid-19 thus shows us that hyperobjects participate in the process of shaping the environment and thus in the process of learning. Thus, the object of learning cannot be definitively determined, but depends on the space itself. Covid-19 allows us to specify what it means to learn by engaging with problematic situations. Public pedagogy in public spaces can conceive of the coronavirus as a space of learning, a space of creating fruitful educational environments that engage with Covid-19 as a problematic situation (p. 291). Learning in the context of Covid-19 as a form of public pedagogy becomes open, uncertain and indeterminate, it becomes a process that allows us, as Ellsworth (2005) puts it, to cross the internal boundary between the past and the future to become something we are not yet.

Interruption, Transitional Spaces, Publicness — the Tasks of a Public Educator

Public open space, with its various functions, but especially with its openness and opportunity to act and learn, is an important space for the study of public pedagogy and for the work of public educators. Public pedagogy in public open space becomes a space for action and learning that takes place outside institutional walls — in informal spaces, culture and architecture. It becomes a site of transitional spaces that allow one to enter the space of others, the space between the inner and outer self, it becomes a space of interruptions. The question, then, is who the public educator[2] is and what role he/she plays in the public open space.

Lukasik (2010) sees the public educator as a person who explores public space by putting the pieces of the whole together and creating narratives and counter-narratives that attempt to explain the political and social components of a particular phenomenon. He believes that his job is to make his work come alive,

[2] A public educator is someone who is supposed to have a broad interdisciplinary knowledge and works for the publicness. This can be an andragogue, an educator, a sociologist, but also an artist, a performer, an architect. It is important that he/she is sensitive to the different practices that take place in the public open spaces, that his/her work does not dictate learning and one truth, but that he/she opens the public open spaces to different experiences, practices, installations that trigger learning, reflection and new forms of knowledge, and that he/she creates spaces of freedom.

to engage people with stories that invite dialogue and debate. The public educator should think about the public sphere and its relevance to everyday life, taking into account the context of power relations. In particular, the public educator's task is to "maintain a state of constant vigilance and constant readiness to avoid being led by half-truths or taken-for-granted ideas" (Said as cited in Lukasik, 2010, p. 88). According to Said, he is challenged to be aware of his position in a life that is not yet fully experienced, and at the same time he is also challenged to propose alternative ways of looking at the world. The work of the public educator is therefore an art, a creative enterprise — for art interprets, interrupts and transcends (Lukasik, 2010, pp. 90–91).

For Ellsworth (2005), public educators are artists, architects, musicians, etc. who initiate interventions in public spaces to engage with citizens and provide a disruption of existing thinking and trigger learning and action. In her view, public educators do not have the power to impart definitive knowledge to people and influence the development of a fixed identity, as both learning and identity are always emergent and evolving. The role of public educators is to create transitional spaces that allow individuals to explore, create, and experiment with their selves, emotions, feelings, bodies, etc. In this way, the individual in some way re-learns about themselves, the world around them, their insights and experiences. The public educator, therefore, through architecture, music, performance, theatre, spaces and installations, should only facilitate spaces where learning can take place, spaces that lead individuals into the in-between space where learning, self-reflection and transformation can take place. But, as Ellsworth points out, this is not necessarily the case or the task of the public educator is to bring the learner to an outcome or transformation at any cost.

Biesta (2012) sees the public educator as someone who opens up opportunities for collaboration through which free agency emerges. The role of the public educator, then, is not to teach or promote, but to interrupt (Biesta, 2006) — to create the dissensus. To stage the dissensus is to "introduce an incommensurable element (an event, an experience, an object) into a public space that can act as a test of the public quality of particular forms of togetherness and of the extent to which actual spaces and places make such forms of human togetherness possible" (Biesta, 2012, p. 693). The creation of dissensus, then, is meant to remind us of the public sphere as a precondition for human speech and action. In doing so, educators do not teach participants what to be, but hold open the possibilities of the space to become public so that freedom can emerge within them. The work of the educator in pedagogy for publicness (Biesta, 2014) is a) activist, in that it aims to create alternative ways of being and acting that give public space back its plurality, b) experimental, in that it aims to open up new ways of being and

acting in public space, and c) demonstrative, in that pedagogy for publicness is a form of demonstration rather than a curriculum to be taught and learned (p. 23). Pedagogy for is fully public, both in its orientation and in its implementation.

According to Jelenc Krašovec (2015, 2017), a public should be a person who has "broad interdisciplinary knowledge in critical educational theory, urban sociology, critical public sociology, critical educational gerontology, public geography, and sociology of space" (Jelenc Krašovec, 2015, p. 64). The public educator is supposed to be someone who speaks and listens, who acts, but at the same time writes about the importance of maintaining the public sphere and the plurality of public spheres and learning in public space. The public educator is first and foremost a facilitator or initiator of learning — he or she should enable and promote intergenerational, intercultural, interracial collaboration and learning, mutual learning between different social groups, autonomous and open learning (Hall, 2012; Jelenc Krašovec, 2015, 2017). Public open space should be a place of meeting and action for all population groups—its openness should make it open and inclusive for young and old, rich and poor, better and less educated. This is also one of the tasks of the public educator — to point out and work towards an open and inclusive public open space where all social groups are welcome, regardless of gender, age, race, religion, sexuality.

The task of the public educator is thus twofold. First, it is to go beyond consciousness and rational dialogue to create spaces where more relational, affective and experimental actions emerge. These will foster spaces of practical freedom where each adult can already speak and participate with their own ideas and responses (Mikulec, 2019). Therefore, public educators should also call for a *"do-it-yourself"* revolution, which refers to creative practises and interventions aimed at improving public space without formal permission, with the goal of changing the world through its inhabitants (Holloway, 2010). The latter, then, is a call for everyone to embrace education and learning, so that learning and education take place at all levels of social life, in all our daily activities and in every pore of our existence (Jelenc Krašovec, 2017), because only in this way will we take learning and education to the streets. Secondly, it is his job to create the kind of events that allow for interruption, that create transitional spaces. The public educator, then, is not an academic, but someone whose intervention/installation/event intervenes in public space and creates access to the relationship of the inner and outer self to others. As Ellsworth (2005) points out, this need not even be a person, but can be the space itself, a monument, graffiti, an art installation. If public pedagogy is understood as public space, then it is a space of pedagogical influence, a space that allows for the suspension of time and space. In this way

it gives us the opportunity to experience other ways of being — to connect with ourselves and others in new ways.

Conclusion

Covid-19 has significantly changed our daily lives — it has forced us to change our behaviour in many areas as it has greatly affected our normal habits. It has forced us to learn to change our habits and find new ways of living. The pandemic has also had a profound effect on our behaviour in and perception of public open spaces. In many places, public open space has become a space of conflict, contradiction, exclusion and restriction, opening up an important and necessary space for learning, questioning, public dialogue and action. Therefore, it is important for adult educators to draw on theoretical and practical experimentation to reconceptualise adult learning in everyday life. At this point we can turn to the concept of public pedagogy, which allows us to think about the connection between the city, space, learning and education, and the exploration of learning in public open spaces. It gives us the opportunity to connect this learning with popular culture, street art, dominant discourses and social action. It is important to promote and sustain a public pedagogy in public spaces that raises questions, encourages discussion and action, and enables community building. Public open spaces can be seen as junctions where one person's life intermingles with another's, transforming both the space and the individual. In this respect, public pedagogy becomes even more complex, critical and reflexive as it encourages the expression of ideas in public, learning from observation and action, understanding architecture, urban landscapes, city squares and green spaces as learning tools to promote counter-hegemonic pedagogy and education, progressive activism and non-cognitive practises of learning and knowing. The latter is particularly important in light of the Covid-19 pandemic: the pandemic has raised many questions about learning and action in public spaces that will need to be rethought once public life reopens, and their impact on its use and perception assessed.

Public educators are challenged to develop non-representational and non-cognitive practises, installations and interruptions that stimulate the emergence of a public sphere, that open up new questions and enquiries, that conceive of learning and identity as always emerging and in motion, that open up transitional spaces. This means that it is time to take learning and education out of the ivory tower of formal institutions and into the public open spaces where people move every day. It is important that they open spaces where freedom is possible.

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Značaj javne pedagogije za učenje u javnim otvorenim prostorima u doba pandemije kovida 19

Apstrakt: Javni otvoreni prostor našao se na udaru pandemije kovida 19, koja je tokom protekle dve godine značajno uticala na način na koji se javni otvoreni prostor upotrebljava, kako se u njemu uči, provodi vreme i kako se on percepira. U ovom članku se oslanjamo na raznovrsne studije kako bismo analizirali način na koji je pandemija uticala na upotrebu i percepciju javnog otvorenog prostora. Utvrdili smo da se stav ljudi prema javnom otvorenom prostoru promenio tokom pandemije u pravcu pozitivnijeg vrednovanja i svesti o značaju takvih prostora za mentalno i fizičko zdravlje, formiranje zajednice i pripadnost gradu. U tom kontekstu, uvodimo koncept javne pedagogije, što nam pomaže u razmišljanju o spoju između grada, građana i učenja. Upustili smo se u analizu pedagogije nesaznatljivog s namerom da pokažemo kako raznoliki događaji, performansi, instalacije, arhitektura, kao i sam prostor, predstavljaju važne faktore u otvaranju tranzicionih prostora koji pospešuju učenje, razvoj identiteta i stupanje u međusobne odnose. U tom delu rada analiziramo ulogu javnog edukatora u javnom otvorenom prostoru. Zastupamo stav da se uloga javnog edukatora zasniva na tome da neguje javnost i otvorene prostore u kojima je dostižna sloboda.

Ključne reči: javni otvoreni prostor, javna pedagogija, pedagogija nesaznatljivog, javni edukator, učenje.

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Teachers Learning During Covid-19 Pandemic: Higher Education Perspective from Ghana, India and Serbia

Abstract: The topic of this study is inspired by the conversation and sharing of personal experiences about living, working, and teaching during the pandemic by researchers from Ghana, India, and Serbia. This paper aims to identify higher education teachers' learning experiences that helped them to adjust a new situation caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. We collected stories from nine teachers employed in higher education in Ghana, India, and Serbia. Inductive thematic analysis was employed to identify themes within the stories collected. The common topics were identified in each country and compared with that of others. Silence to active classroom transformation is a common topic among teachers in each country. Other similarities were identified as fear that put more pressure on teachers and students. Differences among the teachers' learning and teaching experiences in researched countries were more of inequality issues related to access to necessary resources for online learning. Conclusively, teaching in online education during the crisis requires constant and multi-directional learning processes and understanding of students` resistance and negative emotions.

Key words: disjuncture, COVID-19, teachers, higher education, learning.

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Introduction

Teaching and learning in crisis situations play an important role in adjusting to societal life. Education thus provides knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed for solving problems and future planning. Educational system therefore ought to nurture the values important to the community. We pointed out only a few reasons for maintaining teaching and learning in one of the most serious crises. But, in the history of formal education, there are a lot of interruptions. The education usually stops because of the wars and spreading the infections. The research results (Stern, Cetron, and Markel, 2009) based on lessons learned from the U.S. influenza pandemic from 1918–19 show that regarding the circulating A/H1N1 virus does not recommend school dismissal as the first line of community mitigation, with the possible exception of selective and medically vulnerable student groups (p. 1077). Anyway, it is important to bear in mind that each public health situation has specific characteristics and should be followed according to local and institutional conditions. The situation with the COVID-19 pandemic happened when our societies experienced significant technological progress, which caused, in many cases, an immediate switch to distant education. The aim of this paper is to identify teachers' learning experiences that helped them to adapt to a new situation caused by COVID-19 pandemic.

We are facing not only a global health crisis but a systemic social crisis that includes the educational sector. It seems that we are facing similar symptoms affecting higher education. There are two reasons for that. First of all, the world is interconnected more than ever. Humanity uses various and complex communication channels. Secondly, technological advancement opens up possibilities for experimenting with new ways of interactions, governance, and care. Ours is an example of three researchers from different continents, who continuously follow, discuss and exchange experiences about living, working, and teaching during the pandemic, inspiring the topic of this research. Each of us experiences the urge to learn — primarily to understand the virus. We honestly try to understand what COVID-19 is. We learned that we should step back in front of the global enemy and think of how adult education could help us. The first question was related to understanding what COVID-19 did to our colleagues and us in academia. As researchers, we used to work and communicate online, but as teachers, we faced a variety of challenges. Nobody even dreamt of a reality where higher education has no alternative except online teaching. Everything happens instantly, and everybody is expected to adapt to a new situation. From an andragogical viewpoint, this is an ideal potential for learning.

Bearing in mind different conditions in different countries, communities, and institutions, we will firstly explain the local context of Ghana, India, and Serbia, which constitute this study, in relation to higher education. The data presentation related to COVID-19 helped us to understand how crises influence our local communities and what is important to design this research. We recognized that the response to the crisis was similar in each country, which provides us a good basis for comparison.

COVID-19 Context Description per Country

Ghana

Ghana recorded the first two cases of COVID-19 on 12th March, 2020 (Ghana Health Service, 2020a). The report from the Ghana Health Service (GHS) indicates that COVID-19 was imported into the country by two individuals who returned to the country from Norway and Turkey. The number of cases increased from two to four the next day and within a week from the first case, the country confirmed increased cases at community levels with no links to foreign travels. Majority of the confirmed cases were found in the two most populated cities of Ghana; Accra and Kumasi (GHS, 2020b).

To prevent rapid spread of the disease in Ghana, instant measures were put in place to detect, contain and manage the disease. Among others, these measures included a ban on all public gatherings, closure of schools, churches, mosques and other places of worship on March 16th, 2020; ban on entry for travellers coming from countries with more than 200 confirmed COVID-19, mandatory quarantine of all travellers who arrived in the country 48 hours prior to the closure of Ghana's borders on March 22nd; a partial lockdown of Accra, Kasoa and Kumasi on March 30th, 2020 (Kenu, Frimpong, and Koram, 2020; Kokutse, 2020; KPMG, 2020). The partial lockdown of these cities was lifted on April 20th with a mandatory use of protective masks on 26th April. Within the lock-down period, a nationwide sensitization and education on the disease and preventive measures such as hand-washing with soap under running water and use of alcohol-based sanitizer together with social distancing was provided. Additionally, active case search and contact tracing strategies were initiated for early detection, isolation and treatment of all confirmed cases (Kenu, Frimpong, and Koram, 2020).

In addressing the impact of the pandemic on educational institutions, school closure was partially lifted in the middle of June, 2020 for the purpose of examination preparation and completion for all final year students right from the

basic to tertiary levels. Following this, a series of stakeholder consultations and deliberations were made to reinstate all schools nationwide while adhering strictly to all the COVID-19 protocols in January, 2021. Just like other nations, teaching and learning in Ghanaian schools rapidly transformed from the traditional face-to-face to online approaches. That of the primary to secondary levels were broadcast on television and radios while that of tertiary levels took diverse approaches, including a blended approach of face-to-face and online in recent times.

Teaching format in higher education institution (HEI) in Ghana during COVID-19

Teachers' and students' engagement in online teaching and learning in HEI is not a new phenomenon in Ghana. Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) have long been incorporated into the country's educational systems. Nonetheless, pressure on educational institutions to continue teaching and learning activities during the COVID-19 pandemic led to a rapid shift from the traditional face-to-face to online teaching and learning using digital technologies and mobile applications (Demuyakor, 2021).

The closure of all public and private schools right from primary to tertiary levels halted all academic activities within the period of COVID-19 pandemic. In order to continue academic activities in the schools, most universities, including the University of Ghana, University of Education, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Wisconsin International University, and Ashesi University, resorted to e-learning platforms for engaging students for academic work (Agormedah, Henaku, Ayite and Ansah, 2020). Teaching and learning in Ghanaian higher education institutions are facilitated through technological applications such as video conferencing software, discussion boards, or learning management systems (Agormedah, Henaku, Ayite, and Ansah, 2020). Learning management systems like Moodle and Sakai platforms are the most commonly used teaching and learning evaluation platforms in Ghana. Face-to-face sessions are additionally organised in smaller groups for students while adhering strictly to all the COVID-19 protocols.

India

The outbreak of COVID-19 from Wuhan, China has caused fear and alert in the world and led to countries going for lockdown. India's first case was reported on January 27, 2020 (Andrews, et al., 2020) and the travel history of the patient

was from Wuhan, China. In the month of March, India went for a full lockdown (Soni, 2021), and all educational institutions were also closed.

Since the beginning of the pandemic, apart from many issues that have been levied upon the worldwide population, one of the most important and widely discussed issues is the higher education scenario and its challenges, especially in a country like India. COVID-19 brought up a number of challenges in the field of higher education for both students as well as educators. Most of the universities and colleges have decided to switch to the virtual modes of teaching and learning. In addition to that, it also led to the postponement of various examinations, evaluation processes, and the non-availability of funds in higher education. Adapting to new technological tools, implementing innovative ways of engagement of teaching through a virtual mode have been an important prospect as per the current pandemic situation, which has led to the adaptation and learning of new skills and becoming more technologically sound for students, academicians as well as educators. While this has been a challenge to continue the learning process during the tough times of pandemic situations, it has also been proved as an alternative to adapt to a more technologically advanced situation. However, in a developing nation like India, where a large part of the country comprises the rural setting, the problems of internet connectivity and the absence of technologically advanced tools are still a concern.

Serbia

In the Republic of Serbia, the first case of COVID-19 was reported on 6th March 2020[4]. The measures for preventing the virus from spreading vary from curfew to recommendations dedicated to avoiding public gatherings and wearing protective face masks. The schools and universities were closed. The teaching for elementary and high school moved to TV programmes, then to eLearning portals.

The universities from the beginning use the eLearning platform for teaching. The students left the dorms and returned in May 2020. The Institute for Students' Healthcare recorded the increment of positive cases among the student population in the period of June–December 2020[5]. It was evident that conditions at student accommodation, restaurants, and classrooms were not adequate for the prevention of virus circulation during 2020 and 2021. Faculties decided about the teaching format regarding the following condition: requirement of the teaching, physical environment, and proposed preventive measures. The majority

[4] Source: https://COVID19.rs/homepage-english/

[5] Source: http://zzzzsbg.rs/

of the faculty decided to organize online lectures. It is only in specific cases that some practical teaching is organized by faculty in smaller groups. In some periods the blended format of teaching has been used. Finally, examinations are organized in smaller groups while applying all preventive measures.

The crisis provoked by spreading the COVID-19 virus stopped the whole world. Different countries apply different measures, but almost all of us experience lockdowns, wearing protective face masks, sanitation of hands and surfaces, physical distancing, popularly called social distancing. Higher education institutions experience more or less similar conditions in Ghana, India, and Serbia. Online learning is applied at all levels in higher education. First, it seemed to be a short-term solution. Today, after almost two years of online teaching, that approach is becoming a "new normal" in global higher education reality.

Theoretical Background

The COVID-19 pandemic moved teaching into an online environment. In some countries, it happened instantly while hybrid models were applied in other countries gradually. The teaching occurs in both ways, traditionally and online. Distance education was not a novelty for higher education. However, applying distance education to a whole academic population created an initial shock, especially among the teachers who did not have much experience with distance and digital education. This time, the change happened in the whole world and one of the reactions to that situation was learning. In this case, teachers adjust teaching to the online environment by learning. Peter Jarvis talks about disjuncture as the gap between what we know and what we experience, which provokes our initiative to understand and deal with particular situations so that we can return to a harmonious state (Jarvis, 2012).

The main challenge for learning and teaching online is understanding the secondary experiences "which occur as a result of language or other forms of mediation" (Jarvis, 2018, p. 22). "When so much of our experience in a digital age is secondary, mediated, we need to understand how this affects the way we experience new events or engage with the Other" (Dyke, 2017, p. 29). When teaching moves online, we had an experience, which occurred as a result of disjuncture. Some teachers reject it, some start to think or do something about it, and some respond to it emotionally — or any combination of these.

In this paper, we understand "learning as the activity that enables a person to deal with disharmony and involves the movement from one state of being to another" (Bjursell, 2020, p. 679). We are interested in searching the stories about

the crisis and the teachers' response to it. Mainly, we believe that the reflection on adaptation to new teaching conditions still is ongoing, but we could recognize some unique patterns. "The teacher as a reflective practitioner will then think and reflect on the experience at a number of levels including 'reflection in action' and 'reflection upon action', which lead them to adapt their teaching, and hopefully improve it (Dyke, 2017, p. 30). In this process, teachers are re-examining the essence of their practice. They need to deal with practical problems in teaching, but at the same time with their values and fundamental principles. After almost two years of working in an online environment, teaching practice has been transformed and we, as an international group of researchers, are looking for this outline of upcoming change initiated by learning processes among teachers in higher education.

If we perceive the current pandemic as disjuncture, we are confronted with a disconnection between the world as we know it and the world as it is (Bjursell, 2020 p. 685). That is a world where we are learning and teaching online because of fear and a low vaccination rate. This is one unjust world, which is interconnected, but where resources are unevenly distributed. In many countries, teaching online is a challenge because of the internet infrastructure. Furthermore, "before the crisis, classes took place at the university building and by moving teaching to a digital environment, the learning space intertwined with private space, the boundary between the activities of everyday life and teaching became weaker" (Koruga and Nikolić, 2021, p. 45).

We need to be aware that teachers should establish a deeper understanding and dialogue with persons via the screen. Finally, we should be aware that "we can learn and transform our understanding of the world in the company of others as a social process of interaction" (Dyke, 2017, p. 33). This means that we are always in the process of becoming through interaction with social events, others, and ourselves.

Methodological Framework

Comparing the stories from three very different countries, we would like to understand the common learning process among teachers initiated by the global pandemics and understand the differences caused by our local conditions.

In this research, we aim to answer the following questions: What are higher education teachers' views about the changes in teaching provoked by the COVID-19 health crisis? What were the teachers' learning process characteristics related to the teaching adaptation to work during COVID-19 pandemic? What are

the differences among the teachers' learning process in Ghana, India, and Serbia related to the teaching adaptation to working during the COVID-19 pandemic?

Considering that we include higher education teachers from Ghana, India, and Serbia, the comparative qualitative approach is applied in this research. First of all, we want to identify the commonalities and differences in the teachers' stories about the global health crisis which similarly affected the educational system in the whole world. The preventive measures dedicated to social distancing are applied around the globe. We collected the stories about the teachers' practice during the COVID-19 crisis from the beginning of March 2020 up to October 2021. This research included three teachers per country engaged in higher education teaching for more than five years. The sample includes teaching assistants [TA], professor assistants/senior lectures [PA/SL], and full professors [FP], an assistant professor [AP], a senior professor [SP], from Ghana, [GH], India [IN], Serbia [RS]. We collected data asking the respondents to tell us their stories online or face to face. The stories covered the following topics: the description of the situation related to the teaching during the COVID-19 crisis, the biggest changes in teaching practice, and the process of adaptation to a new situation.

This research employed narrative approaches, which is based on the premise that, as human beings, we come to understand and give meaning to our lives through storytelling (Andrews, Squire & Tamboku, 2008). "The construction of the story reflects the current internal world of the narrator as well as aspects of the social world in which he or she lives" (Josselson, 2011, p. 227). Inductive thematic analysis was used to identify themes and patterns (Braun and Clarke 2006) from the stories collected. We first familiarize ourselves with the data by reading and listening to the audio recordings over and over as expected in qualitative analysis. The data were then transcribed and coded to generate precise labels for pertinent features of the data that addressed the research questions. All the codes and their relevant data were extracted to search for appropriate themes. Requisite themes that addressed the research questions and the extracted data were then constructed. The coded data relevant to all themes were selected and cross-checked against the coded extract and the entire data collected from the study areas. While doing this, we also checked for similarities and differences in the data patterns. Similar themes were collapsed into one. The generated themes were then defined and labelled into topics according to the research questions and presented with some extracts of data.

After the coding processes, the researchers from each country formulated coherent themes. Then we compared the themes from each country according to the formulated common themes for differences among the countries. Within the discussion, we formulate a conclusion about the holistic thematic framework.

Research Results

COVID-19 affected every institution including higher education institutions in all analysed countries. Different experiences have been accumulated by teachers. The key common topics (1. Overcoming difficulties by learning; 2. Communication and interaction turned upside down; 3. Rethinking and innovative teaching), with some variations in subtopics, were identified from narratives in Ghana, India, and Serbia. The teachers' narratives somehow represent ongoing dialogue. All three cases clearly could be identified by the description of the initial situation and its ongoing transformation.

Overcoming difficulties by learning

From the narratives, the teachers from all three countries acknowledged that online teaching was not new, rather the agency with which all faculty members had to transition from the traditional face-to-face to online teaching in the midst of the global pandemic was sudden. Some teachers had to learn how to use new tools for online teaching (video conferencing, learning management systems, tools for interactions, etc.). This is evident from the following response: "at the onset of the pandemic, it was more or less a do or die situation, you have no excuse than to learn to be able to survive in the profession" (SL3, GH).

It came as a surprise, and a quick adjustment was needed. The senior professor highlighted how teachers of old age were finding it a little difficult in the starting phase as all were in their homes. Help was taken from family and peers. After some time the learning process started and online teaching started smoothly: "it wasn't very easy for people who are a little senior in age, but the situation warranted a quick adjustment and with the help of peers and family members it became possible." (SP, IN).

The aforementioned difficulties to adjust to a new situation did not follow only by learning, but with emotions. From one side we have the threat of COVID-19, from another, teachers "themselves are also under pressure to perform, and for many fear plays a big part in their day-to-day lives" (Jackson, 2017, p. 148). Fear was always part of the educational process for both sides, teachers, and learners. In pandemic situations, this is more highlighted. In the next line we have an experience of fear related to the usage of technology: "...I needed to master technology to overcome the panic and fear that something unforeseen will happen" (FP, RS).

The learning could help to deal with negative emotions in the situation of crisis. Furthermore, the help of peers and family members plays a significant role in this learning process. And most importantly, teachers recognized that learning is the best strategy for facing sudden changes in teaching.

Previous learning experiences was helpful

The subtopic about the previous experience was identified within the topic overcoming from difficulties by learning. Teachers in each country mentioned their previous experiences with teaching in a digital environment when they were invited to explain adjustment to the swift switch to online teaching. In essence, the teachers had no option but to position themselves for new learning approaches to cope with the situation. By doing so, they encountered different challenges. Among these are difficulties in monitoring students in online sessions and accessing topic-related links and reading materials for students, family interference during virtual sessions, and internet connectivity problems. Nevertheless, these challenges were experienced differently among the teachers. Those with technological experiences are better placed than those with little or no exposure at all as seen from the following statements: "I have to sit up as a lecturer and to become very much conversant with the digital approach to facilitation before I can meet the standard my students expect me to demonstrate" (SL1, GH).

Even though HEI regularly trains faculty to use learning management systems for their routine works, teachers also took personal initiatives to explore other digital tools to complement their teaching within COVID-19 situation. *"You need to be a lifelong learner, self-directed learner to cope with the digital era we found ourselves in* (SL1, GH)". Previous experience with online teaching helped teachers to continue exploring the possibility of technology and to be more motivated to become a lifelong learner.

Learning from and about students

In the narratives researchers identified the subtopic related to understanding the students. First of all, the digital divide as a point of disadvantage for some students was identified in this subtopic especially in India. Lack of connectivity was ranked as a major hindrance in online learning (Muthuprasad et.al, 2021). In the following statement the teacher explains that we need to be aware of inequality in the digital world: "The most disheartening part — when we encounter a lot of students are interfacing the problem to have access to gadgets or internet facilities across the country." (AP1, IN).

One of the key issues for a country like India with 1.4 billion of population was the digital divide. Earlier when in a physical mode, students of economically weaker to stronger backgrounds came together in a common classroom and had lectures. However, in this "new normal" for the same lecture, some students are having a high-speed internet while others cannot afford it. One student is able to afford expensive gadgets while the other one cannot.

Over and above the technical precondition for learning and teaching in an online environment, teachers put focus on dialogue during the online sessions in both ways: teacher-learners-teacher. There was a consciousness among teachers that the interaction in online teaching should be different. At that point, we saw a possibility for further understanding of the learning process in a digital environment with the help of students' experience with it. Understanding and support are keywords for this subtopic. First, teachers recognized that online education provides an opportunity for students to be in various situations during the classes. The following quotation describes this teacher`s impression: "the focus here is now on other things. Now I see someone occurring in some situations that are not common. Students attend the call from the car and some other place." (FP, RS).

Furthermore, we mentioned the fear related to the use of technology, but from the students` perspective, there are negative emotions that are not related to the confidence in how to use the technology. Students feel lonely, not supported, etc. Teachers learned to be more careful about students` emotions than usual. "Now I am careful to start and end the class with positive statements. I try to verbally tell them that everything is OK." (TA, RS).

Communication and interaction turned upside down

The adjustment in communication was the major change identified in the analysed interviews. Communication gap has been created right from the beginning till now. The gap is wider and has made the learning process less effective. Respondents are pointing out the difficulties in the online environment. Body language is key in the physical mode. Students do not necessarily have to respond yes or no if they are understanding what is being taught. Sometimes you find the faces of students, sometimes all cameras are switched off: "we are there to help them to overcome the various difficulties or the various personality issues which are associated with them that can only be achieved in the regular communication" (AP1, IN). From the first days of online teaching, teachers reported silence from the students' side. It was more of a one-way communication. Even professors were not sure if anybody was really listening. The following

part of the teachers' stories best reflects this situation: "In the beginning, you see only twenty circles in online lectures. When you ask if someone listening, a few of them say, "yes". As for the others, I don't know." (FP, RS). The silence means isolation, where there is no space for learning. Teachers did not accept students as passive receivers of information or even passive at all. After the initial stage, the period of adaptation, they start to apply different strategies to improve interaction with students, and within the group. Invitation for a discussion, using instant reactions, asking about daily activities are some of the applied approaches: "Then I started convincing them, if they don't want to turn on the cameras, to show presence by clicking on different stickers." (TA, RS). The main point of communication in online education is encouragement of dialogue and interaction. That idea is related to balance in interaction and invitation for participation in activities. We should be aware that the distance and many worlds between us in a digital environment puts groups in a situation where the interactions could be easily cut. When we are online it is so easy to navigate between different spaces. The following statements describe that dialogue could be established only without pressure for interaction: "For me, I did not push them to discuss. We just talk. I find a way to invite them to talk and share. No one is forced." (AP, RS)

One significant change is how the teachers could ensure that there is consistent interaction between them and their students on virtual platforms. The rapid nature of the pandemic paved the way for teachers to explore other avenues to make virtual learning flow like the traditional face-to-face for better interaction and understanding. This is evident from the following topic related to rethinking the innovative teaching strategies.

Rethinking and innovative teaching

The following statement describes the teacher`s reflection about the teaching approach applied during the lockdown: "Today's learning is more of a constructivist approach. It is not those days that a whole note has to be read or dedicated to students to imbibe them and then reproduced for you. You just give them the salient points, they will go creating their own world and then produce the answers as per their own understanding" (SL1, GH). One of the greatest changes in teaching provoked by COVID-19 is a hands-on learning experience. The teachers explained that COVID-19 caused them to be explorative in learning new teaching approaches in a practical way. Interaction has been realised by dividing tasks into smaller units. Teachers together with the group constantly

should produce some results. That's why students stay engaged. The following statement explains the importance of introducing more practical aspects in teaching complex content: "You have to constantly produce some results so that they see that something is happening. In fact, you follow them and you have an outcome of each phase." (TA, RS).

A new approach in organizing teaching

Including the students in teaching planning was an example of good practice in teaching organization. It seems that it was hard to coordinate all teaching activities at the beginning, during the phase of adaptation on regular program virtualization. "They were grateful in my case that they could choose the assignments themselves. And to choose the pace and dynamics of work." (AP, RS).

Respondents also pointed out new apps that are now making it possible to have a very wide audience at a time. Also, now you have an option of not wasting time to travel. The place in teaching becomes irrelevant. You can take a class as per your convenience. You no longer have to push everything aside as you now have an option to reschedule. This makes knowledge more accessible "...and the most significant change I have encountered is that it has become very easy now to extend your knowledge dissemination exercise to very far off areas" (SP, IN). Working online according to the lectures provided them with ease and convenience of teaching at different locations and times other than the classrooms at specified periods. By doing so, they are able to apportion time for other obligations. Moreover, removing the border between time and place, and bringing learning in any place, make teachers more available for students: "But certainly, this has made the teachers more available to the students." (AP2, IN)

In the organisational aspect of teaching the major differences between countries were identified. Ghana applied a blended learning approach at the moment of collecting data. India and Serbia still deliver classes only in an online format. Responses from the teachers in Ghana show that different teaching and learning approaches are adopted from the onset to the current state of the pandemic. According to them, the initial part characterized by lockdowns replaced traditional face-to-face with online teaching so they had no option other than to go strictly virtual. A blended approach of face-to-face with virtual sessions in recent times has been employed, as they keep to required protocols for face-to-face sessions. This can be seen from the following statements: "We are now using a blended learning approach—some degree of face-to-face and a degree of online teaching fused together" (SL1, GH).

Discussion

In the discussion part, this paper intends to see answers to the research question made at the start of the study by analysing the discussion and dialogue made between each country researcher and teachers.

What are the higher education teachers' views about the changes in teaching provoked by the Covid-19 health crisis?

The higher education teachers view COVID-19 as an activation event for lifelong learning in digital teaching technologies. One of the biggest and the most critical changes was a reflection on the teaching process in general. Unexpected virtualisation of the higher education programmes teaches us about communication, interaction, and teaching from another angle. This new perspective gives us a deeper understanding of learning. Imagine the situation where a person is trying to learn to dance blindfolded. Firstly, it makes the person uncomfortable and can feel fear or pressure to learn in a new situation. In the end, the person mastered dancing better than those who did not put themselves in that risky learning situation. Teachers of all three countries encountered the parallel, but step by step, teachers find many creative ways to overcome the obstacles of teaching in an online environment. The pressure on teachers, fear, and waiver of the right to privacy are symptoms. Society is struggling not only because of COVID –19 but also because of the urge to save the capitalist mindset. "In the midst of this chaos, our responses have actually been about organizational continuity, capitalism, and reducing our value to what we are able to sustain and what our bodies are able to produce" (Stewart, 2020, p. 263). We need to be ready to critically reflect on capitalism's weaknesses, save humanity, empower the academic community, and produce alternatives that could cope with the crisis and overcome it. It seems an era where we might be captured where the crisis is being produced as any other kind of goods.

What were the teachers' learning process characteristics related to the teaching adaptation to work during COVID –19 pandemic?

The answer to the research question about the teachers' learning process characteristics embodied the best aforementioned processes. Teachers' learning process is devoted to getting skills related to technology, but more valuable are insights about interaction and communication in the online world. It was apparent that teachers should find a way to fight with silence and isolation from the beginning. Microlearning was one of the solutions for bringing life into online classrooms. The tasks are split into smaller pieces and practical tasks. Also, in the microlearning approach, we should be aware that we are not disrupting the interaction with strict planning where there is no room for mutual

exchange of meaning (Kerres, 2007). Teaching and learning in an online environment could support the interaction only if we become aware that we should change the language, the way we select and place information, and how we deal with emotions.

"Teachers must learn to embrace ways that will keep learners connected all the time, since they must deal with absence in the current (COVID –19) times, moreover teachers will have to go the extra mile to consciously provide warmth and a sense of belonging to learners" (Ananga, 2020, p. 318).

What were the differences among the teachers' learning process in Ghana, India, and Serbia related to the teaching adaptation to working during the COVID-19 pandemic?

The analysis found more resemblances than differences in the teaching approach and strategies. Similarities can be justified as COVID-19 is a global pandemic affecting the world in the same way, and here in our study, all three countries.

Differences which can be pointed out is the use of tools, which were not similarly used but by teachers in three counties of our study. If we talk about tools, we are talking about various online teaching platforms. In Ghana, teachers applied a blended teaching format, but an online teaching model was used in India and Serbia while collecting data. The use of the different teaching formats opens the possibility of further research and discussion as to which mode is better and effective for a county as a whole. Inequality issues arise as one topic in the context of India. Teachers from Ghana and Serbia did not bring out any issue of inequality, but India's teachers did have. In each of the three countries, we need to be aware of learning conditions. Prerequisites for online learning are providing adequate software, hardware, and network access for all. Furthermore, we should think about the living conditions of people involved in online teaching. It was a presumption that everyone lived in comfortable homes, but the reality was not the same for all and also erased those who could not work from home (Stewart, 2020, p. 263).

Over and above, teaching in online education during the crisis required constant and multi-directional learning processes. Dialogue helps teachers understand the students over the screen and reflect on their practice. We hope that love also is part of the teaching process. In times of crisis and significant changes, we need to care more about each other. Also, as bell hooks pointed out, "there can be no love without justice" (hooks, 2003, p. 137). Finally, we hope that dialogue and love will help us learn how to find creative solutions to build a more just world inspired by lessons learned during the COVID-19 crisis.

Conclusion

Higher education passed a long trip from non-learning to non-reflective to reflective learning, talking in terms of Jarvis's (2018) approach. After almost two years of the global health crisis, "we still have people who reject the learning potential of the situation and merely wait for things to get back to normal" (Bjursell, 2020, p 683), but the process of reflective learning is the most common among higher education teachers. Non-learning happens only initially, and then we transfer the information to the students by online teaching platforms and tools. Shortly after that, the ongoing process of reflective learning was initiated. "This includes drawing on knowledge which is relevant to how a situation might be mastered and reaching conclusions which, in turn, become part of a new frame of reference" (Bjursell, 2020, p 684).

Teachers in higher education find many ways to deal with the crisis. They become more aware of specific communication strategies which should be applied in an online environment. The content should be divided into smaller pieces. All activities and interactions need visibility and practicability. At the cutting edge, teachers created the space for dialogue and a new understanding of teaching in crisis and the online environment. Disjuncture in the context of this prolonged global crisis opens up the topic of becoming. We should search for answers to how our digital selves will influence the learning process after the crisis when we come back into the actual classrooms. Should we learn the reverse process of transferring teaching from virtual to real classrooms? For now, we are sure that communication and interaction are keywords for learning; those are critical medicines for loneliness and exclusion in learning.

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Učenje nastavnika tokom pandemije kovida 19: perspektiva visokog obrazovanja iz Gane, Indije i Srbije

Apstrakt: Tema ove studije inspirisana je diskusijom i razmenom ličnih iskustava istraživača iz Gane, Indije i Srbije o životu, radu i podučavanju tokom pandemije kovida 19. Cilj ovog rada je da se identifikuju iskustva učenja nastavnika visokog obrazovanja koja su im pomogla da se prilagode novoj situaciji izazvanoj pandemijom kovida 19. Prikupili smo priče od devet nastavnika zaposlenih u visokom obrazovanju u Gani, Indiji i Srbiji. Induktivna tematska analiza je korišćena da bi se identifikovale teme u prikupljenim pričama nastavnika. U svakoj državi su utvrđene zajedničke teme koje su potom upoređene. Transformacija od tihe do aktivne učionice je uobičajena tema među nastavnicima u sve tri države. Sličnosti su identifikovane u izražavanju straha od strane nastavnika što je doprinelo povećanju pritiska na nastavnike. Razlike u iskustvu podučavanja i učenja među nastavnicima u istraživanim državama odnosile su se na pitanje nejednakosti pristupu neophodnim resursima za onlajn učenje. Zaključak je da nastava u onlajn obrazovanju tokom krize zahteva stalne i višesmerne procese učenja, kao i potpuno razumevanje otpora i negativnih emocija studenata.

Ključne reči: disjunkcija, kovid 19, nastavnici, visoko obrazovanje, učenje.

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University Teachers' Perspectives on the Quality of Emergency Remote Teaching — the Case of Serbia During the COVID-19 Pandemic[3]

Abstract: The study deals with the quality of emergency remote teaching (ERT) during the COVID-19 pandemic in higher education in Serbia. We aimed to explore how university teachers assess the quality of ERT and whether their assessments are related to their previous online teaching experiences and their beliefs on the potentials of online teaching. The survey included 443 teachers from the University of Belgrade. The findings show that the teachers were not satisfied with the quality of ERT in terms of the interaction with students, students' motivation, and the quality of their engagement during classes. Teachers who had prior experience in online teaching and more positive beliefs regarding the potentials of online teaching/learning, used a greater variety of online tools, teaching methods, and activities during ERT and, in turn, were more satisfied with the quality of online teaching. Therefore, attention should be paid to expanding teachers' knowledge and awareness of the potentials of online teaching/learning as the ERT did not allow for its full potential to be realized.

Key words: emergency remote teaching; online teaching; higher education, COVID-19 pandemic; university teachers.

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Introduction

Most of the published papers in the past year begin by pointing out the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic and the shift towards living, working, teaching and learning in a digital environment. In the field of education, there is a growing interest among researchers in the consequences of emergency remote teaching (ERT) — the transformation of education, the quality of online teaching, student achievement and wellbeing, and teachers' competencies and the challenges they face, etc.

Research into the response of higher education institutions show that the rapid spread of the pandemic led to the transformation of higher education (Garcia-Morales et al., 2021) all over the world, forcing such institutions to switch from the traditional classroom setting to the online environment in order to ensure the continuation of teaching and learning (Bozkurt & Sharma, 2020; Bozkurt et al., 2020; Crawford et al., 2020). This presented both an opportunity and a challenge for higher education (Toquero, 2020). Research shows that prior to the pandemic, higher education institutions had both different strategies for the digitalization of university teaching and different starting points (Crawford et al., 2020), which made the transition to ERT in terms of the use of technology and the quality of online teaching more or less challenging from country to country (Alemu, 2015; Peres et al., 2018). One study which assessed the readiness of higher education institutions to move to online teaching concluded that even in high-income countries universities were not fully prepared for such a sudden shift to remote education (Salmi, 2020). One of the surprising results was that poorly prepared universities in most countries were oriented towards a rapid shift to online teaching (OECD, 2021). This was also the case for the University of Belgrade, where teaching before Covid-19 was primarily on-site with sporadic cases of hybrid combinations of online and face-to-face teaching. However, the traditional classroom setting moved to the online environment overnight, requiring teachers to quickly familiarize themselves with new technologies and master their use as teaching tools. Our intention in this study is to examine university teachers' perspectives on the quality of online teaching/learning during the COVID-19 crisis.

The Specifics of ERT

Higher education institutions have been in the process of adopting digital technologies for decades. This process was uneven and very often slow, demanding a wide range of administrative, educational, and research activities. The COVID-19 pan-

demic caused the digitalization of teaching and learning to accelerate at a rapid pace, and it is expected that the intensified integration of digital technology into higher education is one change likely to remain once the pandemic ends (OECD 2020). As Strielkowski and Wang (2020, p. 2) point out, the COVID-19 pandemic might be the "decisive push factor" towards the 4th generation of university evolution — the online and digital university. Even in regular circumstances, the technological transformation of education involves profound changes in teaching methodologies, teacher competencies and assessment strategies (Jensen, 2019). The sudden switch to online teaching led teachers as well as students into unfamiliar terrain (Carolan et al., 2020), demanding rapid change while implementing and adapting available resources, and relying on teachers who lacked digital competencies and experience in using digital technologies as teaching tools. This new scenario tested the adaptability, willingness to change, and flexibility of teachers all over the world (Quezada et al., 2020).

The result of the immediate response to the COVID-19 crisis in higher education was ERT, planned and executed rapidly with urgent redesigns of courses originally conceived for the traditional classroom setting. ERT differs from well-planned online teaching and learning and involves the use of fully remote teaching solutions for education which was primarily intended to be delivered face-to-face or as blended in regular circumstances. Hodges et al. (2020) highlight that the primary objective of ERT is not to re-create a robust educational ecosystem, but rather to provide rapid and temporary access to instruction and instructional support in a manner which is readily available during an emergency. Other authors also indicate that making a distinction between ERT and online education is important due to the degree to which teachers believe in online education these days will play a significant role in the prosperity of post-Covid online education (Bozkurt & Sharma, 2020). They also point out that, compared to online education which has always been an alternative and flexible option for students, ERT is an obligation, which requires using different strategies with different priorities.

ERT implied many challenges for teachers who were forced to improvise and innovate on the spot. This made flexibility, adaptability, and creativity the defining words for addressing the challenging role of teachers in the process of ERT. Teachers were presented with the challenge to redesign and plan how to teach courses originally conceived for teaching in traditional classrooms, to adapt teaching and learning materials and activities, and to provide students with support for learning in a digital environment — all of this was done in a very short period of time in order to ensure the continuation of teaching and learning.

According to Bates (2019), moving teaching online means changing the learning environment, and implies design models where the teaching method is

adapted to the learning environment. In other words, a structured environment is required for gaining the full benefit of online teaching. This means that an effort needs to be made to provide this structure using a range of collaboration tools and engagement methods instead of replicating a traditional face-to-face class either through video clips or synchronous lectures. Nevertheless, in the context of ERT and the rise of synchronous learning platforms, Bates' concept of "old wine in new bottles" for the classroom-type online learning (Bates 2019, p. 159), gains a new dimension — a synchronous classroom design model for online learning. Due to the need for a rapid response combined with the lack of competencies and experience in teaching with digital technologies, teachers mostly used the form of synchronous lectures, at the same time trying to comply with the time frames provided for regular lectures, which led to students "being bombarded with lectures... while sitting in front of a webcam" (Bozkurt & Sharma 2020, p. iii). Normally, online education offers flexibility in terms of both time and space. When lectures are delivered in a synchronous mode, the aspect of time flexibility is lost, and with this imperfection, the students' working environment, housing situation, technical capabilities and infrastructure are aligned. So, the question arises, while in rushing to implement ERT, were the students' wellbeing and the learning process disregarded. Bozkurt and Sharma (2020) imply that the hitherto focus on students' engagement has become an afterthought, and point out the importance of building support communities, and sharing the knowledge and experience to provide efficient and meaningful teaching and learning processes.

Evaluating the Quality of ERT

According to Hodges et al. (2020), the type of online teaching introduced during the COVID-19 crisis should not be compared to regular online teaching in terms of experience, planning and development. These authors point out that the quality of online teaching depends on the design process and careful consideration of different design decisions, aspects which are usually absent in ERT.

The rapid approach that ERT demands may be expected to diminish the quality of teaching, especially because of the speedy redesign of courses conceived for regular classroom settings. In that sense, it is not advisable to compare the quality of ERT to face-to-face teaching. Surry and Ensminger (2001) give three reasons why media comparison studies are weak and inappropriate, and provide no real value. They start by pointing out that a medium is just a way of delivering information, and one medium is not inherently better than another, which means that any medium can deliver either good or bad instruction. In addition,

it is important to understand different media and the ways people learn with them in order to design effective teaching, and one medium cannot be expected to be better than another for delivering instruction to all types of students at all times. Their third argument is that there are too many confounding variables for the results of any media comparison study to be valid and meaningful. Starting from this point, for the purpose of this study, teachers' perceptions of the quality of ERT are examined without comparison with the quality of regular teaching.

There are a few studies which focus on assessing the quality of ERT (Mohmmed et al., 2020; Ramírez-Hurtado et al., 2021). Mohmmed et al. (2020) used the CIPP evaluation model to assess the context, input, process, and product output. They considered both synchronous and asynchronous learning modes and found the synchronous mode to be more effective in terms of student interaction. In the process evaluation it was observed that the students' responses varied according to the module and assessment types, and the students' feedback showed that the adopted ERT model is supportive, convenient, and appropriate for the critical period, providing the students with a high level of flexibility (e.g., watching the recorded sessions on platforms at a convenient time). As Hodges et al. (2020) indicate, the ERT evaluation should focus on the context, input, and process rather than the product (learning), as the shift to ERT usually occurs with staggering speed within a short period of time. In the study carried out by Mohmmed et al. (2020), the product evaluation of the ERT model was conducted with the aim of assessing the impact of ERT on students' interaction and measuring whether or not the pre-defined objectives were achieved. The study demonstrated that according to the students and teachers' responses, the ERT model successfully facilitated the teaching and learning process. A few important by-products of ERT emerged in this study: ERT provides a substantial opportunity for students to become self-learners and convergent thinkers; it fosters the skills of students and teachers in dealing with technologies and enables them to fully exploit social networking tools; ERT provides an excellent opportunity for teachers to develop their skills through various teaching and learning strategies which will have a huge impact on the students' skills and attitudes during future emergencies.

While switching to ERT, those universities which relied on the traditional face-to-face teaching model have striven to adopt strategies to ensure the service quality of their emergency online teaching. Ramírez-Hurtado et al. (2021) measured the quality of online teaching of subjects originally designed for the classroom setting for the purpose of identifying which elements or attributes of online teaching needed to be improved and developed further. The results of this study suggest a set of priority areas which require improvement: students' interaction,

the level of students' concentration in online classes, reviewing online tests, the usefulness of the system, and the diversity of assessment tests.

The Quality of ERT and Teacher-Related Factors

The literature shows that the challenges of ERT can be observed at the level of both institutional and individual factors. Institutional factors relate to the preparedness of higher education institutions for online teaching, which includes the technological infrastructure and support, instructional support, and available tools and resources (Baran & Correia, 2017; Buchanan et al., 2013; Eder, 2020; Garcia-Morales et al., 2021; Watermeyer et al., 2020). As regards individual factors, research studies focus on the following: technology acceptance (Granić & Marangunić, 2019; Ritter, 2017); motivation and the workload related to online teaching (Kebritchi et al., 2017; Polly et al., 2021); teachers' digital competencies (Amhag et al., 2019; Martin et al., 2020; Ritzhaupt et al., 2018), previous experience in using digital technology in teaching (Marek et al., 2021; Scherer & Teo, 2019; Scherer et al., 2021), self-efficacy for online teaching (Corry & Stella, 2018; Horvitz et al., 2015; Ma et al., 2021); attitudes towards digital technology in education (Amhag et al., 2019; van der Spoel et al., 2020), etc. In the context of ERT caused by the COVID-19 crisis, these individual factors and coping with the challenging situation appear to be of crucial importance. Given that in our study we deal with teachers' previous experience with online teaching and their beliefs on the potentials of online teaching/learning, in this section we will provide an overview of the findings from other studies on the related factors.

ERT and teachers' previous experience with online teaching

As expected, during the lockdown, university teachers and students intensified their use of educational technology. The ongoing digital transformation of society prior to the pandemic had resulted in a certain familiarity with educational technology among university students and teachers, which facilitated the switch to online teaching (Mishra et al., 2020). This conclusion was supported by other studies (Marek et al., 2021; van der Spoel et al., 2020), which showed that the success of online teaching during the pandemic correlated with teachers' previous experience with educational technology. These studies found that teachers who had previous

experience with online teaching reported a more positive experience and fewer difficulties in teaching online during the pandemic than those who had had little to no experience. The research carried out by Marek, Chew and Wu (2021) also indicates that most teachers experienced much higher workloads and stress than in face-to-face classes and recognized the need for adaptability and good planning. Studies also confirm a link between online-teaching self-efficacy and previous experience with online teaching (Corry & Stella, 2018; Ma et al., 2021).

Teachers' attitudes towards technology in education and online teaching/learning

Teachers' perceptions or attitudes toward technology in education are seen as a deciding factor when it comes to the incorporation of technology in teaching (van der Spoel et al., 2020). The Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) (Venkatesh & Davis, 2000) can be used for predicting teachers' attitudes towards incorporating new technology in the teaching/learning process. This model addresses two core beliefs: perceived ease of use and perceived usefulness of the application or technology. These two variables have been proven to be antecedent factors affecting the acceptance of learning with technology (Granić & Marangunić, 2019).

Relevant research results confirm that teachers' attitudes toward technology in education influence the rate of digital technology integration into the context of higher education (Amhag et al., 2019; van der Spoel et al., 2020). Some studies indicate that teachers with digital and instructional skills who value digital tools and resources and recognize the potentials of educational technology for teaching in higher education reported more willingness to teach online (Tabata & Johnsrud, 2008). The findings of Amhag, Hellström and Stigmar (2019) show that low expectations of the usefulness of educational technology for teaching can have a negative impact on the actual use of technology in the teaching/learning process.

Studies also show that the success of online teaching depends to a large extent on teachers' attitudes towards online teaching/learning (Van Raaij & Schepers, 2008; Volery & Lord, 2000; Wasserman & Migdal, 2019). Some researchers focus on developing instruments for assessing teachers attitudes towards online teaching/learning (Martin et al., 2019; Sangwan et al., 2021) as they recognize that teachers' competencies to teach online require them to adjust their attitudes towards technology and teaching.

The Aim and Context of the Present Study

Starting from the insights from the studies presented, our intention was to explore how university teachers assess the quality of online teaching during the COVID-19 crisis and to examine whether their assessments are related to their previous experience with online teaching, and their beliefs on the potentials of online teaching. The following questions are at the focus of our study: What were the characteristics of ERT — how was educational technology used for teaching and how diverse were the methods and activities used in online teaching? How do university teachers assess the quality of different aspects of online teaching during the first semester of ERT? Are teachers' individual characteristics, such as previous experience with online teaching and beliefs on the potentials of online teaching, related to the characteristics of their teaching and their assessment of the quality of ERT?

The study was conducted with teachers from the University of Belgrade (Serbia), the largest and oldest higher education institution in Serbia, established in 1808. It consists of 31 faculties and has more than 4,000 employed teaching staff and more than 90,000 students. Even though the Law on Higher Education and accreditation procedures recognize distance learning study programs, there are only a few programs that are accredited as such at the University of Belgrade. Cases of using blended learning or implementing courses fully online before the pandemic were, to our knowledge, sporadic and limited to enthusiasts.

The state of emergency in the Republic of Serbia due to the COVID-19 pandemic was introduced on March 16, 2020. As the state ordered the closure of all educational institutions, faculties were tasked with adjusting their work plan in accordance with the situation, which in most cases implied a transition to online teaching/learning. Some of the faculties already had learning management systems (LMS) in place (e.g., Moodle) or platforms which were used for videoconferencing, which were further exploited for ERT. However, at most faculties the teachers were left to their own devices and relied on their own resources to organize teaching in the changed conditions.

Method

Sample

A total of 443 teachers employed at the University of Belgrade (Serbia) completed the survey, among which 173 were males (39.1%) and 270 females (60.9%). The teachers' average number of years of experience in university teaching was around

17 (Min = 1; Max =41; M =16.84; SD = 9.24). The teachers were from 25 different faculties of the University of Belgrade: 175 teachers were from the field of social sciences and humanities (9 faculties), 155 from the field of technology (8 faculties), 68 from the field of healthcare (4 faculties), and 45 from the field of natural sciences (4 faculties).

Instrument and procedure

The data used for this study was gathered within the Erasmus+ StudES project and its research component, which aimed to explore university teachers' experiences of online teaching during the COVID-19 pandemic. The data were collected in October 2020 through an online survey hosted on Google Forms. The invitation to complete the questionnaire was sent via e-mail to individual faculties to distribute to their teachers, by the University of Belgrade management. The questionnaire was designed specifically for the purpose of the project, but only part of the collected data is presented in this paper. We used the following 5-point Likert scales: the frequency of different methods and activities in online teaching (7 items), beliefs on the potentials of online teaching/learning (5 items), and the quality of different aspects of online teaching (6 items). The teachers were also asked whether they had prior experience in online teaching (before ERT), and to mark and/or add the tools and platforms they used during ERT.

The teachers' assessments of the quality of different aspects of online teaching/learning were used as the dependent variables, while the score on the scale related to the frequency of different teaching methods and activities (representing diversity of teaching), score on the scale on beliefs on the potentials of online teaching/learning, prior experience in online teaching, and the number of platforms and tools used in online teaching were used as the independent variables. The scale on beliefs on the potentials of online teaching/learning showed an acceptable level of reliability (α = .738). Only one component, which explains 50.43% of the variance, was extracted using the principal component analysis with varimax rotation. The factor loadings for all the scale items were high (ranging from .594 to .820).

Data analysis

The data was analysed in SPSS for Windows using descriptive statistics, Pearson's correlation coefficient, and the t-test for independent samples. Hedges' *g* was used as a measure of the effect size.

Results

The teachers' assessment of the quality of ERT and the diversity of activities in online teaching/learning

as reported by the respondents (Table 1), the activities which were the most common in the first semester of ERT were lectures via video conferencing platforms or as recorded presentations, students' independent literature reading, and work on assignments provided by the teacher. More interactive and student-led activities, such as discussions, students' presentations, group work, as well as quizzes and knowledge tests, were less represented. On average, the diversity of activities in ERT was moderate (M = 21.03; Min = 7, Max = 35). The majority of the teachers used multiple tools and/or platforms (M = 2.78; Min = 1; Max = 8; SD = 1.31). Most of the teachers used video conferencing platforms (60.5% used Zoom, 34.3% Skype, 30.7% MS Teams, 19.6% Webex, and 15.8% Google Meet). The most used LMS were Moodle (53.5%) and Google Classroom (25.7%).

Table 1. Activities in online teaching during the first semester of ERT (N = 443)

Items	Min	Max	*M*	*SD*
Teachers' lectures via audio/video call or recorded presentations	1	5	3.83	1.35
Posting or sending materials for student's independent reading	1	5	3.54	1.07
Providing students with assignments	1	5	3.49	1.08
Initializing discussions in written or spoken form	1	5	2.97	1.13
Assigning quizzes and knowledge tests	1	5	2.48	1.42
Students' work in pairs or groups	1	5	2.37	1.29
Students' presentations and reports	1	5	2.31	1.31
Composite score:	7	35	21.03	4.75

Note. The teachers provided their responses on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Not represented at all) to 5 (The most represented).

As presented in Table 2, the teachers estimated that most of the qualities of teaching/learning during the first semester of ERT, such as students' motivation and devotion to the activities during classes, interaction, and cooperation between students, as well as the quality of knowledge the students demonstrated, were relatively poor. The teachers were the most satisfied with the students' timeliness in completing course assignments, while they recognized the quality of interaction with students as the greatest shortcoming of ERT. The teachers' scores on the composite scale for diversity of teaching are positively correlated with their

assessment of different aspects of online teaching/learning: student motivation (r = .250, p <.001), students' timeliness in completing course assignments (r = .261, p <.001), student engagement (r = .330, p <.001), the quality of students' knowledge (r = .279, p <.001), the quality of interaction with students (r = .292, p <.001), and the quality of interaction and cooperation among students (r = .254, p <.001).

Table 2. Teachers' assessments of different aspects of online teaching/learning during the first semester of ERT (N = 443)

Aspects of online teaching/learning	Min	Max	*M*	*SD*
Student's motivation for work and learning	1	5	2.62	0.96
The quality of interaction with students	1	5	2.08	1.06
The quality of interaction and cooperation among students	1	5	2.52	0.99
Student's timeliness in completing course assignments	1	5	3.04	0.98
The quality of student engagement in activities during classes	1	5	2.65	1.05
The quality of knowledge the students demonstrated in pre-exam assignments and the exam	1	5	2.64	0.81

Note. The teachers provided their responses on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Very poor) to 5 (Very good).

Previous experience in online teaching and the quality of ERT

Most of the university teachers (281 out of 443; 63.4%) did not have prior experience in online teaching, i.e., ERT was the first time they had organized online teaching. The t-test shows that those teachers who had prior experience in online teaching used more diverse activities in their teaching (M = 22.45; SD = 4.45) compared to those who were engaged in online teaching for the first time (M = 20.22; SD = 4.73), $t(440)$ = 4.868, p <.001, g = 0.48. They also used more tools and platforms (M = 3.20; SD = 1.44) than the teachers who did not have prior experience in online teaching (M = 2.54; SD = 1.16), $t(438)$ = 5.240, p <.001, g = 0.52. Both previously mentioned effects are of moderate size. The teachers who had previous experience with online teaching also assessed the quality of ERT more positively. They were more satisfied with the students' motivation ($t(441)$ = 3.739, p <.001, g = 0.37), their timeliness in completing assignments ($t(441)$ = 2.430, p = .016, g = 0.23), the quality of their engagement in activities during classes ($t(441)$ = 3.842, p <.001, g = 0.38), as well as with the quality of knowledge the students demonstrated in pre-exam assignments and final exams ($t(441)$ = 4.050, p <.001, g = 0.40).

The teachers' beliefs on the potentials of online teaching and the quality of ERT

On average, we could say that the university teachers have mixed beliefs regarding the potentials of online teaching. As presented in Table 3, the teachers agreed that certain teaching/learning goals cannot be achieved in an online environment, and they were the most skeptical of the possibility to organize exams in such a context. The greatest variations in the level of the teachers' agreement are observed for the possibility to organize valid exams in an online environment and the possibility of online teaching/learning being of equal quality as face-to-face teaching.

Table 3. Teachers' beliefs on the potentials of online teaching (N = 443)

Items	Min	Max	*M*	*SD*
I believe that online and face-to-face teaching can be of equal quality.	1	5	2.84	1.34
Online teaching could have positive effects on my approach to teaching and the quality of my work.	1	5	3.07	1.19
Working in an online environment has a negative influence on the quality of students' knowledge.	1	5	2.97	1.21
Certain teaching/learning goals cannot be achieved in an online environment.	1	5	3.88	1.15
I believe it is possible to organize exams in an online environment in a valid manner.	1	5	2.54	1.45

Note. The teachers provided their responses on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Completely disagree) to 5 (Completely agree). Negative items were rotated in further analysis.

The results of the t-test indicate that the teachers who had prior experience in online teaching had more positive beliefs on the potentials of online teaching (M = 0.29; SD = 0.99) when compared to those who were involved in online teaching for the first time during the pandemic (M = –0.17; SD = 0.96), $t(441) = 4.880$, $p < .001$, $g = 0.48$. It is also evident that those teachers who have more positive beliefs on the potentials of online teaching also tend to use more diverse activities in their teaching ($r = .299$, $p < .001$), and give higher assessments of the quality of different aspects of ERT: student motivation ($r = .432$, $p < .001$), the quality of interaction with students ($r = .452$, $p < .001$), interaction and cooperation among students ($r = .353$, $p < .001$), students' timeliness in completing course assignments ($r = .401$, $p < .001$), the quality of the students' engagement in activities ($r = .514$, $p < .001$), and the quality of knowledge the students demonstrate ($r = .456$, $p < .001$).

Discussion

In this study we aimed to explore how university teachers assess the quality of ERT and whether their assessments are related to their previous experience with online teaching, and their beliefs on the potentials of online teaching.

The findings indicate that the teachers were not fully satisfied with the quality of online teaching/learning in the first semester of ERT, foremost in terms of the quality of interaction with students, which is in line with the findings from other studies (Ramírez-Hurtado et al., 2021). Since the most prominent activities in teaching/learning during ERT were of a transmissive nature (lectures via video calls, recorded presentations, and posting materials), it is understandable that the students' motivation and engagement, as well as student-teacher interactions and interactions between students, fell short of the desired extent and quality. We could argue that many teachers tried to mimic their usual in-person classes, relying primarily on synchronous communication through video conferencing tools and/or on sharing materials on online learning platforms, which in turn limited the potentials of online teaching/learning, as also observed by Bozkurt and Sharma (2020). As ERT came as a sudden change, the teachers did not have enough time, and in many cases lacked the required competencies, to plan and organize online teaching in a different manner, e.g., by employing an asynchronous mode of work, using more interactive teaching methods, etc. However, we could argue that the greater representation of asynchronous teaching/learning would not necessarily lead to more/better student interaction, as students are not used to such a way of working. That could be the reason why the synchronous mode was found to be more effective in terms of student interaction in some studies (Mohmmed et al., 2020).

Our findings show that those teachers who had prior experience in online teaching and positive beliefs regarding the potentials of online teaching/learning used more online tools and a greater variety of teaching methods and activities during ERT, which is in line with the insights from other studies (Amhag et al., 2019; Granić & Marangunić, 2019; Tabata & Johnsrud, 2008; van der Spoel et al., 2020). Moreover, they were also more satisfied with the quality of online teaching/learning. Other studies also found that the success of ERT is related to teachers' prior experience with educational technology (Marek et al., 2021; van der Spoel et al., 2020) and their attitudes towards online teaching (Van Raaij & Schepers, 2008; Volery & Lord, 2000; Wasserman & Migdal, 2019). However, given that most of the teachers from our sample did not have prior experience in online teaching, and their beliefs related to online teaching/learning are not encouraging, we could argue that the pandemic was not the best opportunity for

university teachers to gain confidence in such a way of working and to develop positive attitudes towards online teaching/learning. In other words, experience with ERT does not, by itself, lead to positive beliefs among university teachers who are novices when it comes to online teaching/learning, as they are probably influenced by the experienced quality of ERT. Therefore, we argue that teachers' beliefs related to the potentials of online teaching/learning are crucial for the quality of online teaching/learning, but also that experience in online teaching could, in turn, facilitate a change in teachers' beliefs.

Conclusion

Regardless of the medium used, good teaching requires careful planning. However, planning teaching/learning for the online environment and in the context of a pandemic certainly brings certain specificities and requires teachers who have the skills to adapt their teaching to these specificities and to their students' needs (Bates, 2019). As the transition to online reality was sudden during the COVID-19 pandemic, teachers had to rely on their own pre-existing competencies and capacities. Therefore, it is no surprise that prior experience and positive beliefs on the potentials of online teaching/learning served as a valuable asset for teachers during the ERT. Thus, training related to different aspects of online teaching should be provided for university teachers who, driven by their experience in ERT, are motivated to further develop their competencies and to integrate online tools into their everyday face-to-face teaching and/or to organize university courses which will be delivered online. Special attention should be paid to expanding teachers' knowledge and building positive beliefs on the potentials of online teaching/learning, as the ERT during the pandemic did not allow for such potentials to be fully exploited. As many authors (Bozkurt & Sharma, 2020; Bozkurt et al., 2020; Hodges et al., 2020) emphasize, ERT should not be equated with online teaching and nor should its quality be compared with the provision of regular online education. Therefore, it is particularly important to stimulate debate among teachers on the goals and qualities of ERT and to highlight the differences between ERT and online teaching/learning. This does not necessarily mean that ERT does not offer some of the qualities of good (online) teaching, but rather calls for a review of its qualities in a wider context. Namely, in the time of the pandemic, the priority of many education systems and institutions was to ensure continuity in education (Hodges et al., 2020; OECD, 2021; Schleicher, 2020) and not to rapidly develop high quality online teaching/learning. Therefore, the quality of ERT could primarily be measured in terms of

providing students with opportunities to learn despite the pandemic and in line with the changed realities of students' lives due to the pandemic.

Further research should explore teachers' perspective on how the quality of ERT should be operationalized and how those perspectives are related to specific teaching practice. In addition, given that our findings suggest that teachers who experienced online teaching for the first time during the pandemic did not have positive beliefs on the potentials of online teaching/learning and were less satisfied with the quality of teaching, further research could focus on exploring whether teachers' beliefs and the quality of their teaching changes over time, as they gain more experience and undergo training related to online teaching.

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Perspektive univerzitetskih nastavnika o kvalitetu nastave na daljinu u vanrednoj situaciji – situacija u Srbiji tokom pandemije kovida 19[6]

Apstrakt: Ova studija se bavi kvalitetom nastave na daljinu u vanrednoj situaciji u sferi višeg i visokog obrazovanja u Srbiji tokom pandemije kovida 19. Namera nam je da ispitamo kako univerzitetski nastavnici procenjuju kvalitet nastave na daljinu u vanrednoj situaciji i da li je njihova procena povezana s njihovim prethodnim iskustvima u onlajn nastavi i uverenjima o potencijalima onlajn nastave. U ispitivanju su učestvovala 443 nastavnika sa Univerziteta u Beogradu. Utvrdili smo da nastavnici nisu bili zadovoljni kvalitetom nastave na daljinu u vanrednoj situaciji u pogledu interakcije sa studentima, motivacije studenata i kvaliteta njihovog angažovanja tokom nastave. Nastavnici koji su imali prethodno iskustvo u onlajn nastavi i pozitivnija uverenja o potencijalima onlajn nastave/učenja primenili su raznovrsnije onlajn alatke, metode podučavanja i aktivnosti prilikom nastave na daljinu u vanrednoj situaciji. Samim tim, oni su bili zadovoljniji kvalitetom onlajn nastave. Dakle, treba obratiti naročitu pažnju na unapređivanje znanja nastavnika i njihove svesti o potencijalima onlajn nastave/učenja, budući da nastava na daljinu u vanrednoj situaciji nije ostvarila svoj puni potencijal.

Ključne reči: nastava na daljinu u vanrednoj situaciji, onlajn nastava, više i visoko obrazovanje, pandemija kovida 19, univerzitetski nastavnici.

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A Comparative Study of Youth and Adult Education in Three Social Movement Contexts

Abstract: This article presents the results of a comparative study of learning and education in contemporary student movements in Chile, Egypt, and Puerto Rico, which arose as responses to neoliberal economic grievances. The study uses an andragogical lens to analyse these movements as examples of collective self-directed pedagogical practice by and within social movements. Drawing on Santos' (2006) sociologies of absence and "emergence", the study utilizes autoethnographic and secondary data analysis to voice

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social movement-based learning alternatives. We argue that, despite the different contexts of each movement, they still share many commonalities in organizing and educating in response to global neoliberalism.

Key words: social movement learning, comparative adult education, Chile, Egypt, Puerto Rico, andragogy, neoliberalism.

Andragogy and Social Movements

In the last few decades, we have seen a major upsurge in social movements across the globe. Almeida (2019) cites several social science researchers who have empirically demonstrated what many of us subjectively feel and understand: there is an increasing level of collective action being taken by the people in our countries and across the world. This increase in social movement activity has not gone unnoticed by educational researchers. According to Niesz, et. al (2018), it is the field of adult education that has the most coherent research program on the relationship between learning and education and social movements. Increasingly, we are seeing more-and-more studies in the field framed by the term social movement learning (SML). The field of adult education has shown that social movements are an important area for understanding the nature of learning (Holst, 2018; Walker & Butterwick, 2020).

Nevertheless, the interest in SML is not taken up evenly across the subfields within adult education. Based on a review of literature across the major adult education journals, we find that there are very few studies that relate andragogy to learning or education in social movements. Keefe's (2015) andragogical approach to a study of Myles Horton and the Highlander Folk School is perhaps unique in its effort to specifically analyse social movement-based adult education from an andragogical perspective.

The dearth in andragogical research on SML could be explained by the oft cited critique (e.g., Kruszelnicki, 2020; Pratt, 1993; Raymer, 2020) that andragogy focuses predominantly on the individual at the expense of the social; thereby, orienting any andragogical research toward individual learning and not learning that takes place in social or collective contexts, such as social movements. While this may be true, there are adult educators who have taken up the central andragogical tenet of self-directedness and detailed how it can easily be framed as a fundamental aspect of education for social change. Brookfield and Holst (2010), for example, show how self-directedness, when framed as self-determination for oppressed sectors of societies, becomes essential for understanding adult education for social change. Raymer (2020) shows how a social and transformative

andragogy of hope is a central aspect of The Global Network of Learning Cities that emphasizes adult education for social change.

It is our view that andragogical studies can and should join the efforts to understand the nature of learning and education in social movements. In this article, we present comparative research on three contemporary social movements in three countries. All three cases are examples of how sectors of society engage in social movement-based, collective self-directed learning and education, which can help us explore the andragogical aspects of social movement-based or social change-oriented education.

Methodology

Our research is a qualitative, interpretive, and comparative case study of the collective self-directed learning and education taking place in specific periods of mobilization within three social movements in three countries. Our study is interpretive because we are interested in developing conceptual and theoretical insights (Merriam, 1991, pp. 27–28) into the nature of collective self-directed learning and education within social movements, more specifically within student movements arising from the struggles against neoliberal policies. The authors who participated in these movements used data drawn from autoethnographic analysis of their own participation in the movements, data from secondary analysis of the movements, and data from artifacts such as social media, videos, and interviews produced by the movements themselves. Moreover, the interpretive and comparative nature of our inquiry is based on Santos' (2006) concepts of a "sociology of absences" and a "sociology of emergences" that are a part of his broader project of epistemologies of the South. Considering these two sociologies as dialectically related, we find Santos (2006) to be particularly informative for our methodology; his work on the World Social Forum movement of the early 2000s was specifically focused on the then emerging social movement-based alternatives to neoliberal globalization, and on the alternative Global South-based epistemologies foundational to these alternatives. Furthermore, Santos' work emerges contemporary to the movements we are analysing. For Santos, a sociology of absences focuses on social entities which are purposely produced as non-existent in dominant ways of understanding the world. In other words, the absences refer to that which does exist, but is absent in mainstream and, particularly, in Western perspectives; these are sites where subaltern pedagogies arise.

The sociology of "emergences" is future oriented. In revealing and highlighting the absences, a sociology of "emergences" looks to identify the latent pos-

sibilities for alternatives to the dominant ways of being in and understanding the world. We see the movements we are investigating as sources of alternative ways of being, understanding, collective self-directed learning, and educating that are generally absent in and made absent by mainstream notions of adult education, but that are emergent possible alternatives to these very same mainstream approaches to adult education.

The above appears particularly relevant in the context of the struggles against Neoliberalism, an economic model that has not only subjected the field of education to market forces, but most relations as well. Starting with its early implementation in Chile under dictatorial conditions (Letelier, 1976), the model was quickly promoted all over the Global South, and in societies as distinct as Egypt (Beinin, 2016) and Puerto Rico. The student movements presented here emerged, first and foremost, in response to the conditions the global neoliberal agenda imposed in all three countries.

The Student Movement in Chile (2006–2019)

Neoliberalism in Chile was first implemented during the military dictatorship (1973–1988), and further developed under transitional governments (1989–to present). While in the 1980s students fought against the dictatorship, in the more recent uprisings they have organized against the economic model itself.

The years following the dictatorship did not change, but rather expanded the socio-economic neoliberal model. This economic model permeated all spheres of social life by introducing new widespread privatizations that, through processes of accumulation by dispossession, as Harvey (2005) has pointed out, reduced public investment, and transferred these funds to the private sector. In the area of public education, this meant the deterioration of state provisions and the exacerbation of social and economic barriers to the exercise of the right to education at all levels of the educational system (Assaél Budnik et al., 2011). Students have persisted in social mobilization processes throughout the post-dictatorship period (1989–present); both university and high school students have been relevant actors in the struggle for better and just living conditions in the country during this period (Aguilera Ruiz, 2012; Thielemann, 2017).

Historically, student protests took place in April and May each year, when the presidential "state of the union" address was delivered. Students organized to have their demands be included in the general announcements made in the address each year. During the 1990s, the students achieved remedial measures that did not go beyond the neoliberal framework, such as an increase in the scholar-

ship fund, or greater direct allocations to public universities. All this changed in 2006, when the high school students' protests directed against the cost of transportation and the school pass escalated to a national uprising lasting almost a semester. This movement installed in the country's ethos the idea that collective transformations could dismantle the advances of neoliberalism and turn society towards a progressive direction (Bellei & Caballin, 2013; Campos-Martínez & Olavarría, 2020; Inzunza et al., 2019).

The May of the Penguins

The mobilization of high school students during the first semester of 2006 was a lesson in organization, self-management, and construction of political subjects within a youth movement. Initially, the students used the traditional forms of protest — street blockades, demonstrations in the centre of the cities, etc. But the repression they suffered from the police forces forced them to change their protest strategies. That is when they began to occupy their schools in what is known as a "toma", or occupation. During the mobilization, a total of 20 schools were occupied. The "toma" is the occupation of the students' own educational establishments; in this way, the students establish spaces for self-education and political awareness building. The main spaces for this have been the student assemblies, which are non-hierarchical structures of participation and dialogue that function at the level of each school. Each school had its own assembly, which elected spokespersons. The spokespersons represented the voice of their peers in inter-assembly meetings at the regional and national levels. The spokespersons could not vote in these spaces without first consulting their base assemblies; this way, after each meeting, they returned to report points of agreement and disagreement, and new dialogue was generated from which a mandate emerged and was then taken by the spokespersons to new assemblies coordinating committees (Campos-Martínez & Olavarría, 2020; Domedel & Lillo, 2008).

In this reflective process, two phenomena took shape. On the one hand, the meaning of the demands was expanded from concrete local demands to more complex national demands. The local demands called for better teaching conditions, greater relevance of the curriculum, decent infrastructure, teaching materials, decent bathrooms, etc. The national demands questioned the essence of neoliberalism and its impact on the nature of the education system. Two of the most central and heartfelt demands were the end of for-profit education and the end of educational segregation between schools for the rich and schools for the poor. This was protested by both private and public-school students. They questioned the

role that market education had played in making social mobility practically impossible for most students, thus dismantling the myth of meritocracy, and strengthening the movement in the process. The students became aware of the unequal conditions that ruled their lives, and of the precarity of their survival in a country where state control had been delivered into the hands of the private sector.

On the other hand, within the "tomas", the students also developed cultural activities and activities linking the school occupations with the immediate communities; they also used the space to continue studying and training among peers. There was a process of political education that permeated an entire generation, launching waves of protest that overlapped over the years and shared aims and means in the struggle to put an end to neoliberalism and its impact on the educational system.

This stage of students' protests and organizing was co-opted by the government of Michelle Bachelet (2006–2010) through the creation of a broad space for discussion with economic interest groups. Representatives of the student world sat down with representatives of the political and business class and discussed the bases that the new educational system should have. No meaningful agreements were reached on this matter, and the movement lost strength until it disappeared the same year (Cornejo et al., 2012; Inzunza et al., 2019). But discontent emerged again with renewed strength in 2011, this time when most of the students of the "Penguin" generation were already attending university. This new movement was named the "Chilean Spring" (Campos-Martínez & Olavarría, 2020).

The Chilean Spring

In 2011, the student mobilizations started early; paradoxically that year, it was the private universities' students with a focus on the popular classes the ones who started the demonstrations that escalated again to national levels. The leadership of these demonstrations was entrenched in the CONFECH, an association that groups the traditional universities' student centres. CONFECH has a hierarchical structure, with representatives from the different universities, and a centralized structure for deliberation and planning. The structure facilitated the coordination between marches in some ways, and it was possible to gather multitudes of people of different ages in these marches. Some of them surpassed one million people; almost 10% of the country's population marched in the streets, and 80% of the population supported the students' mobilization process (Campos-Martínez & Olavarría, 2020; Inzunza et al., 2019; Figueroa, 2012).

The demands of this mobilization also occurred at the local and national levels. At the local level, each college negotiated aspects that were important to them, such as curriculum, modes of work, school fees, etc (Campos-Martínez & Olavarría, 2020; Figueroa, 2012). At the national level, common demands that continued the anti-neoliberal legacy of the "Penguins" were brought up. At this point, the political understanding on the need to overcome neoliberalism was shared transversally with the public through training and popular education processes that students carried out in the streets, on public transport, in schools, and in other community spaces (Sandoval Moja & Carvallo Gallardo, 2019; Stromquist, & Sanyal, 2013).

Protest strategy during this period included massive marches with take-overs and occupations of higher education institutions. As with the "Penguin movement", the occupations became important spaces for cultural development, creativity, and sharing the political common sense of the times. In the "tomas", students met to deliberate and discuss their situation and discontent, but also planned cultural and educational actions to educate the population as to the importance of ending neoliberalism and its impact on the living conditions of the whole society (Sandoval Moja & Carvallo Gallardo, 2019).

The marches were also multitudinous and took place in different regions of Chile. Within the marches, different cultural manifestations took place. The march was a place of joy, the foretelling of the possibilities of a new society. Students came with their children, parents, and grandparents; multiple generations marched for the idea of a society that would overcome neoliberalism (Figueroa, 2012). During this period the right-wing were in government (2010–2014) but it was very difficult to maintain governability. In the Ministry of Education, three different ministers took turns in less than six months. None of them was able to channel the general discontent of the population (Campos-Martínez & Olavarría, 2020; Palacios-Valladares & Ondetti, 2019).

The aftermath of the mobilizations

President Piñera's conservative government (2010–2014) was unable to address the demands put forward by the waves of student protests, so the protests extended throughout his administration. While there were no gains in this period, there were no major setbacks in areas such as privatization of education and profit-making. But the neoliberal framework remained in place, this time supported again by the so-called centre-left government under Michelle Bachelet (Cornejo et al., 2012; Palacios-Valladares & Ondetti, 2019). The student movement also

underwent transformations; one of the most important ones was the consolidation of a feminist outlook in the organizational structures of the students (Aguilera Morales et al. 2021). The first glimpses of this occurred, one more time, among high school students, when an all-girls' high school protested against the chants made by their peers in an all-boys' high school. Their banners read: "They ask for quality and equality but, when they march, they shout without thinking"[6].

In the universities, gender secretariats slowly came about under the auspices of student federations, but with less than enthusiastic support. These secretariats would be instrumental in what became the third major wave of protests and strikes that affected the country (Aguilera Morales et al., 2021; Campos-Martínez & Olavarría, 2020). The feminist mobilizations of 2018 paralyzed most of the country's campuses under the banner of greater equality, safe and harassment-free campuses, and clear institutional actions to prevent violence and discrimination against women and sexual minorities (Aguilera Morales et al., 2021; Campos-Martínez & Olavarría, 2020). In terms of the internal politics of the universities, it can be said that these mobilizations succeeded in establishing the need for profound transformations; still, the greatest impact they had was to extend feminist ethics and organizational outlook outside the university campuses.

On the other hand, the state was again in the hands of conservative groups, with Sebastián Piñera (2018–present) as president once more. At the educational level, the main task his government set for themselves was to dismantle student organizations, particularly those in high schools (Sisto & Campos-Martínez, In press). A new law was passed to facilitate the expulsion of student leaders. The safe classroom law, Nº 21.128 (a.k.a. Safe classroom law), was used at least 52 times in 2019 to expel, without due process, those students who protested for better learning conditions and equal education (Díaz & Spencer; 2021). Jointly, the conservative governments at the local level relied on the police to unleash repression, even inside the schools themselves. The students had no choice but to look for new creative ways to demonstrate. This is how, in October 2019, a new fare hike in public transportation inspired students to leave their schools and protest in the subway stations. The form of protest was the evasion of fare payment by jumping turnstiles at the stations. The students encouraged the public to do the same under chants such as "evade, don't pay, another way to fight." The government's response came in the form of repression inside the subway stations, which eventually led to a stoppage of service due to the risk to students and drivers. The collapse of the subway led to the collapse of the city, and so, on October 18, 2019, Santiago exploded in a social protest that paralyzed the country

[6] https://noticiasyanarquia.blogspot.com/2016/05/la-marcha-feminista-del-liceo-de-ninas.html

for several weeks, and which dealt an important blow to neoliberalism (Sisto & Campos-Martínez, In press).

Finally, the students have achieved what they fought for so many years, but, paradoxically, in the process of organizing, their protagonism made them citizens, who, allied with other citizens and diverse generations, joined together in territorial, neighbourhood, and community assemblies to plan for a country we all dream of. The organizational drive followed the groundwork laid down by the 2006 assemblies; the analysis of the consequences of the neoliberal model also rescued the learnings of 2011; and feminism has made an important contribution to the general understanding that neoliberal patriarchal capitalism is not only based on the precariousness of the lives of workers, but also on the profit from and the invisibility of care work, in other words, of those conditions that ensure the reproduction of life and that are often under the sole responsibility of women. The process has now led to the writing of a new constitution by a democratically elected constituent assembly, with results we hope to see soon.

Scenes from the Student Movement in Egypt

Universities in Egypt have historically been known as social movement territories and spaces for resistance against a government that does not allow students' political participation. In the 1970s and 80s, Egypt had more than half a million students in Higher Education. The student unions and the "families" (a small group that created on-campus student engagement around various topics) were the drivers of the student movement at the time. The university administration tried to build obstacles for these forms of collective actions. Students called for improving student welfare on campus and demanded their right to engage in political participation. The government's stance towards these demands and actions was reflected in President Sadat's words at the time: "I am saying that strikes, sit-ins, disruption of studies are forbidden...It shouldn't happen in the universities... The mission of educational institutions is Education. Those who wish to engage in politics should find a political party outside" (Abdalla, 2008, p. 228). This state of affairs did not change in the years that followed.

Neoliberalism and socio-economic grievances

By the end of the 1980s, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) became strong advocates for neoliberal thinking. They began demanding the Global South implement neoliberal policies in exchange for debt refinancing

(Beinin, 2012). Egypt was one of the first countries to implement these neoliberal policies. Mubarak's economic reform and his neoliberal project required dismantling old systems and establishing a new state. These reforms resulted in both a discontent that catalysed resistance and social movements and discontent that led to building alternative non-formal educational spaces.

Egypt had been under emergency law[7] since Mubarak came to the presidency in 1981, which gave him the right to act without requiring the backing of the supreme court. The law extended Mubarak's presidential powers and centralized the Egyptian political system. Additionally, state security and the ruling party interfered to systematically create obstacles and prevent people from political participation (Dorio, 2016; Mirshak, 2020a). Abuaita, A. (2018, p.39) captures Mubarak's mindset about education in light of neoliberal reforms: "Education is the major pillar for our national security on a broad scale...It is our way to world competition in markets".

In 2002, the ruling party (NDP) announced a new education reform policy as follows:

1. Decentralizing the education reform process and involving the community in decision making.
2. Equipping the universities with the needed infrastructure, whether human or physical.
3. Improving the quality of the faculty and administrators in Higher Education (Kozma, 2005).

Student mobilization before 2011

On the outbreak of the second Palestinian Intifada in 2003, Egypt's historical conflict with Israel led to waves of public mobilizations that had no precedent in the Mubarak era (Joya, 2011). The government did not strongly oppose these protests so as not to look unpatriotic. Egyptians from different backgrounds continued to organize themselves to provide various forms of aid to the Palestinian people. At this point, Egyptians could not overlook the inequalities in their own society, particularly not those students on campuses faced with reform policies failing to bring about change.

In 2004, there was a collective effort to organize a two-fold front: anti-war and anti-neoliberalism, as implemented in the universities. Several student groups from a wide range of ideological backgrounds, including communists, liberals, and Islamists, supported the "Kefaya (translates Enough) movement"

[7] The emergency law has been lifted as of October 2021.

(Joya, 2011). The "Kefaya movement" mobilized and organized on the streets, taking political education from textbooks to the ground practice for the first time in decades (Ezzeldeen, 2010). The movement's activities started by organizing mass demonstrations to break the taboo against political participation and to announce the beginning of a new era of resistance (Abdelrahman, 2015). "Kefaya's manifesto" clearly stated its demands for the ending of the emergency law and of the constraints over collective and individual rights and freedom; it also demanded the end of state's control over syndicates and unions; and, finally, it manifested its rejection of Gamal Mubarak's presidency. These demands were extended to university demands for a police-free campus.

Students became aware of the contradiction in this era's educational reform. Mubarak's privatization of universities did not mean letting go of his control on the content offered by these institutions. For example, political education was only allowed, whether in schools or universities, under state control and in a very superficial manner that would not provoke opposition, but build a taboo around political participation (Mirshak, 2020a). The reform expected youth to take responsibility and engage in specific and predefined aspects of the public sphere while being censored from political participation. At that time, it was acceptable to organize a fundraiser or a charity event to help workers who lost their jobs, but it was not allowed to hold a protest in solidarity with those workers (El-Mahdi, 2011). Education reforms came with the mantra that every individual's responsibility is to search for knowledge online to advance their education and equip them with the needed skills to match the labor market demands. These reforms were "well-suited to the neoliberal agenda" (Milana, 2012, p. 111).

The student movement aimed to educate the middle class and the working-class students to create social and political change. It also ensured that its educational activities included marginalized voices such as women. Working with "Kefaya", the movement began workshops and seminars to shed light on Egypt's economic difficulties and give people more political contexts and reasons to mobilize (Ezzeldeen, 2010). At the time, "Kefaya" undertook the unveiling of the government's propaganda about neoliberal economic growth and educational reforms and endeavoured to educate about how these reforms and changes affected the labour market. In 2006, the student movement supported and worked with the "March 9th group" against police intervention on several university campuses and advocated for academic freedom.

In 2010, student activists were an integral part of cycles of protest, which led to the emergence of new modes of mobilizing calling for quality education and economic justice. These organizations succeeded in attracting inactive and apolitical youth, who had not been previously involved in the public sphere,

through educating about civic and public engagement (Ramzy, 2018). They had flexible structures and were highly decentralized and based mainly on electing a steering committee. Moreover, they were "trans-ideological" and included youth from various backgrounds that could reach compromises that enabled them to work together.

Abdelrahman (2015) argued that "Kefaya" represented an umbrella for those movements. However, those movements were rhizomatic in nature as per Evans' (2012) definition, which means they were all non-centred and non-hierarchical. These movements included student organizations[8] such as "youth for change," which organized toward pro-democracy and political participation. The "9 March" Faculty group also emerged on several university campuses against the police and state security intervention and advocated for academic freedom. Each movement had its agenda; however, they still shared the same anti-neoliberal stance and maintained solidarity ties. The student movement pre-2011, depended on: 1) new technologies for communication, such as email groups, social media networks, and blogging, to educate, organize and mobilize people, 2) building non-formal education spaces on campus to educate towards employability and civic participation, and 3) strikes and demonstrations, believing that being present on the streets was an essential tool for building consciousness and contesting state hegemony (Oweidat et al., 2008; Ramzy, 2018).

This era did not witness movements that had a stable institutionalized structure. This was due to the very firm repressive nature of the Egyptian regime, with full control over the economic, political, and social aspects. This setting encouraged movements to become less structured and more flexible to manoeuvre around the tools of repression.

Post Arab Spring

With few openings for mobilization and limited resources, the students survived within very minimal organizing resources. The students' organizing witnessed several changes in terms of structure, and the resistance became a non-formal education space where people learned by doing. It started from socio-economic grievances and extended to the Arab Spring. The role of students and their modes of organizing affected the general population's response to the government of Mubarak. The students were an essential part of the Tahrir Square protests and even of the elections that followed.

[8] We use the term »student organization« to refer to any student group on campus. These groups could include "families" (Abdalla, 2008), student activities (Ramzy, 2018), student unions, or student political parties.

Between 2011 and 2013, we witnessed an exceptional openness in the political space; many student organizations engaged in different forms of collective action across the country, with various causes and political affiliations. The uprising also led to a boost in the number of operational political parties. Most political parties had student branches in universities. These branches taught about the party's vision and goals or outsourced educators who shared the same vision. In general, the students extended their non-formal education spaces beyond employability skills to indirect and sometimes direct political education (Mirshak, 2020b).

For example, one of the liberal political parties, Misr El Qaweya (translates, Strong Egypt) held several workshops for students in different universities across Egypt. The goal was to educate participants about the different types of elections and the voting process. The January 2011 uprising helped expand the traditional definition of learning and education beyond schools and universities. Informal learning experiences occurred when participants started reflecting on and expanding their educational tools and pedagogy. Student-led organizations started to create educational tools such as board games, or experiences such as retreats and educational camps available to a broad public, preferably for a public that would not otherwise have access to them. The content of these educational tools was mainly related to community participation, redefining citizenship, and political education.

Educating within those student organizations, whether affiliated with parties or not, did witness some shifts post-2011. Previously, the groups engaged in organizing and education adopted the same ways they were taught within the formal education system. This meant replicating the power dynamics and offering corporatized methods of teaching. Before 2011, student organizations used to have a human resources management unit responsible for recruiting and training incoming volunteers. After 2011, some of them changed their practices and adapted language to meet our work's needs and nature. They started to recruit volunteers and encourage members' participation. We stopped using the vertical matrix structure in our work and changed those to horizontal structures. And thus, this reflected on how we were educated. This distinction required addressing political affiliations and navigating ideological representations.

To create spaces for these discussions, we started a series of reading groups and workshops to study sociological and pedagogical aspects of community organizing. We read from Gustave Le Bon to Malek Bennabi, Fanon, and Freire. The students' experiences were part of a larger-scale collective action that did not last long because of the closure of spaces where the educational work took place. Several spaces where students used to gather were closed; and, due to the violence

at that time, sustaining the work in smaller groups in individuals' homes could not last long.

The Puerto Rican Case

Gerónimo-López and Tormos-Aponte (2021) analysed the experience of organizing in the national student strikes of 2005, 2010, and 2017 at the University of Puerto Rico, the island's only public institution of higher education. This section parts from their study to focus on how students reinvented their participation structures and modes of organizing as a result of those strikes.

Student activism has been a recurrent phenomenon in the history of the University of Puerto Rico since 1920 (Negrón, 1976). Different waves have mobilized against the consequences of globalization, neoliberalism, and United States' colonial rule over Puerto Rico over educational policies, such as the Americanization of education, privatization of educational institutions, and tuition hikes. Each context has influenced the students' response with different organizing outcomes in participation structures, articulation of common interests, and educational approach inwards and outwards.

The 2005 strike context

The student strike of 2005 responded to the implementation of neoliberal policies in Puerto Rico (Atiles-Osoria, 2013). The student body held an amalgam of different positions with respect to neoliberal changes. Most students voiced their personal perspectives in the hallways, while others carried forward the narratives of the political organizations and parties they belonged to. The student regular assembly was the place to come up with a unified position regarding an imminent 33% tuition hike. Those in favour, those against it, and those who had no idea what was going on attended the fall student assembly of 2005 seeking to have their concerns heard, or form an opinion based on other students' analysis of the context. Assemblies are an informal place of learning where students can perfect their argumentation, switch perceptions, or get their facts straight about any rumour of a strike or stoppage — a default tactic that increases the uncertainty and exasperation. In the 2005 assembly, student activists and nonactivists considered voting against the motion to strike because they understood that the strike had not been adequately prepared; but, in the end, the strike motion passed because "something had to be done immediately, and they could only think of the strike as the immediate tactic" (Roberto, 2017).

Though the assembly remained as the legitimate participation space, students resorted to the creation of a new body, a committee that would provide organized students greater organizational autonomy when compared to the limited powers granted by the official student council. More importantly, the committee would be agile in communicating with the administration and get back to the assembly for feedback and next steps. Carrying a class struggle analysis that defended the working-class' access to the public university, the members of the *Comité Universitario Contra el Alza* (or University Committee Against Tuition Raise) gained the students' trust and support to carry on. But the procedures were far from ideal in terms of diversity. Students faced the patriarchal, homophobic, and sexist positions from the committee's members, resulting in the withdrawal of support from feminists' groups and the LGBTTQIA+ (Tormos, 2019). Furthermore, the committee skipped crucial democratic deliberation processes and approved unilateral agreements with the administration, without bringing it to the plenary bodies that expected a participatory representation (Gerónimo-López and Tormos-Aponte, 2021). The strike ended after 26 days with the implementation of a yearly phased tuition hike. The relevance of staying organized was put to the test but prevailed (Roberto, 2017). Students kept participating in assemblies over the next academic years, but learned to be vigilant of pseudo participatory alternatives proclaiming autonomy under any representative democracy structure and procedures, student councils, and committees included.

The 2010 strike context

The student strike of 2010 responded to Certification 98, a policy initiative that threatened thousands of students' access to higher education by eliminating tuition exemption for honour students, athletes, work-study program students, and university employees' children (Gerónimo-López & Tormos-Aponte, 2021). In the spring, 3,000 students passed a motion for an immediate 48-hour stoppage, followed by an indefinite strike, unless the university administration dropped Certification 98. The strike started on April 19, when students shut down operations and barricaded the gates. It was the longest strike ever held, lasting 62 days.

Participation structures and procedures changed again. New college-based action committees increased student direct participation; intentionally so, they lacked hierarchical structures, but were loaded with collective accountability. According to Tormos-Aponte (2020), this form of student agency attracted students unaffiliated to political organizations, giving them an opportunity to engage with aspects of mobilization for the first time. Common interests were articulated at

a national level, with 11 campuses advocating for free and quality public education, and emphasizing public investment, multisectoral participation of university community, and the relaxation of admission standards to grant access to marginalized populations (Gerónimo-López & Tormos-Aponte, 2021). During the many nights that students camped at the gates, they discussed the institution's academic offerings, teaching methods, and pedagogy. They questioned formal education, but also the informal and non-formal learning opportunities of the strike. Students strengthened their critical thinking, conceived outreach educational efforts, and ran a community radio station from scratch (Reyes, 2021). The strike turned into a school and the encampment at the gates operated as outdoor non-traditional classrooms for open lectures, workshops and capacity building sessions run by students, alumni, and allied staff and faculty. Conflicts became learning opportunities as well, grappled with during night-long interactions which impacted the students' non-formal political education during the strike and had long lasting repercussions in further organizing experiences.

The 2017 strike context

The implementation of Law 114th by the United States Congress created the Financial Oversight and Management Board for Puerto Rico (PROMESA). Puerto Rico's colonial status opened the door for this type of neoliberal structural adjustment program which ensures the collection of the national debt, accrued by the national hegemonic political establishment and their respective elites along with corporate interests, and expedites procedures for infrastructure projects under the pretence of combating the Puerto Rican debt crisis; this, at the expense of social welfare, education budgets, and workers' rights. At the time of its implementation, the student movement had already more than 5,000 active members marching in the streets under the banner of the newly constituted National Student Confederation.

In April 2017, the student assembly approved an indefinite strike (Meléndez, 2017). Participation structures and positions changed once again; high school students from two public schools joined the mobilizations and it became common for Black and queer organizers to be elected as movement speakers. Diversity also influenced the articulation of common interests; students forefronted a gender perspective education discussion in their assembly agenda. Several issues, such as the lack of inclusive language, gender violence, and sexism inside the movement, were highlighted in educational efforts to better address internal disputes. The "pleno" (plenary), a relatively new structure for direct participation

before and after assemblies, approved the creation of the Activism Committee to develop educational efforts inwards and outwards. The committee's methodology followed Popular Education and connected what was happening in the university with the colonial and capitalist national context (Gerónimo-López & Tormos-Aponte, 2021).

The designed experiences allowed student activists to question their leadership practices and how they affected student direct participation. Also, students challenged their outreach messianic approaches, or the notion of "carrying a message to the masses", with open intergenerational dialogues with communities in which they valued and critiqued public higher education. This process was no longer unidirectional (from students to supporters and communities) but reciprocal; these learning experiences influenced organizing ideas and helped students to envision a Student Federation and a multisectoral congress against austerity. Learning and non-formal education were at the core of these newly attained goals.

Strikes as places of learning

The strike of 2005 affected the student movement's perception on how to sustain a movement, the relevance of movement diversity, and the risks of delegating direct participation to representative democracy types of structures. Students carried the lessons into the strike of 2010, when they generated new participation structures, processes, articulated common interests more diversely, and into 2017 when they addressed internal disputes with an emergent educational approach that helped students to organize and mobilize more coherently.

Mobilizations are an opportunity to learn something (Almeida, 2019; Choudry, 2015; De Sousa, 2020; Foley, 1999; Paulo Freire & Faundez, 2013; Mündel & Shugurensky, 2008; Peery, 2002). Informal learning and non-formal education efforts come to life in the heat of these tensions; ignoring such opportunities leads student movements to reinvent the wheel at every opportunity to mobilize. For Picó (1982) one of the most lasting results of the student movement in Puerto Rico was the alternative political educational experience.

From an adult education perspective there is a relationship between social movement learning and social transformations (Bierema, 2010), where action and reflection, conscientization and transformation are two inseparable processes (Merriam & Baumgartner, 2020). Students aimed to challenge hegemonic meanings and practices, and identify, celebrate, criticize, and build democratic cultures (Foley, 1999) through popular education. Learning and doing popular education proved to be challenging. For example, the concept of conscientization would be

used to describe what happened at the gates and with outreach education. Yet, it was often confused as strategic persuasion. Though conscientization is an essential objective of social movement mobilization, popular education and workers union organizing (Carpenter & Mojab, 2017) are helpful to disconnect from an instrumental notion that co-opts real opportunities for dialogue, methodological reflection, self-determined mobilization, and movement sustainability. When structured without being scripted, dialogues can disrupt banking education and orthodox modes of organizing to foster critical participatory democracy. Welcoming intuition, emotion, pleasure, love, and joy, and other necessary wisdoms (Freire & Shor, 2014) enriches dialogue beyond Cartesian mind/body divisions. Some of the student educational activities of 2010 and 2017 pursued just that, and how it affected systemic and relational structures was the lesson most of those activists carried forward to places and communities they are working in today.

Discussion

The purpose of comparing the experiences of Puerto Rico, Chile, and Egypt was to highlight their commonalities and prioritize the attention given to social movement learning. The student movements of the 2000s and 2010s in Chile, Egypt, and Puerto Rico started as reactions to the economic grievances produced by neoliberalism. In the three cases, student uprisings extended beyond campuses, gained support, and incorporated marginalized populations and lower and middle-class students. In general, all the uprisings in this comparative analysis were relatively peaceful and faced police violence and brutality as well as resistance from the elites and their governments. The Chilean, Egyptian, and Puerto Rican student movements claimed to be "leaderless" and non-partisan at different points. Moreover, they were sometimes proclaimed to be spontaneous movements. However, in all of them, organizing efforts were ongoing in student organizations and political grassroots organizations for more than a decade before the uprisings.

Learning to carve out new spaces for resistance

In these three experiences of student uprisings, students were continuously faced with institutional pressure and sometimes state violence. This setting encouraged the students to question existing participation structures. Additionally, collective self-directed learning helped them move away from traditional protesting and carve out the spaces needed to enact less hierarchical modes of organizing. The

"tomas" in Chile, "student activities" in Egypt, and "plenos" in Puerto Rico were different forms of organizing adopted by the movements to respond faster and manoeuvre around state repression. In Chile, there were also calls to evade paying fares in the subway stations and calling other citizens to join in to protest the fare surge. In Egypt, students utilized social media platforms, including Facebook and WordPress, to expand their influence and political action methods.

Additionally, in all three cases, the students challenged hierarchical ways of organizing among themselves. They moved from adopting vertical matrix hierarchies and roles to horizontal structures. In Puerto Rico, the movements replaced student council structures with student committees that opened room for better decision-making and diversity inside the movements. In doing so, the students faced challenges promoting diversity and equality inside their movements. In Chile and Puerto Rico, the uprisings seeded meaningful opportunities to question sexist and political participation quotas. In Puerto Rico, the students had to challenge racism and gender heteronormativity.

Extending influence beyond campus

Given the above evidence, and despite the limited resources and the repressive political climate, the movements reached out beyond the educational institutions and into the communities, and from the local demands to be part of the country-wide debates. In Chile, the marches were multigenerational, and the movement encouraged parents and event grandparents to participate. In Egypt and Puerto Rico, students and youth who did not have any previous experience with organizing or community engagement came to join the movements for the first time. This allowed the movements' influence to extend beyond the local demands of improving education quality and tuition fees to anti-neoliberal and nationwide democratic needs. In Chile and Egypt, movements went so far as to include demands for their governments to resign and, in Chile to demand and achieve the drafting of a new *carta magna*.

Emerging of subaltern pedagogies

From each resistance movement, subaltern pedagogies emerged to transit such challenges and frame their outreach efforts in more dialogical ways with other sectors of society that supported and joined the movements. The students implemented their new pedagogies outside the universities. For example, in Puerto

Rico the students started educating at the gates and at the barricades of the strikes, offering a non-formal school for their peers and supporters. In Chile and in Egypt, the students used training to educate in the streets and on public transportation. Peers educating and transferring experience to one another was another approach for building consciousness and contesting the administration. The students used these tools of collective self-directedness and hands-on education to educate about their movements and the need to bring on change. Additionally, the Chilean students used cultural activities to educate about the repercussions of neoliberalism on society.

In the three movements, students learned to allow for emergent spaces where previously invisible actors could set the educational agenda. And they also learned from their previous participation to refrain from engaging in activities that entailed superficial political participation and would possibly distract them from the real work that could be done. When the state closed spaces or built barricades around strikes, the students learned to find ways to engage people from different ages, affiliations, and locations, in discussions around their shared socioeconomic grievances.

Conclusion

This study examined the self-directed learning taking place in three different sites of student resistance movements. Although local, these struggles share many commonalities. Returning to Santos (2006), we can say that each movement is a local expression of resistance and all three pose alternatives to the global phenomenon of neoliberalism. By highlighting both their local specificities and their commonalities we are, as Santos suggests, "reglobalizing [them] as a counter-hegemonic globalization" (p. 26) to the neoliberal policies each movement resisted and continues to resist. Moreover, what stands out to us as adult educators in these movements is the way in which people, via their involvement, learn to develop and practice ways of being and educating outside of the individualism at the heart of neoliberalism. In other words, there is a collective self-directedness — a social andragogical practice — evident in these movements as they question prevailing formal educational practices and even long-standing hierarchical social movement organizational relations. By conducting this research, our hope is that the rich, dynamic, and democratic collective self-directive pedagogies we detail in these movements cease to be absences and become possible futures for educators.

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Komparativna studija obrazovanja omladine i odraslih u kontekstu tri društvena pokreta

Apstrakt: U ovom članku ćemo predstaviti rezultate komparativne studije učenja i obrazovanja u savremenim studentskim pokretima u Čileu, Egiptu i Portoriku, koji su nastali kao reakcija na nezadovoljstvo neoliberalnom ekonomijom. Ova studija primenjuje andragošku perspektivu u analizi tih pokreta, koji su primeri kolektivne samousmerene pedagoške prakse koju primenjuju ti pokreti i koja se primenjuje u okviru tih pokreta. Po

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uzoru na Santosov (2006) pojam sociologije odsustva i „nastanka“, u ovoj studiji primenjujemo analizu autoetnografskih i sekundarnih podataka kako bismo skrenuli pažnju na alternative učenju koje počivaju u društvenim pokretima. Uprkos različitim kontekstima svakog od tih pokreta, smatramo da se odlikuju brojnim sličnostima u organizaciji i podučavanju u sklopu reakcije na globalni neoliberalizam.

Ključne reči: učenje u okviru društvenih pokreta, komparativno obrazovanje odraslih, Čile, Egipat, Portoriko, andragogija, neoliberalizam.

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Tehnologije sopstva u obrazovanju odraslih[3]

Apstrakt: U radu se polazi od Fukoovog pojma tehnologije sopstva i pristupa analizi njihovog funkcionisanja u obrazovanju odraslih. Za eksploraciju mehanizama kontrole posebno je značajna tačka preplitanja moći, ispitivanja, ispovedanja, nauke i stručnjaka ili specijaliste i formiranja sopstva. Pokušaćemo da razjasnimo te relacije, a naročito vezu tehnologije sopstva sa obrazovanjem. Naime, odraslom učeniku se pristupa kao aktivnom i očekuje se stalna refleksija na već postojeće iskustvo koje je postalo sirov materijal obrađivan kritičkom analizom. Podrazumevano je da je delovanje kao takvo osnažujuće, a da govor o sebi ima funkciju oslobođenja pojedinca. Poslednje decenije se zaoštrila neoliberalna pozicija u raznim sektorima društva, pa tako i u obrazovanju, te kao posledicu imamo sve veće i učestalije prebacivanje odgovornosti na subjekta koji bi trebalo da razvije odgovarajuće veštine, bile one za život ili za rad. Uz argument o narastanju nesigurnosti i nepredvidljivosti sveta, pojedinac je pozvan da se kontinuirano usavršava i reinventuje, ne bi li se prilagodio promenama. Celoživotno učenje je postalo norma i zahtev, a ne samo pravo. Takav proces učenja neretko uključuje i samospoznaju koja se neminovno odigrava u odnosu na aktuelne režime istine. Proizvodeći sebe subjekat se u isto vreme podređuje, a u ovom tekstu zastupamo poziciju da prakse učenja stoga mogu biti ono što Fuko naziva *tehnologijama sopstva*, a opisivanje i argumentovanje te trvdnje težište je rada.

Ključne reči: tehnologije sopstva, ispovest, samoostvarenje, obrazovanje.

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Uvod

Da bi objasnio procedure kojima se moć sprovodi, Fuko koristi pojam *tehnologija* koji, smatra Burkit (2002), predstavlja sredstvo kojim ljudi proizvode ne samo produkte i dela već i sami sebe u svojim refleksivnim i nerefleksivnim aspektima[4]. „Tehnologija je praktična racionalnost koja prati i vodi produktivne aktivnosti i, na taj način, umrežena je kroz društvene odnose u kojima su ljudi obrazovani i obučeni i koja kreira *sopstvo*" (Burkitt, 2002, str. 223). Iako Fuko nikada nije opsežno raspravljao o obrazovanju već se njegove opservacije pronalaze u njegovim različitim delima, osim u jednom intervjuu kada eksplicitno izražava svoje mišljenje o oblasti visokog obrazovanja (Simon, 1971), njegovo viđenje samoizgrađivanja i objektivizacije sopstva očigledno je vrlo blisko Hoskinovoj (1990) tvrdnji da su tehnologije formiranja subjekata obrazovne.

Fuko (1997) nas upućuje u kontekst svojih istraživanja i ističe da moramo razumeti četiri tipa tehnologije koje postoje u savremenom društvu:

1. *tehnologije proizvodnje* koje nam omogućavaju da proizvodimo, transformišemo ili manipulišemo stvarima;
2. *tehnologije znakovnih sistema* koje nam omogućavaju da koristimo znake, značenja, simbole ili označavanje;
3. *tehnologije moći* koje određuju ponašanje pojedinaca i podređuju ih izvesnim ciljevima;
4. *tehnologije sopstva* koje omogućavaju pojedincima da sopstvenim sredstvima ili uz pomoć drugih izvrše izvestan broj „operacija" na sopstvenim telima i dušama, mislima, ponašanju i načinu da se bude, kao i da transformišu sebe da bi postigli stanje sreće, čistote, mudrosti, savršenstva ili besmrtnost (str. 225).

Te četiri tehnologije su povezane, iako je svaka od njih udružena sa određenim tipom dominacije. Svaka podrazumeva izvesne vidove obuke i modifikacije pojedinaca u smislu sticanja određenih veština, ali i razvoja stavova (Burkitt, 2002). Oslanjamo se na Fukoov pojam *tehnologije sopstva* jer nam omogućava da istančanije dijagnostikujemo odnose moći u konstruisanim i reprodukovanim vladajućim epistemološkim pretpostavkama u učenju i obrazovanju. Ideju da samo takozvano *tradicionalno obrazovanje*, u kojem je znanje u rukama nastavnika, ima jake i nepromenljive odnose moći, smatramo pogrešnom i naivnom. Ona je pogrešna jer se insistira na zabludi da je znanje stvar koju neko poseduje (nastavnik) i daje je nekom drugom (učenici). Postvarivanje znanja predstavlja

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čin pretvaranja nečeg fluidnog, promenljivog i nekonačnog u potpuno uobličen i fiksan predmet koji je moguće dati ili uzeti nekom, koji se može spakovati i prenositi, koji se može kupiti i postaviti u ćošak prostorije, kao porcelanska vaza. Ta zabluda je ujedno i naivna jer se podrazumeva inertnost, praznost i inherentna nesposobnost onih koji pretenduju na sticanje znanja. Zanemaruju se njihova unutrašnja aktivnost, moć imaginacije, sposobnost kritičkog osvrta i saznajni afiniteti, koji su, svakako, iako često različiti, neodvojiv deo procesa sticanja znanja, samoostvarivanja, kreiranja, konstruisanja ili transformacije sebe, svog identiteta i odnosa prema spoljašnjem svetu. Zapravo, najteže je uočiti odnose moći koji su deo aktuelnog diskursa, koje su duboko ukorenjene u svakodnevnicu i predstavljaju samodatu normalnost. S druge strane, akcenat se poslednjih nekoliko decenija premešta upravo na aktivnosti učenika.

Pri kraju svog života, Fuko (1988) uvodi koncept *tehnologije sopstva*, pod kojim on podrazumeva, kao što smo napomenuli, mogućnost subjekta da se, samoinicijativno ili podstaknut nekim ili nečim spolja, menja, da utiče na sopstveno telo, ponašanje, shvatanje ili postojanje. Na taj način reinventujući sebe, subjekat može da uzdigne sebe ili svoju egzistenciju na viši i vredniji nivo. Fuko nas poziva da razmotrimo mogućnost da mi izmišljamo različite načine mišljenja o nama samima (Rabinow i Rose, 2003) čime regulišemo sebe i naša zadovoljstva, trud, nevolje, nade i težnje za slobodom. U svom kasnijem opusu on je pokušao da razvije analitiku vektora moći koji oblikuju dimenziju subjektivnosti, a ta dimenzija je odnos pojedinca sa samim sobom (Rabinow & Rose, 2003).

Fuko je bio fasciniran težnjom u modernoj kulturi da se ispriča istina o sebi (Marshall, 1998). Pokrenuo je debatu o tome kako se formira sopstvo i svoja razmišljanja usmerio ka etici sopstva i samodisciplinujućoj tehnologiji. Za ovaj rad će biti posebno zanimljiva veza koju predlaže Fuko, ali i autori koji su izučavali njegov rad (Drayfus & Rabinow, 1982; Olssen, 2005, 2008; Rose, 1990, 1998), između odnosa moći, ispitivanja, ispovedanja, nauke i stručnjaka ili specijaliste i formiranja sopstva. Pokušaćemo dublje da objasnimo te relacije, a naročito da ekspliciramo u kakvoj su vezi tehnologije sopstva sa epistemološkim pretpostavkama, obrazovanjem i odnosima moći.

Tehnologija sopstva se zasniva na ubeđenju da osoba može, uz pomoć stručnjaka, da ispriča istinu o sebi koja se otkriva samoispitivanjem svesti i ispovedanjem o nečijim mislima i delima (Drayfus & Rabinow, 1982). Ta tvrdnja zvuči toliko prirodno da deluje nerazumno tvrditi da je samoispitivanje centralna komponenta u strategiji moći (Drayfus & Rabinow, 1982). Njihova nevidljivost leži u našoj povezanosti sa represivnom hipotezom moći. Fuko je još u svojim ranijim delima ukazao na neraskidiv odnos istine i moći, a sada pokazuje da se disciplina ne dešava samo u odnosu već da je osoba demonstrira nad sobom, in-

ternalizujući naučne istine i primenjujući ih na sebe. On se pred kraj svog života usmerio na analizu nauka iz perspektive dimenzije subjektivnosti, koje poput igri istina omogućuju ljudima da razumeju sami sebe (Foucault, 1988). Tehnologije sopstva su centralni princip u psihijatriji i medicini, ali i u pravu, obrazovanju i ljubavi (Drayfus & Rabinow, 1982).

Tehnologije sopstva predstavljaju „lupu" koja omogućava da se uoče suptilni obrasci u andragoškoj praksi koji su uglavnom nevidljivi usled dominacije i aktuelnosti diskursa kome pripadaju. Naime, često praktičari, ali i teoretičari obrazovanja odraslih, misle i veruju da je autoritet nastavnika umanjen ukoliko polaznici učestvuju, komentarišu, reflektuju, pričaju svoje lične priče i ispovedaju se. Aktuelna andragoška praksa je usmerena na rekonstrukciju iskustva, promenu perspektiva i kognitivne uvide. Već je prihvaćeno da nije dovoljno prenošenje znanja i veština da bi došlo do razvoja i promene već mora da postoji spremnost osobe da ta znanja primeni i da otkloni neke lične barijere kako bi postala „funkcionalnija". Kada pogledamo aktuelne teorije učenja usmerene prvenstveno na učenje odraslih (iskustveno učenje i koncepcija transformativnog učenja), vidimo da one mahom ukazuju na značaj samorefleksije, pričanja ličnog iskustva, „ispovedanja" učesnika, davanja značenja njihovim narativima i brojne druge prakse koje su sklonile fokus sa sticanja znanja, odnosno dogodio se epistemološki pomak u odnosu na pitanja „kako dolazimo do saznanja", „šta je znanje" i „ko ga poseduje". Iako su učesnici različitih obrazovnih aktivnosti aktivni u iznošenju svog iskustva, postoji parametar na osnovu koga oni to iskustvo procenjuju, rekonstruišu i daju mu značenje. Nesumnjivo je da se stil podučavanja promenio od pasivnog položaja učenika ka mnogo aktivnijem, ali ipak tvrdimo da se nalazimo u situaciji u kojoj su stare, tradicionalne pretpostavke odevene u novo ruho. To jest, stručnjak ili specijalista i dalje poseduje ključ blagostanja i ličnog razvoja, odnosno on nam iskustvo tumači u odnosu na postojeću teoriju.

Često se te teorije usvajaju putem jezika i učesnici preuzimaju njihovu terminologiju. Oni sebe, svoje ponašanje i okolinu počinju da procenjuju na osnovu različitih koncepcija dajući sebi i drugima etikete i dijagnoze. Iako mnogo delikatniji u odnosu na ranije autoritete, postoje „ključari istine" ili, bolje rečeno, ceo diskurs naučnih i manje naučnih istina i znanja koje disciplinuju putem tehnologije sopstva. Da li onda, primenjujući pomenutu tehnologiju na oblast obrazovanja odraslih, možemo bolje da razumemo Fukoa, koji smatra da su tokom seminara izraženiji odnosi moći nego na predavanju jer oni nisu očigledni već skriveni?

Briga za sebe i/ili samospoznaja

Fuko se pita zašto „briga za sebe" može doći samo kroz poznavanje sebe, te je stoga u radu *Tehnologije sopstva* (*Technologies of the Self*) genealoški analizirao kako se starogrčki, presokratovski ideal „brige za sebe" (*care for the self*) polako sjedinjavao sa drugim, danas mnogo poznatijim idealom „spoznaj sebe" (*know thyself*). Kako kaže Maršal (Marshall, 1998), u XX veku brinuti za sebe znači uklapati se u set istina. Ideja brige o sebi izbledela je i ustupila mesto delfskom principu *gnothi sauton* (spoznaj sebe), a naša filozofska tradicija je prenaglasila taj princip i zaboravila prethodni (Foucault, 1988).

Fuko (1988) navodi dva istorijska uslova koja su dovela do te inverzije: prvi se nalazi u dubokoj transformaciji moralnih principa u zapadnom društvu, a drugi je uronjen u filozofiju od Dekarta do Huserla u kojoj je osnovna ideja mislećeg, racionalnog subjekta (Foucault, 1988). Delfski princip postaje fundamentalan u brizi za sebe, odnosno briga za sebe nije u aktivnosti i odnosima već se ona premešta u epistemološku ravan. Ona biva izjednačena sa znanjem o sebi. Na tom zaokretu se upravo nalazi i temelj istraživačkog pitanja ovog rada jer se princip *spoznaj sebe* nalazi u osnovi aktuelnih obrazovnih aktivnosti usmerenih na lični razvoj. Većina obrazovnih aktivnosti koje kao svoj cilj ističu usmerenost na individuu i njen lični razvoj polaze od te pretpostavke. To ne moraju biti samo takozvane psihološke radionice već se i teme poput liderstva, asertivne komunikacije ili timskog rada zasnivaju na ideji spoznavanja sebe. Često se u takvim aktivnostima koriste testovi koji će učesnicima „objektivno" pokazati kom tipu komunikatora pripadaju ili će utvrditi njihov stil rukovođenja.

Zaokret sa brige za sebe na spoznavanje sebe desio se u eri hrišćanstva, iako se uzrok za to ne nalazi isključivo u hrišćanstvu. Hrišćanska religija nije samo religija spasavanja već i religija ispovesti. Ona nameće veoma striktne obaveze istine i dogme, koje su i danas veoma brojne (Foucault, 1988). „Svaka osoba je dužna da zna ko je, to jest da pokuša da sazna šta se dešava unutar njega, da prizna mane, prepozna iskušenja, i svako je u obavezi da otkrije ove stvari ili Bogu ili drugima u zajednici kako bi imao svedoka. Ove obaveze istine u odnosu na veru i u odnosu na sebe su povezane i taj link omogućava pročišćenje duše, što bi bilo nemoguće bez znanja o sebi" (Foucault, 1988, str. 40). Hrišćanska hermeneutika sopstva implicira da u nama postoji nešto skriveno i da smo često u iluziji koja krije tajne (Foucault, 1988). Iako u hrišćanstvu postoji briga o duši i njenom spasenju, ta briga se odnosi na odricanje grešnih delova sebe.

Korisno je da na ovom mestu napravimo kratku digresiju i ponudimo još jedno tumačenje odnosa ta dva koncepta. Koncept brige o sebi, s jedne strane, i koncept spoznavanja sebe možemo postaviti u drugačiji odnos, ne samo kao

nešto što prelazi jedno iz drugog ili što se, na neki način, pretapajući se, na kraju izjednačava. Briga o sebi u antici je zamišljena kao vrsta aktivnosti koja traje dok smo živi. Nije bilo moguće „pobrinuti" se za sebe i, kada se to jednom uradi, biti gotov s tim poslom i nastaviti život po sopstvenom nahođenju. „Baviti se sobom nije samo trenutno pripremanje za život – to je način življenja" (Fuko, 2014, str. 64). Na istom mestu, samo malo ranije, Fuko kaže da „...nakon što je postala filozofsko načelo, briga o sebi je nastavila da bude neka vrsta aktivnosti. ... i da ona ne označava samo stanje svesti ili oblik pažnje koju bi čovek usredsredio na sebe, već označava regulisano bavljenje, rad sa sopstvenim metodama i ciljevima" (Fuko, 2014, str. 62). Posmatrano na taj način, nije teško uočiti da se koncept brige o sebi odnosi na permanentan proces vođenja računa o sebi, odnosno na taj način uticati, menjati ili prilagođavati samog sebe. Ono gde se drugi pomenuti koncept, koncept spoznavanja sebe, uklapa ne mora nužno da bude nešto u šta briga o sebi prelazi ili šta postaje, već spoznaja sebe predstavlja preduslov za brigu o sebi. Mi tek kada spoznamo sebe (makar delimično), možemo uvideti šta treba da radimo da bismo neke stvari učinili drugačijima, to jest tek kada znamo uzroke sopstvenih misli, ponašanja i delanja, možemo uticati na uslove koji će omogućiti promenu naših misli, ponašanja ili delanja. Taj proces se odgirava uvek u okvirima onoga što je prepoznato kao istina koja pojedincu otkriva principe u odnosu na koje proizvodi svoju subjektivnost. Spoznaju sebe ili *gnothi sauton*, alternativno, možemo razumeti kao nužan preduslov za artikulaciju i aktuelizaciju tehnologija sopstva, razumemo li ih potpuno fukoovski: kao tehnike samoregulacije subjekta i njegovog preobražaja u više i vrednije biće.

Ispovest kao metod

Fuko skreće pažnju na praksu ispovesti koja dopušta „gospodaru", koji ima više iskustva i mudrosti, da uđe u unutrašnji svet pojedinca i da mu ponudi adekvatan savet. Osoba koja se ispoveda otvara i deli svoja iskustva, grehe, krivicu zbog različitih zadovoljstava, a onaj koji je sluša drži ključ oprosta i spasenja. Praksom ispovesti se formirala moć slušaoca, odnosno osobe koja sluša, dešifruje iskustva i nudi savete za bolji život i spasenje duše. Fuko je ukazao na ekspanziju konfesionalne prakse iz religijske sfere na svet medicine, terapije do pedagoških modela u sekularnim savremenim društvima (Besley, 2005). Na samom početku XVI veka, tehnika ispovesti se proširila prvo na pedagogiju, zatim u zatvore i, na kraju, u XIX veku, na medicinu – ispovest se prelivala iz hrišćanstva i postala opšta tehnologija kojom individualna zadovoljstva i sitna komešanja duše mogu biti prikupljena, spoznata, merena i regulisana (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982). Medicina, psihijatrija

i pedagogija su pretvorile želju u naučni diskurs (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982). Slušalac postaje gospodar istine i specijalista značenja, u čijim je rukama dešifrovanje iskustva (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982). Danas, da bi interpretirao „ispovesti", slušalac se oslanja na naučna znanja i tumači reči i iskustva ispovedaonika, čime daje značenja, objašnjava i konstituiše sopstvo. Osoba koja priča uči i razvija tehnologije sopstva, tumačeći na kraju sebi sama svoje doživljaje, misli i emocije.

Fuko genealoškom analizom pronalazi korene tih procedura u antičkoj i hrišćanskoj tradiciji. Kao primer tehnologije sopstva, Fuko navodi dve procedure hrišćanske crkve: *exomologesis* i *exagoreusis*. *Exomologesis* je dramatična ekspresija pokajnika kojom on manifestuje svoj status grešnika. Grešnik se javno izlaže, na simbolično telesnom nivou on demonstrira svoju poziciju i na taj način ubija grešni deo sebe. *Exagoreusis* se takođe odnosi na priznavanje greha, ali, za razliku od prethodne procedure koja se obavlja javno, ta tehnika je analitička verbalizacija misli i potpuna poslušnost, koja podrazumeva odricanje sopstvene volje i sebe. I jedna i druga procedura podrazumevaju ispovest i priznavanje, prakse za koje se veruje da imaju katarzičnu i psihološki kurativnu funkciju (Taylor, 2008). U hrišćanstvu postoji direktna veza između samoizlaganja i odricanja od sebe. Ipak, u XVIII veku te prakse su se preoblikovale kako bi kroz samoizlaganje i ispovedanje bio konstituisan pozitivan self (sopstvo). „U modelu spoznatljivog selfa postoji nekoliko konstitutivnih elemenata – neophodnost pričanja istine o sebi, uloga gospodara i gospodarevog diskursa, dug put koji na kraju vodi do pojavljivanja selfa" (Foucault, 1993, str. 210) ili odricanja od njega.

Tehnologija sopstva je zasnovana na verovanju da, uz pomoć stručnjaka, neko može otkriti i verbalizovati istinu o sebi (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982). Stručnjak rekonstruiše iskustvo u odnosu na dominantan diskurs i znanje i na taj način konstituiše i kontroliše individuu (Marchall, 1998). Moć nije zasnovana na podeli već se moć interpretativnih nauka temelji na uverenju da su one u stanju da otkriju istinu o našoj psihi, kulturi, društvu, koja je dostupna jedino stručnim tumačima (Dreyfus i Rabinow, 1982). Tehnologija sopstva bi bila konstantno konstituisanje, ali i rekonstrukcija sopstva u odnosu na dominantna znanja. Fuko je naglasio da su pojedinci stalno u procesu formiranja sebe pomoću tehnologija sopstva, a pojam moći se ne zasniva na represiji, prinudi ili dominaciji (Besley, 2005), već je ona produktivna, a taj proizvod je subjekt.

(Samo)obrazovanje kao oblikovanje sopstva

Na primer, teorije učenja nude istine o tome kako se proces učenja obavlja i definišu identitete učenika. U njima je prikazano kako da dođemo do postignuća i u čemu

smo, eventualno, omanuli. Osim identiteta učenika, teorije učenja se u velikoj meri bave i kreiranjem sopstva nastavnika, što se naročito može primetiti na treninzima za trenere i u priručnicima koji su namenjeni budućim profesionalcima.

U obrazovanju odraslih vrlo su zastupljene razne naučne i nenaučne koncepcije koje nam objašnjavaju šta znači biti asertivan, zašto smo uspešni ili neuspešni u poslu ili porodici, kako da se usmerimo u pravcu ličnog razvoja itd. Obrazovne aktivnosti predstavljaju kanale kroz koje se diseminuju različite interpretacije ponašanja i nude različiti identiteti, što se posebno može primetiti u razvoju *soft skills*: šta odlikuje timskog igrača, ko je uspešan lider, ko je profesionalni komunikator, zbog čega ste pod stresom, zašto ste nemotivisani? Fuko (1987) imenuje takvu praksu, naziva je *asketizam*, ne u smislu odricanja već kao težnju da se sopstvo transformiše kako bi se postigao određeni način postojanja. On sugeriše i da moramo biti pažljivi kada pričamo o oslobađanju jer ta ideja implicira postojanje prirode ili suštinu te prirode koju treba osloboditi, a koja je skrivena zahvaljujući brojnim represivnim mehanizmima (Foucault, 1987).

Ideja oslobađanja istinskog, autentičnog sopstva naročito je zastupljena u obrazovnim aktivnostima usmerenim na lični razvoj ili emancipaciju. Etika slobodnog i autonomnog sopstva je način na koji su izgleda savremeni muškarci i žene počeli da shvataju, doživljavaju i ocenjuju sebe, svoje postupke i živote (Rose, 1998). Međutim, za Fukoa ono nije supstanca već forma (Besley, 2005). Fuko je pitanje ontologije stavio u kontekst istorije i verovao je da ne postoji suština već samo „nastajanje", jedino fenomenologija ili hermeneutika sopstva, „falsifikovanje identiteta kroz proces samoformiranja" (Besley, 2005, str. 79). Verovanje da naša psiha i želje leže u samom srcu našeg postojanja, što je temelj ideje emancipacije, postaje oslonac duboke subjekcije pojedinca (Rabinow & Rose, 2003).

Šta treba znati o sebi kako bismo bili spremni da se bilo čega odreknemo? Rouz (Rose, 1998) tvrdi da je istinsko sopstvo često konstruisano takozvanim *psi-naukama* (psychosciences). U svom delu *Izmišljanje sebe: psihologija, moć i ličnost* (*Inventing Our selves: Psychology, Power and Personhood*), Rouz odlučuje da preispita savremene izvesnosti o tome ko smo mi. Njegova genealoška studija problematizuje savremeni režim sopstva ispitivanjem procesa u kojem je izmišljen, kako ga on naziva, *regulativni self*. Fokus njegovog istraživanja su *psi-nauke*: psihologija, psihijatrija i srodne nauke. On konkretizuje i razvija ideju koju je Fuko započeo i tvrdi da su *psi-nauke* kreirale brojne načine na koje su ljudi počeli da razumeju sebe i da su odigrale ključnu ulogu u konstituisanju režima sopstva i samodisciplinovanju. Kako sam navodi, cilj njegove studije je bio da „dâ dijagnozu" savremenom stanju sopstva i da destabilizuje i denaturalizuje režime sopstva koji nam danas deluju neizbežno. Sugeriše da je ključnu ulogu u tome odigrala pozitivistička psihologija, ističući da ta nauka nije niz apstraktnih teorija već „in-

telektualna tehnologija" koja proizvodi vidljive i razumljive „osobine ličnosti", njihova ponašanja i odnose. Psihologiju ne vidi kao čisto akademsku disciplinu već ističe da postoji niz procedura i načina kako se postaje ekspert u administraciji i interpretaciji ljudskog ponašanja. Taj stav je primenjiv i na teorije učenja koje prevazilaze okvire naučnog znanja i u kojima se određene premise javljaju kao nezaobilazno znanje koje je deo korpusa znanja nastavnika. Psihologija je nauka koja je učestvovala u preoblikovanju praksi onih koji na izvestan način imaju autoritet nad drugima: socijalnih radnika, menadžera, nastavnika – i time usmeravala pojedinačne aktivnosti.

Osnovna hipoteza od koje polazi Rouz je da su regulativna uloga i istorijski razvoj *psi-nauka* usko povezani sa odnosima moći. U XIX veku izmišljena je normalna individua, u prvoj polovina XX veka akcenat je bio na „socijalnoj" osobi, a krajem XX veka psiholozi elaboriraju kompleksne emocionalne, interpersonalne i organizacijske tehnike koje nas savetuju i upućuju kako da se ostvarimo kao autonomna osoba. Psihološki blogovi su primer kako psihologija postaje *know how* i kako se u savremenom društvu širi i šalje poruka sve većem broju individua.

Razmatranja o obrazovanju odraslih u perspektivi tehnologija sopstva

Nastankom i razvojem ideje *celoživotnog* učenja i, konsekventno, *totalnom pedagogizacijom društva* (videti više u: Bernstein, 2001), obrazovanje preuzima značajnu ulogu u rešavanju problema koji su deo privatnog, na primer, ono je prepoznato kao značajno za poboljšanje porodičnog života, međuljudskih odnosa, ali i različitih ličnih osobina, od kojih se često navodi razvoj samopouzdanja. Celoživotno obrazovanje uvodi Pol Langran (Lengrand, 1970), u to vreme direktor UNESCO instituta za obrazovanje (UIE), i ono što podrazumeva pod tim pojmom jeste „serija veoma specifičnih ideja, eksperimenata i postignuća, odnosno obrazovanje u punom smislu te reči, uključujući sve aspekte i dimenzije, neprekinuti razvoj od prvog trenutka života do poslednjeg" (Lengard, 1970, str. 20). Koncepcijom celoživotnog učenja *cela* individua postaje oblikovana obrazovanjem *celog* svog života – učenje je način da se ostvari lično i društveno blagostanje, a time se pojačavaju regulacija i samoregulacija subjekta i upliv znanja u privatne sfere života. Dat nam je odgovor na pitanje ne samo kako da radimo već i kako da odgajamo decu, kako pozitivno da mislimo, kako da gradimo prijateljske odnose, da komuniciramo itd. Fejes i Dalstat (Fejes & Dahlstadt, 2013) tvrde da humanistička perspektiva učenja dominira u izveštaju *Učenje da se bude* (Learning to be, Faure, 1972), čime je uloga obrazovanja postala generalizovana i proširena na sve aspekte

ličnog i društvenog. Ona je refleksija optimizma šezdesetih godina i posleratne vere u obrazovanje i razvoj. Doživotno obrazovanje u sebi nosi ideju progresa i ličnog razvoja koji se pozitivno odražava na društvo (Fejes & Dahlstedt, 2013). Ono je režim u kojem se razvijaju različite obrazovne prakse koje podrazumevaju lični razvoj i ispovedanje kao jedan od mehanizama koji do njega dovodi (Fejes & Dahlstedt, 2013). Autori Ašer i saradnici (Usher et al., 1997) ukazuju na to da psihologizam i individualizam humanističkog diskursa mogu paradoksalno da vode do dehumanizacije preteranom regulacijom sopstva, osnažujući osobe da se otvore i obezbede pristup njihovom unutrašnjem svetu. Fuko (1980) piše da je nemoguće spoznati sebe odvojeno od efekata moći. Upravljanje ljudima ne znači prisilu, njihovu konstrukciju i modifikaciju (Usher et al., 1997). Ašer i saradnici (1997) smatraju da sopstvo ne može biti spoznato nezavisno od svojih označitelja. Ono je uhvaćeno i postaje kroz narative koji ga opisuju i, pridavanjem značenja, započinje svoj život.

Ekspanzijom naučnih metoda, pojedinac je postao objekat saznanja koji govori istinu o sebi kako bi spoznao sebe; objekat koji uči kako da promeni sebe. Ispitivanje i ispovest su postale glavne tehnike nauka o čoveku. Moderan subjekt nije nem: on govori i na taj način se formira. Tradicionalno obrazovanje kreira poslušne subjekte (Džinović, 2010), dok obrazovanje odraslih odmrzava učenike, aktivira ih i podržava da govore. Ubeđenje da istina može da se dokuči samoispitivanjem svesti u toj meri je prihvaćena da deluje nerazumno tvrditi da je to centralna komponenta odnosa moći (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982). Razlog njene nevidljivosti je u našoj privrženosti represivnoj hipotezi; ukoliko je istina suprotnost u odnosu na moć, u tom slučaju će nas njeno otkrivanje osloboditi (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982). U XIX veku pojedinac je postao prinuđen da se ispoveda drugim autoritetima – naročito psihijatrima i naučnicima (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982). Što više pojedinac govori, to nauka više zna; što je ispitivanje legitimnije – to je finija i šira mreža tehnologije ispovedanja, pa je postalo jasno da subjekt ne može da bude arbitar diskursa koji ga objašnjavaju. U obrazovanju odraslih se podržava govorenje kao izraz slobode pojedinca i njegovog uključivanja u proces učenja. Dijalog je kao metoda uveden kao posledica demokratizacije obrazovanja i veruje se da je pokazatelj i odraz ravnopravnosti svih učesnika obrazovne aktivnosti. Kako se funkcija obrazovanja odraslih proširila i obojila privatne živote pojedinaca, tako su u obrazovne aktivnosti uplovile tehnologije *psi-nauka*. U emancipatorskom narativu obrazovanja, govorenje i iznošenje ličnog iskustva se, pak, vidi kao manifestovanje autentičnosti. Učesnici koriste svoje iskustvo kao armaturu za konstrukciju znanja. U andragoškoj tradiciji iskustvo se vidi kao ključan izvor učenja i razvoja odraslih. Ono je afirmacija njihovog ontološkog i etičkog statusa, što ih čini radikalno drugačijim od dece (Usher, Bryant & Johnston, 1997). Ta tradicija ima

važnu misiju, a to je da oslobodi odrasle učenike od nesrećnih posledica školovanja (Usher, Bryant i Johnston, 1997). Naglasak na iskustvu podrazumeva drugačije znanje i predstavlja alternativu formalnom, akademskom znanju, čime se ističe njegova emancipatorska uloga. Ono je koncipirano kao netaknut izvor saznavanja tokom koga su učenici oslobođeni od kontrole i u mogućnosti su da realizuju svoje samousmerene tendencije (Usher, Bryant & Johnston, 2005). Podrazumeva slobodu u odnosu na regulaciju u službi lične autonomije i/ili socijalnog osnaživanja i označava samoekspresiju i samorealizaciju (Usher, 2009). Usher (2009) piše da iskustvo nema nedvosmisleno i univerzalno značenje – „ono nije inherentno emancipatorno niti opresivno, ono koje reguliše ili transformiše, već se njegovo značenje stalno pomera između ovih polarnosti" (str. 169). S druge strane, otkrivanje sebe možemo interpretirati kao osnovu za dalji proces samoregulacije. Za to dobijaju podršku stručnjaka koji sluša, tumači i nagrađuje dobre učenike koji se podvrgavaju samoanalizi. Priznavanje istine o sebi je indikativno za postojanje odnosa moći u obrazovanju odraslih, iako je izlaganje učesnika i iznošenje ličnog iskustva obojeno liberalnohumanističkom vizijom.

Umesto zaključka – zamka narativa – prikrivena opasnost

Vrlo je lako podleći samoproklamovanim diskursima o učenju i obrazovanju odraslih i podrazumevati i sagledavati obrazovne procese kao oslobađajuće.

Uobičajena i savremena perspektiva pretpostavlja da je cilj obrazovanja i obrazovnih praksi i strategija, potpuna, razvijena i formirana ličnost, koja će se uspešno i na sebi svojstven način osećati prijatno u okruženju u kojem živi, bilo ono privatno ili poslovno. U te svrhe nam tradicionalno razumevanje obrazovnih procesa neće biti od koristi. Uzimati znanje kao korpus konačnih istina, koje treba preneti onima koji to žele (ili su za to platili), predstavlja, kao što smo i napomenuli, pogrešan metod, čiji cilj nije i ne može biti valjano formirana ličnost, sposobna za samostalno funkcionisanje u savremenom svetu, koja će doživeti uspešnu i potpunu (samo)realizaciju ili (samo)ostvarenje. Upravo samorealizacija i samoostvarenje predstavljaju zamku obrazovanja – jer se uzimaju kao intrinzično dobri procesi, nezavisni i slobodni. Pretpostavlja se da uvek vode nekom korisnom i hvale vrednom ishodu, ali ne mora da znači da je tako, a najčešće i nije. Lako se previđa postojeći narativ koji date promene na ličnom nivou usmerava ili vodi neretko u smerovima koje postavljaju oni koji poseduju moć. Tehnologije sopstva, zasnovane na ličnoj (samo)promeni, u tom smislu, mogu biti podređene upravo odveć predodređenim stavovima i predstavljaju način na koji subjekat biva oblikovan postojećim narativima.

Vratimo li se na uobičajenu predstavu značaja celoživotnog obrazovanja (obrazovanja odraslih), pod kojom se smatra da, posebno u današnjim okolnostima, kada je obrazovanje nikada pristupačnije i dostupnije, čovek biva sve manje i manje obrazovan. Najčešće se proces učenja završava fakultetom. Nakon toga se, uglavnom, svako dalje razvijanje, usavršavanje i napredovanje dešava sporadično i akcidentalno, ako često i potpuno zanemaruje i prekida. Svest koja je utemeljena na zastarelim obrazovnim strategijama, umirena i ušuškana u sigurnost pređašnjih metoda obrazovanja, ne ume ili neće da se razmrda, promeni i prilagodi. S druge strane, svet, to jest naučni i tehnološki razvoj čovečanstva intenzivniji je nego ikada ranije, tako da se često dešava da znanja koja smo stekli na tradicionalan način i za koja smo pretpostavljali da su nam dovoljna za umešno funkcionisanje u društvu neretko bivaju prevaziđena i zanemarena još tokom našeg radnog veka. Postoji bojazan da će se to u bliskoj budućnosti dešavati mnogo učestalije i upadljivo brže. Upravo takvo jedno moderno i ubrzano kretanje stanja stvari ljude će učiniti zbunjenim i izgubljenim, što u krajnjoj instanci i između ostalog, ima za posledicu sve suprotno od onoga što je proklamovano pod ciljem obrazovanja. U takvom kontekstu, tehnologije sopstva se uzimaju kao „spas" ili izlaz iz takvog, naizgled, bezizlaznog stanja. Ipak, zanemaruje se nelagodnost koju za sobom, ali neprimetno, ostavljaju tehnologije sopstva. Zamka u koju lako upadamo, smatrajući da je dovoljna kritika tradicionalnog shvatanja obrazovanja. Naime, lako se prihvata kao da je rad na sebi jedna vrsta autentične i originalne tvorevine, ali se zaboravlja da je i takva vrsta promene zasnovana na nečemu – nametnutim narativima na kojima počiva. Primera radi, opšti pristup promeni i rada na sebi često biva utemeljen na želji da se bude uspešan, recimo. Stoga, pojavljuju se raznorazni tekstovi i knjige, uglavnom naslovljene sa „7 načina da se obogatimo" ili pak „Bogati otac, siromašni otac", koje nisu ništa drugo do jeftini i sa svih strana prikupljeni klišei, koji se neretko uzimaju kao jedinstvena ili inovativna promena u nečijem životu. S druge strane, zamka u koju upadamo sastoji se od podteksta na kome se temelji celokupan kapitalistički narativ, koji propagira neophodnost bogaćenja (kao i neizmernog trošenja), što se maskira u strategijama koje tehnologije sopstva propagiraju.

Iz kritike tradicionalnog obrazovanja se prebrzo i prilično neobazrivo uskače u ušuškanost rada na sebi, samoostvarenja i samoobrazovanja, a da se ne promisli dovoljno i ne uvidi da i takva promena leži na prikrivenim narativima, neopazivo proklamovanim uglavnom od grupa čija (nad)moć omogućava realizaciju njihovih interesa. Pomenuti primer, iako vrlo plastično, dosta jasno prikazuje promenu koja savremenom, posebno zapadnom čoveku usmerava celokupan život, obučava ga šta treba da voli, čemu da teži i šta to može (i treba) da ga učini zadovoljnim i ispunjenim. Nije namera teksta, niti smo to u mogući-

nosti, da ponudi konačan odgovor, već možda samo da podigne i usmeri svest ka potencijalnim problemima u koje zapadamo ako stihijski i nekritički podležemo i prihvatamo (samo)promene, posebno smatrajući ih nužnim, izuzetno korisnim i po definiciji dobrim.

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Technologies of the Self in Adult Education[7]

Abstract: We commence this paper with Foucault's theory of the technologies of the self and the approach to analysing their function in adult education. In exploring the mechanism of control, of particular importance is the point of intersection of power, examining, confiding, science and experts or specialists and the formation of the self. We shall attempt to clarify such relations, particularly the connection of the technology of the self and education. The adult learner is perceived as an active learner and is expected to provide constant reflexion on their previous experience which has turned into raw material honed by critical analysis. It is presupposed that such action is empowering and that talking about oneself influences the liberation of an individual. In the past decade, various societal spheres saw a more pronounced neoliberal position, which also applies to the sphere of education. Consequently, we witness the growing and more frequent transfer of responsibility to the subject who ought to develop certain skills, regardless of whether they are intended for living or working. Spurred by growing insecurities and global unpredictability, the individual is invited to continually hone their skills and reinvent themselves so as to adapt to changes. Lifelong learning has become a standard and requirement, not just a right. Such a learning process oftentimes includes self-knowledge that is inevitably playing out in relation to current modes of truth. By producing themselves, the subject is also becoming submissive at the same time. In this work, we suggest that the practices of learning must therefore be what Foucault called *technologies of the self,* whereas the description and argumentation of this statement is at the crux of this paper.

Key words: technology of the self, confession, self-actualization, education.

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Assessing Critical Thinking and Achievement in Foreign Language Learning at the University Level[2]

Abstract: The aim of this study is to examine the correlation between the critical thinking skills and the success rate of the English language acquisition modelled on similar research conducted in other academic settings. This paper presents an overview of previous research and conclusions on the role of critical thinking in education. The results of the quantitative study confirmed that there was a strong correlation between students' critical thinking skills and their abilities to learn foreign languages, and that better critical thinkers were far more successful in learning foreign languages. The correlation between the success rates of English language learning and the critical thinking test section devoted to deductive reasoning proved particularly significant. Further research should be done to determine the nature of this relationship as accurately as possible so that its practical application in the teaching process is of greater importance.

Key words: critical thinking, Cornell Critical Thinking Test, English language learning.

Introduction

In today's globalized world, students are faced with ever-greater demands with the aim of being as competitive participants in the labour market as possible upon finishing their studies. In addition to foreign languages and computer literacy, one of the essential demands is the skill of critical thinking. The research subject of this paper is the relationship between critical thinking skills and the success rate of the English language acquisition. This connection has been seemingly insufficiently researched in the Republic of Serbia and the Western Balkans. The phenomenon of critical thinking and its influence on learning foreign languages

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is presented in detail in this study. An overview is given of earlier research and conclusions on the topic of the role of critical thinking in education in general, and especially in teaching foreign languages.

For the purposes of this scientific research, the Cornell Critical Thinking Test (CCTT), Level X, is used as a tool for measuring the critical thinking of the students that participated in the research. This is a standardized test created by Ennis, Millman, and Tomko in 1985, and is based on the conceptual definition stating that "critical thinking is the process of reasonably deciding what to do and believe" (Rashid & Hashim, 2008, p. 375). This test has been employed around the world over the past several decades when determining candidates for master's degree studies, as well as for job hiring (Ennis, Millman & Tomko, 2005). In order for the results to be credible, the author translated the test into Serbian, and adapted it to the local culture for the purpose of this research. Student performance in learning English is quantitatively expressed using grades from the subject of English (data provided by the IT system of Singidunum University in Belgrade). Descriptive statistics is used in order to analyse the relationship between variables.

Critical Thinking

In order to adequately analyse the student responses obtained through the Cornell Critical Thinking Test, a basic inspection must be made of the theoretical conceptualization of critical thinking. It is essential to understand the nature of this concept, its components and functions, and the potential implications of the process of advancing critical thinking through a variety of teaching activities, which is one of this research goals.

Nowadays, rarely do disputes arise over the use of developing critical thinking as one of the key goals of education, particularly at the tertiary level, in both developed countries as well as countries in development. In most countries, students must attend a critical thinking course prior to graduation, "while many textbooks which are primarily written using the problem-solving and dialogue-based learning methods, contain a special section of the didactive apparatus dedicated to fostering critical thinking" (Pešić, 2003, p. 415). Regardless, student results on tests that measure this skill are not satisfactory, not even in countries such as the U.S., where exceptional attention is dedicated to the development of this skill. Pešić rightly asks whether the problem lies in the insufficient quality of practical programs for the development of this skill, or in the fact that the very concept of critical thinking remains unclear and poorly defined. According to

Paul (as cited in Pešić, 2003, p. 416), "the key questions related to critical thinking are not satisfyingly articulated in either the theoretical level or, consequently, in the design of practical programs".

There is no one definition of the term 'critical thinking', primarily because of its nature and the very complex relationships it has with intelligence, studying, personal characteristics, academic performance, etc. Some authors believe critical thinking to be a dominantly cognitive skill (Merriam & Caffarella, 1999). On the other hand, others believe critical thinking, although indeed the thought process of a higher order in which cognitive aspects doubtlessly come first, includes non-cognitive elements, such as opinions, feelings, values, fears, suspicions, and oppositions (Kvaščev, 1969; Norris 1985). Critical thinking is treated "as a key component of studying in traditional psychology, while in contemporary theories of learning among adults it is identified as transformative learning, that is, the process of transforming perspectives, as the most significant and deepest form of learning" (Orlović Lovren, Despotović & Bulajić, 2016, p. 47). Halpern defines critical thinking as the use of cognitive skills or strategies that increase the probability of the desired outcome. This way of thinking is "purposeful, reasoned, goal-driven and assumes problem-solving, formulating conclusions, assessing probabilities and making decisions, whereby valid and efficient skills are used for specific contexts and types of thinking tasks" (Halpern, 1998, p. 450). Brookfield describes critical thinking as "the process we use to uncover and check our assumptions" (Brookfield, 2007, p. 11). According to this author, critical thinking includes three interconnected levels. The first one is discovering the assumptions that guide our decisions, actions and choices. The second one is checking the accuracy of these assumptions by exploring as many different perspectives, viewpoints and sources as possible. The third one refers to "taking informed decisions that are based on these researched assumptions" (Brookfield, 2007, p. 11). Among constructivist developmental theories, critical thinking has deep ties to cognitive development, and is treated as its culmination. Ennis states that the main constituents of critical thinking are the skills of analysing and interpreting information, carrying out logically sound and acceptable conclusions, and assessing the validity and strength of arguments — evaluation (Ennis et al., 2005).

Although the development and transfer of the critical thinking skill has long been recognized as one of the primary goals of education, there is very little empirical evidence which could help teachers when deciding which teaching methods and techniques positively affect the development of said skill (Marin & Halpern, 2011). There are no strategies that will definitively lead to the development of the critical thinking skill, nor those that will never achieve this goal. Published research often mentions specific methods, procedures, and principles

that incentivize critical thinking skills. Those include academic writing, combined with the methods of groupwork and cognitive mapping (Parameswaram, 2007; Orlović Lovren et al., 2016), case studies, reflection on critical moments in the teaching process, urging open communication within the group, creative discussions in terms of re-evaluating one's own stances and beliefs, debates on real world problems and situations which, in this way, become a part of the teaching process, and others. The development of this skill leads to the mutual respect during classes, which facilitates the exchange of opinions, lessens tensions, and alleviates potential resistance towards the novelty, whether that be the content or the teaching method.

The availability of an enormous amount of information via the Internet has given importance to the development of critical thinking skills. Data must be selected, its importance assessed, and then applied at the given moment, learned, and evaluated as a source of information. If the development of critical thinking is not incentivized, we will find ourselves in a situation in which we are "...in danger of having all of the answers but still not knowing what the answers mean" (Halpern, 1998, p. 450). Within this context, critical thinking could be defined as a critical relationship towards information.

Cornell Critical Thinking Test

Critical thinking tests, also known as critical reasoning tests, are tests often used in graduate, professional and managerial recruitment. These tests evaluate person's capacity to logically analyse assumptions, arguments, deductions and inferences. According to AssessmentDay, the most popular critical thinking tests present on the market today, which candidates may encounter for recruitment, selection or development are: Watson Glaser Critical Thinking Appraisal (W-GCTA), SHL Critical Reasoning Test Battery, Cornell Critical Thinking Assessment, Cappfinity Critical Reasoning Test and Test Partnership Concepts Critical Thinking Test (https://www.assessmentday.co.uk/). W-GCTA is one of the most widely-used critical thinking tests on the market and it is seen as a successful tool to predict job success, as well as being used to select good managers and finding possible future leaders. It is also used in order to select the right person for a specific job role, especially for careers in the law (Watson Glaser Critical Thinking Appraisal, n.d.). According to The Critical Thinking Co.™, the Cornell Critical Thinking Assessment is a test primarily used in educational settings with the aim of developing clear picture of students' critical thinking abilities (https://www.criticalthinking.com/). Due to the fact that CCTTs have been used in curriculum

and teaching experiments for appraisal of the critical thinking ability of a group, I decided to use this particular test in my research.

The results students obtain on this test should provide a clear picture of their critical thinking skills. Test X and Test Z exist: both are used to advance students' critical thinking skills, within the framework of courses that promote critical thinking, as well as a part of the entrance exams for master's studies programs, and upon hiring. Furthermore, the tests are a part of the required curricula in many high schools in North America. The creator of these tests is Robert H. Ennis, professor at Cornell University and the University of Illinois. Professor Ennis has, upon conceiving the test, and by his own admission, relied on Smith's definition of critical thinking (as cited in Ennis et al., 2005, p. 5): "Now if we set about to find out ... [a] statement means and to determine whether to accept or reject it, we would be engaged in thinking which, for lack of a better term, we shall call critical thinking". As we can conclude, according to Smith, the concept of critical thinking is not a concept of approval. The definition of critical thinking formulated by Ennis, and which this study author relies on is the following: "Critical thinking is reasonable and reflective thinking focused on deciding what to believe or do" (Ennis et al., 2005, p. 5). There is a great deal of division of critical thinking skills according to category, while the one the author opted for in this paper is Ennis' on inductive reasoning, deductive reasoning, and assessing the credibility of information/sources. The authors of CCTT particularly highlight the fact that noncognitive elements, such as opinions, feelings, and values, are not included in the test as well as that, with the aim of obtaining the most correct and fair results, personal characteristics and reasoning on the basis of political, economic, and social values, that is, the test-takers beliefs, cannot influence the test's final result.

"That set of emotional and motivational characteristics, to which some authors further add behavioural habits (intellectual integrity, a sense of justice, distrust of others' opinions, refraining from judging too quickly, taking precautions when interpreting facts, willingness to publicly declare stances, tolerance towards varying opinions, and others) is frequently referred to as critical stance or critical spirit" (Siegel, 1988, as cited in Orlović Lovren et al., 2016, p. 47), and is not included in the Cornell Critical Thinking Test.

The translated and culturally adapted test is made up of 49 questions. The first 23 questions in the test which was distributed to the students for the purpose of this research test their inductive reasoning skills, the second 15 questions test the reliability and credibility of information/sources, while the final 11 questions test deductive reasoning skills. It must be noted that, although there is a clear division of questions, that is, the test itself, into three parts, in relation to the aspect

that is being graded, much overlap and interconnectedness exist among these aspects in the actual process of critical thinking. Generally, the publishers of these tests recommend Test X be used when testing high schoolers, with Test Z to be used when testing adults, as well as exceptionally talented students. The author of this research opted for the so-called easier test, solely because the students participating in the aforementioned research had never faced this type of testing before, nor had they attended courses aimed at developing critical thinking in the past. The reliability coefficient of Test X ranges from 67 to 90% (Ennis et al., 1985).

Cornell Critical Thinking Test, Level X – Significant Correlation with Other Variables

Ennis states that there is no significant correlation between critical thinking and the gender of his participants based on 14 realized studies (Ennis et al., 2005). Based on 23 published studies that Ennis cites, there is a significant correlation between the range of vocabulary that the individual actively uses and the critical thinking skills whose coefficient reaches up to 51% (Ennis et al., 2005). Within the context of significance, the coefficient correlation between reading skills and critical thinking must be mentioned, reaching a high 49%, while the lowest correlation testing knowledge of punctuation, the use of capital letters, and types of sentences within critical thinking skills reaches a mere 28% (Ennis et al., 2005).

Intelligence is undoubtedly a determining factor for critical thinking, that is, its component, yet critical thinking and intelligence cannot be treated as equals. Intelligence tests do not measure critical thinking skills. Deeper consideration of the relation between intelligence and critical thinking demonstrates that critical thinking could be defined as intelligence enriched by knowledge and experience (Despotović, 1997).

Few studies dealing with the relationship between socio-economic factors and critical thinking skills exist. The three that Ennis had insight into do not demonstrate a significant correlation factor between the aforementioned variables (Ennis et al., 2005).

On the other hand, researchers have demonstrated far greater interest in the relation between personal characteristics and critical thinking skills. The greatest correlation exists between independence, in the broadest sense of the term, and critical thinking. Several studies have shown, though not very significant, but still an existing correlation between a positive relation towards the educational institution and critical thinking. Extensive studies carried out by Isabel Myers Briggs on 668 subjects demonstrated that "a significant difference exists in

terms of intuitiveness — rational reasoning in favour of intuition" (Isabel Myers Briggs, as cited in Ennis et al., 2005, p. 27). Myers Briggs reaches the impressive conclusion that students who rely more heavily on intuition tend to be superior critical thinkers compared with those who rely on reason. To date, four Cornell Critical Thinking Tests, Level X, have been published (Follman, Hernandez & Miller, 1969; Follman, Miller & Hernandez, 1969; Landis & Michael, 1981; Michael, Devancy & Michael, 1980). Follman, Miller, and Hernandez observe parts of test X as separate units for analysis, while analysing other critical thinking tests, such as the Watson Glaser Critical Thinking Appraisal Test, and reach the conclusion that parts of the CCTT function as a whole, as is the case with five separate parts of the Watson Glaser test.

Due to the complexity of the relationship between critical thinking and intelligence, personal characteristics, age, studies, and gender, there is still no consensus on the definition of critical thinking. Disagreements normally arise and prevail because of the origin and character of critical thinking which lead to its entirely different conceptualization (Orlović Lovren et al., 2016).

Overview of Previous Research on the Relationship Between Critical Thinking and Success in Foreign Language Learning

Nearly all research into the phenomenon of the relationship between critical thinking and success in foreign language learning is based on the conviction that these two parameters are essential to the success of future graduates when seeking jobs, as well as being crucial to success in professional careers, regardless of occupation. Most researchers (Zhang & Kim, 2018; Rashid & Hashim, 2008; Keihaniyan, 2013; Hosseini et al., 2012; Ishikawa, 2017; Elder & Paul, 2004) focus on the broad perspective, that is, the claim that successful individuals, those who speak foreign languages and who are capable of critically considering the social, economic, and political phenomena that surround them, are of critical importance for society as a whole to progress.

It appears that the spark that lit researchers' interest into the field of critical thinking is the same as the world's greatest companies spark, primarily those of Europe and North America, who seek an educated workforce, which is lacking on the market worldwide. They simultaneously express distrust in educational systems and their capacity to prepare future graduates for the skills needed in the labour market in the globalized world. This critique primarily refers to "countries in development, which attempted to replace these faults in their school systems and, as such, to become more competitive in the job market, struggling to attract

the attention of foreign investors" — something which is all too familiar in our own country (Rashid & Hashim, 2008, p. 373).

Research carried out by university professors from Malaysia, Rashid and Hashim, on a sample of 280 university students demonstrated that there was positive correlation between critical thinking and success in mastering the English language (Rashid & Hashim, 2008). The tools used in the research included the Cornell Critical Thinking Level X Test, as well as two national tests that assessed the level of language proficiency. One of the conclusions was that Malaysian students did worse on the critical thinking test when compared with their peers in the U.S. The reasons for these results included the students' habit in the Malaysian schools to learn materials by heart, rote learning without thinking about what they are listening to, in a system in which *ex-cathedra* continues to dominate as the most popular teaching method (Rashid & Hashim, 2008). The valuable contribution that language proficiency may make to the undergraduates' critical thinking ability is further reinforced by the results produced through the one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) procedure which showed that students of the highest English proficiency level also obtained high scores on the CCTT (Rashid & Hashim, 2008).

A similar study carried out at a university in Iran based on a sample of 100 university students achieved nearly identical results to the aforementioned study in Malaysia (Keihaniyan, 2013). The same tools were used in this research, the Cornell Critical Thinking Test, level X, and a national test to establish English language proficiency. Once again, the students obtained poorer results on critical thinking tests when compared with their American peers, while the authors cited the same reasons as to why, and suggested changes to those of their colleagues in Malaysia for the Iranian educational system. Likewise, the study confirmed a positive correlation between critical thinking skills and foreign language acquisition, while the correlation coefficient was highest amongst those students who demonstrated a high degree of knowledge of the English language; without exception, they were the ones who obtained high results on the critical thinking test as well (Keihaniyan, 2013). The average success rate of the students in Malaysia who took the aforementioned test comes out to 38.17%, while for those in Iran it is 30.17%. On the other hand, the average success rate of their American counterparts on the Cornell Critical Thinking Test came out to 52.2%. The average success rate of the students on the aforementioned test within the framework of the research this author carried out at Singidunum University in Belgrade came out to 62.7%. It should be emphasized that the aforementioned average results are of the second-year undergraduate studies students in the U.S., while the participants in Serbia were third– and fourth-year undergraduate studies students,

as the age difference as well as educational and knowledge level, could be an important factor in explaining the higher results among students in Serbia. On the other hand, as already mentioned earlier, this was the first time Singidunum University students had faced CCTT test-taking, and had not had any experience developing their critical thinking skills over the course of their schooling, unlike students in the United States, where a great deal of attention is paid to the development of this skill when putting curricula together.

Research carried out with the same goal, that is, establishing the connection between critical thinking and success in mastering languages, at Kobe University in Japan in which 74 students participated demonstrated a clearly positive correlation between listening skills and critical thinking, while the correlation did not prove significant among other language skills (Ishikawa, 2017). After the aforementioned and similar studies, the authors unequivocally recommended the concept of critical thinking to be introduced into the teaching curriculum and study program for English as a Second Language at the tertiary level of education in Japan. They suggested that other important characteristics, including creativity, cooperation, and communication skills, can be developed alongside critical thinking skills, and that foreign language classes are the most appropriate for the application of such methods.

It is important to mention a very interesting study, in which 89 first year students at the School of Educational Sciences at South African University participated, which was carried out with the same aim as the aforementioned studies. At the very beginning of the research, the question is postulated as to whether students in South Africa are even exposed to the teaching methods that would spur their problem-solving skills, as well as those of critically analysing information, efficient use of modern technology, and making decisions while relying on creative and critical thinking (Grosser & Nel, 2013). The group of students was very heterogenous, with pronounced differences in gender, socio-economic status, mother tongue (English, Afrikaans and African languages), and types of high school education. The degree of language ability is numerically presented upon processing the national language recognition test, while the critical thinking skills were measured using the Watson Glasser Critical Appraisal Test. The obtained results showed that "the overall achievement of all the students was poor" (Grosser & Nel, 2013, p. 9). In addition, significant correlations between academic language proficiency and critical thinking as a general competency, were noted. The average performance of a student on the aforementioned critical thinking test came out to 34.19%. Grosser and Nel agree with the authors of similar studies (Elder & Paul, 2004; Lun, Fischer & Ward, 2010), who state that the average first-year university student in South Africa does not understand what they read

in English. "It is well-known that the majority of learners in South Africa are English second language learners and that this negatively influences their academic achievements" (Grosser & Nel, 2013, p. 5).

On the other hand, the authors agree that excellent knowledge of the language is a crucial factor which makes a difference in the results of critical thinking tests. The authors pointed out the fact that significant differences among participants regarding their home language and different teaching and learning backgrounds in particular, may influence the results. In addition, "in the absence of a local norm group, the authors decided not to compare the results of the participants to other international norm groups" (Grosser & Nel, 2013, p. 5). The authors believe "more meaningful results will be obtained if a norm group for South African pre-service teachers existed against which the present results could have been compared" (Grosser & Nel, 2013, p. 12). They also acknowledge that the validity of the WGCTA could be enhanced with a test instrument constructed for South African conditions. In particular, the critical thinking abilities of the Afrikaans-speaking students need to be determined with texts in their home language. A clearer distinction has to be made between English home language speakers and English first or second language speakers to obtain a more reliable picture on the link between critical thinking and language abilities (Grosser & Nel, 2013).

A particular challenge was placed before foreign language teachers, who had the most difficult task — to influence the moulding of individuals capable of critically considering the world around them, the constant changes that take place, and to influence their flow. The requirement and challenge placed on foreign language educators, particularly English language teachers (given their status), to further educate themselves when dealing with methods for developing critical thinking skills in foreign language classes is the subject of numerous studies (Ketabi, Zabihi & Ghadiri, 2012; Mok, 2010; Murcia, 2012; Marin & de la Pava, 2017).

The author of this paper believes it is important to compare the results of the participants of this research with those of similar research carried out in the U.S.A. (Ennis et al., 2005). The first such study encompassed 50 first-year liberal arts college students from the north-eastern region of the U.S. The average result from the Cornell Critical Thinking Test, level X, as a whole came out to 61.05%. The second study included 634 first-year liberal arts students from a small state university in upstate New York. This group's average result came out to 61.45% (Ennis et al., 2005). This group was especially interesting in that the researchers decided that the participants be re-tested upon having completed a one-semester course called "Analytical Thinking." However, the results on the repeated test were almost the same, in that the average result ended up being only slightly higher, at 61.71%. The third test, in which 20 teachers in the outskirts

of Chicago participated, was particularly interesting. The testing took place after the completion of one-semester course called "Critical Thinking." The average result of this group was the highest, at 73.03%, which may be explained by the age (and maturity) of the students, but also thanks to the course which they had the opportunity to attend prior to taking the test itself (Ennis et al., 2005). The fourth study included 187 first year education students at a Pacific coast state university. Their average result on the test was 68.68% (Ennis et al., 2005). The participants of this study, 3rd and 4th year students at Singidunum University studying IT, obtained an average result of 62.7% on the Cornell Critical Thinking Test as a whole.

Research Methodology

Research hypotheses

Upon finalization of research, the author expects the proposed hypotheses to confirm:

- Based on the available research carried out in other academic environments (Rashid & Hashim, 2008; Rezaei, Derakhshan & Bagherkazemi, 2011; Ishikawa, 2017; Elder & Paul, 2004; Gao, 2013), the hypothesis is that there is a strong relation between critical thinking skills of students and their success at learning foreign languages.
- It is hypothesized that those students who possess critical thinking skills are more successful at learning foreign languages.

Sample

The research was carried out on a sample of the student population of undergraduate studies from Singidunum University in Belgrade. Singidunum University is a private university in Serbia with the highest number of students in the Republic of Serbia (Gajić, 2020). Some of them are former students of public universities, thereby constituting a unique combination of students of both public and private universities. It is important to mention that students from Singidunum University hail from all Serbian cities, not only Belgrade, as well as from regional countries, particularly from Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro. The author believes that the sample is generalizable to a wider student population and can, as such, be considered relevant.

For the purposes of carrying out the Cornell Critical Thinking Test, a total of 50 selected respondents were included, out of which 30 were male and 20 were female. The majority of the respondents belong to the Faculty of Informatics and Computing — 42 in total — followed by 6 representing the Faculty of Electrical Engineering and Computing, and finally the Faculty of Engineering Management, with 2. Students from these three faculties belonging to Singidunum University all attended both courses, English 3, that is, English 4, as required subjects. These students followed the C1 Complete Advanced coursebook, published by the Cambridge University Press, which at the same time prepared students to take the internationally recognized CAE certificate.

Procedure

The research took place in one of the classrooms at Singidunum University in Belgrade. All of the participants were told that their results would be highly valued while their identities would not be disclosed to anyone except the researcher. They confirmed that they understood their role in the research. Before carrying out the test, the students were informed about the way they were to approach its various parts. While taking the first two parts of the test, the questions had to be answered in the order in which they were set up. Once a question was answered and the student continued to the next, they were no longer allowed to return to any earlier questions. The third part of the test is not limited in such capacity. The author read the instructions for each part of the test and analysed several examples of questions giving the correct responses in order to ensure that all participants understood exactly what was expected of them. Particular attention was given to the questions that needed to be responded to as if all given information were true, and to never debate the validity of the information itself. Finally, when the author determined that there were no further ambiguities, and that all general conditions requested by the author of the test were fulfilled, the participants were allowed to start taking the test.

Research Results and Discussion

The results obtained by carrying out the Cornell Critical Thinking Test, level X, were processed quantitatively through descriptive statistics. The test was statistically processed in its whole, after which each of the three parts of the test was processed individually.

Through correlational analysis or, to be more precise, simple linear regression, the author aimed to examine whether a correlation existed between the dependent and independent variables, in this case, grades from the English language course, and the results obtained by carrying out the critical thinking test. If it did exist, the goal was to discover how significant it was, or rather, in what way the critical thinking skill affected the outcome of grades from English course. The analysis demonstrated that there was a correlation between the two aforementioned variables, as well as the existence of an agreement measure between the dependent variable-grades from English class-and each of the three individual parts of the critical thinking test. It was demonstrated that the regression coefficients were at a significance level of 5%, and that the model itself was valid. It is particularly important to emphasize that the first part of the test, that of inductive reasoning, can explain about 10% of the English language grade (table 1), that the second part of the test, that of observation skills and credibility of information/source, is practically the same, at somewhat over 10% (table 2) while the third part, that of deductive reasoning, can explain the grade by up to 30% (table 3).

Table 1. Regression Statistics — Inductive Reasoning

Multiple *R*	*R* Square	Adj *R* Square	*F*	*p*-value	*B*	*SE*	ß	*t*	*p*
0,313593	0,098341	0,079556	5,24	0,026	0,027	0,0119	0,00205	2,28	0,026

Table 2. Regression Statistics — Observation skills and credibility of information/source

Multiple *R*	*R* Square	Adj *R* Square	*F*	*p*-value	*B*	*SE*	ß	*t*	*p*
0,313655	0,098379	0,079596	5,23	0,026	0,0265	0,01158	0,001958	2,28	0,026

Table 3. Regression statistics — Deductive reasoning

Multiple *R*	*R* Square	Adj *R* Square	*F*	*p*-value	*B*	*SE*	ß	*t*	*p*
0,55582	0,308936	0,294539	21,45	0,00002	0,028	0,00621	0,00111	4,63	0,00002

Considering how many different factors can explain grade formation in higher education, particularly upon the introduction of the Bologna Declaration, including midterms, active participation in classes, additional assignments through semester projects, and others, the author finds this percentage very high, and thus believes particular attention should be paid to deductive reasoning upon analysis.

Table 4 demonstrates the statistically processed data gathered by analysing the results the students obtained on the CCTT. The results are expressed in percentages. The average performance of the students on the aforementioned test comes out to 62.7%. The mode is 60%. The standard deviation in this case

comes out to around 11%. The minimal result obtained on this test is 44%, while the maximal is 94%, on a sample of 50 students.

Table 4. Student Performance on the Cornell Critical Thinking Test as a Whole

M	*SEM*	Med.	Mode	*SD*	Sample Variance	Kurt.	Skew.	Range	Min	Max	∑	*N*
62.7	1.58	62	60	11	125.2	-0.23	0.18	50	44	94	3133	50

Table 5 demonstrates the statistical measures obtained through analysing the results of the students on the first part of the critical thinking test, which assesses inductive reasoning skills. The average performance of the students in the aforementioned part of the test comes out to 62.14%, which differs very little from the average success on the test when viewed as a whole.

Table 5. Student Success on the First Part of the Test — Inductive Reasoning

M	*SEM*	Med.	Mode	*SD*	Sample Variance	Kurt.	Skew.	Range	Min	Max	∑	*N*
62.14	1.86	65	69	13	172.4	0.21	-0.52	65	26	91	3107	50

Table 6 shows the statistically processed data obtained through analysing the results of students in the second part of the critical thinking test, which assesses observation skills and assessment of information/sources credibility. The average success of the students in the aforementioned part of the test comes out to 57.22%. The value is smaller when compared with the first part (inductive reasoning), as well as when observing the test as a whole.

Table 6. Student Performance on the Second Part of the Test — Observation Skills

M	*SEM*	Med.	Mode	*SD*	Sample Variance	Kurt.	Skew.	Range	Min	Max	∑	*N*
57.22	1.92	60	46	13	184.9	-0.27	0.14	60	33	93	2861	50

Table 7 shows the statistically processed data obtained from analysing the results of the students in the third part of CCTT, which assesses deductive reasoning skills. The average performance of the students on the aforementioned part of the test comes out to 69.88%. The value is higher compared to the test when observed as a whole (62.7%), as well as when compared with the first part (62.14%), while it is palpably higher than the second part (57.22%). The most frequent result so far is 80%, by far the highest in comparison with the previously tested parts and the test as a whole, while the standard deviation is around 22.2%. Minimal performance on the third part of the test is 20%, and maximal

100%. These results are very interesting if we recall that a female student obtained both the best and the worst result on this part of the test.

Table 7. Student Performance on the Third Part of the Test — Deductive Reasoning

M	*SEM*	Med.	Mode	*SD*	Sample Variance	Kurt.	Skew.	Range	Min	Max	∑	*N*
69.88	3.14	75	80	22	492.9	-0.59	-0.47	80	20	100	3494	50

The author wished to examine whether the students who had the greatest mastery of the English language (with a quantitative result of grade 10) were also the best critical thinkers (quantitatively expressed with the results from the aforementioned test and percentages). Table 8 confirms that there was a significant difference even between students with a grade of 10 and those with a grade of 9. Students with the highest grade in English realized an average result on CCTT of 77.43%, while students with a grade of 9 realized a significantly lower result, that of 63.46%. This difference is even greater if we analyse and compare the average results of the tests of students with grades of 8, 7, or 6 (Table 9). The result of students with a grade of 8 was 60.21%, while students with a grade of 7 or 6 came out to 57.69%. It is very interesting to observe that the results of students with grades 8, 7, and 6 do not differ much from one another. On the other hand, the difference is drastically noticeable when it comes to students who have a grade of 10 in English, even when compared with those peers who have a grade of 9, and particularly in comparison with those who have a grade of 8, 7, or 6.

Table 8. Performance on the Test as a Whole among Students with Grades 9 and 10

	Performance 10	Performance 9
Mean	77.43	63.46
Variance	59.62	133.44
Observations	7	13
Pooled Variance	108.83	
Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
Df	18	

Table 9. Performance on the Test as a Whole among Students with Grades 8, 7, and 6

	Performance 8	Performance 7 and 6
Mean	62.21	57.69
Variance	63.41	89.29
Observations	14	16
Pooled Variance	77.28	
Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
Df	28	

Considering how the treatment of deductive reasoning particularly stands out within the framework of the test as a whole, and that it explains the grades from the English class with a high 30%, the author deemed it necessary to particularly examine the type of connection existing between students with grades of 10 and their results on this part of the test. As can be seen in Table 10, students with a grade of 10 obtained an average result on the part testing deductive reasoning of a staggering 94.28%, which once again confirms the significance of this correlation, and goes in favour of the thesis that exceptional attention must be paid to the nature of this link in further research. On the other hand, students with a grade of 6 realized an average result of 46.66% on this part of the test, which is a far better result by these students in comparison with the test as a whole, and as such is even more significant (Table 11).

Table 10. Performance on Deductive Reasoning Part of the Test among Students with Grade 10

	Grade 10	Deductive Reasoning
Mean	10	94.28
Variance	0	61.9
Observations	7	7
Pooled Variance	30.95	
Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
Df	12	

Table 11. Performance on Deductive Reasoning Part of the Test among Students with Grade 6

	Grade 6	Deductive Reasoning
Mean	6	46.66
Variance	0	633.33
Observations	3	3
Pooled Variance	316.66	
Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
Df	4	

All of the aforementioned confirms the author's second hypothesis, and proves that those with better critical thinking skills are significantly more successful in learning of English language in the context of formal curriculum, i.e., have better grade in English language course. The question is raised as to what extent the grade is a relevant variable to this research. The participants of this study attended a general English language course at the C1 level. All of them had, prior to registering for their third year of studies, that is, prior to this research realization, attended English 1 as first year students, and English 2 as second year students (at a B2 level) at Singidunum University. Differences do indeed exist among them in terms of knowledge, conditioned by talent, motivation, and dedication. Many factors affect the grading process, particularly since the introduction of the Bologna Declaration, including attendance and participation in class, as well as projects, etc. It should be mentioned that the students sit for the exam both in writing (grammar and vocabulary test, a short essay, reading comprehension and listening to a short dialogue on topics covered throughout the duration of the course), as well as orally (a conversation on one of the topics covered throughout the duration of the course), hence that the grade reflects the students' accomplishments in all language skills. The author believes that the students' grades from the course in English can be considered a relevant parameter for this research.

Limitations and Obstacles to Research

The most significant obstacle the author faced was the complicated process of obtaining consent for using the Cornell Critical Thinking Test which lasted several months. It bears mentioning that the tests are not free, despite the author's clearly expressed aims to use them exclusively for research purposes, which represents a good example of the commodification of education.

The students consistently and patiently followed the instructions for carrying out the test, while the fact that this was the first time they had taken this type of test did not have negative consequences. On the contrary, it aroused interest among the students, who experienced it as a kind of challenge.

One of the research limitations was the relatively small number of participants—50, as well as insufficiently diverse educational profiles—with all students studying IT in some capacity.

Further Research Recommendations

In conjunction with the aforementioned obstacles and limitations to research, the recommendations for further research primarily refer to a greater number of educational profiles and participants. It would be particularly interesting and helpful if students from the social sciences and humanities faculties were to participate in the research, as would conducting particular analysis, that is, a comparison of participant responses from those who study different areas within information technology. One of the recommendations is that the same or similar research be carried out among the high school population in order to establish whether significant differences exist concerning the issue of developing critical thinking skills according to the age of the participants. Additionally, a small number of participants might limit the generalizability of the results.

Furthermore, the author believes that it would be particularly useful to carry out similar research on teachers of foreign languages based on those conducted in other academic environments, as well as research carried out by the Cambridge and Oxford Publishing Houses on the importance of developing critical thinking skills during foreign language classes (Gajić, 2020). As a particular challenge was placed before language teachers, who have the most difficult assignment—to influence the moulding of individuals, capable of critically consider the world around them, constant changes taking place and impacting their flow, it is necessary to establish what attitude foreign language teachers have towards this issue. Specifically, it is necessary to uncover whether they believe that they are sufficiently trained for the application of teaching methods that would incentivize critical thinking during classes, and whether they have the appropriate resources at their disposal in order to carry out such plans into action.

This type of research should absolutely not be limited to tertiary level education alone. Considering the success of the participants of this research—upon taking test X, the author believes it would be suitable to have students take test Z. The nature of the correlation of gender and critical thinking skills could be a topic for further research, given that both the minimal and maximal result of critical thinking skills were obtained by an individual belonging to the female gender. In the end, the results that clearly demonstrated the most significant correlation exists between success in mastering the English language and the critical thinking portion of the test regarding deductive reasoning led to the conclusion that this relation ought to be a topic of future research to determine its nature as precisely as possible. In that way, practical application in the teaching process would become ever more significant.

Conclusion

Going from the concept of critical thinking and the ever-greater presence of this skill in the context of foreign language learning, the subject of this research represents quantitative description of how critical thinking predicts achievement in mastering English as a foreign language. It is a particular challenge that so few studies on this topic exist in the Republic of Serbia, or in the former Yugoslav republics.

The results of the research confirmed the first hypothesis that a strong connection exists between the critical thinking skills of students and their success in learning foreign languages. The analysis has demonstrated that the correlation exists between the two aforementioned variables, as does a degree of matching between the dependent variables, English language course grades, and each of the three individual tests of critical thinking, as well as the test as a whole. The first part of the test covered inductive reasoning, which can explain about 10% of the grade in the English class, the second part of the test, assessing observation skills and credibility of information/sources was nearly the same, with somewhat over 10%, while the third part, the deductive reasoning, can explain the grade by a full 30%. The second hypothesis of the paper, that those students who possess critical thinking skills are more successful at learning foreign languages, is absolutely confirmed. The analysis proved that there were significant differences between the three parts of the test and their influence on grades in the English language class, yet also that further research was needed in order to arrive at more concrete information to be applied in the teaching practice. What can be stated with certainty at this point is that students who have excellent mastery of the English language, that is, have a grade of 10, are the best critical thinkers, that is, have realized a far greater average result on the Cornell Critical Thinking Test as a whole—77.43% of their peers who have a grade of 9, and who have obtained an average result of 63.46%. This difference increases when we compare them with students who have a grade of 8, and whose average result is 60.21%, that is, a grade of 7, and 6, with 57.69%. Students boasting a grade of 10 have an average result—94.28%, on the third part that tests deductive reasoning, particularly when the result is compared with the average result achieved by students with a grade of 6—46.66%.

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Procena kritičkog mišljenja i postignuća u nastavi stranih jezika na univerzitetskom nivou[4]

Apstrakt: Cilj ove studije jeste ispitivanje korelacije između veština kritičkog razmišljanja i stope uspešnosti usvajanja engleskog jezika, po uzoru na slična istraživanja koja su sprovedena u drugim akademskim kontekstima. Ovaj rad nudi pregled prethodnih istraživanja i zaključaka o ulozi kritičkog razmišljanja u obrazovanju. Rezultati kvantitativne studije potvrdili su da postoji značajna korelacija između veština kritičkog razmišljanja studenata i njihove sposobnosti da uče strane jezike, kao i da su studenti sa razvijenijim veštinama kritičkog razmišljanja bili daleko uspešniji u učenju stranih jezika. Naročito je značajna korelacija između stopa uspešnosti u učenju engleskog jezika i učinka na testu kritičkog razmišljanja koji je posvećen deduktivnom zaključivanju. Treba sprovesti dodatna istraživanja kako bi se utvrdila priroda ovog odnosa što je preciznije moguće, tako da se njegovoj praktičnoj primeni u procesu podučavanja prida veći značaj.

Ključne reči: kritičko razmišljanje, test kritičkog razmišljanja Univerziteta Kornel, učenje engleskog jezika.

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Hronika, polemika, kritika

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Rationale for the International Society for Comparative Adult Education Article on Comparative Inquiry Stages

Introduction[1]

Many adult educators are trapped in the local essence and significance of what they do. While other adult educators transcend the local, recognizing it is a common pattern experienced more widely, even globally. In this paper we argue for making connections between the local and the global as adult learners pursue issues and conditions that are their own, but also experienced in other countries

Such connections have become increasingly apparent, as educators recognize that many of the topics that adult learners pursue are greatly influenced by economic, political, health, migration, and opportunity conditions in their own and other countries.

[1] NOTE: in this hybrid article, as in the materials for our June 3 session ("Comparative Adult Education 2021" ISCAE), participants/readers could use the digital link to the three examples of publication summaries (Gibson, distance learning; Pratt, teaching perspectives; Knox, program coordination). Printed books can also be accessible from ISCAE related University libraries; or from publishers of the three books.

The 2010 American Association for Adult and Continuing Education (AAACE) decennial Handbook (Kasworm et al., 2010) chapters 37–40 on future directions in a global context, and the three editors' conclusions on looking back, looking forward emphasize why transcendent local educators should understand global issues related to their program initiatives and results. In the 2020 decennial Handbook (Rocco et al., 2020), the concluding contemporary issues section [chapters 36–46, conclusions and epilogue] provide a similar perspective on future directions related to combinations of local program opportunities and international connections.

The topic and format of our June 3, 2021, interactive session 4 on stages of international comparative inquiry, illustrate this relationship. The International Society for Comparative Adult Education (ISCAE), (http://www.iscae.org/), virtual preconference on comparing adult education in an age of populisms, explored use of technology to understand connections among global and local comparative inquiry and performance. Participants in the pre-conference interactions, had access to a website before, during, and after the session, which provided an overview rationale and three summaries of international comparative adult education publications: Gibson (Burge et al., 2011) distance-learning; Pratt (Pratt et al., 2016) teaching perspectives; Knox (1993), program coordination. All three topics are important for enhancing learning and performance.

The article sections are about comparative context, learning cascades, relevant publications, and future directions.

Context

The ISCAE pre-conference theme about an age of populisms refers to the turbulence that many American educators of adults are confronting during the current health, economic, and opportunity transition, which George Packer analysed in the article on four competing U.S. national visions, in the July/August 2021 Atlantic (Packer, 2021). Educators in other countries confront similar national issues about fragmentation.

Can it be our mission to engage program participants and stakeholders toward reconciliation in the next decade or more? In North America and beyond, much may depend on our regional collaborations as educators of adults after decades of fragmentation into specialized professional associations.

The three books for the ISCAE session contained information about international experience by Knox, Gibson, and Pratt. Simone Conceição's website (https: scoc-consulting.com) contains the posting of this digital article. She was co-editor of the Compendium, part of the June 3 ISCAE session, and has over

25 years professional experience in distance teaching and learning, training, technology, design, evaluation, and staff development, with experience in the United States, Chile, Dominican Republic, Brazil, Turkey, and China.

As mentioned during our ISCAE June 3 session discussion, an example of a local stage of international comparative inquiry, was a recent virtual Forum on information literacy that was conducted with a dozen scholars, journalists, and educators. A summary update about this Forum is available in our Adult Learning Exchange, as an interactive virtual community, (https://scoc-consulting.com/virtual-community), or discussion with interested colleagues. (https://ale-virtual-community-infoliteracy.blogspot.com/)

Cascades

A cascade of learning process was also mentioned during our June 3 session discussion, as a beneficial concept related to our rationale for hybrid local stages of comparative inquiry. Publications, biographies, and memoirs in recent decades have revealed the importance of mentors and role models for excellent education of adults. Exemplary educators transcend making arrangements by using major publications and examples from practice. Our multidisciplinary field has become fragmented in specialized associations, in spite of efforts to encourage interaction among partner associations. Deliberation among educators from members in several multi-disciplinary associations, to confront local implications of global issues, may provide a path to greater solidarity and personal quality of life.

Publications

Local and regional councils, roundtables, and joint conferences have become infrequent. Open access and website publications are especially valuable, as recent educators of adults may rely on digitized periodicals and hybrid books. Some practitioners may be aware of classic publications since the 2017 publication of the international Compendium (Knox et al., 2017), by Stylus joint publication with AAACE. Use of the AAACE Learning Exchange with members of partner associations, and articles such as the series of 2019 Adult Learning quarterly articles on future reflections (Brooks et al., 2019), have encouraged educators to benefit from both print and digital publications.

During the June 3 ISCAE session discussion, a question was asked about trends regarding CPAE graduate programs, and the importance of strategic planning, such as, the 1973 AEA publication about development of adult education

graduate programs (AEA-1973). This comparative education report was prepared by members of the CPAE committee on program initiation and revision. The report addressed issues related to both past trends and future directions.

Another example was about major print publications that reflect the evolving legacy of concepts and resources available to colleagues. A current example is the forthcoming ISCAE book on essential readings in international and comparative adult education (Reischmann, in press). Earlier examples include Cy Houle's book on The Literature of Adult Education (Houle, 1992); Cy Houle's 1980 continuing learning in the professions (Houle, 1980); Ron Cervero's 1988 book on professional education (Cervero, 1988), and the Knox 2016 book on Improving Professional Learning (Knox, 2016), with a bibliographic essay on important recent publications. Such publications use comparative analysis as part of their analysis.

Future Directions

Recent digitized and accessible publications that embrace international comparative analysis, give attention to global and local societal trends and future directions. Examples include the four volume/80 article Stylus International Compendium on Mapping the Field of Adult and Continuing Education (https://sites.google.com/site/icacecompendium/home), (Knox et al., 2017). Topics and authors address international issues, some using comparative analysis. The article in the Knox-Houle Collection (https://scoc-consulting.com/knoxhoule-collection), entitled Enhancing proficiency, praxis and performance, includes print and digital publications from several decades The brief forum JCEHP reflections on CME Congress 2012 (Knox, 2012), includes conference participants' comments and session topics that address global perspectives on future directions. The book A Paradigm of Care (Stake & Visse, 2021), is a rationale about desirable directions by educators in health, teaching and other professions. The book Designing Online Learning Experiences (Conceição & Howles, 2021) is another example of the various ways in which international comparative analysis can serve local educators and residents in the region.

Each of the publications cited in this article contains implications for future directions. In addition, following are principles and guidelines that apply to this rationale for comparative inquiry that speaks to local as well as global concerns:

1. Be responsive to educators from various roles (teachers, health occupations, counsellors, coordinators, and journalists);
2. Discover relevant publications and people for planning, conducting, reporting, process, and comparative conclusions;

3. Recognize systemic and accessible connections among global, national, regional, and local influences on people, groups, and communities;
4. Include ongoing evaluation and inquiry feedback to share results with program participants and other stakeholders;
5. Consider context, including cross-case analysis of situational and societal influences from the past and evolving present;
6. Use a future-oriented, collaborative planning and implementation process, if you want mutually beneficial exchanges, purposes, process, and locally usable results.

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Reflections on Creating Democratic Dialogue between Academic Researchers During a Pandemic

This article reports and reflects on some recent activity of the ESREA international research network on active democratic citizenship and adult learning (ADCAL).

Our Network

Next year marks the thirtieth anniversary of European Society for Research on the Education of Adults (ESREA) and the Active Democratic Citizenship and Adult Learning (ADCAL) network has been part of ESREA from the very beginning. In the 1990s Europe was transformed through seismic events in Eastern Europe and through an ongoing process of integration in the EU and the network's questions and foci reflected this. ADCAL has gone through several iterations and orientations since then and is currently particularly interested in adult learning in social movements; civic education for adults; the social and political construction of citizenship in relation to various discourses on adult learning and education and the historical and contemporary role of popular education.

Form and Content in Adult Education Research

Within adult education as a whole there is a strong and abiding interest in questions of democracy and in particular in democratic pedagogies, democratizing educational institutions and democratic forms of research (Grummell & Finnegan, 2020). Democratizing knowledge certainly underpins some of the most influential accounts of adult education theory and practice (Brookfield, 2005; Freire, 2000; hooks, 1994; Horton, 2003; Lindemann, 1926; Mezirow, 1991; Williams, 1962).

It seems quite obvious to us that a network which focuses on democracy and adult learning should seek some coherence between means and ends in its work. As a result, we have given, and continue to give, careful consideration to how we share, build, refine and disseminate knowledge. Over the past four years in our discussions with each other as convenors in preparing conferences and seminars and in interactions with network participants we have tried to keep this at the front of our mind by returning to several key questions. How can we ensure that our events are genuinely participatory, dialogical and convivial? How do we avoid the all too familiar reifications and deadening performance routines of the Academy while still ensuring there is robust scholarly debate and discussion? How can we encourage ourselves and others to present in various ways — through text, speech, film and even movement—and to think carefully about the dialectical relationship between form and content in research? How do we create space for meaningful, open exchange between experienced and new, sometimes tentative, researchers? And ultimately how do we ensure that we tap into the 'good sense' of adult education practice as an academic adult education research network?

There's no single right answer to these questions. They require sustained, ongoing attention. For us, as for John Dewey (1966), democracy at every level involves participation, critical reflection and experimentation and this is the attitude we have brought to our events. Sometimes we have succeeded in making sessions and discussion critical, participatory and experimental and at other times we have failed. However, we find fallibility to be an integral element of a struggle to create and maintain dialogical spaces. We embraced the notion of *potentiality* given by Rogoff (2008) in her seminal text on the *educational turn.* Knowledge and skills are not perceived as a precondition for acting, but rather an action is an expression of will and a drive to create, which generates new knowledge. Skills emerge and disappear in an act of creation. Anyhow, these insights originated within the practice are not prescriptions on how to establish democratic exchange because guidelines would diminish a possibility for an experiment. It is a somewhat paradoxical situation. Engaging in democratic dialogues is always a process

embedded in given conditions and beyond striving to be successful as the meaning of success is always related to the already established norms of how things are done. "Education can release our energies from what needs to be to what can be imagined" (Rogoff, 2008). We tried to restore the imaginary power of education which inevitably leads to a failure. What does it mean to fail? What are the indicators of a failure? It is not a wrong way of doing something until we find the right one. Success implies the notions of efficiency and efficacy that are part of the narratives of capitalism. Our subjectivities are formed around the idea of doing things in the right way. Involvement in the experiment assumes readiness to be wrong and to fail against the existing standards. The participation in an experiment can evoke a feeling of wasting time as it defies the efficiency imperative.

We remain convinced that it is possible and valuable to find and create formats for scholarly exchange which are commensurable with the tradition and values of democratic adult education.

Events in a Time of Pandemic

Working to respond to these questions became both trickier and more important during the pandemic. It was, and still is, a very complex time, and we want to be careful about making unwarranted generalizations about living with Covid 19. For us conveners, we can say that we found the difficulties and anxieties of everyday life during the pandemic intensified by being cut away from our communities of scholarly discussion and exchange. Amongst other events, the 2021 Active Democratic Citizenship and Adult Learning biannual conference to be held in Maynooth was postponed. At the same time, we were thrown into meeting and teaching digitally with uneven success and quite a lot of dissatisfaction and disappointments. We found that online academic events were often tiring, frequently dissatisfying and sometimes alienating. Part of this was due to missing what cannot be replaced—the subtlety and joy of embodied encounters—when we meet using virtual platforms. Part of this, we think, was also due to academic events trying to use familiar formats in radically different circumstances. We felt we needed to connect and discuss in our network during the time of pandemic, but to experiment and adapt the schedule and format in the light of our experiences.

These two aspects together—the desire to experiment with democratic approaches to scholarly exchange and our specific experiences of the conditions created by the pandemic and the political responses to it — led us to invite people to participate in a series of research dialogues. We designed these dialogues in a way that the agenda responded to expressed interests of participants, that the

dialogues were small-scale and required some commitment. We asked the participants to commit to all three dialogues of three hours each over three months as we went from late winter into spring. The idea was for people to really be able to get to know each other. Apart from this all that was requested was an expression of interest related to the call-in advance of the dialogues.

Dialogues on Hope from Winter into Spring

Specifically, we invited interested researchers to participate in a series of virtual discussions on 'The pulse of freedom: Learning from experiments in democracy'. We asked where currently and historically we can discern 'the pulse of freedom' and living democracy.

The focus on resources of hope and active experimentation was also part of our response to the circumstances we found ourselves in during the pandemic, even the sense of powerlessness we felt in this period. Of course, the pandemic had also been preceded by a tumultuous, and in many respects worrying, set of political developments. We live in a period of deep inequality and polycrisis (political, economic, social, cultural)—that is to say multiple interlinked crises (Douzinas, 2013)—in which the damage and threats to human life and the environment is all too evident and worsening rapidly. We are witnessing the cumulative impact of the neoliberalisation of society including the degradation and erosion of well-established forms of democratic adult education (Bowl, 2014; Fraser, 2017). The same tendencies influence research and academia, including the research on adult education, as we have seen a spectacular growth of far-right, nativist, populist and even fascist ideas in, for example, Europe, North America and India.

These are in many respects dark times. In inviting researchers to discussions on democratic experimentation and 'real utopias', we certainly did not want to deny or minimize these challenges. They constitute the necessary background and, to an extent, the boundaries of any experiments in living democracy and education for freedom. But it seems to us that often the response to these 'wicked' problems in social science has been to engage in dismal lament for the state of things and/or apolitical redescription of the sheer complexity of these problems. Following the example of the recently deceased US sociologist Erik Olin Wright (2014), our intention was to spark dialogues that pay close attention to 'real utopias', where attempts are being made to democratically and rationally transform practices and institutions 'in ways that enhance human wellbeing and happiness' and to explore critically how this is linked to education and learning. Democracy is never completed nor achieved as it is in constant creation and crisis. The pro-

gress happens in leaps, occasionally through experiments and trials that are more or less successful but do not always last. From this perspective, the identity of an active citizen is in constant emergence through those experiments and collective actions. Citizenship education takes place beyond a defined set of competences that prepare people to act and participate in the public sphere. Instead, learning emerges in constant effort to establish spaces of freedom.

In presenting this we were mindful that experiments in democracy exist on multiple scales and temporalities. This involves the politics of contestation and resistance over decades in movements, across regions and within intentional communities. In less explicit ways, experiments in democracy also exist in different types of events, encounters and even moments in everyday life and education (de Certeau, 1984; MAP, 2018). Through the dialogue series, we wanted to draw attention to the large and sustained experiments but also the passing and momentary and the relationship between them.

We invited participants to the dialogues with the following questions, but the participants' response to the call was much richer:

- What pedagogies, research methodologies and institutional initiatives are being used to foster active democratic citizenship (inside and outside formal educational structures)?
- Where and how has democracy been deepened through experiment and reform (inside and outside formal educational structures)?
- In what ways can democracy be developed in the face of polycrisis?

What Happened?

We wanted a small group for these dialogues (we envisaged about 20 people) and in the end there were 16 participants, including the convenors, from 10 countries (Austria, Finland, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Poland, Serbia, Sweden) attending the event. Based on the initial expressions of interest we created a format and some proposals for the group.

Beginning the dialogue series, we focused on introductions of each of the participants. Three things became apparent very quickly. First of all, there was a very real need to connect in the group and a great deal of interest in sharing experiences — both of course inflected by the pandemic. Secondly, the expressions of interest made before the event were somewhat side-lined as people spoke about the interests and experiences in a less formal way. It was fascinating to see how themes which were not named in people's initial communication surfaced and became really alive themes; for example, how events in central and eastern

Europe over the past thirty years impact on how we view democracy and learning. Thirdly, the idea of discussing real utopias was also subtly reframed. It became less sociological and more personal than we had envisaged but hope, and to some extent hopelessness, remained at the heart of the three dialogues but on different and changing terms.

One of the topics that emerged from the participants' proposals was urban space and transformative learning, which we as convenors chose as the general theme for the dialogue of the first session. This was a vast theme and worth mentioning is that the conversation mainly revolved around restrictions and limits to democratic participation in urban life. The exchange on the digital environment as a space for dialogue unfolded, as we shared concerns, excitements, fears and hopes related to participation in virtual, with inspiring examples of creative and rebellious acts of moving a classroom outdoors and experimenting with various innovative methodologies. We all together shared the different realities of our countries and the city emerged as a riven, tightly administered place without too much space for play and freedom. However, the unfinished and unclear places provoked our thinking about new "learningscapes" and collective engagement. Or at least this is how we convenors felt. Of course, this is indicative of the state of things and the particular moment we are in but we very much wanted to make the spring dialogues about what is and might be possible.

For the next session we suggested a theme which we felt was at the heart of our interests: 'Experiments in democratic citizenship and transformative education: Hopeful examples'. After suggestions from several of the participants, we opted for a different approach in organizing the second dialogue. For the session itself we selected four of our group to take responsibility for kicking off with reflections on the dialogue theme for 7 minutes each. After this, we continued to discuss the theme in small groups and ended the session with a shared discussion. The kickstarting contributions sparked very different types of discussions in the small groups, but this was far from linear. In one of the groups, a layered and fascinating conversation about how we might think about emancipatory change and the terms and coordinates we might use. The discussion also led the group to reflect, among other things, on forms of power that don't have to justify or explain themselves—hegemonic power if you wish—and the logic and impact of neoliberalism (which was explained by one group member by sharing on screen image of people locked away from each other which was very evocative). The pattern was different in other small groups. In another we exchanged hopeful examples from different countries in Europe and explored them within the adult education framework. The question of the possibility for activist engagement emerged and we agreed that it was not supported within the mainstream research

agenda. The conversation was rhizomatic in character as the topics were arising from different points of reference and concern. In yet another group, the discussion revolved around questions of transformation and empowerment, flowing from, e.g., aspects of religious faith, to the importance of interpersonal recognition as well as understanding the position of not-knowing.

After the second session, we found it difficult to work out from our post-event discussions what exactly might serve our dialogues best, largely because the texture and content of the three small group discussions appeared to be quite different. However, we reasoned that across the groups and in the general discussion that there was a strong desire for careful thinking on fundamental concepts as a part of these dialogues. As a result, we chose the following guide question for the final session: How can we usefully theorise adult learning for democratic social change in the present period? We also opted to revisit our initial format, where dialogues with the whole group and in small groups were the main form of activity. Interestingly this session revolved largely around the idea, conditions and constraints of dialogue.

We also asked for people to share materials between sessions and this form of sharing and collaboration fastened a sense that this was a collaborative community. It is noteworthy how many of us chose to refer to key figures in adult education history (Freire, Raymond Williams, Myles Horton etc.), creating new meanings of their work in response to current conditions. Possibility in the present, it seems, requires we seek out historical sources of hope. Nonetheless, after the second session, we asked the participants to share texts that are not considered ground-breaking in adult education theory, but to engage with the concepts that were developed at the periphery.

Concluding Remarks

Our interest was to build the event together with the participants and to share responsibility for structure that emerge from one session to the another. We especially wanted to pay attention in particular to welcome early career researchers. Our convenors felt a sense of relief not to be caught in a very instrumental type of communication which marks a great deal of academic discussion and which has become even more common during the pandemic. In this sense some pictures shared of childhood and artistic events and the film pieces were very evocative. It is also remarkable how in virtual communication small things like when one participant suddenly moved to a balcony or when someone read a poem—these human moments impacted and shifted the discussion in small

but significant ways. The role of aesthetic moments was astonishing. There is a fixation of how we do an online exchange, which is characterized by the feeling of absence and disengagement. These actions that disturb the banality did something—they created a human presence in an online environment. It is not about being preoccupied with the usage of different digital tools, but working with the materiality of the participants' spaces, sharing the reality of life as it is. In the post-event evaluation it was evident that the relaxed, warm and creative atmosphere, welcoming and inclusive climate, and generosity of the participants enabled meaningful exchange and space for stories. The dialogues were described as a very humanizing experience which included in depth discussions and learning about adult education. Duration of the event (three months) provided opportunity for sharing of the texts and reflections on relevant theories. We believe that "prolonged" dialogues started to evoke a sense of belonging to a research community which was particularly significant as we all felt a bit alienated from our fellow colleagues.

For us, as convenors, organizing dialogues demanded constant reflection on the process and on our own assumptions on structure of academic events. We had to ask the question that we began with over and over again: How can we ensure that our events are genuinely participatory, dialogical and convivial? At the same time, some of the participants asked for a more structured format and we had to resolve a somewhat paradoxical situation. In order to enable the process of joint creation of knowledge, it is necessary to wonder and wander together. Due to the logic of funding, all research steps must be clearly structured and predictable, which takes us away from meandering and discovery of the unexpected. But what should we do if the participants ask for predictability and input? Do we insist on our vision of education or adjust to the needs of the group?

However, it was also too easy to slip into the usual and well known. The experimentation with a (online) format demands trust in the process that unfolds through time. Sometimes, there is a pressure to be productive by doing the usual, which takes us away from the organic emergence of structure that is immanent to the group. Due to fear that open space can be meaningless to someone and that there is no new content to relate to, we stick to the old and familiar patterns that do not respond well to new situations. From our experience with this dialogue series, this kind of experimentation means trying out new things, but sometimes also returning to the comfort zone, perhaps just to realize it does not work anymore. The meanings of structure can be created and recreated anew, but first, the deconstruction is needed, although it might

create discomfort both among facilitators and participants. Participatory dialogues demand constant negotiations of meanings of process and acceptance of failure which is often condemned in the academic community. But meaningful relations and exchange unfolded when we gave up from the provision and control over content. The content and meanings were developed within the group and they reflected what was relevant for the particular context. As convenors, we felt that during the third session we as a group started the process where people could take shared control over the dialogues—it takes time for people to take control, we became a group in the third session through honesty and comfort.

Our response to these questions was that we as convenors agreed that we try out all together. We strongly felt that as adult education researchers we can create spaces that are not dominated by the traditional paradigm of organizing events. We wanted the dialogue series to be an experimentation in how the rhythm of doing research and creating events could possibly be changed. In that sense, we feel that the dialogue series was a worthwhile, even hopeful, small-scale experiment in democracy.

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About ESREA

ESREA's mission is to support the advancement of high-quality research on the education and learning of adults in Europe by sustaining:

co-operation among researchers, in the European context conceived in the broadest geographical terms;

development of research and dissemination of results in all areas of adult and continuing education;

training of early researchers and continuing professional development of researchers;

relationships with other European organizations and the appropriate national organizations.

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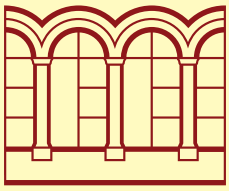

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