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Andragoške studije

Časopis za proučavanje obrazovanja i učenja odraslih

Andragogical Studies

Journal for the Study of Adult Education and Learning

Andragoške studije

Andragoške studije su časopis za proučavanje obrazovanja i učenja odraslih, naučne orijentacije, posvećen teorijsko-koncepcijskim, istorijskim, komparativnim i empirijskim proučavanjima problema obrazovanja odraslih i celoživotnog učenja. Časopis reflektuje i andragošku obrazovnu praksu, obuhvatajući širok spektar sadržaja relevantnih ne samo za Srbiju, već i za region jugoistočne Evrope, celu Evropu i međunarodnu zajednicu. Časopis je tematski otvoren za sve nivoe obrazovanja i učenja odraslih, za različite tematske oblasti – od opismenjavanja, preko univerzitetskog obrazovanja, do stručnog usavršavanja, kao i za učenje u formalnom, neformalnom i informalnom kontekstu.

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Institut za pedagogiju i andragogiju
Univerzitet u Beogradu, Filozofski fakultet

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Editorial notes

Dear Reader,

Welcome to the latest issue of *Andragogical Studies*, which you will see is a little different than usual. We have decided on this departure for a number of reasons.

In 2014, the Department of Andragogy celebrated its 35th anniversary – thirty-five years since the first students enrolled in four-year studies in andragogy at the Belgrade Faculty of Philosophy. For such a young academic field, a quarter-century is a major jubilee, as it would be even in a far more developed country. At the same time we celebrated 20th anniversary of our journal *Andragogical Studies*. As part of our anniversary celebrations we decided on this “international” issue of our journal, which will showcase the good reputation “Belgrade andragogy” enjoys in the world at large, as well as our numerous friendships with colleagues around the world.

Our anniversary coincided with another one: 2014 was the year our colleague Peter Jarvis, one of the most esteemed scholars in adult education, marked 60 years of andragogical endeavour. That long ago year of 1954, he held a sermon in a small church in Novi Sad – a talk which began his work in education, which he was to continue in the following decades, visiting the farthest reaches of the planet as he did so. Despite his brilliant academic career he did not forget his beginnings, or his friends and colleagues, and continued to visit Serbia and take part in our events, hold lectures and support us in a variety of ways. He marched with us in the 1996/97 student protests, and one of his most treasured possessions to this day is the “passport” we gave him at the time, granting him entry to the Faculty of Philosophy, which at the time was under “occupation” by students and staff. He later added to this a postcard we sent him after the NATO bombing of Serbia, which read ‘The city has changed, but the people have not’.

Since then everything has changed, not necessarily for the better, but some things of value remain – such as this friendship between Peter Jarvis and the “Bel-

grade andragogues". He visited us again in the year of this shared anniversary, toured Novi Sad, held a lecture at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, spent time socialising with us – and also agreed to edit this issue of *Andragogical Studies*. The choice of contributors was left to him, and reflects the diversity of topics he and his numerous international associates have made the subject of their academic study.

The choice of another editor was no coincidence, either – George Koulaouzides from the Hellenic Open University holds a PhD in adult education and is another long-time associate and friend of Peter Jarvis, and of ours too! We owe George a debt of gratitude for the great effort he has invested in this issue of the journal, and for his partnership, support and understanding which stems from our similar academic provenance and like-minded discourses and worldviews, as well as our shared desire to successfully surmount the challenges that await us in the time to come.

We are convinced that our guest editors, through their choice of articles (and authors) for this issue of *Andragogical Studies*, have taken a next step forward in bringing Serbian and international andragogical practice and theory closer together, and for that we are hugely grateful to them.

Katarina Popović & Miomir Despotović
Belgrade, Serbia

This special edition of the journal is published to mark the 35th anniversary of the Department of Andragogy at the University of Belgrade. We congratulate our colleagues in the Department for its longevity. It is most important that departments of adult education continue to play their role in university education and maintain the identity of adult education within higher education, as so many departments in Western Europe and North America have closed in the face of lifelong learning. Adult education has its own proud and distinctive history - especially in this part of the world.

It is a very great honour to be asked to contribute to this occasion and it was a thrill to me to be asked to edit this special edition. In a sense it is also part of my long history in education for it was in August 1954 - over 60 years ago - that I was privileged to give my first two talks in public - they were both in the Methodist Church in Novi Sad and, as a result, I have always felt a great affinity with this area of central Europe. I am very grateful to colleagues in the Department who have always made me welcome and it was in June 2014 that they invited me back to the Department to give a guest lecture and the following day the colleagues

took me back to Novi Sad, to the place where I first spoke in public - it was a landmark in my career.

I am also grateful to George who agreed to assist me in this editorial role - I have also enjoyed a nice relationship with the friends in Greece, where I have also been privileged to lecture on a number of occasions.

And so what lies behind my choice of writers for this edition? I asked friends and colleagues who have, in my opinion, contributed something special to our understanding of education worldwide. It was a broad brush approach to adult education which I adopted here. I am most grateful to them for taking the time from their very busy lives to contribute these papers. Michael Crossley from the University of Bristol is one of the world's leading experts of education in small states and so I asked him to write from his considerable expertise. Peter Mayo, from the University of Malta, is extremely well known as a radical thinker in adult education and radicalism is very important in both our world today and of our history in adult education. Peter is an expert on the work of Paulo Freire. Paulo, as we all know, came from Brazil and so I asked Tim Ireland - an English friend who works in Brazil - to write about adult education in Latin America, especially Brazil - I feel that we know so little about adult education in Brazil. Julia Preece has been a friend and colleague for a long time - we worked together in the same department for a number of years but since she left she has taught in Scotland, Botswana, Lesotho and, now in South Africa. I have admired her dedication to the field, and even more to her work with the underprivileged. I was extremely pleased when she agreed to contribute. SoongHee Han she is an excellent scholar and a great friend. We have worked together exploring the similarities and differences in Eastern and Western thought in education and I am grateful to him for being prepared to write a paper from his perspective. Finally, of the colleagues that I invited is John Holford - we have been friends for many years and he is my successor as senior editor of the *International Journal of Lifelong Education* - a journal that I was privileged to be a founding editor some 35 years ago. However, John is professor of adult education at Nottingham University which was the first university in the world to have a professor of adult education and a department of adult education. John stands in succession to a series of distinguished scholars who go back to the earliest days of adult education - and so I asked John to tell us something of its history. The final paper comes from Greece and was arranged by George. I have been very grateful to him for all his support during the preparation of this special issue of the journal and in the remainder of this editorial he will write about the Greek contributors and outline the contents of the papers.

*Peter Jarvis
Thatcham, UK*

As I am taking over the remaining of this editorial from my dear teacher Prof. Peter Jarvis, I would like to start by expressing my gratitude to him for accepting me as his assistant in this editorial work. To co-edit a journal with Peter is for me a great privilege and a remarkable honour. I met Prof. Peter Jarvis in 1995 when I enrolled in the M.Sc. programme in Applied Professional Studies in Education and Training at the University of Surrey. Back then he was the leader of the Department of Educational Studies which unfortunately no longer exists. Very soon we became friends and I think that this long friendship resulted in the great support that Peter has shown towards the adult education community in Greece. Peter has visited Greece many times (Thessaloniki, Athens and Patras) and honoured our community in several occasions. I would like also to express my thanks to the faculty members of the Department of Andragogy at the University of Belgrade who gave me the opportunity to participate in this collective effort. Especially, I would like to thank Dr. Katarina Popovic who proposed my name to Prof. Peter Jarvis. Katarina has been a good friend and colleague; she has visited Greece several times while her contribution was critical to the advancement of the participation of the Hellenic Adult Education Association in the European Association for the Education of Adults where she served for many years as a Vice-President. Finally, I would like to thank my former graduate student and friend, Ms. Ioanna Litsiou M.Ed., who assisted me in the proof-reading of many of the manuscripts.

This volume has three more papers that add to the significant contributions that were discussed earlier by Peter. Since this volume is published by a university located in the region of South-eastern Europe, we thought that it would be appropriate to include experiences from this part of the Old Continent. Thus, I asked from the faculty members of the Department of Andragogy to prepare a paper based on their long and interesting experience in promoting adult learning in Serbia. The result is, a significant paper by Professor Miomir Despotović, the Chairman of the Department of Pedagogy and Andragogy, about the cognitive development in the adulthood. Then, I invited two distinguished colleagues from Greece, Prof. Alexis Kokkos from the Hellenic Open University and Assoc. Prof. Thanassis Karalis from the University of Patras to co-author a paper based on our experience from the professional development of the field of adult education in our country. We decided to present our experience from trying to develop and establish a system for the professional development of adult educators.

As we were approaching the completion of the collection, I received an e-mail from the Department of Andragogy which was inviting me to prepare a paper dedicated to the work of Peter Jarvis. That invitation was a great challenge for me and although I was sceptical of whether I could really do it, I decided to

accept the challenge. This paper completes the collection of this volume and I hope that my perspective will manage to depict the great contribution of my teacher to the field of adult education and human learning.

In detail, the opening paper of this volume is written by Peter Mayo and is dedicated to the work of Paulo Freire. While I was reading it, I found myself absorbed by the clarity of its content that strengthened my belief that Freire's theoretical and practical innovations have been the founding ground for the advancement of the field of modern adult education. On the other hand, it made me realize that we do have to rethink and reinvent Freire's approach in today's world where the implications of the neoliberal educational policies have distorted the core function of education: emancipation. Peter Mayo provides us with a luminous analysis of the Freirean philosophy and its criticisms. He clarifies its core educational concepts (e.g. praxis, authority, love, freedom) and supports with strong argumentation the inspiration from the Freirean pedagogy and its reinvention.

The second paper is written by our Serbian colleague, Prof. Miomir Despotović, who is discussing the very interesting issue of cognitive development in the adulthood. Through an insightful analysis of different classical, modern and postmodern theories, Prof. Despotović is suggesting that all of us involved in adult learning processes should consider again any argument which supports the idea that cognitive development is absent in the adulthood. On the contrary, in his paper he argues that during the adult period of life, a sophisticated system of meaning schemes and perspectives continue to develop through a continuous transformation process that enables adults to learn, re-learn and eventually adjust to their reality.

Michael Crossley is the author of the third paper. Prof. Crossley in his comprehensive presentation is calling our attention to the importance of comparative and international research in education. Moreover, he is supporting the significance of studying education in small states (e.g. Balkan countries, Baltic countries, Cyprus, Iceland, etc.) and poses questions on how the experience from these small states may influence and actually transform global agendas and international programmes on education. This paper is a point of departure for the following papers that are actually presenting experiences from different countries.

In the fourth paper, Julia Preece is sharing with us her long experience in adult education and lifelong learning. In her paper she presents several dimensions of the African lifelong learning tradition and explains the way that lifelong learning is understood within the prevalent policies for development in Africa. Her core argument is that the existing adult education policies do not embrace the differentiated needs of the African countries. Prof. Preece is suggesting a pol-

icy development strategy that will be able to consider the cultural pluralism and the diverse social conditions in Africa

Timothy Ireland takes us back to Paulo Freire and Brazil. To my understanding, Ireland's paper complements the contribution of Peter Mayo. Building on the Angicos experience, he is comprehensively presenting the impact of the Freirean legacy on Brazil's popular education. However, his perspective is more realistic than idealistic. Ireland, describes aspects of the Brazilian reality and he is stressing the relation between the Freirean pedagogy and the evolution or devolution of democratic institutions. Clearly, his concise contribution is a Freirean alert regarding the educational practices that occur in a world where the prevalence of the market economies "disfigures" the concept of education as a liberating process.

The sixth paper of this issue is written by John Holford. This well-written historical account is travelling us to an academic environment and more specifically to the University of Nottingham. In this paper we can clearly notice the impact of the development of a university department on the broader society. Holford's paper provides us with a direct vision on how university adult education departments may operate in order to influence the social developments and generate change.

The next paper is keeping us in Europe, but this time in the South-eastern context. Alexis Kokkos, George Koulaouzides and Thanassis Karalis describe the efforts to develop a national system for the professional development of adult educators in Greece. In their paper we may see how the involvement of the state may encourage or dispirit the development of a professional field. Moreover, the authors raise questions about the future directions of the profession, the skills and the role of the adult educator in view of their experience from the social and economic crisis that has plaguing the Greek society the last five years.

Han SoongHee and SeonJoo Choi are taking us to South Korea. In their detailed contribution they present the evolution of adult education in their country. They present interesting examples of lifelong education policies like the *lifelong learning cities* and the *lifelong learning festivals* but, at the same time, they declare their reservations regarding the transition of their country from a literacy society to a learning society, stressing the issue of participation in adult education activities and its consequent outcome of learning inequality. This paper has a series of interesting quantitative data that are worth exploring.

Finally, the ninth paper is dedicated to Professor Peter Jarvis and his contribution to the field of adult education. In this short paper I use a series of events from my own biography to highlight Jarvis's key contributions to understanding

human learning and thus to becoming conscious of the core of the *leitourgía* of teaching adults.

I do hope that “travelling the world” through the papers of this journal will be an interesting reading experience for all the members of the global community of adult education.

George A. Koulaouzides
Thessaloniki, Greece

Reč urednika

Poštovani čitaoci,

Pred vama se nalazi novi broj časopisa *Andragoške studije*, nešto drugačiji od uobičajenih. Za ovu promenu odlučili smo se iz nekoliko razloga.

Grupa za andragogiju je 2014. obeležila 35 godina svog rada, 35 godina od kada su prvi studenti upisali četvorogodišnje studije andragogije na Filozofskom fakultetu u Beogradu. Četvrt veka za ovako mladu naučnu oblast predstavlja značajan jubilej čak i u znatno razvijenijim zemljama. Istovremeno smo obeležili i 20 godina izlazenja časopisa *Andragoške studije*. Jedan od načina našeg obeležavanja ovih jubileja jeste i izdavanje ovog broja časopisa, koji svojim „međunarodnim” karakterom ilustruje dobru reputaciju koju beogradska andragogija ima u internacionalnim okvirima, kao i brojne veze sa kolegama širom sveta.

Naš jubilej poklopio se sa još jednim jubilejom – 2014. navršilo se 60 godina andragoškog rada našeg uvaženog kolege Petera Jarvisa, jednog od najuglednijih naučnika u oblasti obrazovanja odraslih. Te davne 1954. u maloj novosadskoj crkvi održao je propoved (svoje prvo javno predavanje!) i time otpočeo svoj prosvetiteljski i obrazovni rad, sa kojim je nastavio sledećih decenija i na najudaljenijim tačkama planete. Uprkos blistavoj naučnoj karijeri, nije zaboravio svoje početke, ni svoje prijatelje i kolege, vraćao se u Srbiju, učestvovao na našim skupovima, držao predavanja i podržavao nas na različite načine. Marširao je sa nama na građanskim protestima 1996/97, a jednu od njegovih najdragocenijih uspomena i dan-danas predstavlja „pasoš” koji je tada dobio od nas. Taj pasoš mu je dozvoljavao ulazak u zgradu Filozofskog fakulteta, koju su u tom trenutku blokirali studenti i nastavnici. Draga uspomena je i razglednica koju smo mu poslali nakon bombardovanja, sa tekstom „Grad se promenio, ali ljudi nisu”.

U međuvremenu se sve promenilo, i to ne obavezno nabolje. Ipak, neke vredne stvari su ostale, pa tako i ovo prijateljstvo Petera Jarvisa i beogradskih andragoga. U godini ovih zajedničkih jubileja ponovo nas je posetio, obišao Novi Sad, održao predavanje na Filozofskom fakultetu i družio se sa nama, ali i prihvatio da uredi ovaj broj *Andragoških studija*. Izbor autora bio je prepušten njemu,

i odslikava raznovrsnost tema kojima se bavio i njegovih brojnih međunarodnih kontakata.

Ni izbor drugog urednika nije slučaj – George Koulaouzides (doktor nauka iz oblasti obrazovanja odraslih) sa Helenskog otvorenog univerziteta, takođe dugogodišnji saradnik i prijatelj Petera Jarvisa, ali i naš! Njemu dugujemo zahvalnost za veliki trud uložen u ovaj broj časopisa, kao i za saradnju, podršku i razumevanje, zasnovane na sličnoj naučnoj provenijenciji, srodnim diskursima i pogledima na svet, i zajedničkim željama za uspešno savladavanje izazova u periodu koji nam predstoji.

Verujemo da su naši gosti urednici izborom članaka (i autora) za ovaj broj *Andragoških studija* napravili još jedan korak u približavanju srpske i međunarodne andragoške prakse i teorije, i na tome smo im izuzetno zahvalni.

Katarina Popović i Miomir Despotović
Beograd, Srbija

Ovim specijalnim izdanjem časopisa obeležava se trideset pet godina Studijske grupe i Katedre za andragogiju Univerziteta u Beogradu. Čestitamo našim kolegama na dugotrajnom radu Katedre. U situaciji kada mnoga druga slična odeljenja u Zapadnoj Evropi i Severnoj Americi zatvaraju vrata celoživotnom učenju, izuzetno je važno da odeljenja za obrazovanje odraslih zadrže svoje mesto u okviru univerziteta, kao i svoj identitet u okviru visokoškolskog obrazovanja. Obrazovanje odraslih, posebno u ovom delu sveta, može biti ponosno na svoju dugotrajnu, specifičnu istoriju.

Izuzetno sam počastvovan pozivom da pružim doprinos ovom značajnom događaju i istinski se radujem što sam zamoljen da uredim specijalno izdanje časopisa *Andragoške studije*. Na neki način to je ujedno i moj doprinos dugoj istoriji obrazovanja odraslih. Jednog davnog avgusta pre 60 godina, tj. 1954, imao sam čast da održim svoja dva prva javna predavanja – oba su bila u Metodističkoj crkvi u Novom Sadu, što je bio i prelomni trenutak u mojoj karijeri. Zbog toga sam oduvek osećao veliku privrženost prema ovom delu Evrope i veoma sam zahvalan kolegama na Odeljenju koje su mi uvek ukazivale dobrodošlicu, a u junu 2014. me pozvale ponovo na Katedru kao gosta predavača, da bi me narednog dana povele u Novi Sad, upravo na mesto gde sam prvi put javno govorio.

Takođe sam zahvalan i Georgeu koji je pristao da mi asistira u ulozi urednika. Imao sam sreću da uživam u divnom prijateljstvu kolega iz Grčke, gde sam takođe više puta imao čast da držim predavanja.

Šta je doprinelo mom izboru pisaca za ovo izdanje? Pitao sam prijatelje i kolege koje su po mom mišljenju na poseban način dale doprinos našem razumevanju obrazovanja širom sveta, pri čemu sam imao širok pristup oblasti obrazovanja odraslih. Veoma sam im zahvalan što su, uprkos tome što su veoma zauzeti, odvojili vreme da svojim radovima daju doprinos časopisu. Michael Crossley sa Univerziteta u Bristolu jedan je od vodećih svetskih stručnjaka za obrazovanje u malim zemljama, pa sam ga zamolio da napiše nešto iz svoje opsežne ekspertize. Peter Mayo sa Univerziteta na Malti je veoma poznat kao radikalni mislilac u obrazovanju odraslih, a radikalno razmišljanje uvek je imalo značajnu ulogu, i u istoriji obrazovanja odraslih, ali i u našem današnjem svetu. Peter je ekspert za ideje i delo Paula Freirea. Kao što svi znamo, Paulo je poreklom iz Brazila, tako da sam zamolio Tima Irelanda, prijatelja Engleza koji živi i radi u Brazilu, da napiše nešto o obrazovanju odraslih u južnoj Americi, posebno u Brazilu, jer imam utisak da veoma malo znamo o obrazovanju u Brazilu. Julia Preece mi je prijateljica i kolegica već duže vreme; radili smo niz godina zajedno na istom odeljku u Engleskoj, a kasnije je predavala u Škotskoj, Bocvani, Lesotu i sada u Južnoj Africi. Divim se njenoj predanosti ovoj oblasti, a još više njenom radu sa obespavljenima. Neizmerno mi je drago što je pristala da napiše članak za časopis. SoongHee Han je izvanredan akademik i moj veliki prijatelj. Radili smo zajedno na istraživanju sličnosti i različitosti istočnjačke i zapadnjačke misli o obrazovanju i zahvalan sam mu što je bio spreman da napiše rad iz svoje perspektive. Konačno, od kolega koje sam pozvao tu je i John Holford. Mi smo dugogodišnji prijatelji i on će me naslediti na mestu urednika *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, časopisa čiji sam osnivač i urednik već 35 godina.

John je i profesor obrazovanja odraslih na Univerzitetu u Nottinghamu, prvom univerzitetu u svetu na kojem je osnovano odeljenje i zaposlen profesor za obrazovanje odraslih. John je i jedan u nizu istaknutih akademika koji je aktivan od samih početaka razvoja obrazovanja odraslih na univerzitetima, tako da sam ga zamolio da podeli sa nama nešto iz te istorije. Poslednji rad dolazi iz Grčke i priredio ga je George Koulaouzides sa svojim kolegama. Duboko sam mu zahvalan na podršci tokom pripreme ovog posebnog izdanja časopisa i na tome što će u nastavku ove reči urednika napisati nešto o grčkim autorima i predstaviti ukratko sve članke.

*Peter Jarvis
Thatcham, UK*

Preuzeću reč urednika od mog dragog učitelja profesora Petera Jarvisa, pa bih želeo pre svega da mu iskažem svoju zahvalnost što me je prihvatio kao svog asistenta u ovom uredničkom zadatku. Uređivati časopis zajedno sa Peterom za mene je velika privilegija i izuzetna čast. Profesora Petera Jarvisa upoznao sam 1995. kada sam upisao magistraturu na *Applied Professional Studies in Education and Training*, na Univerzitetu u Surreyu. U to vreme on je vodio Odeljenje za studije obrazovanja, koje nažalost više ne postoji. Ubrzo smo postali prijatelji i mislim da je ovo dugo prijateljstvo rezultiralo velikom Peterovom podrškom zajednici obrazovanja odraslih u Grčkoj. Peter je mnogo puta posetio Grčku (Solun, Atinu i Patras) i time nam ukazao veliku čast.

Želeo bih takođe da izrazim zahvalnost članovima Odeljenja za andragogiju na Univerzitetu u Beogradu koji su mi pružili priliku da učestvujem u ovom zajedničkom poduhvatu. Nadasve želim da se zahvalim dr Katarini Popović koja je moje ime predložila profesoru Peteru Jarvisu. Katarina mi je dobra prijateljica i koleginica. Posetila je nekoliko puta Grčku i njen doprinos je bio ključan za uključivanje i napredovanje Grčke asocijacije za obrazovanje odraslih u Evropskom udruženju za obrazovanje odraslih, u kojem je niz godina bila potpredsednik. Na kraju želim da se zahvalim svojoj nekadašnjoj studentkinji i prijateljici, magistru obrazovanja Ioanni Litsiou koja mi je pomagala u lekturi rukopisa za ovaj časopis.

Ovo izdanje sadrži i tri rada koja predstavljaju specifičan doprinos časopisu, uz onaj o kojem je već pisao Peter. Naime, budući da ovaj časopis izdaje univerzitet iz regiona jugoistočne Evrope, smatrali smo da bi bilo adekvatno da uključimo i priloge kolega sa ovog dela Starog kontinenta. Zbog toga smo zamolili članove Odeljenja za andragogiju da pripreme rad baziran na njihovom dugom i zanimljivom iskustvu u proučavanju učenja odraslih u Srbiji. Rezultat toga je značajan rad profesora Miomira Despotovića, upravnika Odeljenja za pedagogiju i andragogiju, o kognitivnom razvoju odraslih. Uz to sam pozvao dvojicu svojih istaknutih kolega iz Grčke, profesora Alexisa Kokkosa sa Helenskog otvorenog univerziteta i docenta Thanassisa Karalisa sa Univerziteta u Patrasu da budu koautori u članku o profesionalnom razvoju obrazovanja odraslih u našoj zemlji. Odlučili smo da predstavimo svoje iskustvo stečeno u nastojanjima da razvijemo i utemeljimo sistem za profesionalni razvoj edukatora odraslih.

Dok smo se bližili uobličavanju grupe članaka za ovaj broj časopisa, primio sam poziv od kolega sa Odeljenja za andragogiju da pripremam rad posvećen delu Petera Jarvisa. Ovaj poziv je došao kao veliki izazov, pa sam, uprkos početnoj zebnji, odlučio da ga prihvatim. Ovaj rad zaokružuje izbor članaka za ovaj broj časopisa, i nadam se da će moj osvrt na delo Petera Jarvisa uspeti da predstavi veliki doprinos mog učitelja oblasti obrazovanja odraslih i učenja uopšte.

Što se radova tiče, rad kojim počinje ovo izdanje pisao je Peter Mayo i posvećen je delu Paula Freirea. Dok sam ga čitao privukla me je jasnoća ideja koja je potvrdila moje uverenje da su Freireove teoretske i praktične inovacije bile temelj za dalje napredovanje savremenog obrazovanja odraslih. Sa druge strane pomogao mi je da shvatim da u svetu današnjice treba ponovo da razmatramo i otkrivamo Freireov pristup, gde su implikacije neoliberalnih obrazovnih politika izobličile suštinsku funkciju obrazovanja: emancipaciju. Peter Mayo nam pruža analizu koja osvetljava Freireovu filozofiju i njen kritičizam. Razjašnjava njene ključne obrazovne koncepte (praksu, autoritet, ljubav, slobodu) i uz jake argumente podržava inspiraciju freireovskom pedagogijom i njeno ponovno otkrivanje.

Drugi rad je napisao naš kolega iz Srbije profesor Miomir Despotović. U njemu se raspravlja o veoma interesantnoj temi kognitivnog razvoja u odrasloj dobi. Dajući duboki uvid u analizu različitih klasičnih, modernih i postmodernih teorija, profesor Despotović predlaže svima onima koji su uključeni u proces učenja odraslih da razmotre još jednom argumente koji podržavaju ideju da kognitivni razvoj nije prisutan u odrasloj dobi. Naprotiv, u svom radu on argumentuje da tokom odraslog doba istančani sistem značenjskih šema i perspektiva nastavlja da se razvija kroz stalni transformacioni proces koji osposobljava odrasle da uče, iznova uče, i da se na kraju prilagode stvarnosti.

Autor trećeg rada je Michael Crossley. Profesor Crossley u svom opsežnom izlaganju skreće našu pažnju na važnost komparativnih i međunarodnih istraživanja u oblasti obrazovanja. Pored toga, piše u prilog značaja studija obrazovanja u malim državama (zemljama Balkana, baltičkim zemljama, na Kipru, Islandu itd.) i pokreće pitanje na koji način iskustvo ovih malih zemalja može da utiče na globalne agende i međunarodne obrazovne programe i da ih čak i menja. Ovaj rad je neka vrsta uvoda za naredne radove u kojima se upravo i predstavljaju iskustva iz različitih zemalja.

U četvrtom radu, Julia Preece je podelila sa nama svoje dugogodišnje iskustvo u obrazovanju odraslih i celoživotnom učenju. U svom radu predstavila je nekoliko dimenzija tradicije celoživotnog obrazovanja u Africi i objasnila kako se celoživotno učenje shvata u okviru dominantnih razvojnih politika u Africi. Njen glavni argument je da postojeće obrazovne politike za odrasle ne obuhvataju raznolike potrebe afričkih zemalja. Profesorka Preece predlaže strategiju razvoja politika koja će moći da uzme u obzir kulturni pluralizam i najrazličitije društvene uslove u Africi.

Timothy Ireland nas vraća na Paula Freirea i Brazil. Po mom shvatanju, Irelandov rad upotpunjuje doprinos Petera Maya. Nadovezujući se na iskustvo iz Angikosa, on detaljno razmatra uticaj freireovskog nasleđa na popularno obrazovanje u Brazilu. Međutim, njegov ugao posmatranja je više realističan nego

idealističan. Ireland opisuje aspekte brazilske realnosti i naglašava povezanost freireovske pedagogije i napretka odnosno nazadovanja demokratskih institucija. Jasno je da je njegov koncizni rad jedna vrsta freireovske opomene koja je upućena obrazovnoj praksi u svetu u kojem dominantnost tržišne ekonomije izobličava koncept obrazovanja kao procesa koji vodi ka oslobođenju.

Šesti rad u ovom broju časopisa napisao je John Holford. Ovaj odličan istorijski zapis premešta nas u akademsko okruženje, preciznije na Univerzitet u Nottinghamu. U ovom radu možemo jasno da vidimo uticaj razvoja jednog univerzitetskog odeljenja na šire društvo. Holfordov članak nam pruža jasnu sliku načina na koji univerzitetska odeljenja za obrazovanje odraslih mogu da obavljaju svoj rad, ali i da pri tom utiču na društveni razvoj i pokreću promene.

Sledeći rad nas zadržava u Evropi, ali ovaj put u njenom jugoistočnom delu. Alexis Kokkos, George Koulaouzides i Thanassis Karalis opisuju pokušaje da se razvije nacionalni sistem za profesionalni razvoj edukatora za odrasle u Grčkoj. U njihovom radu možemo da vidimo kako učešće države može da podstakne, ali i obeshrabri razvoj jedne profesionalne oblasti. Autori uz to postavljaju pitanja o budućem pravcu razvoja profesije, veštinama i ulozi edukatora odraslih kroz prizmu njihovog iskustva tokom društvene i ekonomske krize koja je harala grčkim društvom poslednjih pet godina.

SoongHee Han i SeonJoo Choi vode nas u Južnu Koreju. U svom veoma informativnom članku predstavljaju razvoj obrazovanja odraslih u svojoj zemlji, opisuju interesantne primere iz strategija celoživotnog obrazovanja poput *gradova celoživotnog obrazovanja* i *festivala celoživotnog obrazovanja*, mada istovremeno izražavaju rezervisanost kad je u pitanju tranzicija njihove zemlje od društva pismenosti do društva koje uči, naglašavajući problem učešća u aktivnostima obrazovanja odraslih i njegovu neizbežnu posledicu – nejednakost u učenju. Ovaj rad sadrži i niz zanimljivih kvantitativnih podataka koje vredi istražiti.

I konačno, deveti rad je posvećen profesoru Peteru Jarvisu i njegovom doprinosu na polju obrazovanja odraslih. U ovom kratkom radu koristio sam niz događaja iz vlastite biografije da naglasim Jarvisov ključni doprinos razumevanju učenja, ali i razumevanju suštine *službe (leitourgia)* po(d)učavanja odraslih.

Nadam se da će ovo „putovanje po svetu” kroz radove ovog časopisa predstavljati jedno interesantno čitalačko iskustvo svim članovima globalne zajednice obrazovanja odraslih.

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Paulo Freire, Globalisation and Emancipatory Education¹

Abstract: Paulo Reglus Neves Freire is surely one of the most cited and iconic figures in the contemporary education literature. This paper explores his relevance for an age characterised by the intensification of globalisation, and the mobility of capital, in which education is often equated exclusively with the development of the so-called 'human resources' (sic). It analyses his pedagogical approach, contrasting it with some of the main features in the dominant policy documents in education such as the EU's Lisbon objectives.

Key words: intensification of globalisation, emancipatory education, authentic dialogue, ecopedagogy.

Introduction

Paulo Reglus Neves Freire (1921-1997) is surely one of the most cited and iconic figures in the contemporary education literature. His work becomes all the more relevant in an age when, in view of the intensification of globalization, and the mobility of capital, education is often equated exclusively with the development of the so-called 'human resources' (sic) (see the critique in Gelpi, 2002), a feature

¹ This essay draws on material previously published in:

1. Chapters 3 and 4 of Mayo, P. (2004), *Liberating Praxis. Paulo Freire's Legacy for Radical Education and Politics*, Westport: Praeger.
2. The entire section on Neoliberalism in Borg, C and Mayo, P. (2005), 'The EU Memorandum on Lifelong Learning. Old Wine in New Bottles?' in *Globalisation, Society and Education*, Vol. 3, No.2, pp. 257-278, and in Ch. 1, Borg, C and Mayo, P. (2006), *Learning and Social Difference. Challenges for Critical Pedagogy*, Boulder: Paradigm (forthcoming).
3. Mayo, P. (2005), 'Antonio Gramsci and Paulo Freire. Some Connections and Contrasts' in *Encyclopaideia*, No. 17, pp. 77-102.
4. The introduction in Mayo, P. (1999), *Gramsci, Freire and Adult Education. Possibilities for Transformative Action*, London: Zed Books.

of some of the dominant policy documents in education such as the Lisbon objectives with regard to the EU member states.

Intensification of Globalization and Neoliberalism

In an interview with Roger Dale and Susan Robertson (2004), the Portuguese sociologist and legal expert, Boaventura de Sousa Santos, states that “Neoliberalism is the political form of globalization resulting from US type of capitalism, a type that bases competitiveness on technological innovation coupled with low levels of social protection” (p. 151). He goes on to state that “The aggressive imposition of this model by the international financial institutions worldwide not only forces abrupt changes in the role of the state and in the rules of the game between the exploiter and the exploited...but also changes the rules of the game among the other kinds of developed capitalism” (de Sousa Santos, in Robertson & Dale, 2004, p. 151).

Since the early eighties, Neoliberalism provided the dominant hegemonic discourse surrounding economic development and public policy (Burbules & Torres, 2000). It was very much a feature of the Pinochet regime’s ideology in Chile,² Thatcherism, Reaganomics (Pannu, 1996), the IMF’s and World Bank’s structural adjustment programs in much of the industrially underdeveloped world (Pannu, 1996; Boron and Torres, 1996; Mulenga, 1996) and the WTO’s policies that would also affect educational ‘services’ (Rikowski, 2002). It is now also a feature of parties in government that have historically been socialist (see Ledwith, 2005, for a discussion of British labour politics on this). The presence of this ideology on either side of the traditional political spectrum in Western democracies testifies to the *hegemonic* nature of Neoliberalism. This point is worth keeping in mind with respect to dominant discourses on education and their social-democratic trappings.

The presence of the Neo-liberal ideology in education, as well as in other spheres of activity, can easily lead one to think and operate within the logic of capitalist restructuring. As a result of this process, once-public goods (education among them) are converted into consumption goods, as the ‘ideology of the marketplace’ takes hold. Neo-liberal strategists advocate increasing privatisation and related cuts in public spending on social programs, leading to the introduction of

² International guidelines for a market economy were introduced in Chile in 1975, with most of the influential members of the relevant ministry having been products of the University of Chicago (they were referred to as the ‘Chicago Boys’) and having been strongly influenced by the ideas of Milton Friedman - (Quiroz Martin, 1997, p. 39).

user charges and cost recovery policies. Popular access to health, education and other social services would therefore be curtailed. Neo-liberal policies also lead to public financing of private needs. The onus for social and economic survival is placed on individuals and groups. The debate on rights and responsibilities is rationalized, with 'self-help' being advocated for those who end up as the victims of these policies.³ These policies also lead to a decline in real incomes. The whole question of 'choice' becomes a farce as people who cannot afford to pay for educational and health services are fobbed off with an under-funded and therefore poor quality public service in these areas (Mayo, 1999). Neo-liberalism also entails a deregulation of commodity prices and the shift from direct to indirect taxation (Boron & Torres, 1996; Pannu, 1996; McGinn, 1996). Its orthodoxy also includes, as indicated by Mark Olsson (2004, p. 241), the opening of borders, floating exchange rates, abolition of capital controls, liberalization of government policy, developing integrated private transnational systems of alliances and establishing, within countries, central banks that "adopt a market-independent monetary policy that is autonomous of political interference" (Olsson, 2004). With respect to the USA, Henry A. Giroux refers to the economist William Greider who argues that Neoliberalism proponents "want to 'roll back the twentieth century literally' by establishing the priority of private institutions and market identities, values and relationships as the organizing principles of public life" (Giroux, 2004, p. 107).

The foregoing are, in the main, features of one particular kind of globalization, often referred to as hegemonic globalization (Dale & Robertson, 2004, p. 148). This is not the only kind of globalization in existence. There is also "counter-hegemonic" globalization (de Sousa Santos, in Dale & Robertson, 2004, p. 150) or "globalization from below" (Marshall, 1997). This "consists of resistance against hegemonic globalization organized (through local/global linkages) by movements, initiatives and NGO's, on behalf of classes, social groups and regions victimized by the unequal exchanges produced on a global scale by neoliberal globalization" (de Sousa Santos in Dale & Robertson, 2004, p. 150). They include social movements from the South and North playing a major role in monitoring compliance of governments regarding such targets as, for instance, the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and advocating for more and better aid (in the early seventies, the wealthiest nations had committed themselves to 0.7 % of their GDP to be reserved for international aid), 'justice in trade' (fair trade) and debt write off as key to the attainment of the proposed and alternative goals. It also entails different movements, previously

³ I am indebted to Dr Margaret Ledwith for this point.

identified with a rather fragmentary identity and specific issue politics, coming together “on a scale previously unknown” (Rikowski, 2002, p.16) to target global capitalism and the meetings of the institutions that support it, such as the IMF, World Bank and the WTO, thus invoking “an anti-capitalism of real substance and significant scale” (Rikowski, 2002, p.16).

The foregoing exposition of the two types of globalization⁴ within the context of an all-pervasive Neo-liberal politics (one cementing and the other confronting neo-liberalism) is central to the use of Freire as an antidote to the current dominant discourse in education characterised by the emphasis on technical rationality and marketability and which presents this discourse as having no alternatives.

Freire's Antidote

Freire rejected the view that the conditions of our time determined the limits of what is possible. Freire recognized developments within capitalism, witnessed during his lifetime (the intensification of globalisation and Neo-Liberalism), for what they were - manifestations of Capitalist reorganization to counter the tendency of the rate of profit to fall, owing to the ‘crises of overproduction’ (Allman & Wallis, 1995; Foley, 1999). Understanding the contemporary stages of capitalist development according to what they represented was a crucial step for Freire to avoid a sense of fatalism and keep alive the quest for working to attain a better world driven by what Henry A Giroux calls an anticipatory utopia prefigured not only by critique of the present but by an alternative pedagogical/cultural politics (Giroux, 2001). “The fatalism of neo-liberalism, buttressed by the propagation of an ‘ideology of ideological death’” (Freire, 1998b, p. 14), was a key theme in Freire's later writings. It was intended to be the subject of the work he was contemplating at the time of his death (Araujo Freire, 1997, p. 10). Freire could well have been on the verge of embarking on an exploration of the conditions that the present historical conjuncture, characterized by Neo-liberalism, would allow for the pursuit of his dream of a different and better world. Alas, this was not to be.

⁴ Carlos Alberto Torres (2005) mentions two other types of globalization, the globalization of human rights and globalization linked to the issue of security as he precondition of freedom (p.205).

Ideology

Freire's respective works are embedded in a Marxian conception of ideology based on the assumption that "The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence of the relationships which make one class the ruling one, therefore the ideas of its dominance" (Marx & Engels, 1970a, p. 64). Not only does the ruling class produce the ruling ideas, in view of its control over the means of intellectual production (Marx & Engels, 1970a), but the dominated classes produce ideas that do not necessarily serve their interests; these classes, that "lack the means of mental production and are immersed in production relations which they do not control," tend to "reproduce ideas" that express the dominant material relationships (Larrain, 1983, p. 24).

Freire sees popular consciousness as being permeated by ideology. And this is crucial to dismantling or unveiling 'common sense' (used in Gramsci's sense of the term) thinking deriving from Neoliberalism. In his earlier work, Freire posited the existence of different levels of consciousness ranging from naïve to critical consciousness, indicating a hierarchy that exposed him to the accusation of being elitist and of being patronizing towards ordinary people (Kane, 2001, p. 50). In his early work, Freire reveals the power of ideology being reflected in the fatalism (see Rossatto, 2005 on this) apparent in the statements of peasants living in shanty towns who provide 'magical explanations,' attributing their poor plight to the 'will of God' (Freire, 1970a, p. 163). Nowadays, this fatalism expresses itself in the cynicism regarding alternatives to anything within the market ideology: this is often referred to as the loss of utopia.

Freire provides a very insightful analysis of the way human beings participate in their own oppression by internalising the image of their oppressor. As with the complexity of hegemonic arrangements, underlined by Gramsci and elaborated on by a host of others writing from a neo-Gramscian perspective, people suffer a contradictory consciousness, being oppressors, within one social hegemonic arrangement, and oppressed within another. This puts paid to the now hackneyed criticism that Freire's notion of oppressor and oppressed is so generic that it fails to take into account that one can be an oppressor in one context and oppressed in another. The notion of the oppressor and contradictory consciousness suggests otherwise. This consideration runs throughout Freire's oeuvre ranging from his early discussion on the notion of the 'oppressor consciousness' to his later writings on multiple and layered identities (Freire, 1997) where he insists that one's quest for life and for living critically is tantamount to being an ongoing quest for the attainment of greater *coherence*. Gaining coherence, for Freire, ne-

cessitates one's gaining greater awareness of one's 'unfinishedness' (Freire, 1998a, p. 51, p. 66) as well as one's ability to see through the ideology that provides a mystification of the existing economic and social conditions. This includes the ideology of Neoliberalism.

Emancipatory Resources of Hope

Freire accords an important role to agency in the context of emancipatory activity for social transformation. He explicitly repudiates evolutionary economic determinist theories of social change, and regards them as being conducive to a "liberating fatalism" (Freire, 1985, p. 179), a position to which he adhered until the very end, stating, at an *honoris causa* speech delivered at Claremont Graduate University in 1989, that "When I think of history I think about possibility – that history is the time and space of possibility. Because of that, I reject a fatalistic or pessimistic understanding of history with a belief that what happens is what should happen" (Freire, in Darder, 2002, X). His notion of history as possibility challenges the so-called 'end of history' thesis.

Love

Freire was concerned with more than just the cognitive aspects of learning (Darder, 2002, p. 98). He regards educators and learners as "integral human beings" (Darder, 2002, p. 94) in an educational process that has love at its core (Darder, 2002, p. 91). Just before he died he was reported to have said: I could never think of education without love and that is why I think I am an educator, first of all because I feel love.

The humanizing relationship between teacher and taught (teacher-student and student-teacher, in Freire's terms) is a relationship characterized by love. It is love that drives the progressive Freire-inspired educator forward in teaching and working for the dismantling of dehumanizing structures. And the entire process advocated by Freire is predicated on the trust he had in human beings and on his desire to help create "a world in which it will be easier to love" (Freire, 1970a, p. 24; see Allman et al., 1998, p. 9). This concept has strong Christian overtones as well as revolutionary ones. In the latter case, the influence could well derive from Ernesto Che Guevara who, according to Freire, "did not hesitate to recognize the capacity of love as an indispensable condition for authentic revolutionaries" (Freire, 1970b, p. 45).

Education in its Broadest Context

The terrain for education action is a large one in Freire's conception. Throughout his writings, Freire constantly stressed that educators engage with the system and not avoid it for fear of co-optation (Horton & Freire, 1990; Escobar et al., 1994). Freire exhorted educators and other cultural workers to 'be tactically inside and strategically outside' the system. Freire believed that the system is not monolithic. Hegemonic arrangements are never complete and allow spaces for "swimming against the tide" or, to use Gramsci's phrase, engaging in 'a war of position' (Freire, in Escobar, 1994, p. 31, p. 32). In most of his work from the mid eighties onward, Freire touches on the role of progressive social movements as important vehicles for social change, movements that can contribute to what is referred to as counter-hegemonic globalisation, in de Sousa's terms, or 'globalisation from below.' This particularly applies to social movements having an international character. It also applies to the kind of invigorating social movements that emerged in Latin America in the last years of Freire's life, such as the *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra* (MST) in Brazil and the Frente Zapatistas in Chiapas with its 'internet war' (confronting hegemonic globalisation, especially NAFTA, and at the same time availing itself of some of its media as a form of 'globalisation from below'), that have strong international support in other parts of the world.

Freire himself belonged to a movement striving for a significant process of change within an important institution in Latin America and beyond, namely the radical current within the Latin American Catholic Church. When Education Secretary in São Paulo, a position that allowed Freire to tackle education and cultural work in their broader contexts, Paulo Freire and his associates worked hard to bring social movements and state agencies together (O'Cadiz et al., 1998; O'Cadiz, 1995). These efforts on behalf of the *Partido dos Trabalhadores* (PT) continued to be exerted by the party itself in other municipalities, most notably the city of Porto Alegre, in Rio Grande do Sul, where the PT had, until recently, been in government since the late eighties, and presumably the other municipalities and states where the party won the elections in the Fall of 2000. There were also high hopes that these efforts would be carried out throughout the entire country once the PT leader, Luiz Inacio "Lula" da Silva, won the federal presidential elections, though perhaps too much was expected of Lula who, in the words of many Brazilian sympathizers, won the government but not the State.

The last years of Freire's life were exciting times for Brazilian society with the emergence of the MST, a movement that makes global connections with indigenous movements worldwide. The Movement allies political activism and mo-

bilization with important education and cultural work (See Ch. 4, Kane, 2001). The movement is itself conceived of as an “enormous school” (Kane, 2001, p. 97). As in the period that preceded the infamous 1964 coup, Paulo Freire’s work and thinking must also have been influenced and reinvigorated by the growing movement for democratisation of Brazilian society. In an interview with Carmel Borg and me, Ana Maria (Nita) Araujo Freire states:

Travelling all over this immense Brazil we saw and cooperated with a very large number of social movements of different sizes and natures, but who had (and continue to have) a point in common: the hope in their people’s power of transformation. They are teachers - many of them are “lay”: embroiderers, sisters, workers, fishermen, peasants, etc., scattered all over the country, in favelas, camps or houses, men and women with an incredible leadership strength, bound together in small and local organizations, but with such a latent potential that it filled us, Paulo and me, with hope for better days for our people. Many others participated in a more organized way in the MST (Movimento dos Sem Terra: Movement of Landless Peasants), the trade unions, CUT (Central Única dos Trabalhadores), and CEBs (Christian Base Communities). As the man of hope he always was, Paulo knew he would not remain alone. Millions of persons, excluded from the system, are struggling in this country, as they free themselves from oppression, to also liberate their oppressors. Paulo died a few days after the arrival of the MST March in Brasília. On that April day, standing in our living-room, seeing on the TV the crowds of men, women and children entering the capital in such an orderly and dignified way, full of emotion, he cried out: “That’s it, Brazilian people, the country belongs to all of us! Let us build together a democratic country, just and happy!” (Nita Freire, in Borg & Mayo, 2000, p. 109)

Freire insisted that education should not be romanticized and that teachers ought to engage in a much larger public sphere (Freire, in Shor & Freire, 1997, p. 37). This has been quite a popular idea among radical activists in recent years, partly also as a result of a dissatisfaction with party politics. The arguments developed in these circles are often based on a very non-Gramscian use of the concept of ‘civil society.’ In his later work, however, Freire sought to explore the links between movements and the state (Freire, 1993; O’Cadiz et al., 1998) and, most significantly, movements and party, a position no doubt influenced by his role as one of the founding members of the PT.

Freire argues that the party for change, committed to the subaltern, should allow itself to learn from and be transformed through contact with progressive social movements. One important proviso Freire makes, in this respect, is that the party should do this “without trying to take them over.” Movements, Freire seems to be saying, cannot be subsumed by parties, otherwise they lose their identity and forfeit their specific way of exerting pressure for change. Paulo Freire discusses possible links between party and movements. The question to be raised is: how can such an alliance have a global dimension?

Today, if the Workers’ Party approaches the popular movements from which it was born, without trying to take them over, the party will grow; if it turns away from the popular movements, in my opinion, the party will wear down. Besides, those movements need to make their struggle politically viable (Freire, in Escobar et al., 1994, p. 40).

One further question would be: how would the forces of globalisation, through such means as Structural Adjustment Programmes, place pressure on a party in government to make it toe the line in terms of paying its debts and cutting down on its social expenses, the kind of expenses to which it was committed as a result of its links with progressive social movements? To what extent are the Lula governments and the other newly elected left leaning governments in Latin America victims of this process?

Freire explores links between the party and movements within the context of a strategy for social change. At the time when Paulo Freire was still alive, the PT enjoyed strong links with the trade union movement, the Pastoral Land Commission, the MST and other movements and exercised a leadership role when forging alliances between party, state and movements in the municipalities in which it was in power. Alas, this no longer seems to be the case. The Participatory Budget project in Porto Alegre, an exercise in deliberative and participatory democracy, provides some indication of the direction such alliances can take (Schugurensky, 2002). Furthermore this alliance must take on an international character if it is to contribute effectively to globalisation from below and the World Social Forum would be a perfect example of this type of effort.

Praxis

The discussion has veered towards a macro-level analysis, as is expected in a discussion on globalisation. But the global must interact with the local, which includes the kind of micro level activity that allows people to unveil ideology in order to gain the type of political awareness necessary to work collectively

and internationally for social transformation. It would be opportune therefore to dwell on the micro level context of education with an emphasis on concepts that lie at the heart of the pedagogical relation as propounded by Freire. He regarded *praxis* as one of the key concepts in question. Praxis becomes a constant feature of his thinking and writing. It constitutes the means whereby one can move in the direction of confronting the contradiction of opposites in the dialectical relation of oppression (Allman, 1988; 1999). It constitutes the means of gaining critical distance from one's world of action to engage in reflection geared towards transformative action. The relationship between action-reflection-transformative action is not sequential but *dialectical* (Allman, 1999). Freire and other intellectuals, with whom he has conversed, in 'talking books', conceive of different moments in their life as forms of praxis, of gaining critical distance from the context they know to perceive it in a more critical light. Exile is regarded by Freire and the Chilean Antonio Faundez (Freire & Faundez, 1989) as a form of praxis. The idea of critical distancing is however best captured by Freire in his pedagogical approach involving the use of codifications, even though one should not make a fetish out of this 'method' (Aronowitz, 1993) since it is basically indicative of something larger, a philosophy of learning in which praxis is a central concept that has to be 'reinvented' time and time again, depending on situation and context.

Authority and Freedom

Freire emphasised the notion of authentic dialogue throughout his work, regarding it as the means of reconciling the dialectic of opposites that characterises the hierarchical and prescriptive form of communication he calls 'banking education'. Knowledge is not something possessed by the teacher and poured into the learner who would thus be conceived of as an empty receptacle to be filled. This would be a static use of knowledge. Freire insisted on a dynamic process of knowledge acquisition based on epistemological curiosity involving both educator and educatee who regard the object of knowledge as a centre of co-investigation. Both are teachers and learners at the same time since teachers are prepared to relearn that which they think they already know through interaction with the learner who can shed new light on the subject by virtue of insights including those that are conditioned by his or her specific cultural background. The learner has an important contribution to make to the discussion. Having said this, Freire warns against *laissez faire* pedagogy that, in this day and age, would be promoted under the rubric of 'learning facilitation' (sic). This is the sort of pedagogical treachery that

provoked a critical response from Paulo Freire. In an exchange with Donaldo P. Macedo, Freire states categorically that he refutes the term ‘facilitator’ (although he had used it earlier in such pieces as the essay in *Harvard Educational Review* concerning the literacy process in São Tome and Principe), which connotes such a pedagogy, underlining the fact that he has always insisted on the *directive* nature of education (Freire, in Shor & Freire, 1987, p. 103; Freire & Macedo, 1995, p. 394). He insists on the term ‘teacher,’ one who derives one’s *authority* from one’s competence in the matter being taught, without allowing this authority to degenerate into *authoritarianism* (Freire & Macedo, 1995, p. 378): “Authority is necessary to the freedom of the students and my own. The teacher is absolutely necessary. What is bad, what is not necessary, is authoritarianism, but not authority” (Freire, in Horton & Freire, 1990, p. 181; Freire, in Shor & Freire, 1997, p. 91).

Emphasis is being placed, in this context, on ‘authority and freedom’, the distinction posed by Freire (see Gadotti, 1996) who argues that a balance ought to be struck between the two elements. In *Pedagogy of Hope*, Freire argues that the educator’s “directivity” should not interfere with the “creative, formulative, investigative capacity of the educand.” Otherwise, the directivity degenerates into “manipulation, into authoritarianism” (Freire, 1994, p. 79). Referring to this aspect of Freire’s work, Stanley Aronowitz is on target when stating that “... the educator’s task is to encourage human agency, not mold it in the manner of Pygmalion” (Aronowitz, 1998, p. 10). The encouragement of human agency is a key feature of the work of Paulo Freire.

Globalisation and Planetary Consciousness: Ecopedagogy

Needless to say, Freire has had his critics over the years. Some have argued that his vision is anthropocentric, a fair comment on Freire’s work, especially his earlier work, although it has to be said that the institute to which he helped give rise, now the Paulo Freire Institute, is working hard within the context of the Earth Charter in the area of ecopedagogy (Gutierrez & Prado, 2000; Gadotti, 2005). The issue of ecopedagogy is central to an emancipatory process in this age of the intensification of globalization that is said to have a devastating impact on the planet, since the quest for manipulation and control of nature continues to have a global reach in these ‘cenozoic’, as opposed to ‘ecozoic’, times (see O’Sullivan, 1999). Freire has also been the target of criticisms by feminists concerning what bell hooks regards as his “phallogocentric paradigm of liberation” (hooks, 1993, p. 148) although hooks would always affirm the validity of Freire’s work in a process of liberation, and she draws extensively from Freire’s work (hooks, 1989).

Quite relevant here is Freire's work concerning multiple and contradictory subjectivities (Freire, 1997). Feminist literature is quite instructive in its exaltation of life-centred values as opposed to market-driven values, the former being the kind of values, espoused also by environmentally conscious activists, which enable people to confront the forces of hegemonic globalisation with their 'ideology of the marketplace'. There are others who find contradictions in Freire's pedagogical approach (Coben, 1998). Of course, unless the educators are well prepared, there is always the danger of having a travesty of Freirean pedagogy (see Bartlett, 2005 for a discussion on the limits and possibilities of Freirean pedagogy; see also Stromquist, 1997).

Globalisation and Migration

Despite these criticisms, Paulo Freire stands out as one of the towering figures of 20th century educational thought. The above elements such as authentic dialogue, the unveiling of ideology, love for other human beings (and other species in the universe) and, I would add, a concept of knowledge that crosses borders (this involves one's striving to transcend mental borders), become crucial for an emancipatory education in an age characterised by the intensification of globalisation. In the IVth Paulo Freire Forum in Porto, Portugal, I referred to these concepts within an attempt to suggest signposts for a critical and emancipatory multi-citizenship education (Mayo, 2005). After all, such an education becomes all-important in the context of one important feature of the intensification of globalisation - the migration of south of the equator populations, victims of a rapacious Eurocentric colonial process, to the North. I focused on the Mediterranean in this context. In this and earlier work (Mayo, 2004, Ch. 5) I explored possibilities for the re-invention of Paulo Freire's ideas in this regard. I focused on the notions of love for all human beings, authentic dialogue in understanding the cultures of those constructed as 'other' (which includes respect for their religious sentiments and the recognition of their ancestral contribution to the development of so called 'western civilisation') and the use of praxis (that entails recourse to political economy) to reflect on the global colonial process that has led to the plight of people abandoning their ravaged country of origin to settle within southern European shores. This process of praxis would hopefully lead to greater solidarity between people from both sides of the equator who have been relegated to a precarious existence as a result of increasing Neo-liberal policies. These, I argued, should constitute important features of a critical multi-ethnic and anti-racist education in these intensified globalised times. It is an education which projects the image

of the immigrant as 'subject' and not 'object', a full blooded citizen with multiple and enriching subjectivities and not a deficit figure ripe for Eurocentric missionary and 'assistentialist' intervention.

Conclusion: Reinventing Freire

Freire has provided us with a huge corpus of literature containing ideas that can inspire people committed to the fostering of greater social justice in an age when concerns with social justice are placed on the backburner or eschewed altogether as education, like health and other important elements, is constantly turned from a public to a consumption good (from a social to an individual concern). It is now left to others to make creative use of his theoretical and biographical legacy with a view to making sense of the 'glocal' contexts in which they operate. And, as Freire has said, time and time again, they should do this through a process of reinvention and not transplantation.

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Paulo Freire, globalizacija i emancipatorsko obrazovanje

Apstrakt: Paulo Reglus Neves Freire je zasigurno jedna od najcitiranijih i najpopularnijih figura savremene literature o obrazovanju. Ovaj rad se bavi njegovim doprinosom u doba koje je okarakterisano povećanjem stepena globalizacije i mobilnošću kapitala u kojem se obrazovanje često izjednačava sa razvojem takozvanih „ljudskih resursa” (*sic*). Rad analizira Freireov pedagoški pristup, upoređujući ga sa pristupom i karakteristikama najvažnijih strateških dokumenata u obrazovanju, npr. sa ciljevima definisanim u Lisabonskoj strategiji EU.

Ključne reči: inteziviranje globalizacije, emancipatorsko obrazovanje, autentični dijalog, ekopedagogija.

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Knowledge and Cognitive Development in Adulthood

Abstract: This paper considers the possibilities for and mechanisms of cognitive development in adulthood with the primary objective of providing an impetus for its alternative conceptualisation. The analysis covers the classical (Vygotsky and Piaget) and the post-modern, constructivist developmental and contextualist theories of cognitive development, as well as the relevant available empirical research. Despite the significant inconsistencies in the analysed theories and the empirical evidence, the results of the analysis point to the conclusion that significant positive changes in cognitive development can and do happen during adulthood and that they are founded on systems and structures of knowledge formed during the individual's life. The mechanisms responsible for cognitive development in adulthood are as follows: a progression in the use of systems of meaning and knowledge, the establishment of a unified conceptual framework for the interpretation of reality and the intellectualisation of the cognitive space as a whole and of individual cognitive functions.

Key words: cognitive development, adulthood, formal thought, post-formal thought, knowledge networks, reversed developmental trend.

Initial Misunderstanding and Quiet Compromise

The relationship between development and learning, despite its relatively long and complex history, is still a central theme in theories of development and learning, including those relating to adults. The theoretical understanding which has the longest tradition in attempting to explain this relationship is the one promoting the idea that development is a function of external stimuli, primarily learning. In its embryonic phase this idea was embraced by almost all the Romantics. Its systematic formation and investigation began with Hegel (1964) and his stance on the rootedness of the mind in tradition. From Hegel it made its way in somewhat altered form, via Marx and his influence on Vygotsky, to the field of psychology and cognitive development. In Vygotsky's (1983) understanding of the

roots of intellectual development, one should not so much seek within man as outside him, in his socio-cultural environment and the supports and stimuli this imposes on him and provides him with. Of course, it is reasonable to presume that not all socio-cultural variables have a developmental character or the status of constructor of cognitive abilities and cognitive functioning. A general measure of their individual significance and value is certainly to be found in the basic socio-cultural units. Since the symbol (sign) is the basic socio-cultural element, then what we might call symbolic capacity, that is, the complex of relationships between meaning and significance which a symbol carries and entails, in an ideal sense, is the basic measure of value of each individual socio-cultural variable in cognitive development. The actual measure of that value depends on a range of factors, but primarily on societal intent and opportunity to continually and systematically act on the intellectual development of the individual by way of appropriate organisation of external supports with symbolic content at the focal point. In other words, education and learning. Classic psychological studies (Thorndike, 1928; Jones & Conrad, 1933; Wechsler, 1958; Cattell, 1971; Horn, 1972; АНАНЬЕВ, СТЕПАНОВА, 1972; Schaie & Willis, 1986) already showed that education, as the most significant model for the social organisation of external supports, was closely linked with intellectual development.

A completely different understanding of the relationship between learning and development came from the hereditist tradition, the most significant representative of which, in the area of psychology and cognitive development, was Piaget. Learning, according to Piaget (1970; 1983; 1988), is a function of development, and not an element which determined or explained it. Piaget defined development as a progression through qualitatively differing developmental stages which were associated with differing ways of imparting meaning to, understanding and constructing knowledge of reality. In each stage, appropriate cognitive and logical structures form (mature) spontaneously, allowing the learning or resolution of different developmental tasks, and culminate in formal thought, i.e. adult reason.

Among the multitude of theoretical differences and their practical implications between the Moscow and Geneva psychological schools we can nevertheless relatively easily observe an unwritten but fundamental consensus – that after adolescence there is no development, or at least it should not be discussed. Both for Vygotsky and for Piaget, intellectual development happens in conditions of dynamic change of the organic type, and as such it is definitely complete in early youth. The primary consequence of this stance, formulated practically explicitly by Piaget and only implicitly by Vygotsky, is that the absence of biological growth detracts from developmental possibilities. This unwritten agreement was very

clearly articulated by Flavell (1970) in his opinion that due to the lack of physical maturing there are no further qualitative or universal developmental changes in adulthood. Claiming that development ended with physical maturing, he gave currency to the now-forgotten theory of plasticity and in a sense “reconciled” Vygostky and Piaget since neither one nor the other would have been able to dispute this in view of the overall structure of their basic theoretical assumptions.

Hints at Cognitive Developmental Potential in Adulthood

Piaget described as “formal operational” the ability to think outside the immediate, given reality and independently of it. In the formal operational stage, the individual acquires the ability to think abstractly, to think about the possible and the probable, to combine different elements of the subject of thought and to systematically vary them, and to verify the validity of observed and established relationships. According to Piaget (1972), these abilities are acquired between the ages of 11 and 12 and between 15 and 20 at the latest. Cognitive structures, at the centre of which are the processes of imparting meaning to and the construction and transformation of experience, are invariants which function independently of the domain to which they relate and the content of the knowledge which they are processing (Piaget, 1970).

Piaget’s understanding of formal operations is from the gnoseological point of view entirely acceptable, but from the perspective of the psychology of cognition and individual cognitive activity it is not without its difficulties. From a gnoseological perspective, conclusion (cognition) is independent of the content of the premise from which the conclusion is being drawn; from a psychological point of view, it is not. The first serious impetus for the revision of Piaget’s theory came during the 1970s and 1980s from research into the cognitive development of children. Empirical studies showed that possession of relevant knowledge affected the ability of the child to conserve number and volume, to draw a conclusion, to select an appropriate problem-solving strategy and to adopt a non-ego-centric perspective (Price-Williams, Gordon, Ramirez, 1969). In some studies it was established that there was low correlation between developmental tasks of the same type but differing content (Beilin, 1971), and that grouping operations were an automatic consequence of previously acquired knowledge (Lindberg, 1980). It was also shown that small children could successfully solve transitive conclusion problems if they were previously taught the concepts used in the problems set (Bryant & Trobasco, 1971). This was probably the impetus for Piaget himself to somewhat revise his earlier position. In his later work, Piaget stressed that for-

mal operations were not fully developed by late adolescence or early adulthood and that their complete development depended on several factors, primarily the amount and type of environmental stimulation. Entry into the formal operational stage however depended on ability and professional specialisation, and the spheres in which they were applied (Piaget, 1972). Adolescents or adults who were able at the formal level to solve a particular type of task were not able to do so in other areas of knowledge. The fact that some adults were not able to solve a large number of the tests which he and Inhelder had prepared was explained by Piaget as resulting from a lack of interest in and knowledge of mathematics and the natural sciences (Piaget, 1972). This explanation however did not mean that Piaget definitely allowed the possibility of further developmental changes after adolescence and the affirmation of knowledge in thought. This might only mean that development really did end with formal thought, but that not all those above 12 years of age necessarily achieved formal thought. Even after this period, thought for some individuals could remain egocentric in certain areas, unable to accept any other point of view except its own or to consider differing aspects of the same situation or problem. In some areas, thought could be arrested at a specific level, incapable of abstraction, which did not mean it would be so in other areas and content of thought. However, even this is sufficient to at least show that formal operations are not invariant, that is, a monolithic ability independent of the content of knowledge and context. On the contrary, in fact – for higher levels of cognitive functioning, the possession of knowledge of an appropriate level and structure are of primary importance. Thought is never devoid of concrete substantiality, and this means a dynamic system of knowledge and information on the subject of thought (symbolic capacity). Without the category of knowledge it is difficult to explain intellectual growth and differences in cognitive functioning, and success in carrying out operations of the same type but differing content. Mental functioning is primarily determined by its content (Vygotsky, 1982), its progression and its foundation. Any attempt to regard operations as something primal, basic and invariant and to reduce thought to the mechanical functioning of operations so understood is erroneous at its foundation since the actualisation of operations is directly dependent on the actualisation of the knowledge they contain (Rubinštajn, 1981). Popper (Poper, 1991) espoused a similar point of view, differentiating between thoughts in the sense of mental processes (World 2) and thought in the sense of content (World 3). World 3 is by all means a product of World 2, but likewise World 2 is a product of World 3. Recognising the only partial autonomy of and mutual interaction between these worlds is key to the understanding of thought and the potential for its development.

A half-hearted attempt to relativise the influence of knowledge in the cognitive functioning of adults and justify the conviction that formal operations were the pinnacle and the ultimate stage of development and that after them there could be no further qualitative cognitive change was seen in the *regression hypothesis*. The regression hypothesis expresses the conviction that abilities are formed through early development, reach their peak during young adulthood and then begin to decline during middle and old age, with adults “losing” abilities in reverse order to that in which they acquired them. Since the ability for abstract thought is “lost” first, this means that children and the elderly have a similar level of cognitive functioning (see: Papalia & Bielby, 1974; Whitebourne & Weinstok, 1979). Although the regression hypothesis has been tested in multiple studies (Deney & Lenon, 1972; Tesch; Hornblum & Overton, 1976) it seems that there is no basis for its full acceptance. The aforementioned studies suggest that the level of cognitive functioning of adults is determined by the type of task they are solving and the prior experience that they have of this process, and that nothing suggests the inevitability of regression to lower levels of cognitive functioning with age. As some researchers rightly point out (Hornblum & Overton, 1976), it seems that the regression hypothesis is acceptable only for completely new and unknown areas and situations, where adults temporarily “regress” to lower levels of cognitive functioning in order to familiarise themselves with new material. Once they have done so they are able in future encounters to progress with it to a higher level of cognitive functioning. Although providing no evidence of further developmental changes in adulthood, the aforementioned studies have more affirmed than refuted the significance of knowledge for the cognitive functioning of adults.

The Postmodern Contribution to the Understanding of Cognitive Development

The first significant theoretical impetus for critical reconsideration of Piaget’s theories from the perspective of adulthood was given by Riegel (1975; 1976). In his view, Piaget, with his formal operational stage as a state of final equilibrium or maximum adaptation to the environment, left no possibility for further cognitive change in adulthood. Riegel believed that complete equilibrium was not possible, or rather could only be possible once all personal and historical tasks were complete. However this never happens, since new questions and problems always arise within the individual or in the environment, which ensures the continuity of disbalance and therefore the potential for further development. On the other

hand, formal operations – as a closed system of logic in which all elements are known and can be manipulated – do not adequately describe the mature and creative thought of an adult, which entails contradiction, ambiguity and inconsistency. Formal thought is not sufficient in tackling the relativism and confusing inconsistency of the open systems with which adults are usually faced. Later theoretical and empirical research showed that formal operations were not the final phase of cognitive development and that cognitive development did not end in adolescence or young adulthood. On the contrary, it suggested that adulthood was a period of further cognitive growth, albeit qualitatively different growth to that in childhood (Tennant & Pogson, 1995). Two related postmodern theoretical schools each affirmed the idea that powerful and – depending on the role and function of the adult – relevant cognitive structures developed in adulthood.

According to the contextualist theories of development, cognitive changes happen in adulthood which allows the individual to resolve complex life problems and function in simultaneous, multiple realities and multiple frames of reference in terms of thought and values. According to one group of such theories (Basseches, 1980, 1984a, 1984b; Kramer, 1983, 1990; Labouvie-Vief, 1980, 1984, 1992, 2006; Sinnott, 1981, 1984, 1989; Kitchener & King, 1981), after the formal operational stage, under the influence of the socio-culture context and of experience, a form of (postformal) thought develops which is based on the expansion of knowledge and understanding and the employment of its relativistic and dialectical nature. Labouvie-Vief (2006) suggests that cultural transmission and organised support are the most significant factors in cognitive development in adulthood. Although inspired by Piaget, in recognising that the establishment of mature thought structures is not possible without appropriate social and cultural support, i.e. that the level of complexity of thought is highly correlated with education, she has moved very close to Vygotsky. Postformal thought is not so much founded on the bipolar logic of formal operations (right and wrong) as on the restrictedness, contradictoriness, inconsistency and subjectivity of knowledge and systems of knowledge. The individual is obliged and able to “bridge” differing and contradicting “realities” in order to more flexibly and comprehensively understand the world and to function effectively within it. Summarising the extensive theoretical and empirical material on postformal thought, Kramer (1983, 1989) singles out the following of its basic characteristics: a) understanding the relativistic nature of knowledge; b) accepting contradiction to the extent to which it is part of reality and c) integrating contradiction into an all-encompassing system. This suggests that postformal thought is significantly different in quality to formal thought and that, therefore, development does not end in adolescence or young adulthood. The terms used to describe this type of cognitive develop-

ment include: *problem-finding* (Arlin, 1975, 1984), *relativistic thinking* (Sinnott, 1984a), *dialectical thinking* (Basseches, 1980, 1984), *relativistic / dialectical thinking* (Kramer, 1990), *metasystemic thinking* (Commons, et al., 1989), *intrasystemic and autonomous thought structures* (Labouvie-Vief, 1980, 1982), *expertise* (Tenant & Pogson, 1995) *wisdom* (Sternberg, 1990; Merriam & Caffarella, 1999; Kitchener, King & DeLuca, 2006), *integrative thinking* (Kallio, 2011).

Constructivist theories of development (Perry, 1999; Belenky et al., 1986; Baxter-Magolda, 2004; Kegan, 1982, 1994) also affirm the idea of continued cognitive development in adulthood, introducing the variable of the construction and transformation of knowledge and experience to the cognitive developmental model for adults. In describing the changes which occur after formal logical thought, the following terms are most commonly used: *epistemological convictions*, *epistemological reflection*, *epistemological theories*, *epistemological forms*, *epistemological assumptions*, *epistemological attitude*, *epistemic cognition*, *epistemological understanding*, *epistemic reasoning*, *epistemological perspective*, *personal epistemology*, *epistemological orientation*, *epistemic elaboration*, *epistemic validation*, *implicit epistemology*, *folk epistemology* etc. (see: Hofer, 2001; Briel et al., 2011).

Perry (1999) conceptualised intellectual development as lifelong change in the frame of reference for the interpretation of reality. This frame changes in accordance with changes to the epistemic form. Over time, epistemic forms (belief about knowledge) become more complex, with greater capacity for the explanation, reorganisation and transformation of experience. Perry's empirical studies showed that students during four-year courses of study significantly transformed their epistemic forms and that their intellectual progression passed through nine stages of development – from dualistic (regarding the world through the right-wrong dichotomy), to relativistic thinking which culminated in commitments to an affirmation of their own roles and values in different domains of decision-making, which comprises the basic structure for dealing with the uncertainties and ambiguities inherent in relativism. According to Perry the final level is reached at the time of graduation. However, although they all start out as dualists, the majority do not achieve full and final epistemic development.

For Kegan (1982, 1994), too, development is a lifelong process which undergoes transformations through five “orders of mind”, ending in the final stage of dialectical or trans-systemic thought. This level of thought arises from the need to respond to the demands of life in a postmodern society, the basic characteristic of which is cognitive complexity. The complexity of life roles requires both the expansion of the store of knowledge and skills (informative learning) and a change in the way in which we acquire knowledge and learn (transformative learning). Although greatly inspired by Piaget, to whose genius he devotes

an entire chapter in his most significant work, Kegan (1994) in his basic position on the significance of culture to the development of thought, and on the social origins of the higher cognitive functions, is very close to the tradition to which Vygotsky also belongs.

The Interdependence of Knowledge, Age and Development in Adulthood

Although they emphasise the development of new forms of ability in adulthood, the theories of postformal cognitive development do not underestimate the significance of formal thought. On the contrary, integral to them is the strongly-formulated idea that a minimum of formal thought is the basis for full development in adulthood (Kramer, 1989; Labouvie-Vief, 2006). The concept of formal thought has primarily been criticised for its neglect of the thinker him-/herself, who in thinking is imputed with complete “objectivity”, neutrality and a lack of knowledge, experience and identity. The theories and studies of postformal thought have drawn attention to the fact that cognitive development in adulthood is founded on social experience, life expectations and tasks and individual worldview, but also on prior educational and developmental achievements.

New and more complex forms and stages of thought are not universal, neither do all necessarily achieve them. They are rather an opportunity which may arise under certain conditions, primarily those of high levels of social support (see: Labouvie-Vief, 2006). The hypothesis of the connection between the level of education and more complex forms of thought has received significant empirical support (Kitchener & King, 1989; King & Kitchener, 1994; Erwin, 1983; Pirttilä-Backman & Kajanne, 2001; Hood & Deopere, 2002). In some studies a positive connection has been identified not just between the level of education (lower vocational, higher vocational, university) but also the area of study (technical, medical and social sciences) and reflective judgement (Pirttilä-Backman, 1993; De Corte, Op't Eynde & Verschaffel, 2002).

However, education and acquired knowledge and experience are not the only determinants of cognitive development. Since it occurs over time, cognitive development is also simultaneously the effect of achieved developmental level and of age and maturity. Studies of the Piagetian type from the 1970s were already suggesting that intellectual functioning was dependent on age. Learners were successful in completing different tasks requiring the same logical structure at different ages. Conservation of number was mastered at 5-6, conservation of liquid volume at 7-8, and conservation of weight at 9-10 (Flavell, 1963;

Brainerd, 1970). As regards adults, Perry's (1999) research suggested changes in thought processes occurring during the years spent at university. In the initial years of their studies students think in absolute categories, adopting the relativistic attitude later on, i.e. the conviction that knowledge is subjective. Kramer and Woodruff (1986) also established that the peak of relativistic thought was reached during the individual's forties, followed by more significant use of dialectical patterns of thinking. Other studies have also shown that the ability for post-formal thought increases with age (Basseches, 1984a; Labouvie-Vief, DeVoe, & Bulka, 1989; Sinnott, 1984b), and that older students in higher education have a different organisation of cognitive patterns to younger students (Blanchard-Fields, 1989).

Since in most of these studies the subjects had completed higher education or were students, it is possible that age itself is not a significant factor in cognitive functioning, only that it is reflected in the influence of education or intelligence level. However some research has shown that the influence of age on relativistic thought remains stable even when the level of education and intelligence is controlled (Hood & Deopere, 2002).

But the relationship between age and cognitive ability is not absolutely clear and is certainly "contaminated" by acquired knowledge and experience. Studies show that age has a negative impact on the cognitive functioning of adults (vocabulary, memory and spatial reasoning) in the period between 20 and 50 years of age and not just from 50 to 80 as is usually assumed; however the negative affect of age on cognitive ability is small when the available sum of knowledge is great, and vice-versa – the negative effects of age are greater if there is a significant deficit in knowledge (Schroeder & Salthouse, 2003; Salthouse, 2002). This model is not, however, final, since there are greatly differing combinations of the relationship between age and knowledge depending on the stability or decline of cognitive abilities in adulthood (Salthouse, 2002).

The Mechanisms of Cognitive Development in Adulthood

The tendency for favouritism is the primary cause behind misunderstandings in the traditional understanding of the relationship between maturing and learning in development. At the core of the basic dilemma – is development a function of learning or is learning a function of development? – in the newer theories and empirical studies of cognitive development, a general opinion has arisen regarding the need for and possibility of a relative balance between the basic developmental influences, especially where the more complex forms of adult cognition

are concerned. However, it remains somewhat unclear which mechanisms lie behind this relationship.

Based on the previous review, and the empirical studies which have pointed to the role of knowledge in cognitive development, we believe that three primary mechanisms explain cognitive development in adulthood:

- progression in the use of complex systems of meaning and knowledge,
- the establishment of a unified conceptual framework or system of meaning and knowledge and
- the intellectualisation of the cognitive system and cognitive functions.

Complex Systems of Meaning and Knowledge in the Cognitive Development of Adults

Although doubtless of importance, learning itself does not fully determine developmental potential. Other factors come into play too, primarily those coming from the area of development itself, the level of development achieved and the opportunities and abilities to use increasingly complex systems of meaning and knowledge in thought.

There is a mutual interdependence between development and learning on the one hand, and the system of external supports and stimuli on the other – a definite and firm two-way connection. Just as external supports and stimuli enable development, so development itself, that is the the achieved level of development, allows and requires a quite specific type and structure of external stimuli. It is clear enough that there is no point in offering steak to a hungry newborn baby. But it seems that this simple rule – that a stimulus, in order to be effective, must be acceptable to its intended recipient – is rather difficult to apply to the understanding of the relationship between development and learning. However it is of key importance for any effort aimed at systematically impacting cognitive development. For if the understanding of the impact of external supports on cognitive development is important in attempting to shape it, then understanding of the action of the achieved level of development on external supports is significant for the way in which this intention is to be achieved.

External supports (learning) presume the receptiveness, opportunity and need of the individual to use them and respond to them. Development is a life-long process only in potential. In reality it is limited by a range of factors of differing origin, primarily that of success in establishing a correspondence between the type of external support and the opportunities for its use (the principle of

availability). Significant cognitive declines come about only when the individual is unable to find and make use of adequate external supports and stimuli – in other words learning – or when those offered to him or her – in other words education – do not resonate with his or her current needs and experience and cannot be integrated in the individual or significantly transform them. Keeping in mind symbolic capacity as the basic unit of measurement and the explicit carrier of a formative and transformative charge, we believe that the line along which potential external supports may be used during life begins with and develops from the simple, emotional and perceptive in childhood and extends to complex and abstract systems of meaning and knowledge in adulthood. We might say that the individual, in the use of external supports, owing to continued learning and the continued integration and transformation of experience, progresses from the mother's smile and a rattle to hypothesis and theory. From this potential, broad range of options, and based on prior learning and achievement, a choice is made from what is possible and essential for further intellectual progression. Accordingly, and more simply put, the ambition of lifelong development cannot be founded on nor can it end with the symbolism of "doggy and kitty", just as the earlier stages of intellectual development cannot be founded on complex and abstract systems of meaning and knowledge. Neither case permits what we call development, or surpassing one's own susceptibility and one's own initial and prior potential, at the centre of which lies the mechanism for the integration and transformation of knowledge and experience. This surpassing, which is not spontaneous, at least not in adulthood, can be achieved only, as Cattell (1971) would put it, through prior investment. This means that the current level and the opportunities to use external supports are a function and results of the previous level and prior opportunities. Since the basis of investment is time, then an arithmetic progression in the use of external supports of differing symbolic capacity is expected. For this reason it is very probable that cognitive development, and intellectual development as a whole, during the individual's life, comes about through the use of increasingly complex systems of meaning and knowledge, and explicit intellectual progress in adulthood, especially where the higher cognitive functions and levels are concerned, can only happen under their influence. This is what facilitates relativistic and dialectical thought, that is, intrasystemic and metasystemic thought or epistemological reflection, reasoning and perspective. Complex forms of thought can only be born from complex knowledge. In adulthood they develop on a foundation of the internalisation of more or less structured, organised and interconnected concepts, ideas, theories, attitudes and facts, and not so much on the basis of the internalisation of universal procedures, techniques, processes and ways of cognising and thinking.

Unified Conceptual Framework – Knowledge Networks

As has already been said, thought is not only expressed through mental processes, operations and forms but also through the content which is processed within them. Knowledge and the psychological processes and operations of thought are connected and interdependent qualities, the unity of which indeed comprises the phenomenon of thought in its full sense. The measure of development of one is determined by the measure of development of the other. With maturity and age, however, knowledge becomes the increasingly dominant thought structure and the external expression of mental development. One might even say that thought becomes less and less an operational quality and more and more a conceptual one with development and age. For this reason we must first and foremost talk about the development of thought in adulthood as the development of knowledge – the construction and structuring of conceptual systems. Cognitive development proceeds primarily as a process and as an attempt to internalise reality in a rationally acceptable way and to form a unified concept or model of it which acts as a filter – a deciphering and encoding system through which all information and content that the individual encounters is passed through and made accessible. This is a general framework for the reception and utilisation of information, each separate segment and element of which carries and entails a rich potential of information about reality and about the assumptions on which it is founded. The development of thought in adults, in terms of its ultimate scope and form, is manifested as a generalisation of knowledge, as a qualitative change in the structure of knowledge and as the creation of a general and relative unified knowledge network, a relatively coherent system of relations which can be applied to different content and information, to make sense of it and give it meaning. Knowledge networks are not, of course, saturated only with what might be called knowledge in the classical sense, although scientific and theoretical knowledge is their key constitutive element. Since adults are under consideration here, who as a rule have and acquire rich life experience in a variety of domains, they also comprise implicit, everyday knowledge and experience which entails all that which is found between direct empirical knowledge and experience and unwritten but accepted metaphysical assumptions. Although comprised of diverse and heterogeneous content, knowledge networks function as somewhat integrated systems and structures. Regardless of how complex and “rich” they are, they have limited scope if the horizontal, vertical and diagonal connections between them are not of such character and strength that they can be used as a whole. For this reason, over time and during maturing and aging, these networks are constantly modified or rebuilt through the process of learning and the acquisition of experience, and

guided by integration as the primary developmental principle of adulthood they gradually become generalised, condense their meaning and take on the form of what Allport (1969) calls a unifying philosophy of life – a clear perception of life's goal in the form of an understandable theory or overriding personal principle of behaviour and thought and accordingly of further growth and development.

The Developmental Shift in Adulthood

The above-discussed understanding of the relationship between development and the system of external support is however not without its difficulties in terms of its consistency and coherence. Firstly, one might ask whether cognitive development is always purely progressive, and practically delimited only by one's life expectancy, considering the arithmetic progression in the use of external supports and the effects of prior investment. There are other questions: how are changes that are organic in nature involved in cognitive development, and what are their consequences and their evolutionary course in childhood and adolescence and their involutorial course in adulthood? How can we explain the qualitative cognitive difference between the same age categories but differing "investment" categories, and vice versa? Huberman's (1974) conclusion, based on an analysis of different studies – that intelligence tests reveal a greater correlation between people of the same level of education than between those of the same chronological age – in a way upsets the notion of age as a source of variation in the use of external supports. But is the fact that the nature of development in children and adults is completely different not of significance for the learning process and the use of external supports and further cognitive development? Should the fact that the use of external supports in childhood happens in conditions of organic evolution and that it happens in conditions of organic involution in adulthood be completely ignored? What happens when, over time, the unity of organic and socio-cultural development which Vygotsky (1972) talks about begins to break down – when socio-cultural development loses its biological support and when involutorial processes begin to oppose socio-cultural efforts towards further progress, or at least towards the maintenance of established cognitive structures?

Age is not in itself a motivating force for development, and the function of external supports in development does not significantly change with the entry into adulthood. However, as soon as socio-cultural development begins to lose its biological support, the entire course of cognitive development and the developmental model change, and thus so do the character and direction of action of the socio-cultural stimuli which permit further development. The presence

of biological support causes development in childhood to progress according to the model of frontal growth and the gradual differentiation and specialisation of functions, while the lack of biological support in adulthood gives rise to the integration of the cognitive functions and abilities. The need for the establishment of structure, therefore, determines differentiation and specialisation, while the need for the maintenance and functionalisation of already-established structures determines the integration of cognitive abilities. In order for existing structures to be maintained and regression avoided, strong connections need to be established between their separate elements and functions. Cognition must function as a compact whole in order to compensate for the action of general involutorial processes. However, if differentiation and specialisation on the one hand and the integration of cognitive functions on the other are biologically inspired that does not mean this is how they are facilitated. Everything which happens within this general model is a consequence of socio-cultural influences, but their action greatly differs with regard to the variable of age, which can best be observed at the level of microgenesis.

Microgenesis, that is, the development of each individual function, requires and selects for a quite specific kind of social stimulus, with selection becoming increasingly rigorous or specific with age. This relates to the simple fact that stimuli to the development of attention are not identical to those demanded by the development of thought, or are less and less so. Due to the modest initial potential in the case of thought, for example, owing to the modest symbolic capacity which may be "absorbed" in the initial stages of development, the external supports which may be employed are simple structures displaying almost no differentiated or specific effects. In the initial developmental stage, the relationship between external supports and development is governed by the rule, "everything acts on everything". Every stimulus, due to general sensitivity and instability, has a quite general and non-specific action. With age and with further organic changes, the action of external supports becomes increasingly specific, which ultimately allows for differentiation of functions and for microgenesis. However, due to the interdependence of functions, the principle of the undifferentiated action of external stimuli is maintained throughout life, although with age and with organic change of the involutorial type it becomes more significant and acts in reverse. One aspect of Guilford's (1967) understanding of the intellect is inspirational for a fuller explanation of this process. Certain intellectual functions, according to Guilford, (1967) exist in a hierarchically and cumulatively interdependent relationship, which means that where there is no cognition there is no memory either, and without memory there is no convergent and therefore no divergent production, and without these there is no evaluation as the highest intellectual

ability. The microgenesis of the higher functions is founded on the microgenesis of the preceding functions, where the non-specific effect of external stimuli progresses from the lower to the higher intellectual functions. This means that the non-specific effects of stimuli on the development of cognition is somewhat relevant to the development of memory and other higher functions. As development progresses and the functions change qualitatively, demanding increasingly more specific and direct stimuli for their development, the influence of non-specific action is increasingly lost. With age and the onset of involitional processes which inspire the integration of the intellect, non-specific action becomes evident again, however now it proceeds from the higher to the lower intellectual functions. This means that what is not relevant for the development of cognition is not relevant, or is increasingly less relevant for the development of thought; however, what is relevant for the development of thought becomes relevant to the development of cognition to a significant extent. The hierarchical, cumulative, dependent nature of the intellectual functions permits and facilitates the multidirectional effects of individual socio-cultural stimuli in the opposite direction, but only under the influence of a kind of implosion of their internal structure and organisation. This shift in the use of external supports with age becomes increasingly apparent and is particularly strongly expressed in the period of integration, which it directly facilitates. Microgenesis in its classical form, i.e. autonomous development, and therefore the autonomy of individual functions, become less and less possible, and the measure of the development of the lower intellectual functions is determined by the degree of development of the higher intellectual functions. For this reason the significance of the development of thought for the development of all the other intellectual functions grows with age. The essence of the developmental shift, which begins with the entry into adulthood, can be seen in the fact that thought begins to intellectualise all the other cognitive functions, which means that in establishing and devising connections between them it facilitates their individual development and the creation of a unified structure of the intellect.

Conclusion

Although an unwritten agreement has been established between the classical developmental theories (Vygotsky and Piaget) that there is no cognitive development in adulthood, these theories have been inspirational to empirical research and the formation of new theories which have indicated the need to revise this initial and fundamental conviction. It has been shown that different forms and levels of postformal thought are possible in the post-adolescent period and that

there are significant limitations for any attempt to favour organic or socio-cultural influences on cognitive development. Both the organic and the socio-cultural in human development are found in the complex relationship between figure and ground and each cannot be isolated and considered without the other. What connects organic and socio-cultural influences is the system and structure of meaning and knowledge, which suggests that knowledge cannot be eliminated from the attempt to cognise and to acquire the ability to cognise. This connection happens on a foundation of progression in the use of complex systems of meaning and knowledge, which results in the establishment of a unified conceptual framework for the interpretation of reality and the intellectualisation of the cognitive system and individual cognitive functions.

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Znanje i kognitivni razvoj u odraslom dobu

Apstrakt: U radu se razmatraju mogućnosti i mehanizmi kognitivnog razvoja u odraslom dobu sa osnovnim ciljem da se podstakne traganje za njegovom drugačijom konceptualizacijom. Analiza obuhvata klasične (Vigotski i Pijaže) i postmoderne, konstruktivističko razvojne i kontekstualističke teorije kognitivnog razvoja, kao i relevantna dostupna empirijska istraživanja. Bez obzira na značajnu inkonzistentnost analiziranih teorija i empirijske evidencije, rezultati analize upućuju na zaključak da su moguće i da se dešavaju značajne pozitivne promene u kognitivnom razvoju tokom odraslog doba u čijoj osnovi se nalaze sistemi i strukture znanja koji se oblikuju tokom života. Mehanizmi odgovorni za kognitivni razvoj u odraslom dobu su progresija u korišćenju kompleksnih sistema značenja i znanja, uspostavljanju jedinstvenog konceptualnog okvira za tumačenje i interpretaciju realnosti i intelektualizacija celokupnog kognitivnog prostora i pojedinačnih kognitivnih funkcija.

Ključne reči: kognitivni razvoj, odraslo doba, formalno mišljenje, post-formalno mišljenje, mreže znanja, obrnuti razvojni trend.

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Learning from Comparative Research in Education – and from the Distinctive Experience of Small States

Abstract: In a global context where national education and social policies are increasingly shaped by the influence of powerful global agendas, international surveys and league tables – combined with a search for so called ‘best practice’ – much can be learned from context-sensitive, comparative research that challenges one-size-fits-all assumptions. The paper examines this critique, in the light of recent research that demonstrates how many small states worldwide are prioritising educational policy trajectories that are different, out of step, or in advance of those advocated in much of the dominant international literature and discourse. In doing so, the analysis highlights the importance of contextual differences in educational policy development and in disciplined comparative and international research in education. In concluding, it is also argued that there is much that the international community can learn from such comparative research and from the distinctive experience of small states.

Key words: small states, comparative education, policy transfer.

Introduction

Publicity relating to the OECD’s Programme for International Student Achievement (PISA) has contributed to the increased interest of policy makers, planners and practitioners worldwide in the field of comparative and international research in education. However, this stimulus is also perpetuating a new era of simplistic and uncritical international educational policy transfer. This is despite the fact that the latter has long been a central concern of disciplined comparative research in education, reflecting Sir Michael Sadler’s often quoted warning that:

We cannot wander at pleasure among the educational systems of the world, like a child strolling through a garden, and pick off a flower

from one bush and some leaves from another, and then expect that if we stick what we have gathered into the soil at home, we shall have a living plant. (Sadler, 1900, p. 49)

Today, policy proposals can spread worldwide at the touch of a computer button, stimulated by the search for so called ‘best practice’ to borrow and apply. This article draws upon the author’s theoretical work on education policy transfer (Crossley & Watson, 2003; Crossley, 2014), and on recent empirically grounded research on educational policies and priorities in small states (Crossley et al., 2011). In doing so, it articulates a cautionary note for others engaged in educational research, policy and practice in times of intensified globalisation.

Global Educational Agendas and Targets

The launching of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in the year 2000 helped to reinforce international commitment to the Education For All (EFA) targets first established in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990 (UNESCO, 1990). Now, however, concern is increasingly focussed upon how education systems are performing in relation to these goals, if they will meet their targets by the deadline of 2015, and what is to follow in the post-2015 Development Framework (UNESCO, 2010). Access to basic education (widely defined as primary schooling in practice) has dominated these global agendas, although the associated need for quality is now, if belatedly, also prioritised. In the light of this, other dimensions and sectors of education have had to compete for attention and resources, including higher education and, perhaps most ironically, basic education and lifelong learning for adults, that was originally emphasised in the concept of basic education that was formulated at Jomtien.

While global goals and targets do have much to offer, they can also be problematic in generating unrealistic and inappropriate one-size fits all solutions. Disciplined research in comparative and international education, for example, continues to build upon Sadler’s benchmark position by demonstrating how successful educational reform must fit specific needs and conditions and, to cite my own work, and a piece written with Professor Peter Jarvis, how ‘context matters’ more than many policy makers and researcher realise (Crossley & Jarvis, 2001). Successful learning from elsewhere, it is argued, requires local ‘agency’ to engage actively and critically with international education experience, or surveys and league tables, along with a commitment to re-develop or challenge external strategies and initiatives in ways that genuinely meet local needs.

With 2014 being declared the United Nations International Year for Small Island Developing States (SIDS), and when World Cup football in Brazil, and the Commonwealth Games in Glasgow, Scotland are noted by the presence and success of many small states, the next section applies the comparative perspectives explored above and examines what others can learn from the distinctive experience of small states worldwide.

Definitions of Small States

The next sections draw from and build upon the text for a recent analysis of scale as a concept in comparative education (Brock & Crossley, 2013). The world of small states is not limited to the popular conception of single island nations, but what is defined as a 'small' state? This is necessarily arbitrary, although the most widely accepted contemporary definition is that of a nation or territory with less than three million people. According to Martin and Bray (2011) there are 89 states or territories – that is to say about 46% of the polities of the world – in this category. These authors exclude territories with less than 1000 inhabitants but, in terms of education, there are still over 100 systems in this category worldwide. This suggests that small states are likely to have greater significance than their modest visibility in the international literature would indicate. Table 1 shows the breakdown of the 89 small states and territories according to region and population.

Table 1: Matrix of small states and territories by population and region.

Region	<100k	100–250k	250k–1m	1–2m	2–3m	Total
Africa	0	1	3	5	2	11
Arab States	0	0	2	0	2	4
Atlantic	5	0	1	0	0	6
Caribbean	8	6	5	1	1	21
Europe	7	1	5	1	4	18
Indian Ocean	1	0	2	0	1	4
South Pacific	11	6	3	0	0	20
Asia	0	0	3	1	1	5
Total	32	14	24	8	11	89

Source: Derived from United Nations Statistics Division 1988 (Martin and Bray 2011, 26–27).

Learning from Small States

The literature on education in small states dates back to an influential pan – Commonwealth conference that was held in Mauritius during 1985 (Bacchus & Brock, 1987). Subsequent Commonwealth supported work included a series of national, regional and pan–Commonwealth meetings and workshops – and related publications on specific issues such as Ministry of Education planning, tertiary education and post-secondary education in small states.

Until the 1990s, much of this work was mainly concerned with issues faced by small island nations, and especially those in the three main oceanic locations of the Caribbean, Indian Ocean and South Pacific. This initial literature also tended to focus on the distinctive problems faced by education, rather than the strengths and advantages experienced by small states. Issues of scale, vulnerability, isolation and dependency thus characterised the early educational literature. Among the key disadvantages identified were: high levels of dependence upon foreign advice, support and resources; high unit costs; lack of relevant teaching materials, including texts that focused on local geography, history and science; and related regional dependency linked to the dominance of regional hubs where greater educational and employment opportunities were available. Some advantages generated by the small scale of education systems were also beginning to be noted such as the early achievement of universal primary education.

Contemporary Issues and Developments

At the turn of the millennium the intensification of globalisation was increasingly apparent across all sectors of society and the international scale of educational development commanded ever closer attention (Dale, 2000). As argued earlier, the influence of international agendas and targets, and related implications for the international transfer of educational policy and practice, similarly generated renewed global interest in comparative and international research in education (Crossley & Watson, 2003).

Within the Commonwealth such factors underpinned a forward looking review of existing work on education in small states (Crossley & Holmes, 1999). This challenged what by then was seen to have been an over-emphasis upon the vulnerabilities and problems of small states. It also critiqued strong tendencies in the existing literature and international agency discourse to over-emphasise the potential of generic educational policy proposals derived from perceived ‘best practice’ in selected contexts. In such ways the literature on small states most

clearly demonstrated the limitations of 'one size fits all' educational policy solutions and proposals, and helped to highlight significant implications for future policy deliberations and theoretical scholarship. More recent research (Crossley et al., 2011), for example, has demonstrated how contemporary educational priorities for many small states differ from the access to primary schooling issues that have dominated the international agendas, and focus upon improvements to quality, inclusivity and equity, lifelong learning, the potential of ICT and tertiary education.

On a broader level, research in comparative education has similarly re-connected with earlier phases of scholarship on policy borrowing and transfer, developing helpful models of the processes involved (Phillips & Ochs, 2004), and more nuanced understandings of the political dimensions and mediations between those involved at different levels – and on different scales [see for example, Beech, 2006; Rappleye, 2012; Steiner-Khamsi & Waldow's (2012) analysis of the evolution of the literature on policy borrowing and lending]. Writers on and from small states, such as Baldacchino and Bray (2001), continued to analyse the pertinence of the conceptual categorisation, but, in practice, despite its acknowledged limitations and the need for careful use and qualification, it has proved resilient – and for many it is still meeting 'the tests of time' (Baldacchino, 2012). Louisy (2011), for example, argues that in the face of intensified globalisation there is much that small states can derive from working together, and from collaborative initiatives – and that, in doing so, there is also much that the wider international community can learn from small states.

Conclusions

In looking to the future more can certainly be done within existing parameters, and by and for those small states that have traditionally dominated the international literature. A new generation of comparative and international research on education in small states is, however, also called for, and in ways that further strengthen context sensitivity, local voice, international analyses and work beyond traditional parameters. New research in the Gulf small states is, for example, already emerging; more work on the neglected Overseas Territories is long overdue; and comparative analyses of Baltic post-Soviet small states and in European and Balkan contexts offer especially timely and challenging potential for the future.

New questions also emerge from this. What, for example, could the existing theoretical literature on education in small states have to offer for future scholarship? To what extent might the experience of small states of, for instance,

the concept of 'managed intimacy', be helpful for others beyond this specific literature; what can be learned from their extensive encounter with outward migration and related linkages with an extensive Diaspora; how can the international community benefit from the experiences of small states in enhancing the quality of education, in promoting tertiary education, by developing inclusivity and lifelong learning opportunities (Crossley, Sukwianomb & Weeks, 1988); and of using Teacher Recruitment Protocols in the face of heightened professional mobility (Penson & Yonemura, 2012); what educational implications stem from contemporary challenges to the high-profile of the financial sector in small states such as Iceland and Cyprus; and how might new research on such themes and in different small state contexts add to or challenge existing knowledge and understandings?

More broadly, as indicated at the outset of this article – and as argued by writers such as Louisy (2011) – there is much more that the wider international, professional and academic communities can learn from the experiences of small states. Looking first at the global arena for post-2015 development planning, research on the tensions experienced by many small states when engaging with EFA and MDG agendas is particularly revealing. As we have demonstrated earlier, the small scale of their education systems has enabled many small states to move ahead relatively rapidly in terms of many of the international targets established for basic education. From the 1990s their educational needs and priorities were, therefore, often quite different to those reflected in the dominant international agendas and discourse. Consequently, they often sought external support for educational initiatives that pressed well beyond sectors and issues where international support and funding was then being made available.

As targets and goals for the post-2015 era are now being formulated, this small state experience can help to caution against the similar replication of a new set of fixed, universal and inflexible educational goals and targets. In the light of this experience the strengths and limitations of current and emergent global agendas can be more clearly assessed and, while some may use this to challenge their basic rationale, it can also be argued that a greater degree of contextual flexibility has much to offer, if willing engagement with such global agendas is to be maximised and if the extent of successful implementation in practice is to be increased.

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Učenje iz komparativnih istraživanja obrazovanja i specifičnih iskustava malih država

Apstrakt: U globalnom kontekstu u kojem je oblikovanje nacionalnog obrazovanja i socijalnih politika sve više pod uticajem moćnih globalnih agendi, međunarodnih istraživanja i rang lista, a u kombinaciji sa potragom za takozvanom „najboljom praksom”, dosta može da se nauči iz komparativnog istraživanja koje je osjetljivo na kontekst i koje dovodi u pitanje pretpostavku da postoji jedno rešenje za sve. Rad se bavi razmatranjima skorijih istraživanja koja su pokazala koliko malih država širom sveta svoje obrazovne prioritete, planove i programe definiše drugačije, čak u raskoraku sa onima koji se zagovaraju u većem delu međunarodne literature i u dominantnim diskursima, ili su čak korak ispred njih. Time ova analiza ističe koliko je važan kontekst u razvoju obrazovne politike, kao i ozbiljna komparativna i međunarodna istraživanja u okviru obrazovanja. U zaključku je izneto mišljenje da međunarodna zajednica može mnogo toga da nauči od ovakvih komparativnih istraživanja i od specifičnog iskustva malih država.

Ključne reči: male države, komparativno obrazovanje, transfer politika.

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Lifelong Learning in Africa - a Contribution to Development

Abstract: The purpose of this short paper is to both highlight Africa's tradition of lifelong learning and comment on the way lifelong learning appears to be positioned in contemporary development discourses for Africa. The argument is that lifelong learning in its current form has failed to capture the imagination of policy-makers in the way required by the multi-dimensional development needs of a continent that is rich in culture and diversity but ravaged by poverty and inequality. The paper starts by reiterating some traditional values attached to African age-related learning, reviews some of the global development agendas for lifelong learning on the continent and refers to selective policy documents to illustrate some tensions between global and local agendas. It concludes with a suggestion that more Africa-centric policies are required, perhaps incorporating a 'capabilities' approach towards lifelong learning.

Key words: African nations, lifelong learning, development, holistic approach.

Introduction

Africa is a vast continent. It is impossible to do justice to its diversity and different histories by reducing it to one generalised description. Nevertheless, in relation to lifelong learning, one can reflect on some general tendencies and practices that have been recorded by a number of African writers (for example Omolewa, 2009), particularly in relation to its Anglophone speaking countries. One of these tendencies is that African nations have a long tradition of practising lifelong learning. This was essentially an oral tradition and dates back to pre-colonial times. But it was nevertheless organised and tied to the levels of responsibility that village communities would associate with the stages of childhood, adolescence and adulthood in terms of knowledge and wisdoms required for social cohesion and productivity. Different communities or ethnic groups would foster these values

according to custom and need but learning would be lifelong and life wide. It was holistic in nature but both practical and philosophical.

Learning was often gender specific but prepared participants through apprenticeships for a range of social and professional roles in society, including artisans, philosophers, astronomers, doctors or herbalists. Their learning required not only skilled practical knowledge but also involved understanding the community's history and beliefs and social protocols. There is evidence that such learning produced scientific innovations such as the wheel in Mesopotamia, medicinal herbs and even an observatory in Kenya (Teffo, 2000). It has also been argued that this learning was embedded in value systems that were more likely to privilege the notion of collectivity, rather than individualism which underpins much of western thought. The responsibility towards the collective would encourage commitment to the community, both in terms of the living, the dead and the yet to be born (Ntseane, 2011). Various concepts such as *ubuntu* in South Africa and *botho* in Botswana (roughly translated as humanism, caring and respect for others) are said to reflect the more spiritual nature of learning and living in traditional African contexts. Much of this holistic learning was recorded orally in the form of proverbs, riddles, folk tales and stories and handed down from generation to generation (Preece, 2009). It retains its value today in the form of indigenous knowledge, though such knowledge rarely receives recognition within formal lifelong learning policy literature. Hoppers and Yekhlef (2012) for example, in a recent policy information paper for sustainable development argue for a broader perspective on lifelong learning in Africa which is life-long (relating to different stages of life), life-wide (referring to its multi-dimensional and non-linear nature) and also life-deep (as a spiritual experience) which encompasses "local wisdom and experience" (p. 8). Such advice, however, is overshadowed by an international development agenda that is controlled by agencies external to Africa.

International Development Agendas

African nations, and other states which depend on international development aid, are rarely in control of their own spending plans. Externally imposed conditions for aid distort internal visions for national identity and purpose. Some of the key international players in lifelong learning for Africa are the World Bank, UNESCO and the OECD. The World Bank and OECD tend to favour an economic perspective for lifelong learning, understood primarily in terms of competencies and skills for economic competitiveness. It has, for instance, firm-

ly positioned lifelong learning for developing countries as preparation for the knowledge economy (WB, 2003). UNESCO, underpinned in 1996 by the De Lors Report, promotes a more holistic vision, to emphasise values of democracy and social purpose. Many of its Africa based conferences focus on building a learning society for democratic citizenship and “the valuing of local knowledge talent and wisdom” (UNESCO and MINEDAF, 2002, p. 1).

But for Africa the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) dominate the context in which these key players present their arguments for lifelong learning. The Millennium Development Goals, ratified in 2000 and signed up to by heads of state and international development agencies provided an educational focus on literacy and schooling. Adult education was not a goal. Lifelong learning in subsequent national policy documents, such as the Lesotho Education Sector Strategic Plan (GOL, 2005) thus interpreted lifelong learning simply as ‘post literacy’. Although the draft post-MDG targets, currently under construction, do include the words lifelong learning it is premature to anticipate how the new targets will impact on African development. Nevertheless, much has been written about both the continent’s challenges and opportunities for using a lifelong learning discourse to address those challenges.

African Challenges

Africa has some of the highest levels of poverty, illiteracy and premature mortality rates in the world. Diseases such as HIV and AIDS, TB and malaria are at epidemic proportions with large areas of ecological and political instability (UNESCO, 2006). There have been consistent efforts by academics and policy informants on the continent to broaden the vision for lifelong learning in the context of Africa’s multiple challenges. Economic competitiveness is not the only or highest priority. It has been argued, for instance, that in a context of high mortality, crime, conflict, vast inequalities, environmental degradation and corruption we need learning that promotes peace, ethical responsibility, tolerance and understanding (Torres, 2003; Odora Hoppers, 2006). Poverty, as argued by Sen (1999), for instance can only be addressed through a social perspective that develops capabilities as freedoms to live the life people have reason to value. In other words, capabilities are more than learned skills; they include attitudes and levels of awareness that support the capacity to envision social equality and co-existence. In order to maximise scarce resources and connect policy to the broader social realities of many lives in Africa, it has been argued that the goal of education and lifelong learning should be to develop critical thinkers who can

also draw on traditional culture and values where appropriate (UNESCO, 2006; Hoppers & Yekhlef, 2012).

Lifelong Learning for Africa's Development

There have been various suggestions for linking the concept of lifelong learning more closely to African perspectives and contexts. Mbigi (2005, pp. 141-145), for instance, suggested the four De Loris (1996) pillars could be 'africanised' in order to more closely reflect African value systems so that learning to know can be promoted as 'the capacity to reflect on one's life experiences and use the lessons to create and manage opportunities'; learning to do reflects the notion of apprenticeship while learning to live together could be interpreted through the humanistic notion of *ubuntu*. The fourth pillar, learning to be, relates to the 'multiple intelligences of a given individual' thus reflecting the holistic nature of traditional African ontology. Other ideas have included linking lifelong learning to sustainable development, as proposed by Hoppers and Yekhlef (2012). They argue for a pedagogical approach that facilitates "the convergence of academic knowledge, local wisdom and experience" through "participatory decision making ...[and] community focused learning" (p. 8), once more taking us beyond a purely economic focus for lifelong learning.

The concern for a more holistic approach to lifelong learning, along with the promotion of a spiritual dimension is not solely confined to Africa of course and is increasingly being argued for from around the globe (Torres, 2003; Jarvis, 2007; Arkonada, 2009). An extension of these two ideas was offered by Preece (2014) at a recent ESREA conference on adult education and sustainable development whereby she suggested that the injection of a capabilities perspective might provide a suitable 'steer' for the above debates. Capabilities, defined as educational goals have frequently been promoted in different contexts (for example, Nussbaum, 2006; Walker, 2006), and space does not permit an exposition of these in this short paper. But capabilities, understood as freedoms to function, provide a dimension of learning that enables us to take an ethical stance that also reflects African perspectives for *ubuntu*, spirituality and connectedness in the context of development. Such a capabilities list, for instance, might include the freedom of voice – the freedom to be heard and avoid marginalisation. A second capability would be that of association – the ability to interact with others as interdependent beings. Other capabilities might include that of spirituality or sense of belonging to the earth and beyond and that of critical awareness in order to reflect our ability to deal with the unknowable.

Concluding Remarks

This short paper has argued that African development concerns reflect the need for a lifelong learning agenda that is holistic, broad based and reflects African identities in terms of philosophical tradition but which is realistically embedded in the challenges of today's contemporary world. The continent has broader needs than a purely economic focus, but cannot avoid the challenge of economic competitiveness if it is to be a part of world society. A more ethical developmental stance which looks at the individual in relation to his or her interdependence would support African revivalist perspectives while at the same time equipping the continent with the essential skills, knowledge and understanding for living in a globalised world.

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Celoživotno učenje u Africi: doprinos razvoju

Apstrakt: Svrha ovog rada je da istakne tradiciju celoživotnog učenja u Africi, ali i da se osvrne na poziciju koja mu je namenjena u savremenom diskursu o razvoju Afrike. Iznosi se argument da je celoživotno učenje u svom sadašnjem obliku propustilo da zaintrigira tvorce programa na način kako su to zahtevale višedimenzionalne razvojne potrebe jednog kontinenta sa bogatom kulturom i raznolikošću, a sa druge strane opustošenog siromaštvom i nejednakošću. Rad počinje ponovnim isticanjem nekih tradicionalnih vrednosti koje se vezuju za učenje i starosno doba u Africi, razmatra neke od globalnih razvojnih programa za celoživotno učenje na tom kontinentu i upućuje na određene strateške dokumente sa ciljem prikazivanja izvesnih tenzija između globalnih i lokalnih agendi. Rad se završava sugestijom da su potrebni programi koji se više fokusiraju na Afriku, a eventualno i da se u celoživotno učenje inkorporira pristup kojim se naglašavaju sposobnosti pojedinca.

Ključne reči: afričke nacije, celoživotno učenje, razvoj, holistički pristup.

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Paulo Freire's Legacy for Youth and Adult Education in Brazil

Abstract: Fifty years after the pioneering adult literacy experience known as the “40 hours of Angicos” (referring to a small town in the State of Rio Grande do Norte), the Brazilian government has established participation as social policy, conjugated with a framework of reference for popular education designed to consolidate popular education as an inter-sectorial and transversal public policy for citizen participation and for the democratization of the Brazilian state. The Angicos experience represented a watershed in educational thinking, giving rise to a new vision of education and a new epistemology in which popular culture, as a contra-hegemonic project, and popular education became the cornerstones of a new educational system, with a strong political dimension capable of contributing to the transformation of society. The challenge which Freire posits today is how to develop youth and adult education in the spirit of popular education so as to prepare citizens to participate actively in the democratic process.

Key words: Freirean ethos, democratic process, youth education, adult education.

In 2013, Brazil commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of the pioneering literacy experience in 40 hours conceived and directed by Paulo Freire in the city of Angicos in the state of Rio Grande do Norte, one of the states of the north-east region of Brazil. Despite being a relatively modest proposal in terms of its coverage – 380 men and women took part – the project had a national and international impact disproportional to its size. Although perhaps best remembered as one of the first experiences which employed Freire's literacy method¹, the 40 hours of Angicos (as it became known) was based upon a new vision of education and a new epistemology constituting a rethinking in Torres'² words “of the mis-

¹ Freire rejected the notion that what he was elaborating was a 'literacy method' preferring to classify it as part of a system of education or as an epistemology. Literacy was but part of his theory of education.

² Carlos Alberto Torres (2013) Angicos, 50 anos depois: da cultura popular à educação popular. In: **Cinquentaenário: 40 horas de Angicos**. Brochure produced for the commemorations in Angicos in April 2013.

sion of the ‘public’ and of public education as a contribution to the constitution of democracy and citizenship”.

The educational and literacy proposal on which the Angicos experience was founded gave rise to a different pedagogy, which surpassed traditional models with its emphasis on dialogue – understood as an horizontal relationship between persons nourished according to Freire “by love, humility, hope, faith and trust” (1976, p. 45) – between educator and educatee and between scientific and popular knowledge. The educatees were conceived of and treated as protagonists and subjects of the educational process, since the literacy process was based on their life experiences and vocabulary. Inverting the logic of the great majority of previous pedagogical proposals, in the case of Angicos, the world, the culture and the knowledge of the educatees became valued and respected. This represented a new understanding of education in which popular culture, as a contra-hegemonic project, and popular education became the corner stones of a new educational system, with a strong political dimension capable of contributing to the transformation of society.

When also remembering the fiftieth anniversary of the National Literacy Plan, in which Freire’s literacy method became the official method and part of a system of popular education introduced by the Goulart Government³, we perceive the perennial and contemporary flavour of Freire’s educational philosophy. In May 2014, the Brazilian federal government organized what it called the Arena of Social Participation in Brasilia during which it launched two innovative proposals: a National Policy of Social Participation (PNPS), which includes a National System of Social Participation understood as a method of government, and a Framework of Reference as precursor of a National Policy of Popular Education. The latter intended to consolidate popular education as an inter-sectorial and transversal public policy for citizen participation and for the democratization of the Brazilian state. Freire lives!

However, we should not deceive ourselves. The reaction by conservatives sectors – both political opposition and elements of the corporative media – both inside and outside the national congress, to the presidential sanction for the decree (nº. 8.243) which established the National Policy of Social Participation, has been ferocious. Freire lives but continues to represent a political-educational pos-

³ Goulart took over the presidency of Brazil in 1961 when Jânio Quadros resigned. He was deposed by the military coup in 1964. During his brief period as president he initiated a series of wide ranging basic reforms (*reformas de base*) including banking, fiscal, urban, electoral, educational and above all, agrarian reforms. These social and economic nationalist measures which foresaw a greater intervention of the state in the economy were understood by the elite (property owners, businessmen, middle classes) to threaten the status quo. As President, he visited Angicos on 2nd April 1963 where he delivered the 40th hour of the literacy programme.

ture which is in no way consensual, as is absolutely comprehensible in the current Brazilian democratic context, just as was the case in the 1960's. In 1963, the then north American ambassador to Brazil, Lincoln Gordon, in a first written reaction to the pioneering pilot project in Angicos, informed the governor of the state of Rio Grande do Norte, Aluisio Alves: "I am suggesting to all the Brazilian state governments convened with the Alliance for Progress that they should also adopt the Angicos experience" (Guerra, 2013, p. 29). However, not long after, Gordon reconsidered his first evaluation, identifying in this experience "nothing less than the embryo of a subversive movement, aimed at conscientising and politicising the masses, 'associating it with the methods of Hitler, Stalin and Peron' (apud, Streck, 2010, p. 43)" (Ferraro, 2013, p. 77-78).

The fact that Freire was named as the patron of Brazilian education by the National Congress in 2012 (law n°. 12.612), should not make us forget that this was the same Freire who in 1964 was considered "subversive and ignorant" and then imprisoned and exiled. It is also the same Freire whose presence and influence are transparent in the set of measures which constitute the PNPS which has provoked the most diverse reactions.

When analysing the PNPS, the influence of the Freirean ethos is evident. The policy establishes the following guidelines, amongst others (Article 3):

- Recognition of social participation as a right of the citizen and an expression of his/her autonomy;
- Complementarity, transversality and integration between mechanisms and instances of representative, participative and direct democracy;
- Right to information, transparency and social control of public actions;
- Amplification of the mechanisms of social control⁴.
- In an affirmation of the importance of the participation of the citizen which cannot be reduced to the electoral process. While delineating the goals (Article 4) of the PNPS, the decree identifies as fundamental goals, amongst others, the need to:
 - To consolidate social participation as a method of government;
 - To promote the articulation between instances and mechanisms⁵ of social participation;
 - To develop mechanisms of social participation which are accessible to historically excluded and vulnerable social groups;

⁴ DECRETO N° 8.243, DE 23 DE MAIO DE 2014 – Retrieved 29/06/2014 from http://www.planalto.gov.br/CCIVIL_03/_Ato2011-2014/2014/Decreto/D8243.htm

⁵ The Framework considers the following as instances and mechanisms of social participation: councils, commissions, national conferences, federal ombudsmen, public audiences, public consultations, etc.

- To encourage and promote actions and programmes of institutional support, training and qualification in social participation for public agents and those of civil society⁶.

In the opinion of Fontana (2014), the presidential decree strengthens the thousands of municipal, state and national councils which already exist, and thereby contributes to a participative democracy which is not opposed to but complements representative democracy. According to Boff (2014) the decree recognises the reality of the rich diversity of social movements in Brazil “and reinforces the role of that diversity to enrich the existing variety of representative democracy with a new element which is precisely participative democracy.”

In Angicos, Freire set out to contribute to the formation of the citizen for a new democratic and participative society, among other objectives, recognising the fundamental role of a novel type of education in this process – popular education of which the literacy process was a part. Over the years, the praxis of popular education has developed and evolved although it has continued to retain the strong influence of the Freirean ethos. Although attempts to establish a unique concept of popular education are subject to pitfalls, we take the risk of presenting a limited number of principles which is in no way exhaustive, but suggestive of the potential and the actuality of popular education as a collective construction, capable of orienting new educational practices based on concrete conjunctures and as a tool which is capable of contributing to the strengthening and deepening of democracy:

1. Education as a right and a fundamental human need which is part of the ontological vocation of the human being. Learning is part of our DNA as superior animals and of our programming in the Darwinian sense.
2. Education as process, subject to human agency, whose fundamental objective is to humanize, emancipate, free and make people more creative. In this sense, education is not limited to transmitting but, above all, to producing knowledge as a constituent element of the practice of liberty. Whilst intending to emancipate, education takes dialogue as its starting point and essential instrument.
3. Starting from our ‘unfinishedness’/incompleteness as human beings, education and learning are understood as processes which underline and underscore our whole life span.
4. When refusing that fatalistic (neoliberal) thinking which denies the dream of another possible world, utopia becomes the horizon and

⁶ Ibid.

- true reality of the educator. In Freire's words (2001, p. 52) "The world is not finished. It is always in the process of becoming".
5. It understands education in the broad sense, covering what is conventionally known as formal and non-formal education in which the school or its equivalents are not the only space for the transmission of knowledge (Freire, 1991, p. 16) and, consequently, is characterised as a process which involves both logic and intellect, affection and sociability.
 6. An education which values daily experience and places the quality of life/well-being and collective happiness of its subjects as the goal of education: life as the ultimate curriculum.
 7. Education as an intentional political act which seeks to emancipate and presupposes a project of society⁷. A pedagogy committed to active citizenship and political participation.
 8. An education which values and seeks to deepen democracy, placing ethics at the centre of the search for its radicalization.

Thus, when questioning the legacy of Freire for youth and adult education in Brazil we consider that the challenge which Freire continues to put to us is how to develop youth and adult education in the perspective and in the spirit of popular education and in such a way as to prepare citizens to participate actively in the democratic process. In reality, when referring to the above principles, we can perhaps point to certain central challenges. Although schooling is still considered one of the central challenges for youth and adult education in Brazil, how should we reconstitute and value the political and emancipatory dimension of the educational process? Our current processes of teaching-learning are still excessively preoccupied with teaching rather than with learning. How can we bring the educatees to the centre stage of our pedagogical concerns in theoretical-methodological, political and practical terms?

In a world still dominated by neoliberalism, by the predominance of the market and the influence of employability on the shape of the youth and adult education which we offer, how to establish new utopias in which the principles of quality of life, solidarity, justice and sustainability predominate over those of consumerism, individualism and an anthropocentric vision of the relation between the natural and human worlds? Freire always questions, challenges and provokes us. The launching of the policy for social participation places immedi-

⁷ Freire (1985) considered that Amílcar Cabral, the leader of the revolutionary movement in Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau, "incarnates perfectly the dream of liberation of his people and the political-pedagogical procedures needed to realize that dream". For him, Cabral was the Pedagogue of the Revolution.

ate challenges which youth and adult education cannot attempt to escape from answering.

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Nasleđe Paula Freirea u obrazovanju mladih i odraslih u Brazilu

Apstrakt: Nakon pedeset godina od pionirskog rada na opismenjavanju odraslih poznatog kao „40 sati Angikosa” (što se odnosilo na gradić u saveznoj državi Rio Grande do Norte), brazilska vlada je definisala participaciju kao element socijalne politike, zajedno sa sa referentnim okvirom za popularno obrazovanje koncipiranim tako da ono postane predmet međusektorske i transverzalne javne politike za participaciju stanovništva i za demokratizaciju Brazila. Iskustvo u Angikosu je predstavljalo preokret u obrazovnoj misli i utrlo je put novoj viziji obrazovanja i novoj epistemologiji u kojoj popularna kultura kao ‘kontrahegemonijski’ projekat, kao i popularno obrazovanje postaju temelj novog obrazovnog sistema, uz snažnu političku dimenziju, koja im omogućava da doprinesu transformaciji društva. Izazov koji Freire postavlja i danas je kako razvijati obrazovanje omladine i odraslih u duhu popularnog obrazovanja, te na taj način pripremiti stanovništvo za aktivno učešće u demokratskom procesu.

Ključne reči: Freireovski etos, demokratski procesi, obrazovanje mladih, obrazovanje odraslih.

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The University of Nottingham and Adult Education

Abstract: This article examines twentieth century British university adult education, using the University of Nottingham as a case study. From around the time of the First World War until the 1990s, universities' 'adult education' or 'extra-mural' departments provided higher education to part-time students in towns and villages throughout the country, often in association with voluntary organisations such as the Workers' Educational Association or with local education authorities. Nottingham was the first to establish such a department (in 1920). The departments focussed on teaching adults in the geographical area for which they were responsible, but several – including Nottingham's – also became centres of research and scholarship on the subject of adult education, with a wider influence across the United Kingdom and internationally. The rich role played by British universities in adult and community education is illustrated through the contributions of the Nottingham department itself, of its staff (including Robert Peers, who held the world's first university chair in adult education) and of its students.

Key words: university adult education, extra-mural education, lifelong education.

Introduction

For most of the twentieth century, universities took a leading role in British adult education. They organised this through departments – often called 'adult education' or 'extra-mural' departments – which provided university-level courses to part-time students in towns and villages throughout the country. Often held in church and village halls and schools many miles, sometimes hundreds of miles, from the university itself, these classes were frequently arranged in association with voluntary organisations such as the Workers' Educational Association, and (after 1945) with local education authorities. The first university to establish such a department – in 1920 – was the University College, Nottingham (after 1948, the University of Nottingham). Most of these university adult education depart-

ments focussed on teaching adults in the area for which they were responsible, but several also became centres of research and scholarship about adult education. This article explores the history of adult education at Nottingham and its contribution to its region and to adult education scholarship. It also shows the influence – within the United Kingdom and internationally – of the department and its staff and alumni.

‘A Radical Sort of Place’

In the mid-1970s, the University of Nottingham’s Department of Adult Education published a landmark collection: *The University in its Region: the Extra-mural Contribution*. In the opening chapter, on the origins of adult education in Nottingham, Alan Thornton described nineteenth-century Nottingham as ‘a radical sort of place’ (1977, p. 3). His claim had much to commend it: E.P. Thompson’s *Making of the English Working Class* (1963) is peppered with exploits of the city’s radicals, from Jacobins to Luddites. In 1832 three men were hanged, and four transported, for their incendiary contribution to riots for electoral reform. In 1847 the city elected Feargus O’Connor – the only Chartist ever returned as a Member of Parliament. As late as 1885, the Riot Act was read – and police charged the crowd – when John Burns of the Social Democratic Federation stood for Parliament in Nottingham West. Beckett’s more recent (2006) account has nuanced this story of radical struggle – but Thornton took it for granted that the history of adult education in a region needed to be grounded in the social movements which democratised society and knowledge.

Who was Alan Thornton? He was an adult educator and an academic. By 1977, he had been a member of Nottingham University’s adult education staff for thirty years, and deputy director of its adult education department for over twenty. He started as ‘Resident Tutor’ in mid-Derbyshire – a role which gives some sense of how adult education staff worked to ensure higher education was embedded in the communities of the region the University served. Through the work of people such as this, the University provided ‘extra-mural studies’ across an area stretching 90 miles from east to west and 45 from north to south, encompassing two large industrial cities (Derby and Nottingham), several large and small towns, and hundreds of villages.

Robert Peers and Adult Education at Nottingham

The department had been formed in 1920 – Nottingham's was the first department formed as a result of the Ministry of Reconstruction Adult Education Committee's recommendation that universities should do so (1919). Robert Peers was appointed as Director, and within two years – in 1922, at the age of 34 – he was given the title of professor: the world's first university chair in Adult Education.

The rapid democratization of national life promoted by the [Great] war, the new sense of political power which the franchise act of 1918 gave to the people, the rise to influence of a political party claiming to speak specifically for the workers, the widening consciousness of economic and social issues, and the controversies over them which cut down to the very bedrock of the national traditional organization, all contributed to a demand for information and instruction on which the adult education movement was borne triumphantly forward. (Wood 1953, p. 70)

For three decades, Peers was to be an energetic and successful leader of the department. It grew remarkably: by 1926 Nottingham had the largest extra-mural tutorial class programme in England outside London; by 1936, when the university college had fewer than 600 full-time students, there were not only more than 4,000 extra-mural students spread over the region, but a further 2,000 part-time students in technical evening classes in Shakespeare Street (Wood 1953, p. 71, pp. 113-114). Across England's East Midlands, 'in country villages no less than in the industrial centres, little groups gathered through the winter evenings to study and to read, to listen and to discuss, under the guidance of lecturers of university calibre ...' It was, according to a contemporary history, 'a triumph of constructive effort, achieved by a combination of fine organizing ability and "salesmanship" at the head of the adult education department' (Wood, 1953, p. 114). Peers was, in other words, both a visionary educational organizer and a supreme organizational educator and innovator. Towards the end of his career, as Acting Principal, he pushed through Nottingham's promotion from a University College to a full University.

As a scholar, Peers is now best known for his *Adult Education: A Comparative Study* (1958) – a book he in fact wrote after retirement. But throughout his career, by the standards of the inter-war academia, Peers was a productive scholar. He published regularly on adult education, and if some of his work now seems descriptive and institutional, some unquestionably broke new ground. His pioneering collection *Adult Education in Practice* (Peers, 1934a), for instance,

contained a fascinating chapter on 'The Adult Student'. 'There is no such person as the adult student,' he began. 'Like the average Englishman or the economic man, he exists only as an abstraction' (Peers, 1934b, p. 59). As Parker argues, his view of student learning was 'radical for his time'. He used evidence from psychological studies (such as Thorndike 1928) to argue that 'adults over 25 years of age were still capable of learning', and he set out a model of participative learning that 'resonates closely' with approaches advocated more recently (Parker, 2001, p. 122).

He then proceeded both to empirical analysis of the social and occupational background of adult students in tutorial classes, and to some subtle reflection on the effects of restricted initial educational experience, and on the character of the class which brought together men and women of different backgrounds. He clearly reflected on his own teaching, and gained from collective reflection with his colleagues. 'Perhaps the chief characteristic of working-class students,' he wrote, 'is their diffidence and their consciousness of inadequate knowledge. ... Both diffidence and prejudice are the results of the same set of circumstances' Women students, he found, were 'usually more diffident than men in discussion, more conservative in outlook, and less likely to come with preconceived notions' (pp. 70-71).

Historians of Nottingham University generally point to its origins in the mid-Victorian university extension movement (Beckett, 1928; Wood, 1953; Tolley, 2001). No doubt this played some role in ensuring the centrality of adult education to the inter-war university college. Peers pioneered methods such as resident tutors in the remoter parts of the region, residential summer schools, close links with local education authorities, and the transition of able tutorial class students to internal university studies. Immediately after the Second World War, working with LEAs, he initiated a university adult education centre in Nottingham. Some indication of the scale of this work can be seen in the university staff lists of the mid-1950s: in 1956-57, for instance, adult education was the largest department in the university, with eighteen academic staff (University of Nottingham, 1956) – though many, of course, were seldom present 'intra muros'.

The Contribution of Harold Wiltshire

Possessed of an 'imperious nature and strong personal ambitions', Peers was, apparently, 'not the easiest of men to work with', but by the time he retired, Nottingham's was 'the premier department of its kind in the British university system'. He had 'created a model for other university institutions to follow' (Tolley, 2001,

p. 212). His successor as Director of the Adult Education department, Harold Wiltshire, was a very different character: 'extremely modest' and 'always ready to listen to others' (Tolley, 2001, p. 213). If Peers was a radical organisational innovator, seizing the opportunities presented by the extraordinary movements of his time, Wiltshire was able to take advantage of Nottingham's national pre-eminence. As one of his staff, Alan Rogers, remarked, Wiltshire's approach was 'sowing seeds and encouraging their growth': 'He was always open to new ideas, provoking others to new efforts.' He was 'a listener', 'on the whole tolerant', and '(mostly) democratic' (Rogers, 1976, p. 2). The tribute to his work – published by the department shortly after his retirement – focussed on four areas in which he had – through leadership and scholarship – made a contribution of major value. First was in the development of adult education centres: under his aegis, these were extended beyond Nottingham to Boston, Loughborough, Matlock, Derby, Lincoln, Stamford and Alfreton. A 'good Centre' he maintained, 'can greatly increase the amount and range of our [adult education] work, both in a town of 25,000 and in one of 350,000 people. (These are the extremes of population within which our Centres work in Nottingham.)' (Wiltshire, 1976 [1959], p. 20). Second, there was the media: he argued early that television should be turned into 'educational television': for 'active students, not passive viewers' (Wiltshire, 1976 [1963], p. 48). The third was his advocacy of ever-closer collaboration between the various bodies providing adult education: in particular, between the Workers' Educational Association and other 'voluntary bodies', the local education authorities, and the universities. The 'partnership' with the WEA had of course been central to the early development of university adult education; but – perhaps in contrast to Peers – for Wiltshire the adult education came first. He 'saw adult education as a movement; ... the links with the University were incidental, useful as far as they went but on occasion a snare. "Don't let the name of the University appear", he once said; "it puts them [the students] off".' (Rogers, 1976, p. 2). Fourth, he was energetic in promoting adult education in Africa (particularly Kenya).

Wiltshire was, according to Rogers (1976, p. 2), 'above all a practical man; his interests were not in academe but in the teaching workshop'. Yet – though he wrote no books – he was also a scholar, who made important theoretical contributions to adult education. Perhaps the most notable were his contributions in the mid-1950s on what he called 'The Great Tradition in University Adult Education'. He identified, and defended, a form of adult education committed to a curriculum of 'humane or liberal studies', and within this, to those social studies 'which illuminate man as a social rather than a solitary being; ... its typical student is the reflective citizen'. This tradition demanded 'a particular attitude

– the non-vocational attitude’ to study, ‘and therefore ‘deplored’ ‘examinations and awards’. It combined ‘democratic notions about the equality of educational opportunity with what may seem to us unwarrantably optimistic assumptions about the educability of normal adults’, and therefore rejected student selection. And it adopted ‘the Socratic method’ as its characteristic technique, generally in ‘small groups meeting for guided discussion over a fairly long period’ (Wiltshire, 1976 [1956], pp. 31-32). This was, of course, a strongly normative argument; he saw it as threatened, even in the late 1950s; yet he was convinced that, without it, though adult education might ‘go on in name’ it would ‘be dead in spirit’ (Wiltshire, 1976 [1956], p. 38).

Under Wiltshire’s leadership, Nottingham was innovative in many ways: the development of day-release courses for industrial workers, experiments in teaching with television, community research on urban deprivation conducted by adult class students, training of adult education staff, particularly those working in LEA adult education (Thornton & Stephens, 1976). Wiltshire’s retirement came at a period of rapid intellectual and policy change, in the field and more generally. The Faure Report (UNESCO 1973) placed lifelong education squarely in the international policy agenda. The Russell Report (Department of Education and Science 1973) – to which Wiltshire submitted a ‘quite outstanding’ (Hutchinson 1976) paper (Wiltshire 1976[1970]) – set a new policy environment for adult education. More generally, the British Empire was ending: from the late 1950s to the early 1970s, colonies rushed to independence. The ‘oil crisis’ of 1972 shook Western economic security. The first shoots of what we now know as ‘globalisation’ were appearing. The British economy teetered on the brink of deindustrialisation – before leaping boldly into its 1980s nemesis.

Adult Education in the Age of Lifelong Education

Wiltshire had headed the Adult Education department for 28 years; before him, Peers had led it for 26. In comparison, their successors’ tenure was brief. Peers died in 1973, and in early 1974, the University attached his name to adult education professorship. Michael Stephens’ appointment – at the age of 36 – was therefore to the ‘Robert Peers Chair in Adult Education’. The task he and his two successors faced was to lead adult education through times of growing challenge and crisis. Ironically, of course, this was at just the time when the importance of education throughout the lifespan was growing.

Stephens was an insightful policy thinker, committed to the development of teaching, research and scholarship in the field. Early in his tenure, he recog-

nised the likelihood 'that considerations of the economy ... will continue as paramount in education during the next few years' (Stephens, 1976, p. 187), and he saw a need for strengthening the vocational dimension of universities' education for adults – 'continuing education' – particularly for graduates. He continued to support non-vocational adult education. He played a central role in forming and developing SCUTREA (the 'Standing Conference on University Teaching and Research in the Education of Adults'), and in the establishment of the International Journal of Lifelong Education. Yet – perforce – much of his tenure involved dealing with the problems of financial stringency, environmental crisis, and policy revolution. From the early 1980s, the real world envisaged by the Russell Report had become a utopian fantasy. For governments, non-vocational education was at a discount – and despite Stephens' encouragement of continuing education, the bulk of the department's work (and the expertise and commitment of many of his staff) was in liberal studies. Day-release courses in industry came to an end as the factories and mines which employed their students closed.

In 1976 – two years before he retired – Alan Thornton was promoted to a personal chair. He became the fourth professor of Adult Education to be appointed at Nottingham. Subsequently, three others have held the Robert Peers Chair: seven professors of adult education in all. Nottingham's influence has been national and international: those who have worked or studied in Nottingham's adult education department include both major adult education scholars and leaders such as Stephen Brookfield, Paul Fordham, Ken Lawson, and Alan Rogers. It can lay claim not only to having nurtured leading scholars in other fields (archaeology, social history, industrial relations, environmental studies), but to having played an important part in developing some of these disciplines: altogether, a not insignificant contribution to humanity and learning. At the heart of this contribution lay the belief – shared by most if not all its staff – that education of adults was not just a matter of individual self-improvement, and still less about the quest for higher and more marketable qualifications, but inseparable from the education of citizens and education for democracy. That lay behind Thornton's allusions to 'radical Nottingham', with which we began: adult education at Nottingham University was inseparable from progress, democracy, political emancipation and social justice.

Conclusion

Though this article has been about the University of Nottingham's contribution to adult education – and has been told through the contributions and lives of

individuals – broadly similar stories could be written of several other universities – particularly the ‘civic’ universities established in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, such as Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, and Sheffield. Older universities – Oxford, Cambridge and London, for example – also provided extra-mural courses on a large scale, but by and large they did not generate scholarship or research about the education of adults as such. The distinctive feature – what Wiltshire called the ‘Great Tradition’ – was a theme in all their work, and had a strong – though arguably not a long-lasting – influence internationally. After the Second World War, extra-mural departments were established at many universities in the British Empire, especially in Africa and South East Asia: some survive and prosper (see, e.g., Chiu & Cunich, 2008). In Britain itself, however, the liberal and democratic orientation of university extra-mural education proved unpalatable to the neo-liberal thinking which dominated educational policy from the 1980s (Jones, Thomas & Moseley, 2010). Few university extra-mural departments survive in any form: those that do have a largely vocational emphasis. In the 1950s, Wiltshire feared just this: it would mean, he wrote, that ‘adult education will go on in name but be dead in spirit’ (1976, p. 38). He was wrong in one, unimportant, respect: those British universities which do still offer education to adults generally call it ‘lifelong learning’.

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Univerzitet u Notingemu i obrazovanje odraslih

Apstrakt: Ovaj članak razmatra obrazovanje odraslih na univerzitetima u Britaniji tokom dvadesetog veka, koristeći Notingemski univerzitet kao studiju slučaja. Još otprilike od vremena Drugog svetskog rata pa do devedesetih godina, odeljenja za obrazovanje odraslih ili za vannastavne aktivnosti obezbeđivala su viši stepen obrazovanja za *part-time* studente iz gradova i sela širom zemlje, često u saradnji sa volonterskim organizacijama kao što je Udruženje za obrazovanje radnika (Workers' Education Association) ili sa lokalnim organima za obrazovanje. U Notingemu je prvo takvo odeljenje osnovano 1920. Odeljenja su bila usmerena na podučavanje odraslih na geografskom području koje su pokrivali, ali nekoliko njih, uključujući i Notingem, postali su i istraživački i akademski centri za područje obrazovanja odraslih, sa širim uticajem na celo Ujedinjeno Kraljevstvo i na međunarodnom nivou. Bogata uloga britanskih univerziteta u obrazovanju odraslih i društva u celini prikazana je kroz doprinose samog notingemskog odeljenja, njegovog osoblja (uključujući Roberta Pirsu, koji je prvi na svetu imao zvanje profesora za obrazovanje odraslih) i njegovih studenata.

Ključne reči: univerzitetско obrazovanje odraslih, prošireni univerzitet, celoživotno obrazovanje.

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Becoming an Adult Educator in Greece: Past Experiences, Existing Procedures and Future Challenges

Abstract: The professionalization of adult educators is a topic that has been under discussion for many years in the field of adult education in Europe. In this paper we present the development of this discussion in Greece, where the field of adult education has displayed notable and variable growth within the last three decades. The paper outlines the initiatives that have been undertaken in various periods of Greece's adult education history to develop a professional body of adult educators. It presents and discusses the current system of certification of adult educators and criticizes the existing procedures in the light of the contemporary political and social conditions in Greece. The opinion of the authors is that in the existing socio-political framework there has to be a shift from a skills-oriented certified adult educator to a more critically reflective professional, capable of facilitating learning that fosters critical thinking and consequently leads to personal and social transformation.

Key words: adult educators, professionalization, certification, training of trainers, critical reflection.

Introduction

The field of adult education in Greece has presented a remarkable development within the last 30 years. In several papers published in the past, the development of the field has been presented and related to the existing conditions of certain

periods of the contemporary Greek history. Thus, the purpose of this paper is not to present once again the evolution of the adult education field in our country but to give a brief picture of a parallel story within that evolution: the story of becoming an adult educator. In the sections of this paper we will present the basic ideas and the efforts that were made in several periods and had as an aim to create a body of educators capable of facilitating adult learning. Moreover, we will comment on the existing system of becoming a certified adult educator and we will state our concerns about the present procedures. Finally, we will discuss the challenges of the profession of the adult educator in Greece in the light of the current political and social conditions. Our opinion is that now, more than ever before, there is a need to move from a skills-oriented certified adult educator to a more critically reflective professional, capable of facilitating learning that is able to foster critical thinking and consequently personal and social transformation.

Building on Experience

The roots of the adult education field in Greece may be traced at the beginning of the 20th century in the efforts of several organizations (private and public) to fight the illiteracy phenomenon (Boucouvalas, 1988). These efforts were scarce and not organized on the basis of a specific strategic plan. As a result there are no official records regarding the efficiency and the effectiveness of these endeavors. Moreover, there is no evidence regarding qualifications, competencies and the training of adult educators. This more or less trivial organization of the adult education field in Greece continues until the end of the 1950's. (Kokkos & Karalis, 2011). The justification for this slow development of adult education in our country during the first half of the 20th century is not an issue of this paper and we will not analyze it further. However, some explanation may be found if we consider the liquid and turbulent economic environment that existed after the catastrophic consequences of the two world wars and the tragic civil war that brutally destroyed the social cohesion of the Greek society. During this period, adult education is considered as a kind of complementary provision of primary education and, as a result, no special attention is given to the persons who undertake the difficult task of facilitating adult learning (Karalis, 2010).

During the 1960's and the 1970's, (that were) decades of economic growth, a number of activities connected with the training of adult educators were developed by a small number of institutions. According to Kokkos & Karalis (2011) in these efforts it is possible to find references to the role of adult educators. However, these references do not concern any systematic plan or any declared need

for the education of adult educators. In this period, educators and trainers in the field of general adult education and continuing vocational training are, in most cases, experienced teachers coming from the formal educational system (mainly primary schools but also secondary schools, high schools and universities). These educators were not trained methodically in adult learning theories and practices and, therefore, they transferred the teaching methodologies that were familiar to them from their main teaching activity in the formal system to the field of adult education (Karalis & Vergidis, 2004; Karalis & Pavlis-Korres, 2010).

The decade of 1980, however, was a period of significant developments in the field. Greece enters the European Community and funding becomes available for adult education activities. Moreover, at the beginning of this decade, Greece for the first time in its history has a social-democratic government that carries significant influences from the social and economic system of Northern Europe where there was a distinctive tradition of adult education activities. These traditions and especially the Swedish model with its emphasis on the relationship between learning, power and democracy was the foundation for the birth of a/the popular education movement in Greece. The result was a flourishing period of adult learning activities that was powered by the establishment of a General Secretariat of Popular Education that was committed to promoting adult learning on a national scale (from 1982 to 1987). During this period we have the first short term training of trainers programs within the framework of the popular education movement. These programs were based on the Freirean pedagogy and the aim was to transform experienced educators to cultural activists who would be capable of facilitating training sessions that could lead to the empowerment of the participants. In 1987, Paulo Freire visited Greece and contributed to the further development of these programs. In parallel, several other organizations of the broader public and private sector with a more instrumental approach to learning aiming to employability (e.g. the Hellenic Centre for Productivity) organized and implemented training programs in order to create a body of qualified adult trainers. These programmes shared a common element: the fact that they tried to “construct” a body of adult educators based heavily either on the existing teaching experience of educators who were coming mainly from the formal educational system or on the broader experience of professionals who were interested in coordinating groups of adult learners.

Shifting from Experience to Expertise: the Certification Saga

A very important development that had a direct effect on the training of adult educators was the foundation and operation of the Hellenic Open University offering the first graduate programs in adult learning and teaching. This happened in the late 1990's when at the same time several European organizations stressed the need for a systematic education of adult educators which was considered as a quality parameter especially for EU funded training activities. Moreover, executives of institutions, researchers, and other national bodies stressed the need for the advancement of the skills of adult educators and their consequential certification. To correspond to this demand but also to a broader demand for accreditation led to the foundation of the National Accreditation Centre for Continuing Vocational Training (EKEPIS) in 1997.

Within this environment the Ministry of Labour launched a call for proposals in 2002 for the "Development of a methodology and training material for the education of educators". After a careful study for the identification of training needs, it was decided to develop a training programme that combined distance learning and conventional training method (Vergidis, 2002a; Vergidis, 2002b). The program which is known as the "National Program for the Training of Trainers" (hereafter NPTT) consisted of 225 training hours of distance learning and 75 training in small group meetings. An initial team comprised mainly of HOU faculty trained 250 adult educators who later trained – using the same method - the significant number of 10.000 adult trainers. The aim of the NPTT was to upgrade the profile, knowledge and skills of the continuing vocational education and training educators introducing for the first time the principles of Adult Education and practices that can increase the efficiency of their teaching. All the participants were assessed through the evaluation of a microteaching exercise. The evaluation was completed by the educator of every group based on an evaluation grid and afterwards the videotaped microteachings were given to another colleague for a "blind evaluation" in order to ensure the transparency of the process. In the final meeting, trainees in working groups analyzed all microteaching sessions, and in collaboration with the educators, identified the points in which they could improve. The objective was to decrease the justified stress of the trainees in view of their accreditation process and to use all the meetings for the improvement of their practices. The first phase of the program, the training of the first 250 adult educators, was completed by the end of June 2003.

However, a change in the administration of the Ministry of Labour due to national elections resulted in the delay of the process and thus the second phase of the program, the actual implementation at a national level, started in

June 2006. The substantial delay of the responsible State agencies, between the completion of the first phase (2003) and the generalized implementation of the program (2006-2007), was an unfavourable development for the smooth implementation of this innovative action. Finally, close to 8.000 adult educators participated in the NPTT and were awarded an official state recognized certification (Kokkos, 2005). That innovative project led to the accreditation of adult educators for the first time in Greece. The project was evaluated without any governmental contribution by the team that originally developed it under the auspice of the newly formed (the) Hellenic Adult Education Association (Kokkos, 2008). The evaluation was very positive for all the aspects of the program (educational material, methodology, microteaching sessions and exercises, accreditation process, etc.). Moreover, as it was clearly shown in the evaluation report, there was a significant improvement of the knowledge, skills and attitudes of the participated trainers who, after the training sessions and their certification, seemed to have a better understanding of the adult learning theories and the corresponding teaching techniques. The participation of the educators in the training sessions was considered as a critical component of the NPTT. This program was an important event in the historical development of adult Education in Greece, as it was the first time that an intervention for the education of adult educators at a national level was taking place. Nevertheless, after the completion of that project there was no continuation simply because the political leadership of the relevant ministries failed to understand the importance of a continuous system for the accreditation of adult educators. The governmental officials did not valorise the important experience of that national program and did not use it as the basic form for the education and accreditation of adult educators in various other settings (CVET, General Adult Education, the training of public employees, etc.). This incomprehensible practice left an open space for an endless duplication of that project in various versions.

Very soon the Ministry of Education through its General Secretariat of Adult Education (now General Secretariat of Youth and Lifelong Learning) developed its own 100-long training program (75 hours of distance learning and 25 hours of meetings without the microteaching element) addressed to adult educators that were mainly employed in programs of general adult education (not CVET) (Koulaouzides & Palios, 2011). In this program approximately 5000 adult educators were trained and received a certificate but not a recognised state certification. Furthermore, the National Centre for Public Administration and Local Government also developed its own internal 100-long training program (75 hours of distance learning and 25 hours of meetings with the microteaching element) and through this process close to 1500 trainers were also trained but not

certified. Despite the fact that the previously mentioned programs were shorter in duration the methodology of the NPPT had a significant influence on their design and implementation. In addition, two years ago the training of trainers for the newly established Municipal Centres for Lifelong Learning was designed. In this case the effect of the NTPP is also evident. The training is once again commissioned to the Hellenic Open University while again the main contributors of the original project were present either as trainers or as coordinators. During 2014, and by applying again the cascade model of the NTPP, 4.200 instructors of general adult education were trained in adult learning theory and teaching methods. Other organizations (e.g. the Hellenic Confederation of Professionals, Craftsmen & Merchants, the Greek General Confederation of Labour, etc.) also created their own cohorts of certified adult educators and trained them in many different ways using the same, more or less, methodology and educational material. All the aforementioned programs were based on the same methodology; the main axes of the educational material were the same, while the scientific coordinators were in both cases from the same pool: the teaching staff of the adult education graduate program of the Hellenic Open University.

Nevertheless, there was not in existence any open procedure for someone who wished to acquire the necessary certification in order to enter the field as a professional adult educator. As a result many young professionals, especially in the field of CVET, who wished to enter the profession, were simply left with no option. This ambivalent condition lasted several years and the future of the certification process was quite ambiguous. To make things worse from 2009 onwards, Greece entered one of the most shocking periods of its modern history experiencing - more than any other European country - the consequences of a financial crisis that had severe effects not only on its economy but also on every single social dimension. The field of adult education was not excluded from the consequences of the crisis. In the area of the training and certification of adult educators, the most important development was that in an effort to reduce costs in the public sector the government merged many organizations and, among them, the National Accreditation Centre mentioned above. The new organization was named National Organisation for the Certification of Qualifications & Vocational Guidance (EOPPEP - see www.eoppep.gr) and had, as of 2011, the responsibility to certify the teaching proficiency of adult educators.

In 2011, EOPPEP - in order to continue the training and the certification of the adult educators that was initiated in 2002 - assigned the update of the professional profile of the adult educator to a group of expert organizations which was led again by the Hellenic Open University. The research group which included the main contributors of the aforementioned national training of trainers

program proposed to reform and update the training program and to maintain the same training and certification procedures. The rationale behind this proposal was that an individual oriented examination process that simply verifies knowledge and skills was not sufficient but it was necessary to provide all interesting educators with an organized training program that would be validated by the state. The research group reached this recommendation considering the evaluation of the previous implemented program where the participants clearly declared that their participation in the group meetings and the exchange of ideas was a valuable experience that offered them the opportunity for self-reflection (Kokkos, 2008).

After a long period of consultations and discussions in 2012, the Minister of Education, Religion, Culture and Sports, issued a decision (20082/2012) establishing a new system for the accreditation of adult educators in informal education. However, the procedure that was adopted and is in progress today does not include the recommended state-validated training dimension. The training of anyone who wishes to become a certified adult educator is now an open-market non-regulated procedure where the responsibility to choose the appropriate program belongs to the individual educator. It is obvious that in the existing process there are two new elements: (a) there is a focal shift from the education and training of the adult educators to their certification and (b) there is a clear withdrawal of the state from its obligation to fund a crucial component of the quality system in adult education, that of the training of trainers.

Epilogue: from Certification to Critical Reflection

From the above sections it is rather clear that besides its possible imperfections we do have (in Greece) a rather systematic procedure for becoming a certified adult educator or better a procedure that certifies the necessary teaching skills in order to facilitate learning in groups of adults. But, is this the end of the journey? Is this certification or any other form of official recognition the Ithaca for an adult educator? To answer this question, at least for the case of Greece, we have to examine some issues through our current experience.

For the past five years in Greece, more than other EU countries, we have experienced rapid changes mainly due to the financial crisis which has emerged within the dominating context of advanced capitalism. Within a short period of time many social structures that existed for over thirty years transformed rapidly. Working patterns have changed. Employees are gradually required to work in vaguely defined environments, to manage complex and unpredictable changes and to adjust to the transformations of the production process. On the other

hand, unemployment in Greece, went from 7.7% in 2008 to 27.3% in 2013 and in the young ages (<25 years old) the unemployment rate has climbed to the frightening 56.3%. (Poulopoulos, 2014). These developments lead many young adults to immigration creating a new brain-drain problem for the Greek society. Additionally, we have austerity measures that led to a dramatic reduction in family income. From 2009 to 2014, salaries were reduced by 21.7 % while there was an increase in direct in indirect taxation (Poulopoulos, 2014). These conditions created a new social group which is recognized as the “new-poor”. This new social group along with other groups that face exclusion like migrants, refugees need to adapt to new social conditions. The intensity of social exclusion raises the necessity for complex action plans, aiming at the participation of all citizens in socio-political developments. Moreover, the crisis led to the destruction of traditional social structures, such as family, communities and associations. From the above it is more than evident that, as the Greek society changes rapidly, learners of all ages need to be assisted in order to find the way to confront with all the modifications in their personal and social life. We feel that need intensively in Greece where every day for the past five years we see people that are not able to cope with the new financial, political and social data. In many cases, people are not in a position to challenge their assumptions and fail to respond to the new social environment. Consequently, the formation of new understandings and practices seems unavoidable if we wish to be able to deal with uncertainty and to leave behind what seems to be dysfunctional, while at the same time be able to replace it with something acceptable and practical. There is an imperative necessity to think our future from a new perspective and to redefine the terms of our meaning making processes. It becomes obvious that the challenge of living not only in our country, but, in general, in the modern world requires something more than the usual informational and instrumental learning which is validated through certifications and accreditations (Zarifis, 2015). We need to move rapidly to transformative learning processes: learning processes that include the element of radical critical reflection.

Thus, it is obvious that the development journey for the adult educator does not end with any certification or professionalization process. To our understanding, the acquisition of a certification is just the beginning of a new and more profound journey. To facilitate transformative learning processes, adult educators need something more than the conventional certified teaching skills. They need to develop their critical self-reflection skills in order to challenge, first and foremost, the components of their own frame of reference that concerns their professional role. They should understand that their task is not simply to provide their learners with knowledge and skills that are needed within their profes-

sional settings, but to reinforce their movement towards a stage of being which is characterized by a self-directed, emancipatory way of making meaning. They should also be able to develop, first for themselves and then for their learners, some important core skills, like critical thinking, creative adaptability, emotional intelligence, empathy, creation of solidarity relationships and learn how to learn. All of the aforementioned are necessary in order to allow human beings to deal with the complex and hard challenges of the modern world. Many adult educators feel this need already and they have formed unofficial groups that through informal training processes strive to understand their own disjunctures or disorienting dilemmas more. Such groups have been working for the last five years in Greece under the auspice of the Hellenic Adult Education Association. In these groups, adult educators from different practice areas apply innovative approaches that may foster the previously mentioned core skills, like the use of the aesthetic experience or the incorporation of the objectives of critical thinking and empathy within the learning outcomes of any adult education programme.

These efforts seem to be very successful and given the fact that the Greek state today does not seem capable of inaugurating any creative initiatives for the development adult educators beyond certification, we believe that the perspective of this formation is going to be found in the initiatives coming from the civil society. It seems that the formation of critically thinking communities of practice is the next step in becoming a critically reflective adult educator in Greece.

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Kako se postaje edukator odraslih u Grčkoj: prethodna iskustva, sadašnje procedure i budući izazovi

Apstrakt: Stručno usavršavanje edukatora odraslih je tema o kojoj se diskutuje niz godina u okviru obrazovanja odraslih u Evropi. U ovom radu predstavljen je razvoj ove diskusije u Grčkoj, gde je sektor obrazovanja odraslih pokazao značajan i promenljiv rast tokom poslednje tri decenije. Rad predstavlja inicijative koje su pokrenute u različitim periodima istorije obrazovanja odraslih u Grčkoj u cilju razvoja profesionalne grupe edukatora odraslih. Predstavlja se i razmatra sadašnji sistem sertifikacije edukatora odraslih i kritikuje postojeće procedure u svetlu savremenih društveno-političkih uslova u Grčkoj. Mišljenje autora je da u postojećem društveno-političkom okviru mora da se napravi pomak od edukatora odraslih sertifikovanih prema veštinama u pravcu izgradnje profesionalaca sa razvijenijim kritičkim sagledavanjem, sposobnima da pomognu u procesu učenja koje razvija kritičko mišljenje i posledično vodi ka ličnoj i društvenoj transformaciji.

Ključne reči: nastavnici u obrazovanju odraslih, profesionalizacija, sertifikacija, trening trenera, kritička refleksija.

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Adult Education in Korea: Key Issues and Current Challenges

Abstract: This article analyzes the distinctive patterns of adult education in the Republic of Korea, from the social and structural point of view. It reveals that Korea's adult education has shifted from the phase of the "social-education paradigm" to the phase of the "lifelong learning paradigm", which corresponds with transitions in the economic and social structures in the lives of adults. Ironically, the transition was accelerated by the inclusion of the Korean economy into the global capitalist system, and the shock of the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997 played a key role in boosting the role of lifelong learning in the society as a whole. The new streams reformulated the whole of Korean adult education, with highly developed legal support systems under the leadership of a government-led agency called the National Institute of Lifelong Education. Based upon legislative initiatives, adult education opportunities have significantly improved under several iconic programs such as Lifelong Learning City or the Academic Credit Bank System, etc. In spite of the distinctive achievements, however, Korea still has to address some key challenges such as huge intergenerational gaps in educational attainments, inequalities in lifelong learning participation, and limited public funding systems.

Key words: social education, lifelong learning culture, learning cities, learning society, adult education participation.

Introduction

The republic of Korea has achieved remarkable economic development, democratization, and social development over the past 60 years. Especially The experience of educational development and transition into a learning society has captured the world's attention (Han, 2010, p.17). A UNESCO's report described characteristics of the Korean learning society as follows:

The Republic of Korea has already crossed the threshold between developing and developed countries, achieving a per capita income of over USD 20,000 in 2007, and already attaining membership of the OECD. The experience of the Republic of Korea in its development of adult education and lifelong learning may be regarded as the precursor of where other developing countries of the region may expect to be in the future (Ahmed, 2009, p. 27).

Korea's educational culture, especially as of the traditional era before the 19th century has adults as the subject of learning and education. The Josun Dynasty, which lasted for approximately five hundred years starting at the end of the 14th century, was a Confucian state centered on scholar officials where learning was a lifelong task. Noble class was the scholars who held political power and exercised decisive influence over kings and the people on the basis of their scholarly achievements. Learning for children were called "small (childish) learning" while learning for adults were "great learning". Education of adults was embedded in daily life as an integral part of the traditional teaching of Confucian doctrines through everyday lives, ceremonial routines at court, and cultural formalities. In such a lifestyle, there was no distinction between children and adults in learning and education, nor was there any age-dependent demarcation line in education.

The traditional learning culture, however, was interrupted by the invasion of imperial colonialism in early twentieth century. The modernization was a sudden and unpleasant transition. Newly implanted modern education system built upon exploitative colonial structure distorted the meaning and social practice of education. As the modern schooling system has been established under Japanese occupation, education become an exclusive system for children and youth. There were no rooms for adults. Education in this context was used for a colonial socialization adults were merely forced laborers for exploitation. Some popular adult education practices were conducted as a part of independent movement.

Adult Education: From Social Education to Lifelong Learning Framework

Social Education Framework

In Korea, education of adults has long been practiced under the setting of "social education" framework, which referred to education that takes place outside regular schooling. It was perceived as a compensational way to catch up on previously lost chances of obtaining a basic school education. Under the transplanted Westernized education system, school took prestigious stage in education structure while social education meant to be non-formal part, or as of a second tier shadow

of educational structure. Adult education was one of the second tier compensatory education practices, as usually found in many Asian countries, rather than that of an age-dependent distinction. In other words, adult education was not an independent sector of social practice, but represented a part of social charity or supplementary learning for people who were marginalized from the regular school system.

This modern formation of adult education under the framework of “social education” proceeded in parallel with the construction of modern society. First, in the period of the 1960s and 1970s, Korea pursued a state-driven, highly compressed economic development, and a large number of people immigrated to urban cities to get jobs at factory, among many did not finished compulsory level of schooling. Korea’s industrialization at that time heavily relied on light industry like textiles that did not required high level of training and education. Works are more or less simple labour with some skills earned at the workplaces and were possible without any systematic occupational training. The most concerns were extensive working hours and high labour intensity. Securing working hours were main source of capital accumulation, and overtime work and nightshift were common to earn extra income. No private life or life enhancement were possible. The home was merely a place to reproduce the physical condition or a little break between the intensive working hours. The city of Ulsan, where Hyundai Motor Company and Hyundai Heavy Industries are located, shows a case of how the “life” was dominated by “work”. For example, the city’s traffic rush hours exactly matched the shift plans of these giant factories, and their wives had to leave home with carrying the crying babies on the backs, in order not to disturb their sleeping husbands after the night shift. Worker’s life was thoroughly controlled and managed by their work and it was hard to find additional time for enhancing private lives and personal development. It was a fundamental condition of adult education per se. In industrial parks, some factories operated affiliated special high schools to provide workers’ missing middle school or high school education opportunities.

Though no official statistics are available in adult literacy rate at that time, it is for sure that it was not so high since, in 1970, 73.4% of Korean adults did not complete primary education. The average educational attainment level of adults in the 1970s and 1990s, however, has increased from 5.7 to 9.5 years, and adult education moves another dimension. More demands on higher level education programs and continuing studies took the core part of the area.

Adult Education Reframed with the Notion of Lifelong Learning

The reinterpretation of adult education within lifelong learning framework, away from that of social education, was stimulated paradoxically under the influence of the Asia Financial Crisis in 1997 (Han, 2008). The year was a critical moment that not only gave Korean society drastic shock but also restructured irreversibly. The IMF relief loan and accompanied structural adjustment programs changed the way in which the Korean society and labour market were interlinked with those of global society. Korea became a part of global capitalism, where the employment instability became a common phenomenon. On the one hand, the job market was dichotomized into the global vs. local labor market. Semi- or high skill global job markets were the places more experienced and learned labours were competing for. Foreign human resource development (HRD) companies stimulated high-end competence development programs to sell in the domestic training market, and more attention began to be put to the education of the adults. On the other hand, reemployment of the laid off since the 1997 shock and mass corporate bankruptcies became the national task. The government began to establish and implement various policies and measures to return the multitude of unemployed to the job market. For instance, the government proliferated the Unemployment Insurance System and began to apply it to all workplaces in October 1998. Entire or partial tuition fees for occupational empowerment programs were refunded from a part of the unemployment insurance fund. The refund has worked as a proactive measure to cope with the post-IMF unemployment issue and revitalized the market for adult education.

Adult education, its *raison d'être* and social roles were paid much attention almost for the first time. The financial crisis and subsequent employment instability brought about the issue of how to relocate the adults as the core of lifelong learning. Korean adults began to be called “lifelong learners” Apart from simple laborers, people were directed to invent their “Entrepreneurial Self” (Rose, 1998) to maintain a competitive edge in the job market.

In the late 1990s and from 2000 onwards, the ideological foundations of adult education were lifelong Learning and Lifelong Job Training. With the enactment of the Lifelong Education Act in 1999, formal and informal learning opportunities for adults increased drastically. Based on the law, many lifelong education providers have emerged such as commercial culture learning centers, university continuing studies, media organizations, civic groups, and corporate training facilities, etc. At the same period, the participation rate to higher education has dramatically increased. If borrowing Trow's term, Korean higher education has entered into the “universal” stage. As the numbers of young university

students has grown, adult non-traditional student population accompanied the trend. Now, adult education in Korea faced new stage called “lifelong learning.”

Lifelong Education Policy and System: Revitalization of Adult Education

Lifelong Education Act and the National Institute for Lifelong Education

Evolution of Korea’s adult education from the stage of adult basic education towards more diverse in learning society has been based on several key institutional systems related to lifelong education practice and legislation, which are, “Korea has a highly developed modern legal system that supports the continued implementation of lifelong education policies, as well as government agencies that handle the policy implementation exclusively” (Han, 2010, p.54). The Korean Constitution amended in 1980 stipulated the government’s obligation to promote lifelong education, putting emphasis on guaranteeing Korean citizens’ right to education during their lifetime. The Social Education Act to enforce the constitutional guarantee was enacted in 1982; as a result, the education-related law was dichotomized into the Education Act that covers schools and colleges, and the Social Education Act that covers adult and non-formal sector. By succeeding and replacing the Social Education Act, Lifelong Education Act(LEA) was promulgated in 1999. This name-change reflected the government’s intention to promote a lifelong learning society, going far beyond merely complementing the missing parts of school education. LEA has stipulated the liabilities of the state and local governments to promote lifelong education, master plans for the development of lifelong education, and enforcement bodies and lifelong educator.

The major amendment of LEA in 2008 launched National Institute for Lifelong Learning(NILE), a government-backed agency which has played a pivotal role in planning and administrating the systematic structure of Korea’s lifelong education. At provincial level also, the local governments began to run regional institutes for lifelong learning and city/country/district lifelong learning centers based on LEA. NILE has played a leading think tank in national planning, constructing new sort of programs, directing funding mechanisms, or training and certifying “lifelong educators”. It also works as a supervising agency for The Academic Credit Bank System (ACBS).

The most unique feature of Korean lifelong education policy is that it is “centrally planned and locally implemented” in accordance with the master plan under the government’s initiatives (Han, 2010). The LEA mandates the central and local governments promote lifelong education and establish the Basic Plan

on Lifelong Education Promotion (BPLEP) every five years. In 2013, the third BPLEP covering 2013 to 2017 year has been established. Formation of diverse lifelong education policies and successive policy implementation are underway according to those comprehensive plan. NILE has played a key role in establishing and implementing BPLEP.

Policies for Promoting Lifelong Learning Culture

Lifelong Learning City Project

Lifelong Learning City, an innovative initiative of municipalities, town, and cities that leveraged learning communities to promote community self-governance and civil participation is known as one of the most successful lifelong education policies in Korea. It made a lifelong learning anchored at local communities. The learning city initiative was launched in 2001 and has grown up in the last two decades. Up to now (2013), 118 out of 227 municipalities have been designated as learning cities by the Ministry of Education, which constitutes 52 percent of all municipalities nationwide. While the number of Japanese learning cities in 2010 was just about 5 percent in total, those of Korea was more than 40 percent at the same year. “While the cities in Japan declared themselves as learning cities on a voluntary basis, the cities in the Republic of Korea were officially designated and financially subsidized by the Ministry of Education” (Han & Makino, 2013, p. 456). This implies that the government-driven efforts had a strong impact in expansion of the initiative.

The learning city program was centrally planned and locally implemented under the local governments’ initiatives. The government subsidy was extremely small, each designated cities had to run a learning cities project based on their own regulations and matching funds. As of their local governance, the cities endeavored to provide more learning opportunities to the residents and to cope with the local problems, and the actual impacts were directly acknowledged by the citizens.

This program also has a significant meaning in that it provides new conditions for implementing lifelong education in the holistic ecological context of cities. As a learning ecological unit, the learning cities formed their own pattern of learning system that encompasses of many diverse dimensions: educational program provision, promotion of learning participation, public budget support, networks of all available resources within a city and an accreditation system for learning outcomes.

Winning the title of “learning city” was not only an important achievement of the city, but also a useful tool for elaborating local self-governance by the participation of the citizens. In light of the short history of the restored local autonomy and elections, “the learning cities programs was very useful in educating residents of cities to construct local citizenship” (Han & Makino, 2013, p. 456). Most education programs provided by the municipalities were not for enhancing vocational skills, rather for enjoying liberal arts and community culture. Indeed it was designed to meet the need of community building, which contrasts with European competence-based learning city experiences.

Lifelong Learning Festivals

Since 2001, the Korean government annually have held the National Lifelong Learning Festival in order to promote learning culture in general. This nationwide event aroused the interest in lifelong learning and a great deal of citizens participated in this festival to share their works or performance as results of individual or collective learning. Also, during the festival, National Lifelong Learning Awards that recognize excellent lifelong learning practices contribute to create a warm atmosphere. While the government took initiatives in promoting lifelong learning at first stage, recently many municipalities began to host their own lifelong learning festivals for the residents, which leads to building a strong learning culture and pattern of civil participation at local community level.

Establishment of Academic Certification System

Academic Credit Bank System

With the increase of educational attainment of Korean adults, which approached approximately the level of junior college degree in the early 2000s, the needs of adult education began to move up to the level of higher education or the equivalent education programs. The Academic Credit Bank System (ACBS) is an institutional response for such a changing demand. ACBS is an open education system which recognizes diverse learning experiences acquired not only in school but also out of school. The accumulation of ACBS credits up to 80 or 140 credit hours, student can obtain an associate or bachelor's degree. Degree is conferred by The Ministry of Education in general or the president of the university or college in specific cases when the earned credits from the institution are over the half of the total credits. It is National Institute of Lifelong Education (NILE) that accredits and approves the credits and the institutions that provide the higher level

courses. There are various institutes which can give formal credits such as university continuing studies units, public vocational training institutes, and private vocational training institutes.

Sixteen years after its launching, ACBS have expanded rapidly. For example, the registered ACBS learners are about 1 million, more than forty hundreds of people have obtained bachelor or associate degrees up to now. Currently ACBS offers 208 kinds of standardized and approved course syllabuses, which are provided by 570 accredited educational institutes that are eligible to open the courses (NILE, 2013).

ACBS reflects rather rigid and closed college system in Korea. As part-time learning and credit transfer are relatively not easy, adult and non-traditional learners are hard to find their seats on campus, ACBS as an alternative terrain of credit program outside universities were invented. In this sense, it is a bridges or a ferry that connects the school-based credential society to a learning-oriented competence society (Kim, 2014). Of course, ACBS fails to keep rigorous quality controls, flexibility enough to meet the needs of employers, or public recognition from dominant elite universities and colleges. How to address the side effects of the rapid expansion in quantity remains an important task to challenge the way in which it keeps ACBS a qualified public educational system.

Lifelong Learning Account System

Lifelong learning account system (LLAS) is another RVA (Recognition, Validation and Accreditation) system of learning which was recommended with ACBS by the Presidential Commission of Education Reform in 1995 heading for open and lifelong society. It was designed as an overarching management system incorporating each individual's all kinds of learning outcomes in lifetime into one record. On the basis of legal statement in Article 23 in the Lifelong Education Act, LLAS, known as a learning history management system for individuals, documents the various learning experiences of an individual learner and accumulates the information in the individually-assigned online learning history management account to help the learner design his or her learning in a systematic manner. This also allows the learning outcomes to be coordinated with academic abilities or qualification/credentials, or to be used as employment data (Han, 2010). Presently, LLAS is at a very early stage, and still not clear how to construct the identity, methods to keep records, and how to utilize the outcomes.

Korea's Adult Education in different perspective

Imbalance under the Lifelong Learning Umbrella: The Gap between School Education and Adult Education

Learning Through Life, published by the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE) in the UK in 2009, was a meaningful report requiring a fundamental rethinking of the way in which the budgets are distributed according to the four age cohorts: 18+/ 19-24/ 25-49/ 50-74/ 75+ as the distribution paths of the annual lifelong education budget of £55 billion among the government, industries, and individuals. The report describes the necessities of and methods for a drastic reorganization of the current system of adult education to achieve the ultimate goal of a "learning society" (Schuller & Watson, 2009). In order to do that the report continuously finds the way in which adult education is interlinked with initial schoolings and well balanced between the two sectors.

Korea faces the same problem. Adult education is still a shadow of school education and constitutes the periphery of the regular educational system. From the viewpoint of lifelong learning support within the framework of lifespan development, the imbalance between school education for the young and adult education is a serious issue.

The imbalance reflects not only the budgets and resources, but more seriously the existing gap of educational attainments and competence level, clearly seen in the outcomes of PIAAC report. Indeed the PISA and PIAAC is indicative of the current status and limitations of adult education within Korea's educational system. PISA is an assessment tool for measuring the achievements of the 15-year-old population who have completed nine years of compulsory education in reading, math, and the sciences. Korea's youth has always demonstrated top performances among the OECD member countries. In 2009, for example, they ranked 1st and 2nd in reading and math, respectively, and 2nd–4th in science. Unlike these PISA results, the assessment of the Program for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC) placed Korean adults in the mid-low range among the participating countries, causing a huge social sensation. The educational gap between the older generation and the younger generation is huge.

Figure 1 below shows the generational gap via the PIAAC survey. In the UK, the gap in language ability between the younger and older generations was just 1 point, almost non-existent. In contrast, the gap in Korea is substantially larger. While the performance level of Korean adults aged 55–65 is 3rd from the bottom, Korean youth aged 16–24 ranked top 2nd after Japan (OECD, 2012).

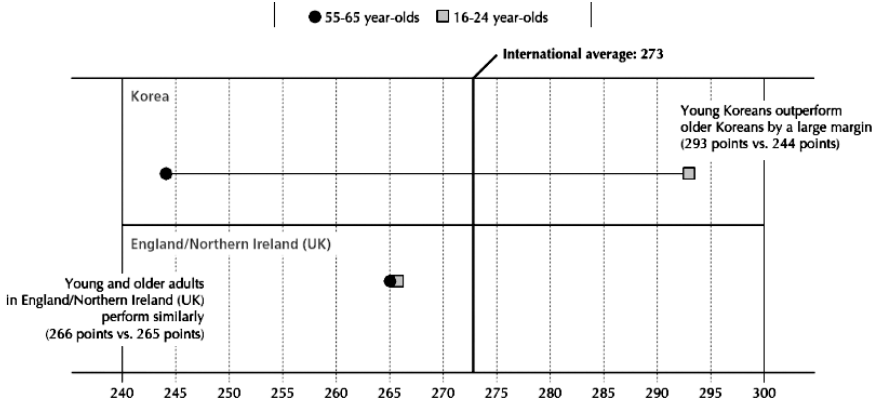


Figure 1: Literacy skills gap between older and younger generations
Mean scores in literacy

Source: OECD (2013, p.31)

This large age-dependent performance gap among Korean adults is consistent with the inter-generation educational gap. The high performance of the younger generation can be ascribed to the expansion of schools driven by the educational fever of Korean parents. On the contrary, Korean adults aged 50 and older were deprived of good-quality education. According to the survey results of the “Korean Social Indicators 2012,” the average year of schooling completed among the population aged 50 years and older, as of 2010, was 9.1 years, corresponding to the junior high level. Moreover, there is a distinct inter-gender difference, with 10 years for males and 7.7 years for females; in other words, average Korean women in the older generation did not even finish compulsory education level. This indicates a failure of the public lifelong education system of providing a second change for performance improvement to older adults that had been deprived of the chances of regular education. There has been no *repechage* (from French, literally, second chance) to make up educational disadvantage.

These intergenerational gaps in educational level are manifested in inter-generational conflicts and communicational barriers, which act ultimately as a decisive stumbling block against the growth of civil society. Participatory democracy and citizens’ learning patterns are considered to be closely associated with one another. Thus, there is an urgent need to put greater effort into providing a larger spectrum of opportunities for the older generations who did not benefit from regular education to participate in lifelong learning programs, thus contributing to the maturing of civil society.

Inequality in Adult Education Participation

Korea also sees double-faces lifelong learning. In spite of optimistic vision of lifelong learning for all, the dual accumulation of advantages and disadvantages is still ongoing. Korea shows a big inequality in adult education participation

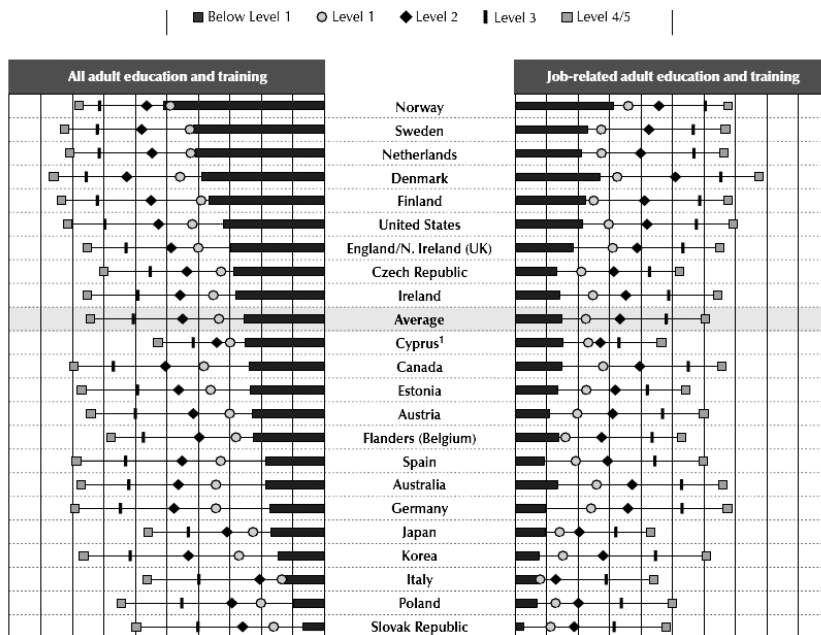


Figure 2: Participation rate in adult education, by literacy proficiency levels
Percentage of adults who participated in adult education and training during year prior to the survey, by level of proficiency in literacy

Source: OECD (2013, p. 208)

Figure 2 above shows the internationally compared rates of adult participation in lifelong learning according to literacy level. In the cases of the countries showing high rates, namely, Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Finland, the rates are equally high among those belonging to the population groups with low literacy rates. In contrast, the participation rates in Korea widely vary among the groups with different literacy levels; while almost 80% of those with a high literacy level participate in lifelong education, the rates drop sharply as the literacy level decreases, with level 1 and lower showing only a 15% rate of participation in lifelong education. It shows a big structured inequality in learning opportunities. The current provision of adult education in Korea is structured

in the way that educational disadvantage is accumulated, which finally is linked to the reproduction of socio-economic inequality throughout life.

It is noteworthy that despite the low rates of participation in lifelong learning among Korean adults, the average hours of participation in lifelong learning are long. Specifically, while 36.1% of Korean adults participated in lifelong learning during working hours, their average length of time for participation was 268.9 hours, the highest level among the PIAAC participating countries. This inconsistent participation pattern between rate and length implies that there is a structural inequality wherein long-term learning opportunities are given to a limited number of adults who have stable employment status and high positions in the occupational hierarchy.

To correct the inequality in adult education participation, the government must adopt proactive measures to enhance their participation rates of the vulnerable groups, such as the poorly educated, the elderly, and the unskilled workers.

Conclusion

Korea's adult education experienced a shift in patterns from the early-phase "social-education paradigm" to the late-phase "lifelong learning paradigm" with the changing adults' mode of existence in Korea's modern history.

From the year 2000 onwards, the expansion of educational opportunities for adults in Korea has mainly been based on lifelong education policies. Korean lifelong education could be pursued in a stable and continuous manner by clearly defining the policy-making bodies in charge of lifelong education and establishing a separate legal groundwork for its implementation. Within the framework of the policies, such as those regarding lifelong learning cities, a variety of practical education programs for adults were provided and the expansion of a lifelong learning culture could be achieved.

Even though Korea's transition from literacy to a learning society has captured the world's attention, it has yet to tackle many tasks and cope with contradictions. For example, under the Korea's deep-rooted academic elitism, lifelong learning policies and practices need to pursue more the vision of learning society rather reinforcing the academic elitism-based society. Furthermore, efforts should be undertaken to enhance the participation rate from the current level of 30% to the level of the average of OECD at least. Decreasing learning inequality is also a critical problem to address.

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Obrazovanje odraslih u Koreji: Ključni problemi i savremeni izazovi

Apstrakt: Članak analizira različite modele obrazovanja odraslih u Republici Koreji, sa društvene i strukturne tačke gledišta. On otkriva da je obrazovanje odraslih u Koreji napravilo pomak od faze “modela društvenog obrazovanja” ka fazi “modela celoživotnog učenja”, što je u skladu sa tranzicijom u ekonomskoj i društvenoj strukturi života odraslih. Ironično je da je ta tranzicija ubrzana uključanjem korejske ekonomije u globalni kapitalistički sistem, a šok usled Istočnoazijske finansijske krize 1997. godine je bio presudan u unapređenju uloge celoživotnog učenja za društvo u celini. Novi tokovi su preoblikovali celokupno obrazovanje odraslih u Koreji, uz jaku podršku razvijenog pravnog sistema na čelu sa agencijom kojom je upravljala vlada, tzv. Nacionalnim institutom za celoživotno obrazovanje. Uz zakonsku podršku, mogućnosti za razvoj obrazovanja odraslih su značajno unapređene kroz nekoliko popularnih programa poput “Grada celoživotnog učenja” ili “Akadenskog kreditnog sistema” i sl. Uprkos izuzetnim dostignućima, Koreja ipak mora da se pozabavi ključnim izazovima kao što su ogroman međugeneracijski jaz u dostizanju obrazovnih ciljeva, nejednakost u učešću u celoživotnom obrazovanju i ograničen sistem javnog finansiranja.

Ključne reči: socijalno obrazovanje, kultura celoživotnog učenja, gradovi koji uče, društvo koje uči, participacija u obrazovanju odraslih.

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Understanding Adult Learning and Teaching: Some Thoughts Based on the Intellectual Contribution of Professor Peter Jarvis

Abstract: Peter Jarvis is one of the most prolific philosophers of human learning and education. The purpose of this paper is to present some of his most important contributions in understanding the nature of learning and consequently the practice of teaching adults. The paper focuses on the following three insights of Professor Jarvis: (a) learning as an existential phenomenon, (b) the key idea of disjuncture and (c) the significance of the relational dimension in the teaching profession.

Key words: human learning, meaning, disjuncture, adult teaching.

Introduction

To compose a paper for the intellectual work of Prof. Peter Jarvis on adult learning and education is by definition a difficult task. Prof. Jarvis is not simply a world-wide distinguished academic scholar with a huge number of published papers and books. He is above and beyond anything else a creative and prolific philosopher of human life. Consequently, to try to summarize his work in a rather short paper like this one is very complicated if not unfeasible. Peter Jarvis himself has recognized this “summarization” task as a *major problem* when he was asked by Routledge to edit a two-hundred pages book dedicated to his writings (Jarvis, 2012, p. 1).

Thus, when I was invited to write this paper I was little nervous not only because the task itself is demanding but also because I was about to write a paper for the work of my teacher, mentor and very good friend. I felt that I had to do something creative and personal. For that reason, I decided to approach his contribution non-traditionally, avoiding a pure academic analysis and using instead

examples from my own biography. Through some incidents from my life story I will refer to his work, and especially to the aspects of his work that I considered as vital in understanding adult learning and teaching. I do hope that my approach will manage to demonstrate adequately a picture of the invaluable intellectual work of this great British educationalist.

In the begging there was a quest for meaning ...

Allow me to start with a short personal story that signified my career: In the early 1990's I had just completed my 2-year obligatory military service and I was offered my first job as a part-time teacher of mathematics. The school that I got this first job was a very well known secondary boarding school that offered vocational agricultural education¹. My students were teenagers coming from rural areas all over Greece aiming at acquiring the necessary knowledge and skills to become modern farmers. I had a degree in mathematics and I was more than able to cope with the curriculum. Moreover, as a young teacher I was very popular among the students. But, I had the feeling that something was going wrong. After the first few weeks of classes, I started questioning my performance, since I realized that my communication inside the classroom was mainly with the students that already had good mathematical skills. It seemed to me that I was teaching only for the good students and I was not feeling very good about it. I discussed my feelings with friends and colleagues and one of them suggested that I should try to attend a graduate course in pedagogy in order to get acquainted with learning theories and teaching practices. There was no chance to quit my job and go back to university so I started looking for a part-time course and back then, none of the existing universities in Greece offered such a program. I started exploring alternative ideas like distance learning opportunities and I wrote letters to several European universities. I got positive replies from two institutions: the Open University, UK and the University of Surrey. However, I had missed the dates for the Open University and if I wanted to attend I had to wait for one academic year. That was too long. I was not feeling in harmony and I wanted to do something about it as soon as possible. On the contrary, at the University of Surrey, I was able to enroll anytime throughout the year. That was it! I immediately applied for the M.Sc. offered by the Department of Educational Studies of the University of Surrey, where Professor Peter Jarvis served as Head of the Department.

¹ The school is the American Farm School (www.afs.edu.gr) and it is one of most historical agricultural education schools in Greece

Many years later I realized that this fraction of my educational biography has many elements that relate to the approach developed by Prof. Peter Jarvis regarding the learning phenomenon. In his life-time quest for answers regarding the human learning process, Peter Jarvis has offered us valuable insights in several of his books (e.g. Jarvis, 1992; 1995; 1997; 2004; 2006; 2007; 2009; 2012). I do believe that one of his major contributions was that he deconstructed the artificial theoretical dipole of psychological and social learning by placing emphasis on the existential dimension of this lifelong human phenomenon:

Learning is always “being” and “becoming”: it is ontological and it occurs within the context of the life-world, although we must never forget that this actually occurs within the wider theoretical framework of evolved humanity and that these influences do play their part in our everyday life and learning. (Jarvis, 2009, p. 25)

One significant step towards the dissolution of the aforementioned dichotomy was the clarification of the core concept of meaning, a concept that its formation process is usually understood as a psychological feature and has supported the development of many learning theories that tried to describe learning in the adulthood (Jarvis, 2007; 2009). It is true that learning is related to the concept of meaning or in other words to our need to comprehend the experience of existing. The concept of meaning though clearly encompasses both cultural and metaphysical perspectives (Jarvis, 2012). In the later case the human quest for meaning is related to our effort to make sense of our existence while, in the former, meaning is a social construct that depends evidently to the social condition that an individual is experiencing and, to my opinion, it is affected by the ideologies that dominate the social culture where every individual evolves. We could apparently claim that searching for a metaphysical meaning is more of a personal issue while searching for socio-cultural meaning is a social issue. This distinction may support a dichotomy of learning into psychological and social. In both cases, however, what Jarvis has made crystal clear is that meaning is always related to the experiences of daily existing and this assertion, on the one hand, breaks up the dichotomy and, on the other hand, affects the way we understand and apply experiential learning. Having methodically examined cultural, personal and subjective meaning and their connection to the learning phenomenon, Jarvis states that meaning is:

... a social construct and even a personal one in the light of our understanding of the nature of society. Meaning is not just a metaphysical quest; it is a social and personal quest to understand the ex-

periences of everyday living. Experiential learning, therefore, must always be seen within the social context within which the learner is living. (Jarvis, 2009, p. 73)

We construct meaning as we evolve and as we grow up we frequently change our perception of society and we interpret social roles in different ways. For example, my understanding of fatherhood when I was a teenager, quarrelling about and ignoring the contribution of my father's role to my development was very different from now that I am a father and I am trying hard to assist my children's development. Back to my story, it is obvious to me that when I assumed my job as a teacher of mathematics and a member of the staff of a very well known educational institution, I started to seek for meaning within this new role of mine. I started to have a new set of job-related experiences and there was clearly an effort to make meaning out of them. Apparently, my meaning-making quest was related to the development of my professional identity.

... and then there was disjuncture...

Disjuncture! This is a brilliant word to describe the moment when a person realizes that it is not possible to give meaning to an experience. There are moments in our lives that a new situation appears and it seems that we do not have the necessary "tools" to cope with it. These moments may be happy moments like the birth of a child, or moving in to a new neighborhood or getting a new job. But they can also be moments of sadness like when we experience the loss of a significant person in our life or we lose our job or when we end a relationship. All these moments usually lead to the initiation of a learning process. For Jarvis the experience of disjuncture is a normal event in the social life of a person. At the same time, however, he clarifies that disjuncture is not a simple phenomenon:

- It can occur as a slight gap between our biography and our perception of the situation, to which we can respond by slight adjustments in our daily living – a gap we hardly notice since it occurs within the flow of time.
- It can also occur with larger gaps that demand considerable learning, even to the extent of studying courses and disciplines and embarking on self-directed projects.
- In the meeting of strangers, the disjuncture might not only occur in the discourse between them, but it might actually occur between them as persons and their cultures, and it takes time for the stranger to be received and a relationship, or harmony to be established.

- In addition, some disjunctural situations – often emotive in nature – just cause us to wonder at the beauty, pleasure and so forth that we are experiencing. In these situations it is sometimes impossible to incorporate our learning from them into our biography and our “taken-for-granted”. These are what we might call “magic moments” to which we look forward in hope of repeating them in some way or other but upon which we might often reflect.

(Jarvis, 2011, p. 25)

Returning to my story, before entering a real classroom, I was taking for granted that my school experiences as a student and my knowledge of algebra, geometry, statistics and all the other relative subjects were enough to make me a teacher. But I was wrong. My biographical inventory was not adequate to support me in this new meaning making social role. I was in disharmony with my working environment and thus I was experiencing a disjuncture. In my case, it was a disharmony that needed considerable learning and the decision to attend an educational program was significant because it provided me with a new set of life “tools”.

To my opinion, the personal (internal) or social (external) disharmony that is created by disjuncture offers a fine justification for the starting point of any learning process (formal, non-formal or informal is indifferent). The only other word that I have found in the literature of adult learning trying to explain the initiation of learning is the “disorienting dilemma” in the theory of transformative learning (Mezirow, 2000). Mezirow, more or less explained this experience in the same way stating that a disorienting dilemma occurs when the frame of reference of a person is not adequate to correspond to a life situation. There are two reasons, however, that make me prefer the term *disjuncture* or *disharmony* that are used by Jarvis. Firstly, several authors who examined the “disorienting dilemma” within the theory of transformative learning have argued that it carries a constricted meaning focusing on the cognitive dimension of learning and it is more oriented towards the psychology of the self while it does not always justify learning (see Taylor, 2000; Willis, 2012; Newman, 2014). Secondly, *dilemma* is a Greek word. In Greek it is clear that a dilemma is a condition that involves a choice between two options that are mutually exclusive. To my opinion when it comes to learning to have only two choices mutually exclusive is a rather narrow idea.

... and then learning was elucidated...

Going back to my story it seems that I was trying to make meaning within a process of professional identity development and I experienced a disjuncture. Then I started learning. My learning experience back then incorporated some very novel information that I had never met before. I was a mathematician and a new teacher who had never been introduced to any learning or teaching theories. And suddenly there it was: pedagogy of the oppressed, andragogy, adult development, distance learning, radical learning, transformative learning and other issues gave new meaning to my perception of education. That learning was proven to be very helpful many years later when I was hired by the Hellenic Open University to work as a tutor in their adult education program.

So what is learning? Is it possible to define it? These questions seem simple, but they are not. Sometimes, however, they generate simple answers. For example, I do believe that if we address these questions to teaching professionals, we will get the immediate response that learning is the result of an educational process. This is an answer which is obviously not wrong, and which for many years was indeed the expected answer (Jarvis, 2009). In my country (Greece) for example if we search the most reliable Greek dictionary, the Dictionary of Common Modern Greek, published by the Manolis Triantafyllidis Foundation, we will find that learning is laconically defined as *“the acquisition of knowledge”*. (p. 813) On the other hand, looking into a less formal source of information, the Greek version of Wikipedia, we see that learning is defined as the *“process in which the subject acquires knowledge, skills, attitudes and values through cognitive processes”* (see, <http://el.wikipedia.org/wiki/Μάθηση>). Both these definitions seem very limited as they both endorse only the cognitive dimension of the learning process. This dimension is mostly related to schooling of any level. But as Jarvis has showed us through his wide research on human learning this phenomenon is by far more complicated (Jarvis, 2006). Learning is related to the human condition. Throughout our lives we evolve, we change and we achieve or we do not achieve developmental goals. The ability to learn is a dimension of our own existence and the key explanation for our continued existence in our societies. Schools and educational institutions of any kind are places where significant learning occurs but this is just one learning situation that someone may encounter in his life. Jarvis considers learning as an existential phenomenon and throughout his effort to understand and describe it he is not only concerned with developing a working definition but he constantly tries to relate learning with the social context where it happens (Jarvis, 1985; 1987; 2007). Learning, according to Jarvis, is described as a complex phenomenon in which the human experience is transformed in

multiple ways and contributes to the continuous change of the person, or in his words:

Human learning is the combination of processes throughout a lifetime whereby the whole person – body (genetic, physical and biological) and mind (knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, emotions, meaning, beliefs and senses) – experiences natural and social situations, the content of which is then transformed cognitively, emotively or practically (or through any combination) and integrated into the individual person's biography resulting in a continually changing (or more experienced) person. (Jarvis, 2009, p.25)

Like all efforts to define learning, Jarvis's views have been subject to criticism (e.g. Le Cornu, 2005). But despite any objections to details, I do consider Jarvis's definition as very important because it states very evidently that learning is related to our human development as whole persons, our evolution as whole beings. Learning is part of living itself. My learning is me and I am my learning.

...and teaching was portrayed.

The last thing I would like to discuss is the issue of teaching. My experience as a graduate student at the University of Surrey, my exposure to theories of learning and teaching and my personal experience with wonderful teachers like Prof. Peter Jarvis and his close friend Dr. Colin Griffin changed my perception about the role of the teacher and more specifically about the role of the adult educator. Jarvis has a lot to tell us about the role of the adult educator also. I will not go deep into all his writings. However, in one of the books that has influenced me a lot he states:

...teachers should endeavour to create types of relationship with students that enables them to decide for themselves on what is in their own best interest in dialogue with the teachers, where it is appropriate. The concern lies in the dialogical relationship between teachers and the taught rather than the content of what it is taught. (Jarvis, 1997, p. 85)

The key point here and to my opinion the most important thing is that Jarvis is shifting the discussion from methods and techniques to the key issue of developing a relationship with the learner. In 2005, I visited the University of Surrey and with the technical assistance of my father, we interviewed Prof. Jarvis.

In my question about the qualifications of the adult educator Peter gave us an answer that for many years now has been a reference for the adult education community in Greece. He stated:

“I think that the first priority for a good educator is to be a good human being and recognize that we live by being servants and not masters...”

That interview (Koulaouzides, 2005) is for ten years now an essential part of the study material of the graduate program of adult education at the Hellenic Open University² and it was also provided as additional study material to a national programme of training adult educators some years ago. To my estimation, more than five thousand adult trainers in Greece have seen and have worked on this interview. I hope that a lot of them were also influenced by it.

Epilogue

In this short paper, I tried to outline some points from the extensive academic work of Professor Peter Jarvis that are to my understanding crucial in comprehending adult learning and teaching: (a) learning as an existential phenomenon, (b) the key idea of disjuncture, (c) the significance of the relational dimension in the teaching profession. I hope that the readers of the paper will find it resourceful and I do hope that Peter will like it. I have to admit that as I was writing it I was emotionally tensed. At the end of it I realized that for almost 20 years now I have the fortune to be related to one of the most important adult learning and teaching scholars of the world: Professor Peter Jarvis.

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² Prof. Peter Jarvis has visited Greece many times. In 2010, he was awarded the first Honorary Doctorate of the Hellenic Open University for his contribution in the field of adult education.

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Razumevanje učenja i poučavanja odraslih: nekoliko ideja zasnovanih na intelektualnom doprinosu Petera Jarvisa

Apstrakt: Peter Jarvis je jedan od najproduktivnijih filozofa procesa učenja i obrazovanja. Svrha ovog rada je da predstavi neke od njegovih najbitnijih doprinosa u razumevanju prirode učenja i samim tim i prakse u obrazovanju odraslih. Rad se fokusira na sledeće tri teze profesora Jarvisa: a) učenje kao egzistencijalni fenomen, b) ključna ideja disjunkcija (*disjuncture*), c) značaj dimenzije odnosa u nastavničkoj profesiji.

Ključne reči: učenje, značenje, disjunkcija, obrazovanje odraslih.

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Andragogical Studies

Andragogical Studies is the Journal for the Study of Adult Education and Learning, scholarly refereed, devoted to theoretical, historical, comparative and empirical studies in adult and continuing education, lifelong and lifewide learning. The journal reflects ideas from diverse theoretical and applied fields, addressing the broad range of issues relevant not only for Serbia, but also for the whole of Europe, as well as for the international audience. The journal publishes research employing a variety of topics, methods and approaches, including all levels of education, various research areas – starting with literacy, via university education, to vocational education, and learning in formal, nonformal and informal settings.

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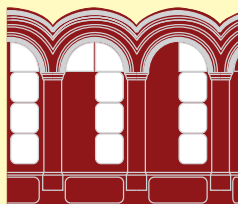
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