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ABSTRACT

The focus of the conference was on the changing curriculum on continuing education, with special attention to women's education, professional education, and life experience. The following papers from the conference are included in this compilation: "Continuing Education" (Stoddart); "Women's Education and the New Technology" (Gerver); "Women in Technology Project" (Swarbrick); "Curricular Innovations in Women's Adult Education 1865-1900" (Bird); "Adult Education and the Family: An Examination of the Practice of Gender Construction" (Keddie); "Questions of Continuing Education" (Jarvis); "Continuing Professional Education--A Comparison of Industrial and Academic Perspectives" (Paisley); "The Development of a Degree in Nursing Studies in the German Democratic Republic" (Hancock); "Social Work and Adult Education" (Hale and Coull); "Learning from Experience through the Lifespan" (Boreham); "The Social Construction of Adulthood and the Adult Education Curriculum" (Stone); "Andragogy: A Review of the Term" (Conway); "Computers--Mainframes and Micros--in Educational Guidance Services for Adults" (Taylor); "Industrial Studies Teaching in University Adult Education Departments" (Spencer); "Structures, Procedures, and Assumptions in Universities and Their Effect on the Development of PEVE (Post Experience Vocational Education)" (Garbett and Wellings); "Adult Education as Political Detoxification" (Brookfield); "Voluntary Participation and Leadership" (Rossing); "Administrative Concerns in Literacy Voluntarism" (Ilsley); and "Re:Framing: Hegemony and Adult Education Practices" (Marino). A list of conference participants is included. (MN)

SCUTREA

Fifteenth Annual Conference 1985

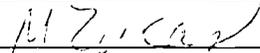
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STANDING CONFERENCE ON UNIVERSITY TEACHING
AND RESEARCH IN THE EDUCATION OF ADULTS
(SCUTREA)

PAPERS FROM THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE (1985)

EDITOR: Miriam Zukas (Hon Secretary)

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SCUTREA - Standing Conference on University Teaching and Research in the
Education of Adults

SCUTREA's objective is to further the study of, and research into, the education of adults.

By means of its annual conferences, seminars, study groups and published papers, it provides an opportunity for adult educators to share experiences and to discuss research priorities.

Membership is open to United Kingdom and Eire university departments and institutions which provide courses in adult education leading to awards of those universities; or to individuals and departments undertaking regular and substantial research projects in the field of adult education.

Chairman: Professor J S Marriott, Department of Adult and Continuing
Education, The University, Leeds LS2 9JT

Hon Secretary: Ms Miriam Zukas, Department of Adult and Continuing
Education, The University, Leeds LS2 9JT

Further information about SCUTREA can be obtained from the Hon Secretary,
at the above address.

Some copies of previous conference papers (1970-1983) are still available
and may be ordered from:

National Institute of Adult Continuing Education
De Montfort House
19b De Montfort Street
LEICESTER
LE1 7GH

CONTENTS

Page

SCUTREA - Standing Conference on University Teaching and Research in the
Education of Adults

Editor's Introduction (iv)

Continuing Education
John Stoddart, Sheffield City Polytechnic 1

Changing Curriculum in Women's Education
Convenors: Sallie Westwood and Miriam Zukas

Women's Education and New Technology
Elisabeth Gerver, Scottish Institute of Adult Education 21

Women in Technology Project - The Open University
Ailsa Swarbrick, Open University 31

Curricular Innovations in Women's Adult Education 1865-1900
Elizabeth Bird, University of Bristol 42

Adult Education and the Family: an Examination of the Practice of Gender
Construction
Nell Keddie, University of London 61

Continuing Professional Education
Convenor: Peter Jarvis

Questions of Continuing Education
Peter Jarvis, University of Surrey 67

Continuing Professional Education - A Comparison of Industrial and Academic
Perspectives
Robin Paisley, University of Glasgow 75

The Development of a Degree in Nursing Studies in the German Democratic
Republic
Charles Hancock, Salisbury School of Nursing 80

Social Work and Adult Education
Tom Hale and Billy Coull, University of Nottingham 92

Learning from Experience through the Lifespan
Convenor: Nick Boreham

Learning from Experience through the Lifespan
Nick Boreham, University of Manchester 99

Market Place

- The Social Construction of Adulthood and the Adult Education Curriculum
Mike Stone, University of Manchester 106
- Andragogy: A Review of the Term
Judith Conway, University of Leeds 113
- Computers - Mainframes and Micros - in Educational Guidance Services for Adults
John Taylor, ECCTIS, Open University 117
- Industrial Studies Teaching in University Adult Education Departments
Bruce Spencer, University of Leeds 119
- Structures, Procedures and Assumptions in Universities and their Effect on the Development of PEVE
Eric Garbett and Alan Wellings, University of Sheffield 121

UK/North America Exchange Conference

- Adult Education as Political Detoxification
Stephen Brookfield, University of Columbia 122
- Voluntary Participation and Leadership
Boyd Rossing, University of Wisconsin/Madison 129
- Administrative Concerns in Literacy Voluntarism
Paul Ilsley, University of Syracuse 143
- Re:Framing: Hegemony and Adult Education Practices
Dian Marino, University of York 154

List of Conference Participants

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Following a keynote address, the main theme of the 1985 SCUTREA conference was 'The Changing Curriculum of Continuing Education', with three parallel streams:

1. The changing curriculum of women's education
2. Continuing professional education
3. Learning from experience through the lifespan

Each of the streams was convened in different ways, with some sessions based around papers while others depended more on experiential material. In addition, the 'Market Place' provided a more informal space for participants to 'set up stall' if they had ideas or research topics that they wished to explore at the conference. This variety is reflected in the papers presented in the proceedings, with some pieces concentrating on work in progress, rather than research findings or theoretical papers.

A post-conference was held, at which American visitors on the British/North American exchange (funded by the Kellogg Foundation) presented papers. These have also been included in the proceedings.

In order to reduce production costs, it was decided that papers in camera-ready form should not be retyped. Therefore, there is some discrepancy in type-face and style in the proceedings.

CONTINUING EDUCATION

John Stoddart
Sheffield City Polytechnic

In preparation for this conference, your secretary kindly sent me a copy of last year's Annual Conference Proceedings. I was particularly interested to read the paper by Peter Jarvis which traced the development of the different forms of liberal adult education and of vocational and professional education. These differing traditions are reflected in the attitude to continuing education at both the University and public sectors and emerge strongly from the respective UGC and NAB reports on continuing education. Currently the University sector, with its main concentration on the 18 to 21 year old undergraduate student, has continuing education as somewhat of a peripheral activity - primarily the job of the extra mural department. On the other hand, the service tradition of the Local Authority sector has meant that part time and continuing professional education has been viewed as an integral part of the mission of an institution - one of the best ways of demonstrating the institutions commitment to the local community and the local economy. For a variety of economic and demographic reasons the two traditions and the two sectors are coming closer together and continuing education has been placed firmly in the centre of the political and academic arena. I note that Alan Wellings made a plea at last year's conference for a getting-together of the University and the LEA sectors. There is much activity on our side of the binary line and I am delighted that you should invite me to your conference today to discuss what is happening both nationally and also at an institutional level.

There is much to be gained from sharing experiences and approaches across sectors. I hope to contribute today by looking firstly at the growing demand for continuing education in its economic and demographic context; secondly, by discussing the pattern of overall provision for vocational education; then to give some examples of institutional responses; and finally to look at approaches and problems that I believe we should bear in mind for the future.

Before looking at the economic and demographic context, it is worth stating that I do not believe there need be any major dilemma between matching the technological and economic needs of the country and meeting individual's aspirations for personal enjoyment, satisfaction and development through education. Many have commented on the dangers of seeing continuing education as primarily a preparation for work. However, both the UGC and NAB reports indicate that much of the demand for continuing education, defined broadly as 'any form of education whether vocational or general, resumed after an interval following the end of continuous initial education' is for courses leading to a qualification, whether or not this is as an end purpose in itself or used for job change or advancement. In the Local Authority sector, most participants have a vocational purpose in mind, but a significant proportion also seek, as NAB puts it, personal stimulation, development and enjoyment from their studies. Whilst the political pressure for continuing education may be couched in terms of the growing needs of the economy for a more highly skilled and adaptable labour force, there need be no reason why we should not meet technological and economic needs and the personal development needs

of individuals. However, let us concentrate on the economic issues. The need for far more highly qualified manpower is pressing. Even the most pessimistic forecasts assume that the economy will grow by the end of the decade and, more significantly, considerable growth is expected in graduate employment. Whereas employment overall is projected to fall by 5% over the decade, in manual occupations it is expected to fall by 13%. Against this, a considerable rise is expected in managerial and administrative categories, in the health and caring professions, in engineering and scientific occupations, and in technician and related occupations.

The demand for qualified manpower will thus be stronger than ever before, but as we all know well, the group from which we recruit most of our students, the 18 year old school leavers, is to decline in numbers. By 1990 it is likely to be some 8% lower than at present, dropping sharply in the early years of the next decade, so if we rely only on the traditional age group, it is unlikely that employers will be able to recruit a sufficiently skilled work force to sustain economic growth. In contrast, the 21 - 35 age group will be significantly larger. From 1970 to 1982 the 18 year old population increased by about 25% so a similar growth rate in the 30 year old population between 1982 and 1994 can be expected. In short, demographic and economic pressures are likely to lead to a significant increase in demand from mature students for entry to higher education in the near future and, at the same time, the demand from the traditional 18 year old population is likely to fall off. As NAB has indicated, DES projections grossly underestimate this demand - they assume that mature initial entrants to higher education are drawn from suitably

qualified persons who did not take up full time higher education when under 21, yet we all know that significant numbers of mature entrants enter without formal qualifications or obtain such qualifications as mature students and then enter some form of higher education. Clearly the flow of qualified entrants from diploma and degree courses into industry and commerce may be met by a changed age structure of participants, and I shall pick up this point again later because I believe that we should meet the change in the age profile of students in new and imaginative ways. However, the demand from mature students will not just come from those wishing to enter qualification courses. Technological and economic change, faster now than ever before, means that keeping up to date is a major and continuing need and one likely to generate large numbers of students. The need for people to update, change direction and develop new skills is all pervasive and basic to individual competence and satisfaction as well as to national recovery. It affects us all. The NAB report neatly highlights a variety of groups so affected: the professions which need urgently to cope with technological advance and its human and social implications and must also keep up to date with changes in legislation; management and the Trade Unions alike who have a major task, as the miners' strike has dramatically demonstrated, to understand their changing social and economic environment; the public services which need to adapt to new ideas about the purpose and organisation of their work and, sadly of increasing importance, the unemployed who we all have a duty to help re-enter the labour market in new and different fields of employment.

If we take just the first of these groups as an example, it is apparent that the professions are paying increasing attention to continuing education as a way of safeguarding professional standards. Many professional bodies have now a policy for continuing professional development and whilst, to date, CPD has been based on perhaps a rather vain exhortation and the provision of some sort of a support service, now some professional bodies have gone harder and made CPD a condition of continued membership of the profession. If this practice spreads, it will have a dramatic impact on the demand for continuing education. Again the NAB report has a good example. There are over 50,000 professional engineers. If 20 days of continuing education were a compulsory requirement for continued membership of the professional body, this would produce an annual demand of some 5,000 full time equivalent students. Re-skilling and re-orientation of this scale requires a formal framework. Continuing education, therefore, becomes a necessity and, as Stuart Johnson says, in his introduction to the UGC report - 'it is too important to be left to chance and uncoordinated effort.' What is more, it is clear that Britain is lagging behind its competitors in this area very badly. Observers have drawn a stark contrast between our commitment and that of overseas countries to continuing education, and it has been suggested that a 10-fold expansion of what Britain currently does for CPD is necessary to match achievement overseas. There is, in other words, a massive opportunity for us to exploit to the benefit of providers and recipients alike, but we should be clear about exactly what this opportunity is; clear about how best we can provide for increased

numbers of mature students and meet their vocational and professional needs. Whilst the definition of continuing education mentioned earlier and which is used by the UGC and NAB is appropriately broad and particularly suited to this conference, it does confuse a number of issues and, like Information Technology, means all things to all men. Both the UGC and NAB have emphasised the potential for increased participation by mature students in initial higher education as well as the role of continuing professional development in achieving the necessary adjustments to a rapidly changing and increasingly technological economy and society. Whilst the issues involved are necessarily interrelated, it does seem that more discussion is required on the pattern and structure of educational provision if we are to move significantly towards any concept of lifelong learning. The question of education for whom cannot be separated from the question of education for what. In particular, we need to challenge our long-held assumptions about the sanctity of the three year full-time honours degree as the main focus for initial higher education and to question the appropriateness of linking initial higher education too specifically to future employment. Many would maintain that the public sector has gone, if not a long way, at least the furthest towards answering the question of education for whom and for what. After all, the relatively recent growth of vocational higher education in this country, particularly in the local authority sector, can be seen as a response to the over-academicism of some of the Universities to higher education's long-standing ambivalence towards the teaching of practical subjects (other than ones such as medicine), and to a lack of real co-operation with industry and commerce. However, whilst

the local authority sector has been very successful in developing vocational courses and in attracting students to them and has built up credibility within industry, the policy of relating the output of these students to jobs has not been noticeably successful. The rapid expansion of vocational education in the past fifteen years has created a situation of mismatch between the supply of, and the demand for, certain categories of trained personnel. Teachers are the obvious example, but others would be architects, environmental planners, lawyers etc. The problem appears to lie in over-specific decisions about the links between course curriculum and content, with particular occupational or career outlets which have become reified in a system which is still relatively slow to respond to changing employment patterns. For the current approach which links education and particular careers to really work there must be a rough congruence in the system between the number of graduates and qualified technicians and the number of posts available for them in employment. Increasingly there is no such congruence. The increasing emphasis on this type of vocational course in recent years, combined with a changing employment market, has meant that graduates cannot be guaranteed jobs in specific areas. This pattern of vocational education is perhaps more appropriate to the conditions which existed in the 1960s than the late 1980s and beyond and not only wrongly creates expectations on the part of people leaving college and university which cannot be fulfilled, but also fails to provide the right sort of personnel at the right time for the available jobs.

Have we then got too much vocational education? Is the answer to cut down on the amount, to cut back production in some areas and to

increase the supply in other areas? This must in part be answered by looking at what our international competitors are doing and here all the evidence suggests that this country requires a more extensive system of post-secondary education than it has today. The internal evidence, the social and economic trends, the rapid technological developments, all suggest the same. I do not believe that it is the quantity of higher education in this country that is the problem, but the type of higher education. We must ask not only the question of education for whom and for what, but also ask when and how? If we stay for a moment with initial higher education, at one extreme it is too general and based on the wrong ethos. At the other, it is too specific and based on the wrong assumptions about the relationships between education and training. An appropriate strategy would be not to promote more vocationally relevant higher education as we understand it now, but to interpret vocational in a broader sense. The form of education and training for a particular field would then be modified. The range of occupations for which a particular qualification prepares people would be expanded and diversified. The very close links that have been developed in certain areas between training and occupation would be loosened. We would have more hybrid courses and a shorter cycle of initial higher education, forming the first stage in life-long vocational training and updating. A good example of how things have gone wrong is the development in recent years of a specific undergraduate qualification for the teaching profession, the BEd. I do not think we would have had anything like the problems we have now in contracting and expanding teacher supply in this country if the BEd course had not been specifically geared towards the teaching profession.

If we are to have lifelong learning, then we must also question the traditional assumptions about the three year undergraduate course and its place in the higher educational hierarchy. The rapid growth in the number of graduates in recent years is necessarily associated with a decline in the status of the graduate qualification. It is I think an aspect of status associated with particular jobs, rather than with the specific technical requirements of those jobs. Most white-collar jobs, including technical work, can be done with two years post-school training or with five years, or with six years. The work may be done differently, but most jobs are I think shaped more by the quality of recruitment than by any rigid connection between educational qualification and technical requirement. I believe that in two years you can provide a student with adequate technical background. If you extend the study time the issue is one of quality of recruitment and the success of manpower planning must, I think, be inversely related to the substitutability of the manpower involved.

In this context I would argue that most graduates can be highly substitutable products and I would include highly trained groups like engineers and accountants in this. Thus, whilst I believe we should offer vocationally relevant courses, I think we should also avoid attempting to relate too rigidly the number of places to some measure of employment capacity.

It is interesting to note that the Price Committee, reporting in 1981, rejected the view that the specific requirements of the market place can be translated into very broad subject areas and that a subject profile can be obtained which could be a guiding principle for planning of higher education. The part of the report which deals with manpower

planning, subject balance and rationalisation makes interesting reading in that it raises important questions as to the priority that specific qualifications are given in recruitment and the use of graduates. Those employers who gave evidence seem widely to accept the mind training value of the degree irrespective of the subject studied. A selection of comments given by industrialists give the flavour of the discussion 'We feel very strongly that the individual attitude and qualities are much more relevant'. 'I think that any substantial company in its recruitment policy is looking for quality of person as they perceive it. The particular qualification comes second. Any company has a certain minimum requirement for people with particular qualifications but beyond that it is looking at first and foremost the quality' 'It is necessary to appreciate the importance of personal and intellectual skills as distinct from subject knowledge.'

The committee commented that the whole question of linking output from higher education courses to any kind of manpower policy was far more complex than the DES appeared to realise and indeed the committee was scathingly critical of various parts of the Government's machinery for dealing with this problem.

It is within this overall framework then that we should discuss continuing education. It is a framework within which vocational education is still the poor relation - a framework shaped by an attitude and a philosophy more appropriate to the early part of the nineteenth century rather than the latter part of the twentieth. It is a framework in which further and higher education outside the University sector has been developed very much as a compensatory movement and has accepted the burden of short term responsiveness to

economic need. We have though not been very successful in this and more and more we have been forced to relate initial higher education to implied need by national planning bodies. The case is long overdue for a review of the length and pattern of higher education which will take us into the twenty first century rather than to accept without challenge a pattern of education after 18 more appropriate to the circumstances of the mid-nineteenth century.

The pattern and scale of provision for the education of adults on long courses in the public sector is impressive. In total there are around 110,000 mature students on courses leading to recognised qualifications at postgraduate, degree and sub degree levels. Two-thirds of these are on part-time courses and about three-quarters on non-degree. If measure by full-time equivalents, nearly one half of all public sector student-entrants are mature. A break-down of these statistics shows an interesting picture. There is a low mature student entry to degree courses in science, mathematics and computing and in art and design and humanities. The low percentage in scientific subjects may obviously be explained by the need for formal entry qualifications but this does not seem to apply in engineering where about one third of the total entry is from mature students, nor more interestingly does it explain the position in the arts. The number of mature students on full-time and sandwich courses increased by 10% between 1978 and 1979 and yet since then has remained constant at about 31,500 students. This may be due to a very buoyant demand from school leavers for entry to the public sector in the last five years (up by some 38% above the 1978 level) Obviously as mentioned before, this is likely to be a short term phenomenon. It is encouraging that the National Advisory Body in its planning exercises seems

concerned to ensure that mature student access is not inhibited by pressures from school and college leavers, and is seeking to better monitor the number of mature students entering courses each year.

Whilst the mature student population forms approximately one half of public sector higher education entrants both the national planning bodies and the institutions appreciate that positive action is required to retain and to increase this proportion.

The NAB report provides a very useful summary of barriers to access of mature students and rightly concludes that a first condition for developing this area is to ensure the right institutional attitude. The working party state 'Financial incentives, national planning arrangements, initiatives by the validators and pressures on employers will in themselves be of little value if those with the prime responsibility for meeting needs do not respond. Mature students will not be attracted if colleges are not aware of or sympathetic to their particular needs and problems.' '....The actions required from institutions cover the entire range of their operations from the planning and leadership roles of the Directorate to the tutorial and essay marking duties of lecturers'. The implication is that a fundamental review is required of institutional mission, of target student populations and their needs, and of the best way to satisfy them via course structures. An approach where we tinker around the edges of patterns of provision geared primarily to the 18 year old school leaver is unlikely to be successful! Is it possible that many institutions have gone almost as far as possible in opening up existing programmes to mature students and that any significant expansion now requires

fundamental change? A change in attitude of staff and a more positive approach has to be followed by consequent resource adjustments - to staffing loads and class times, to library hours, to the nature and extent of support services - as well as to more flexible and responsive teaching and learning structures.

It may be useful at this stage to talk about our experience in Sheffield as an indication of what has been done without fundamental change and then I would wish to suggest further areas of exploration. As you are aware we make considerable provision already for mature students with approximately 6,000 students over the age of 21 on first enrolment for degree or diploma courses. Mature student entry has been positively promoted by establishing an access network within the city and region, by an explicit commitment in our prospectus to consider applicants without 'normal' entry qualifications, by opening up components of courses to associate students (whereby they do not have to enroll for a complete course) and by developing an extensive network of part-time programmes at all levels in each area of study. In 1976 we established an advisory service to adults interested in pursuing further and higher education and this has now developed into a collaborative project with the local authority and the University to provide an 'Education Shop' in the city centre. Access courses are offered at seven local colleges and will next year provide the basis for the Open College of South Yorkshire. Over ninety per cent of students successfully completing these courses have gone on to higher education. Whilst at present only 8% of mature students on our courses enter under the non-standard "likely to benefit" criterion we are seeking to increase this proportion and are conducting a pilot project with the NCB on experiential learning.

The range of part-time programmes is more extensive than in any Polytechnic outside London and caters for those who are unable for various reasons to embark on full-time courses or who positively prefer 'earning and learning'. Additionally we have attempted to target special interest groups who traditionally may have low take-up rates into higher education. Women make up only 36% of mature students at Sheffield - lower than the national average! We offer a number of courses specifically geared to the needs of women returners with different modes of attendance to cater for their needs. Often these courses are externally funded by MSC or EEC as cost has been found to be a major practical barrier along with access, guidance and timetabling. Another targetted group has been the unemployed where, again, finance is a major barrier and to some extent the Associate Student Scheme provides a mechanism whereby students can take units of courses for under 21 hours per week without forfeit of their DHSS grant. We do very little at the moment to target the retired - surprising given the changing age profile of the city which already has more than 25% of its population over retirement age. There is a need to redress this and to think about the possibilities raised by the 'University of the Third Age'.

There is little that is new in what I have described at Sheffield - the exciting thing is the potential to bring it all together, to co-ordinate what is happening, not just in one institution but regionally, and to some extent nationally, and to better inform adults of the opportunities available, to market ourselves better and to work with our students to better shape the content and structure of our courses to suit their needs. Open College networks like the NorthWest (and

hopefully South Yorkshire) are important both as marketing devices but also as concepts which cut across institutional boundaries - boundaries which present barriers and confusion to those outside and which protect present structures and methods. Within South Yorkshire the Open College will include not only the University, Polytechnic and the Further Education colleges, but also the Northern College. We believe that the sharing of experiences and the coming together of this range of expertise for the benefit of adult students will provide significant opportunities - already we are talking about weekend college programmes, summer schools, television courses etc.

Perhaps more importantly, in the long term, there is now considerable pressure on all Polytechnics and colleges to review their course structures and teaching methods, to rationalise and combine teaching programmes where possible, and to think across departmental and faculty boundaries. The result is a welcome and long overdue interest in areas such as the development of modular courses, credit transfer systems, production of teaching/learning packages, and distance learning. Many Polytechnics have of course gone a long way towards providing institution-wide flexible course structures which allow a variety of study patterns - from all embracing modular schemes at City of London Polytechnic and Oxford Polytechnic to an emphasis on short cycle two year DipHE programmes which allow transfer on to final years of named degrees (NELP, Middlesex). In most cases, the problems of intra institutional transfer have now been solved and we are starting to emphasise inter institutional opportunities. One programme with which I am particularly familiar - the part-time degree course in Business Studies - now involves some fifteen colleges and structures

have been designed to enable students both to be given credit for prior learning and to transfer easily between courses. Whilst these part-time programmes have been offered in Polytechnics for some years now, it is only recently that we have thought in any serious way of how structures could be really exploited for the benefit of our students. There has been, and still is, a tendency to think of a particular target group and design a course - to think of developing a part-time degree as distinct from a full-time one, to think of degree work as distinct from diploma work or professional qualification. It is this attitude and approach which provides a real and immense barrier to any serious concept of continuing education. Unless we do really believe in a pigeon-hole system of education whereby students are slotted into educational and occupational boxes, then we have to look at the total system and to consider explicitly overlap and transfer between courses, to keep routes open, to provide the student with the opportunity to find the appropriate level and mode of study to meet the particular circumstances. Many institutions are putting this together for themselves and are now thinking through the relationship between not only different levels and types of qualification course but also how continuing professional development fits in. No longer can we afford to think of finite, distinguishable groups of students - the property of a particular course or department - we must provide the total framework.

National initiatives give grounds for optimism here - the provision of an information base through ECTIS, the establishment of a London credit transfer scheme based at CNA, the development of a national

distance learning scheme in business education, the increasing flexibility afforded by CNAAs regulations to award intermediate qualifications, as well as the success story of the Open University and initiatives by MSC and Open Tech. All point to the importance of the imaginative use of local, regional and national networks if the full potential of the current system is to be exploited.

Linked to this re-examination of structures is a more fundamental review of the content and approach to learning. Modularisation of study programmes leads to more emphasis on individualisation of learning; increased maturity of student intake allows us to build more on prior experience. Far more research needs to be done on experiential learning both prior to entry to higher education and structured forms as found in sandwich courses. Experiential learning is perhaps the most fruitful avenue to explore for adult educators and one which could have a very significant impact on future patterns of provision. A major institutional approach to student centred learning and the interrelated areas of individualised and experiential study is the innovative programmes of independent study at diploma, degree and postgraduate level at NELP. This has much to offer as a pointer for the future. The underlying philosophy of independent study is identified as "personal responsibility which requires students to be explicit about their own criteria for their own success and failure and to be willing and able to justify these judgements in informed discussion with others. Thus students are required to formulate problems, to propound trial solutions and to test these solutions with rigour. In short, they are required to

demonstrate competence". Transferability of skills is regarded as a central feature of competence. This Polytechnic, more than most, has set itself the explicit task of providing a resource base for individualised and independent student learning on a base which can be made readily available for continuing professional development.

The Polytechnics have, since their formation, provided a base for post experience professional education. My own Polytechnic provides short courses for some four thousand persons per year over a wide range of professional fields - engineering, construction, health services, teaching, business and management, art and design. The challenge we now face is how to relate this area of work more to our regular programmes and how to persuade the professions to look automatically to the educational institutions for professional training.

The key must lie with the closeness of the links between education and the professions and the quality of the courses we provide.

The lesson of management education is that post experience study is most valuable when it grows out of career needs, is problem oriented and company based. Staff therefore have to have the competencies to act as consultants to companies and to guide the professional development of their employees. For this facilitative approach to operate across all vocational areas requires a major staff development exercise.

However, it is arguable that the essential skills required to successfully attract and teach students on post experience vocational education are similar to those required for teaching on initial vocational education, so neither the problem nor the need is new. We need to address it with sufficient vigour to ensure that all our

students whatever their age are provided with the best and most appropriate learning experience.

To cope successfully with the challenge of vocational education, be it post experience or initial, we have to break down the isolation of the higher education institutions and to create a far more flexible system with far more occupational interchange. Joint appointments with industry, joint research, more use of practitioners as visiting speakers and tutors - are all methods of overcoming our isolation.

So, my message is that there is a significant need and demand for continuing education and one which we have a duty to meet. This responsibility must be seen as integral to the role of institutions and at the centre of its planning. It must not be left to chance. Historical structures and operations must be questioned. The days of the traditional extra-mural departments are rightly numbered! More importantly the time has come to review the overall pattern of post school education in this country and to question the balance and the distinction between initial, post experience and professional and personal learning. We have not only to believe in the process of learning as a continuum but to provide a system of provision which reinforces this. We must move from the rhetoric to the reality of life-long learning.

I have mentioned briefly, chairman, something of what is happening in the public sector colleges in the field of adult and continuing education. I have perhaps given an over-optimistic view of the pace

of change. I do consider, however, the publication of the NAB and UGC reports to be very significant steps on the road towards a fully integrated system of life-long learning. Although they have some deficiencies, these reports have placed the issues firmly on all our agenda. There is much to be done but I trust that collectively we will have the vigour, the rigour and the vision to address and answer the fundamental questions of education for whom, for what, when and how.

WOMEN'S EDUCATION AND NEW TECHNOLOGY

Elisabeth Gerver
Scottish Institute of Adult Education

My own attitude towards the new technologies - particularly computers and associated communication systems - is best summed up by an incident that happened to me in 1981 on my first day at work as director of a project to introduce computers into community education in Scotland. I arrived, somewhat uneasy because I didn't even know what a computer looked like, and rang the side door bell of the security system at the Scottish Council for Educational Technology. A garbled voice replied. I said, apologetically, "Pardon?". "Come in", said the voice, this time speaking clearly. This human adaptation of a sophisticated system to assess courtesy rather than security greatly reassured me, and confirmed me in my prejudice that all machines, whether run by microprocessors or mechanical means, really only serve human purposes.

Then, several weeks later, at an international conference on adult education in Paris, I encountered the opposite approach to the new technologies. The small working groups at the conference were experiencing the usual difficulties with interpretation, and waited patiently during the first day while each speech was laboriously interpreted consecutively by a member of the group. Our host then announced that the problem would be solved on the following day. When we arrived the next morning, each of us had an elegant individually-controlled microphone in front of us, and there was a portable interpreters' booth with the necessary sound equipment waiting discreetly in one corner of the room. Our host was somewhat disconcerted when we mentioned that, as he had not actually provided any simultaneous interpreters, we were really no better off then before.

By now the assumption that only the equipment and not the people mattered was beginning to worry me, as were a number of other characteristics associated with the computers which lie at the heart of new information technologies.

In the first place, I was made uneasy by the widespread attitude of computer experts that the machine mattered above all and that it was to be worshipped by the alien language of an elite priesthood, who competitively compared the ROM and RAM of their computers with one another. Secondly, I wondered about the fact that few men seemed to notice that there were few women in computing. When I wrote an article about the phenomenon in SCAN, the community education newspaper, my suggestion that perhaps more women should be attracted into computing merited my first mention in The Times Educational Supplement Scotland, as a cat with her claws into computers. And, when the computer project asked observers to give a rough estimate of the approximate numbers of males and females who attended the "Computers for All" events, the male observers reported that the numbers were approximately equal, while the female observers noticed that there were far more men than women.

At the same time I felt cold fingers of fear that many women seemed to be rejecting the new technologies and blaming computers for what men had chosen to do with them. Radical feminists argued that:

Women must not forget that the range and nature of a society's technology is a reflection of the dominant socio-economic system.

And in the Western culture that means that it is a process guided by the values of the various patriarchies and one which owes its very existence to the requirements of the military-industrial complex. At its furthest development their argument challenges the whole nature of technology and the societies that spawned it, asking the ... question: can feminists use technology as it stands at all, or does using it involve fatal compromise and collusion with the forces of patriarchy? (Women and Computing, 1981.)

A contrary argument underlies my talk this morning.

What is the problem?

I believe that the under-representation of women in computing holds the seeds of a long-term threat. If women continue to exclude themselves, or to be excluded from, learning how to make the new technologies serve their own needs, they will experience still greater vulnerability; individuals or groups who do not come to terms with these technologies may in the end be mastered by the very powerful forces which they have tried to reject.

Where does it occur?

It appears that at all levels of learning about, and working with, computers - at home, in school, at college, in university, in training, at exhibitions, in the library, in clubs, in community education, and at work - women tend to be strikingly under-represented. The extent of their under-representation varies from sector to sector and to some extent from country to country, but the fact of it is so ubiquitous as to become banal.

The situation at home is well reflected in the responses given to a survey which the Joint Working Group on Women and Computers conducted in Scotland this spring (Henning, 1985; referred to throughout as the Scottish survey). One reply commented on "the current trends which seem so prevalent in the home ... that computing is for boys only." One university department remarked that "until the rise of the small home micro we had few problems: a large proportion of girls tried computing science at university. Over the last three years this has changed and for all the wrong reasons." The accuracy of these assessments is supported by findings that at least 80% of home computers are bought for sons rather than daughters; over 90% of the early BBC Computers were bought by males (Gerver, 1984). Other sources suggest that the ratio of boys to girls in using home computers may be as high as 16:1 (Channon, 1984).

Anyone observing the use of computers in school will find many male teachers and students - and few females - amongst the enthusiasts. Even in the recently developing use of computers in primary school, there is already evidence in Britain that "girls are failing to seize the opportunity. There seems to be a preponderance of boys even in the more imaginative and exciting courses ... designed for primary schools and intended to stimulate children before there is any firmly recognizable division of activities according to gender" (Deakin, 1984). In secondary school, computer studies are assumed by many schools to be boys' subjects, along with nearly all the other sciences (Rogers, 1983). At the most senior level of work in computer studies in schools in England and Wales - that of A level examinations in computer science - the ratio of boys to girls is 4:1 (EOC, 1984).

In university study in Britain in 1979 women formed only 27% of all

applicants for computer science undergraduate courses at university (Simons, 1981); but, as one of the replies to the Scottish survey indicated, the situation may well have worsened since then. And, when the shortage in computing skills led the government to fund a 500% increase in places for post-graduate studies in information technology in 1983-84, only 10% of those qualifying in 1984 were women (WNC, 1984). The same situation is, unsurprisingly, repeated amongst staff: in 1983-84 in Britain, there was no woman amongst the new university appointments in information technology.

In college and at university, as the Scottish survey showed, there is a significant imbalance in the ratio of males to females in computing-related courses. The ratio in one course in computer science and electronics is 55:1, while in a course in electrical and electronic engineering in one typical institution there are approximately 21 males to every female; there are four courses where there appear to be no women at all.

Within the field of training, the same pattern seems to persist. In Scotland in 1983 there was a striking difference in the numbers of unemployed men and women who completed MSC training in higher level computer skills: 83% of those completing courses in computing at higher levels were male (Gerver, 1984). At the new Information Technology Centres which have been established to provide skills in computing for school-leavers, there are far more young men than young women: "the usual ratio is 1 girl to 4 men" (Channon, 1984).

At computer exhibitions there is already considerable evidence that males substantially out-number females. The Scottish Community Education Microelectronics Project found a noticeable sexual imbalance in its "computers for All" exhibitions, despite the fact that some of the programs on offer had been designed specifically for women, such as one on the choice whether to breast or to bottle feed.

In the public library, where there are usually far more female than male users, it has been shown that many more men than women will choose to explore computer-based facilities. A pilot project to investigate the uses of Prestel in the public library in the early 1980's showed that nearly 4 men to every 1 woman at a reference library used a publicly available computing system for information (Yeates, 1982). In computer clubs, the same pattern is evident: many clubs are composed entirely of males.

In computer courses within community education the pattern at first seems encouragingly less sexually imbalanced: in Britain in 1982-83 the proportion of males to females in enrolment in adult education classes in computing appeared to be about only 2:1 (Banks, 1983; Gerver, 1984). In 1985 in Scotland, as the Scottish survey showed, there appeared to be many more women than men enrolled in introductory computer courses in community education: in one course in computer competence there were 31 women to the 1 man, while an evening class of computing modules attracted a ratio of 10 women to every 1 man. I shall return later to the question imbedded in these figures when they are taken together with those showing few women in more advanced courses: why are so many women initially attracted to computing but then do not carry on beyond introductory level work?

Women are also significantly under-represented in using computers at work. At the lowest levels - that of merely entering data into computers - there are far more women than men. In Britain in 1980 a survey showed that between 75-100% of all workers at the lowest level of computing were women (Simons, 1981). But at the more advanced levels of working with computers, females

comprised only between 5 and 15% of all computer programmers, and less than 5% of systems analysts (ibid). And all of these figures pale into insignificance when set beside the fact that Britain has the lowest proportion of women engineers in the Western world - one in 300, as compared with one in 40 in the United States and one in 10 in Sweden.

Why does it occur?

There are many interacting reasons why this situation has arisen, and I shall speculate on only a few of them this morning. There seem to be four main clusters of reasons, which I have separated for the purposes of exposition but which all interact with, and reinforce, one another.

First, there is a cluster of social reasons which seem to militate against both girls and women using computers. Here the problems and pressures unquestionably begin at home and in school, although many teachers - at least those who replied to the Scottish survey - seem to believe that the problem exists only at home.

The advice which many girls seem to get at school about the possibility of careers in computing may be at best misleading and at worst discriminatory. One of the replies to the Scottish survey refers to "misconceptions ... by careers leaders ... of suitable entry qualifications and the content of computer-related courses; also misconceptions of employment prospects and computer application areas." The EOC has similarly found that "guidance given to girls by teachers often steers them away from computers as being 'more for boys'" (EOC, 1985).

Pressure from friends may also affect girls' choice not to use computers. One problem seems to be that girls are often discouraged from computing by the attitudes of their male peers, as the EOC (1985) has shown:

Project work is an important part of the computer studies syllabus and it requires time on the computers outside normal classroom time. Girls who go to the computer room before or after school find that there are large numbers of very keen and generally immovable boys sitting at every available keyboard. The girls, failing to oust them, slink away, unable to complete the assignment, and in some cases, unable to sit the examination.

But many teachers believe that the responsibility is not theirs but that of parents, whose influence they see as crucial in discouraging girls from computing. One reply to the Scottish survey commented: "in many instances the early education of children in the area of male (and) female activities especially by parents is to blame in this restriction of computers and engineering to males." I shall return later to the implications of this emphasis.

There appears to be a general assumption amongst many educationalists that computers are for men only (and, by extension, for boys too). Just to cite one tiny, but representative example, in the Open University's first version of a booklet for the learning pack "Micros in Schools", there were nineteen male figures and two women, both of whom were merely observing use of the computers rather than actively engaging with them; a later version redressed the balance, but the same problem continues to occur in much material used in schools. The graphics in one school textbook for Computer Studies contained ten men to every woman, while those in another contained eleven

men to the one woman, a barely clothed girl on a screen (EOC, 1983). In most textbooks, computer personnel are referred to as "he", while many texts refer to "girls" as computer operators, and "men" as the computer decision-makers (EOC, 1985). There is no need to comment on the male orientation of most of the commercial presentation of computers.

Secondly, women may have emotional and ethical reservations about computers. The image of computer "hackers" whose love of machines dominates their lives tends to be repellent to many women, and it is notable that there are virtually no women amongst the fraternity of computer addicts (Turkle, 1984; Shotton, 1984). The ethos of competition that tends to dominate much of the computer world also alienates many women. The fact that some computers are used for purposes of social, economic, and military control makes many women, and many men, seriously worried about the future.

Moreover, associations between computers and violence, in computer games as in military matters, make many women reject computers. Neither girls nor women are often attracted to the concept and the actuality of most computer games. There is thus likely to be little progress in attracting girls by the method suggested by one of the replies to the Scottish survey, which proposed that one should "encourage girls to be interested in 'zapping' aliens in computer and video games."

A third cluster of reasons is simply practical. Women tend to have a lack of leisure and much less money to spend on themselves than do men. As one of the replies to the Scottish survey reported, a "far smaller proportion of women purchase personal computers". As the recent dramatic fall in the market for personal computers suggests, however, it may not be simply that women have less money to spend. Rather, they have serious reservations about the practical value of present home computers, whose promise has grotesquely out-stripped their reality.

A final cluster of reasons arises from the way in which computers are often presented, particularly in educational settings. Considerable numbers of women still feel anxiety about computers, both because they fear what they perceive as the fragility of new technologies and because they are wary of betraying the fact that, however welcoming the words may sound, they simply cannot comprehend the unfriendly language in which many familiar words have new, often idiosyncratic meanings. This anxiety is often exacerbated by the mathematical way in which computers are often presented; women who have found it difficult to come to terms with numbers at school will often believe that computers are therefore forever beyond their understanding. Finally, women are often bored by the apparently triviality of the uses to which computers are put, although their interest can readily be aroused when they are presented with computers which help with real problems.

There is a growing body of evidence which suggests that, when they do want to learn about computers, girls and women are often alienated by the way in which computers are taught as well as by the social circumstances in which males are often permitted to monopolise the computer resources, including their computer studies teachers, who themselves are usually male (EOC, 1985). In adult education, Banks (1984) has found that a substantial proportion of the students enrolled in adult computer literacy classes in one city in England were dissatisfied with their course, while the drop-out rate for courses on computer programming offered by the National Extension College appeared to be the highest in the history of the college (Gerver, 1984).

These facts, when juxtaposed with the apparent reluctance of women to undertake more advanced courses in computing, suggest that the experiences of women in computer literacy are badly in need of further investigation. If the experiences of girls in computer studies in schools (EOC, 1985) are any indication, it is very likely that computers are being presented in a way that emphasises their theory rather than their practical applications and that the teaching tends to be of a poor quality, unlikely to encourage those learners who may be reluctant to ask questions or to insist on the teacher's attention; in other words, the teaching assumes that the students are interested in the machines themselves rather than in what they can do for people. The rejection, therefore, should cause us to examine further the nature of the interaction between female students and the teaching of computing. It may be that the rejection of computing studies by females is "a criticism of the subject matter and teaching method and not a problem inherent in girls" (ibid).

Why change?

I shall only sketch briefly what seem to me some of the more compelling reasons for increasing the representation of women in computing.

In the first place, there are a number of reasons related to the vulnerability of anyone who does not come to terms with the new information technologies in the latter part of the 20th century. Particularly in traditional areas of female employment, the introduction of computerisation can lead both to de-skilling and to significant increases in female unemployment. The problem is basically, as one recent Canadian study has suggested, that "informatics is creating new work and employment, but largely in the professional and technical ranks where men predominate and women are still in a minority" (Menzies, 1981). Another study has found that "the expansion of computer-related occupations has increased the total number of jobs and created some new higher paid occupations. However, the workers displaced by automation do not appear to benefit: the new jobs are technical level and largely held by males" (Feldberg and Glenn, 1982).

There are also sound reasons for overcoming the present waste of talent. The replies to the Scottish survey of computing courses often indicated a preference for female students: "females in more advanced courses take the course more seriously and perform better" said one, while another believed that "girls were equally able at computing - perhaps even better as they seldom became 'hackers'".

The need for social skills in the world of computing has been widely noticed lately (see, for example, Deakin, 1984). The fact that some computing firms are actively recruiting and supporting their female staff is not altruistic. One researcher has found that women are more likely to write good computer programs with the user in mind (McClain, 1983). It may be that, when women play a substantially increased part in computing, greater attention will be given to ways in which computers can actively help people. Women, too, seem to be particularly sensitive to the fact that, just as there are many tasks which can be performed more efficiently and effectively on a computer, so there are many more which can be performed, but which are not worth computerising.

Perhaps, then, one of the most important reasons for arguing for equal opportunities in computing is that if women were to play an increased role

in using computers, it is possible that a more humanly balanced view of the uses and the non-uses of computers might result.

How to change?

I hope that the discussion this morning will be the main source of ideas about strategies for change in this field. As, an inveterate lecturer, however, I cannot resist one final list. First, then, I should like to look at possible ways to change which focus on women and girls.

1. Reaching girls is one of the most important places to start. The EOC (1985) has proposed many positive steps which could be taken to reach girls in school to encourage them into computing. Some of the possibilities include using computer programs which foster co-operative learning, re-focusing on the applications rather than the theory of computers, recognising the importance of female role models, allocating time on computers fairly, using computers throughout the curriculum rather than just in computer studies and mathematics, and introducing information technology as a compulsory subject for at least some years in the school curriculum. It can be demonstrated that any one of these practices can increase the numbers of girls who are interested in computers.

But all of these practical suggestions are dependent for their implementation on teachers who recognise that the under-representation of girls is a problem in the first place. Replies from teachers to the Scottish survey suggest that there may be considerable resistance to such an idea. When asked whether girls should be positively encouraged, some teachers replied "no - teachers should really steer clear of this kind of bias". Within further non-advanced education in Scotland, there is also little recognition of the problem. When asked to indicate how their institution could alter its approach to make its computing courses more accessible to women, one college replied, "I do not see much point. I already have courses geared to the secretary, typist, clerical staff." Another college fell back on the reply that "all college courses are open to entry (by) qualified persons irrespective of colour, creed, race or sex."

It is because of the widespread prevalence of such attitudes that the Scottish Office, the University of Strathclyde and the EOC in Scotland have recently launched a campaign called SWITCH (Scottish Women into the Computing Habit). Part of the campaign is directed at women and girls themselves, but an important component includes encouraging schools and colleges to help as a way of raising their awareness of the problem and what can be done about it. As it was launched only last month, it is so far impossible to say what its effect may be, although the experience of the WISE (Women into Science and Engineering) campaign in 1984 suggested that the problems are more deep-seated and intractable than may have appeared at first.

2. Counselling for computing is, as the evidence about the lack of such counselling for girls suggests, one major way in which both schools and adult educational guidance services can help to encourage more females into the field. Seminars for careers advisers in schools are therefore planned for the near future in Scotland.

3. Providing single-sex settings for girls and women to learn about computing appears to be one of the most promising ways ahead, as Ailsa Swarbrick also suggests. In the first place, there is a growing suspicion

that, just as girls' performance in mathematics improves when they are taught in single-sex settings (Smith, 1984), so also females may perform better in learning about computers in single-sex settings which eliminate many of the kinds of difficulties noted earlier in this paper. The demand for such courses from women themselves is amply shown by the enormous excess of applicants over places for the Sheffield Women's Technology Training Workshop, which had over 1000 applications for its first 28 places when it opened in 1984 (Miller, 1984).

What women like about such courses is shown in the following comments from a single-sex course in computing in New Zealand. They "appreciated the friendly supportive atmosphere and the availability of an all-woman class. They liked feeling able to ask any questions at all without feeling threatened or put down. They liked the ... exchange of ideas between course members and lecturers, also the chance to hear about others' problems with computers....On the whole the response was one of positive enjoyment and enhanced confidence" (Else, 1984).

4. Coping with the children of women who may be interested in computers as a possible second-chance educational experience is an important, probably a crucial factor for some women, as the experience on such courses as the Women's Technology Training Workshops has shown. That we have a long way yet to go here in Scotland is indicated by the fact that no respondent to our survey even mentioned the problem.

5. Monitoring data about female participation in learning about computers is crucial if we are to make informed decisions about future provision. The interaction which takes place amongst women, computers and adult educators is, as I have suggested above, in dire need of systematic investigation. But, as in most forms of continuing education, we generally lack adequate statistics about female participation. In Scotland, for instance, the figures which I have been citing sporadically come not from what should have been their source, the Scottish Education Department, but rather from a survey conducted by the Joint Working Group on Women and Computers, which is a voluntary group of women and men who are concerned about the problem, but whose resources of both time and money are extremely limited.

There are also ways of enriching women's learning about computers which relate to adult learning generally rather than specifically to women:

6. Starting with people
7. Creating confidence
8. Speaking English
9. Acknowledging diversity
10. Co-operating with computers
11. Conducting research

As a computer sceptic and as an adult educator I am far from believing that when we have taken account of all these factors we will have a clear-cut answer to the questions posed by women's education and new technology. But, like British Rail, we will be getting there, even if, also like them, we have a very long way to go.

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Ailsa Swarbrick
Open University

The Project

Women in Technology was planned in 1981 as a one year experimental project. It was aimed at women qualified in engineering or technology, at home for family reasons who wanted to brush up, or extend their professional knowledge to help them return to paid employment. Fifty non-means-tested bursaries were provided by the Manpower Services Commission to cover the cost of a residential weekend preparatory course at Loughborough University's Centre for Extension Studies; the fees for an Open University Associate Student course in technology, including the summer school; and all travel costs. As a scheme for women returning to technology, it ran for three years. Flexible interpretation of the scheme, however, meant that a small but increasing number of women from non-technological backgrounds studied successfully and found paid employment later. As a result in 1985 WIT Model II began, which included 44 women studying on the original 'returners' option, and another 30 from non-technological backgrounds who are currently studying the OU Technology Foundation course and hope to follow this up with a more specialised course next year.

The Background

WIT was the result of collaboration between the Centre for Extension Studies at Loughborough University, and the Open University's Yorkshire Region. A career survey in the early 1970s (Chivers 1977) showed that women engineers found it difficult to combine a career in engineering with family commitments. Those who left rarely returned to technological work later, since knowledge rapidly became out-of-date, and key skills and self-confidence were lost. Their particular continuing education needs stemmed from the geographical spread of a relatively small group; their wide range of specialisms; the problems of distance and

travel; lack of child-care facilities; inconvenient time-tabling; and inappropriate courses.

The Open University had pioneered home-based, multi-media, distance-learning since 1971 and already had a substantial number of technology courses relevant to engineers. Many of these were available on the Associate Student Programme, whereby higher-level courses can be studied on a one-off basis. Internal OU research (Swarbrick 1977) had demonstrated the advantages of flexi-study distance-learning methods for women who wished to improve their qualifications and possibly career prospects while at home with young families. But while the OU had reached the position by 1981 where almost half its students were women, they tended to be found mainly in the traditional areas of arts and social sciences. And, although most of the 13% of women who studied the Technology Foundation course in 1978 were successful in spite of their non-technology backgrounds, very few followed it up with higher-level technology courses. The vast majority of technology students on the Associate Student programme were men updating or improving existing qualifications while at work (Swarbrick 1978, 1979).

Although the number of women qualified in engineering and technology who could benefit similarly from such courses would not be vast, there was likely to be a substantial number. Either they did not realise it was possible to study a single OU course, did not perceive it as a career strategy, or at a time when family budgets are most stretched simply could not afford the fees. The above research therefore both defined an unfilled gap in the career structure of women engineers and also suggested a means to bridge it.

Working within the System

Ever since the Open University admitted its first students in 1971, it has recognised the importance of a student support system to off-set the potential disadvantages of a large nation-wide distance-learning system. Thirteen regional offices organise and run locally-based enquiry services, tuition and counselling. Personal

contact is maintained through study centre meetings, by letter and by telephone, and regional staff are in no doubt that these activities are crucial to OU students' general educational progress.

They are of course available to Women in Technology students. Nevertheless, when planning the WIT scheme, we were convinced that this was not enough; and that a small minority group in a traditionally male-dominated faculty had special needs. We had to develop a strategy to provide extra support for the woman who might well find herself the only one in an all-male study centre group. Research at all levels of education and training (EITB 1984, The Women's National Commission, 1984, DES 1980) has shown how vulnerable to drop out such a student is.

Our aim was to build up and foster enough confidence and a sufficiently strong sense of group identity before the WIT students started their courses, to carry them through the year. And in addition to the usual tuition and counselling referred to above, a WIT safety-net would be maintained. An address list of all WIT students for instance enables them to arrange self-help groups in subject or geographical areas, or by telephone; and to plan on attending summer-school with at least one other woman.

The two main lines of approach centred on setting up a Project Office to run the specialised publicity and the extra enquiry, advice and counselling services; and to provide a residential weekend preparatory course at the Centre for Extension Studies, Loughborough University.

The Project Office

As one of the two co-founders of the project and because I work in the OU's Yorkshire Region, Leeds became the WIT project's centre. For a relatively small project with a specific commitment, operating within an educational institution with 65,000 degree-level students, it was important for the Project Co-ordinator to maintain a direct overall control of all aspects of the operation. All publicity

gave the Co-ordinator as the source of further information, application forms etc., rather than the Associate Student Central Office at Milton Keynes. The project staff at Leeds consists of three women :- the Co-ordinator's work is part of a full-time Senior Counsellor post; and the technological adviser and the secretary/administrator are both part-time. We work flexible hours from home or office, co-operating so that enquiries are answered and deadlines are met while holidays are taken or family illnesses nursed. We think the nature of the operation is actually an integral part of the project. WIT students can see that it's possible for women to combine a range of responsibilities, and that informality is not inefficiency.

Publicity

Because we wanted to emphasise who the scheme was for, rather than the institutions providing it, leaflets, posters and advertisements headline 'Women in Technology', with the logos of the OU, CES Loughborough, and the MSC an unobtrusive size. In the first two years the major publicity effort went in letters forwarded by universities, polytechnics and technical colleges to their women students of the last eighteen years. We have been surprised and touched by the varied responses. "The leaflet said Women in Technology - I felt I was special", wrote one woman, while others have written explaining why they could not apply yet; giving their life histories; presenting themselves tentatively and self-deprecatingly - "It sounds ideal for me, but I think perhaps I'm too old". The relatively small-scale of the project means that with personal encouragement hesitant individuals do eventually apply.

Advice and Counselling

Substantial preliminary support is provided from the Leeds Office. All enquirers are sent a package of detailed information which includes a letter about the project, mass-produced, but individually signed and addressed, and with specific individual advice added on

if necessary. Further queries are answered by a phone-call or letter from the WIT staff, with referral to a Regional Project Adviser. Enquirers who don't apply are sent a reminder. The queries generally mark two stages. At first women are diffident, not sure if they are eligible, and need reassurance. Other suggestions are always made to those who are not covered by the criteria. Then, having decided to apply, most women want to discuss their course choice :- its content and level; its vocational implications; access to computer terminals; how much time will be needed; and whether there is a summer school.

We aim to enable women to apply from as fully informed a basis as possible. The high acceptance and low withdrawal rate suggest that applicants do filter themselves. After the first two years we have had more applicants than bursaries (for 1985 twice as many), but those without an award are advised on alternative sources of grant. The WIT scheme then is more than a range of OU courses with a grant attached. It is a package designed specifically for a minority group with special needs. A key factor in maintaining motivation is the sense of group identity conveyed by the publicity and counselling of enquirers, and then consolidated by the residential weekend at Loughborough.

The Preparatory Course

The aims of the preparatory weekend for women returning to technology have been to refresh the skills needed to study and work in technology; to identify problems faced by women returning to work and ways of overcoming these; to assist in career planning and suggest job opportunities; and to introduce the OU system of teaching and learning.

Perhaps the most important effect though has been the rapid spontaneous growth of self-confidence, observed at every preparatory weekend so far held. Women arrive exhausted from the detailed planning of household organisation. Often it is the first time they have been away alone, as an individual, since marriage. One student kept a diary of her weekend experience, recording her

feelings of "complete inadequacy" on arrival, and how everyone else seemed "more experienced, better qualified and better dressed than me". But even after the first session she had begun to feel more at ease, and by Saturday evening she could write "Today I have learnt that I'm in the right place; I belong, and I have confidence to face the world again". She returned to the 1984 preparatory course as a group leader, all of whom are now past WIT students who have returned to work. The re-awakening of professional self-esteem - "It was nice to meet people to whom you could admit having an engineering qualification without feeling a freak", helps the women as individuals to participate successfully in higher-level OU technology courses which are mainly populated by men. A full report is available elsewhere (Chivers and Marshall, CES, LUT, 1982)

The WIT Network

Once the women start their courses, the main source of general OU support comes from the tutor-counsellor and fellow students. As the balance here is predominantly male, we try to maintain the group solidarity created earlier. All WIT students have an address list so they can keep in touch with each other, and the Project Office continues to offer advice, act as a referral point, or liaises with the regions on behalf of the student where necessary. We receive monthly records of continuous assessment which enables us to spot any early difficulties and check whether extra help is needed. Of course students rely in general on regional support, but sometimes women can be diffident or reluctant to draw attention to their difficulties if they are very much in the minority.

We have always encouraged the WIT students to plan on attending summer school either with each other, or with other students from their study centre group. It is not uncommon for women on higher-level courses to find themselves in a minority of one or two out of a total school of 150 students.

In 1985 we have been able to organise group attendances much more, since there are 26 women for the foundation summer school.

Four key factors have emerged for the women who have so far been through the scheme. The first is that even for women who have made the break-through earlier in their lives into technological education and employment, the lack of self-confidence after being at home for a few years is still acute. Simply providing refresher courses is not enough. Special efforts have to be made to encourage women to apply; and adult educators then have a responsibility to ensure adequate support for such students specific to their needs. For some, the effort of completing the bursary application form can begin the process of rebuilding confidence, for others less sure of the relevance of the previous experience it is the mutual solidarity of the preparatory weekend.

Secondly, the provision of non-means-tested bursaries to cover the high fees of the Open University's Associate Student programme is crucial. Awards are made on the grounds of being female, at home for family reasons, not in paid employment (or only minimal part-time work). Local Authority grants and those available from the OU are calculated on family income - in the case of these women, that earned by the husband. Research on attitudes to family income has reinforced observations and impressions from several years of OU work - that women tend to put low priority on their own personal needs, are reluctant to spend on themselves, and feel guilt at depriving (especially) their children of any surplus family income.

Thirdly, the convenience already noted of home-based distance-learning for women with young children is especially marked for those wishing to study in the broad technological area. In 1982 when the project started such courses tended to cater for students on day-release; sponsored by employees; time-tabled without reference to domestic responsibilities or transport problems and without crèche facilities; in other words planned and organised on the assumption that the student was male. The following three comments from WIT women illustrate the advantages of the OU system for them :-

"I could actually study an advanced and detailed technical

subject in a rural area."

"We moved house 400 miles and I didn't have to abandon the course."

"There wasn't the regular child-minding and baby-sitter hassle a college course would have meant. I could manage the 8 tutorials and got to work on the first Home Experiment Kit when the kids were in bed."

Fourthly, women's long-term plans for their own ambitions are closely tied to the stages of their children's progress to independence. There is remarkably little reference to responsibility for childcare or supervision shared with the partner. The emphasis is on play-groups or schools.

Follow-up with students from the first year of the project showed that a year after finishing their course 50% were in full or part-time employment. Of the rest nearly 20% were undertaking further study. The remainder were either seeking work, or had recently moved. One example here was a woman who on remarriage had moved to Australia from a full-time job in computing. The proportion of women from the second year back in paid employment reached 50% by the time they had finished their course. However, not all students seek work immediately - the flexibility of OU study is not matched by that of employers, and many women still have young children.

Although a few have obtained full-time employment in industry, it appears easier and more convenient for women technologists with young families to find relevant work in teaching or research in further or higher technical education. Not only are hours and holidays more suitable but colleges and universities are more likely to have crêche facilities. During the last year, the WIT project office has been approached by a small but growing number of employers, including a soft-ware company and newly-established women's skill centres who are looking for women technology tutors. This kind of employment often suits WIT women not only because of the convenience, but also because it fits more congenially with their changed values. Full details are available in the report on the WIT project. (Swarbrick, 1984)

One motive in setting up the WIT scheme was to try to increase the minute proportion of women students on higher-level OU technology courses. Other facets of the same issue - the massive under-representation of women in the Technology faculty - are the very small number of women tutors, and the slightly larger (13%) but still far from satisfactory proportion of women on the foundation course.

In 1984, an OU committee was set up to further the aims of WISE (Women into Science and Engineering) year. Special efforts have been made to recruit women technology tutors and indeed some women who have updated through the WIT scheme are now working in this capacity. Encouraging and informative leaflets about the foundation course and meetings at summer schools were at least partly responsible for an increase of over 4% (to nearly 18%) in the proportion of women studying T101, the Technology Foundation course, in 1985.

The New WIT Option

This increase included 30 women studying under the WIT scheme with non-technologist backgrounds who wanted to acquire new knowledge and skills. A second bursary in 1986 will be available for those passing the course. 26 have now survived to their summer schools, are more than half-way through, and are currently deciding which of the more specialised courses they will study next year.

Unsurprisingly, the computing courses seem to be most popular. Other schemes for encouraging women to consider moving into technology are now in hand - eg., group entry, and work-place projects.

Technology is an area from which women have been largely excluded except as consumers or unskilled production workers. A gendered education system has meant that women are less likely to have either an informed awareness of scientific and technological developments and their potential effects on society, or the basic knowledge and skills to function independently (Kelly, 1978). Many aspects of everyday life are affected by technology building design, communications, energy, the earth's resources, agriculture

and food production and health care. All these issues are included in T101, and students learn not only the technical subjects necessary, but are encouraged to think critically about the values inherent in technological development and different policy options. Such critical skills are also introduced in the Technology Assessment activity at the summer school for the OU's interdisciplinary women's studies courses. (Bruce, Kirkup and Thomas)

Increasing the numbers of women studying technology is not an end in itself. With the confidence gained from acquiring new skills and knowledge women will be better placed to become involved in public decision-making, take greater control over their own lives, and bring a different perspective to the study of technology.

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Elizabeth Bird
University of Bristol

Introduction

The question of whether adult education should provide special programmes for women and if so, what kind of special provision, is a central concern of any day which is looking at the changing curriculum in women's education. We are all aware of the kind of courses offered as part of mainstream LEA provision which although not restricted to women are obviously aimed at women. Such courses are overwhelmingly domestic, from dress-making to cookery, with aerobics as a topical option, and where such courses are provided during the day, the expectation is that the audience will be exclusively female. The extent of this provision, often referred to by area principals as 'my courses for ladies', is such that surveys on the take-up of adult education usually show that the proportion of women to men students is of the order of 75% to 60%. With such statistics it becomes hard to argue that the adult education service is failing to meet women's needs.

Women, then are major consumers of adult education, but does this mean that their educational needs are being met? As a background to discussing this topic we can look at an earlier period when education was seen as the crucial issue in trying to remove a range of disadvantages experienced by middle class women, that is the period from about 1865 onwards which led to the university extension movement. At the same time as the educational needs of middle class women were pre-occupying the lady reformers of Langham Place, middle class women were themselves increasingly involved in a number of philanthropic ventures aimed at improving the living and working conditions of working class people, men and women. (1) Indeed it was the growing importance of these activities, to some extent recognised by the extension of the membership of school boards in 1870 to women, which backed up the campaign for the entry of women to higher education. One outcome of the work of local school boards, in Bristol at least, was the provision of evening class or continuation schools, and here we find the origins of the LEA domestic curriculum. My aim in this paper is to look at these two very different contexts in which a 'proper' curriculum suited to the education of women and girls was being developed in the period from about 1865 to 1900. What connection is there, if at all, between the 'Lectures for Ladies' developed in the 1860's and 1870's, the provision of School Board classes for women and girls in the 1880's and 1890's, and the kind of adult education now provided for women?

This paper will look primarily at the example of Bristol in the period 1865 to 1900. I am indebted to pioneer research in the general provision of adult education for women by June Purvis (2) and to the work of Helen Meller on Bristol. (3) My prime sources have been the archives of the University of Bristol, and the Bristol Local Collection, held in the Central Reference Library in Bristol. Much work remains to be done and this is only a preliminary account. The paper will look first at the early extension movement in Bristol, leading to the establishment of the University College, forerunner of the University of Bristol, in 1876. This will be discussed in the context of the movement for the higher education of women and special attention will be paid to the curriculum. Secondly, it

will consider the development of a curriculum for working class women and girls, as exemplified in the work of the Bristol Evening Class and Recreation Society from its foundation in 1884 to its demise in 1895 and the Evening Schools which were set up by the Bristol School Board in the 1890's. The conclusion will explore the implications of these historical examples for contemporary discussion of the curriculum for women's education.

The Extension Movement at Bristol

The movement for the entry of women to higher education has been well documented and need not be recounted here.(4) It is however perhaps worth remembering that histories of the extension movement tend to see it as a movement for the extension of university education to working class men and either forget or overlook the fact that the movement originated in the lectures given by James Stuart to a group of women in the north of England. The invitation to Rochdale came later and indeed Stuart subsidised his lectures to the co-operators of Rochdale by the fees paid by the ladies of Manchester, Leeds and Liverpool. (5) It is not clear how the Bristol movement began. One of the originators was John Percival, a former master at Rugby School, who came to Bristol in 1862 to be the founding headmaster of the public school, Clifton College. According to one account,(6) Percival formed a Committee to promote the Higher Education of Women in February 1868. This committee consisted of Percival, his wife, and ten other ladies and gentlemen, with Mrs. Percival and a Miss Brice acting as Secretary until 1870.

The Committee named itself the Clifton Association for the Higher Education of Women. Most accounts agree that a 'brilliant group of lecturers' were obtained to give series of lectures, including Jowett, then Master of Balliol College, Mandell Creighton, A.J. Symonds, and T.H. Green. (7) We have a full account of what it was like to follow such a course of lectures from Miss Elizabeth Sturge and it is worth quoting this account in full as an indication of the curriculum.

'There were , however, large numbers of young women , anxious for opportunities of improvement ,who could never hope to become students (at Oxford and Cambridge) and for their benefit a system of local "lectures for ladies " was established. We were fortunate in having in Clifton a circle of enlightened men and women by whom the idea was warmly taken up, and for several years courses on a great variety of subjects were given by many eminent men. We elder sisters attended a number of them ,as well as our aunts and some of their contemporaries. Of course , such a method of study was very unsystematic; one jumped from one subject to another; but the mental stimulus was of lasting value. We read diligently , and every week handed in papers signed by a number or pseudonym- such was the dread at that time of having your name known in such a connection. There was great excitement when the lists were read out- some who had not attained to the position they hoped for were even known to weep!

'The first course was on biology. For three months we plodded through books on botany, zoology, and elementary logic, and even struggled with the works of John Stuart Mill. Professor Grant on astronomy followed , and before I had done with him I was trying to calculate the distance of the earth from the sun! Then someone lectured on George III's reign, and we plunged into the woeful history of that

period. Afterwards came John Addington Symonds ; a brilliant and inspiring personality.....

'Symonds lectured on Greek Literature and the Italian Renaissance . There was little sequence in these courses of lectures or in the arrangement of others which followed, but it was said by persons able to judge that the intellectual tone of our local society was noticeably raised as a result. (8)

According to Elizabeth Sturge, and other sources, these lectures for ladies were the foundation of the movement to provide a university college for Bristol. A number of other factors were involved, not least the question of local pride, and moves at Bristol were greatly influenced by activities elsewhere in England. After several months of local discussion a public meeting was held on June 11th 1874 at the Victoria Rooms in Clifton, 'to provide the Establishment of a College of Science and Literature for the West of England and South Wales '. This meeting was addressed by Jowett, who pledged the support of both Balliol and New College, Oxford, to the tune of £500 per annum, provided that :

- (1) The Oxford Colleges were represented on the governing body
- (2) there was literary as well as scientific instruction
- (3) the requirements of adult education be specially considered
- (4) instruction (other than that of the medical classes) be open to women
- (5) lectures on general subjects be provided.

Such provisions are obviously relevant to the debate over the relative merits of liberal and technical education which was currently being conducted and Meller argues that the influence of Percival and Jowett was crucial in ensuring that Bristol went for a university college and consequently a liberal curriculum. For our purposes we need to note that Jowett's provisos were complied with and , with the exception of the medical school, all classes at the new college were open to women. The Committee for the Higher Education of Women decided not to organize independent classes in future but to circulate the prospectus of the proposed college to their students. The Committee instead raised funds for the provision of scholarships for women at the College.

By 1876 then, it was possible for girls to enter a systematic course of study at university level , and if they were successful, they received degrees from the University of London. Records of the University of Bristol show that girls did enter in significant numbers and were especially prominent in the arts and social sciences. (Entry depended on matriculation and this was provided by a number of independent day schools for girls set up in Bristol in the 1870's and 1880's, again under the initial impetus of John Percival.) There was no stated reason why girls should not study the same curriculum as boys, nor was any distinction made. Earlier in the century it had often been claimed that studying seriously would impose too great a strain on girls' constitutions, leading to mental and physical debilitation. Infertility was especially feared. Catherine Winkworth, who was Secretary of the Committee for the Promotion of Higher Education for Women from 1870, suffered from ill-health but her sister Susanna did not attribute this to her studying:

'I do not think, however, that either then or hereafter it was over-study by which she was injured. In her latter years she often expressed to me her strong conviction of the reverse. She said that as far as she could trace, she had never suffered from intellectual occupation, but that whenever she had had the opportunity for it, it had been beneficial to her health; which had on the contrary sometimes

suffered from the want of it. But worry or sorrow always told upon her greatly'(9).

Jowett in arguing for the inclusion of women at the proposed university college in Bristol, while still defending their exclusion from Oxford University, did not seem to consider questions of female physiology as being a barrier to study. His only concern was with, one assumes, their moral safety:

'It was another of the advantages that a local university had over the older universities that it was able to solve the problem of the education of women- (applause) -owing to that characteristic of it...that the pupils for the most part lived at home....(H)e did not think any of them could make any objection to women attending the same lectures, having the same teachers, or receiving certificates, as they already did, both at Cambridge and Oxford. '(10)

For those women who did not wish to enrol as full-time students at the new College, it was possible to attend lectures as a casual student, either in the day-time or the evening and in the first session of the College women students formed two thirds of the day-time enrolment (11). The first Principal of the new College was Alfred Marshall who arrived in Bristol in 1877. Marshall had been a Fellow of a Cambridge college, but had had to resign his fellowship on his marriage to Mary Paley in 1877. Mary Paley was one of the founding students of Anne Clough's Newnham College in Cambridge, which prepared girls for the Cambridge tripos through the system of segregated education referred to by Jowett above. Throughout the short term of Marshall's Principalship (he resigned in 1881 owing to ill-health but returned to lecture for one further year in 1882-3) Mary Paley Marshall also taught at the College. According to her memoirs, she gave the morning lectures in Economics to a class which consisted mainly of women and was also tutor to the women students. Marshall gave the evening lectures which were attended by business men, trade unionists and a few women.(12)

The struggle for access to higher education for women has been described as a contest between the opposing ideals of Anne Clough, who was prepared to settle for a different curriculum for women as a means of gaining access, and those of Emily Davies who fought to the bitter end for a provision which would be identical to that for men. At Bristol the arguments were always presented in a way which aimed to be non-controversial and non-doctrinaire. Jowett deliberately steered clear of controversy in his speech in 1874, and it is evident that Catherine Winkworth had little time for Emily Davies:

'Miss Emily Davies has been here too, about a College for Ladies...but got convinced I didn't approve of it, except for teachers and very exceptionally clever and studious girls; nor can I get converted to women's franchise, so some of my friends here look on me as a very half-hearted sort of person. '(13)

The interesting phrase in this quote is 'except for teachers' for Jowett also reminded his audience that they should, 'remember especially the case of those ladies who had to gain their livelihood by teaching.'(14) It can be argued that higher education was finally opened to women, on limited terms, because it was seen as a solution to the 'Woman Question', rather than because of the efforts of Emily Davies and Anne Clough. The Woman Question was essentially an economic problem about the need to provide middle-class women with some means of earning a living which was at least

respectable if not either well remunerated or prestigious. The most commonly chosen career was that of governessing, but those parents who employed such help increasingly wanted their governesses to be well-educated. The opportunity to acquire an education and thus a profession via entry to teaching removed the necessity of fathers or elder brothers having to support their daughters or sisters indefinitely, and this was obviously a strong argument in favour of allowing women access to higher education.(15)

Emily Davies and Anne Clough were agreed on the importance of girls being able to learn mathematics, but an equally contentious issue was whether girls could learn Greek. Not knowing Greek was seen by many otherwise well-educated women as an enormous handicap, which prevented them from practising some literary forms, as well serving to restrict their learning and to exclude them from the world of educated and cultured men.(16) Catherine Winkworth wrote to a master at Clifton College in 1873, ie. after five years of 'Lectures for Ladies':

'I am afraid you think me more 'higher educated'than I am. I can't read your Sophocles, except the English parts. My sister and I were taught Greek for a little while, but we were soon interrupted, and I never had another chance. '(17)

For a woman who had made a living and a reputation for translating from German this deficiency in her education was obviously not some idle whim of the dilettante student. For other women the need to be able to follow a curriculum identical to that followed by men was partly in order to be professionally qualified on the same terms and to the same standards so as to be able to earn a living by practising a male profession, partly it was in order to establish the principle that women were the intellectual equals of men. Emily Davies came down more heavily in favour of the latter argument, while Anne Clough supported the former as she was particularly anxious to develop the teaching profession. The ironic fact, or perhaps one should not seek irony as the explanation for what happened to these ideals, is that ultimately neither Anne Clough nor Emily Davies could be said to have achieved their aims. Despite the founding of Girton and Newnham Colleges at Cambridge, and the winning by women students of highest mathematical honours, whole areas of the curriculum remained effectively closed to women as they were still unable to enter those professions for which higher education was preparing men: law, accountancy, architecture, and engineering, as well as the better known case of medicine. The profession which they were both allowed and encouraged to enter, teaching, was segregated into male and female spheres where women were not only paid on differential scales to men but were also to be found in the lower status end of the profession, teaching in elementary board schools. (18)

Most of the historians of Bristol university are disparaging of these early days: 'the syllabus fills us with misgivings', (19) 'the absence of systematic teaching' (20) and while it is recognised that the evening students were 'the life-blood of the little college' this was seen as a weakness because it meant that the "undergraduates" proper would have no sense of cohesion'.(21) The greatest scorn of the historians however is reserved for the women students. It is assumed that the motives of the 'numerous young ladies from Clifton' were trivial and that they used the College as 'a type of finishing school'. Whereas historians of adult education, by ignoring the movement for the higher education of women, assume that middle-class women were somehow not adults, historians of Bristol University assume they were dilettante. The combination of these

biases results in historical accounts which overlook the fact that the extension movement originated in the demand for higher education for women and which consequently also fail to acknowledge that the civic universities owe their existence to the movement which Anne Clough started in Leeds in 1867. (22)

By the end of the century middle class women were able to matriculate and enrol for university degrees, and could follow the same curriculum as men, although they were often taught separately. (23) It was considered desirable that women should study from home, although the strictly chaperoned colleges of Oxford and Cambridge were available for a minority. The idea that women's constitutions were too frail to permit them to study had largely disappeared and women followed rigorous and demanding courses. The purposes of this education were still not clear however. Having achieved their degrees, few professions were open to women except for teaching. Graduates of the women's colleges at Oxford and Cambridge were much in demand as teachers in the independent public and day schools for girls which were to be found in all the major cities. The main expansion of the teaching profession, however, was due to the system of Elementary Schools which had been set up by the 1870 Act and which were administered between 1870 and 1902 by local school boards, and a degree was not a necessary qualification for teaching in elementary schools.

Connections

How can we compare the opening up of higher education to women with developments in the curriculum for working class women and girls? In many ways the different kinds of education available to middle class and working class women are an illustration of the same kind of relationship which existed between the lady philanthropists and their working class clients, as commented on by Anne Summers:

'In asserting a particular feminine point of view, women philanthropists made an indirect contribution towards the emancipation of women of their own class. However, their philanthropic initiatives were often diametrically opposed to the emancipation of women in the social classes beneath them.'(24)

The majority of the women who were involved in the promotion of higher education at Bristol were also involved in philanthropic work of some kind. There was a long tradition locally of women being especially active in educational work, from Hannah More's schools for Somerset children which she founded in the early nineteenth century to Mary Carpenter's 'Ragged Schools' for destitute children which were the subject of national attention in the 1860's. Frances Power Cobbe worked with Mary Carpenter in the 1860's before moving to London and embarking on her campaign against domestic violence. Catherine Winkworth also knew Mary Carpenter and Miss Carpenter is one of the two women who appear in the record of those attending the meeting to set up the university college in 1874, though she does not appear to have spoken. Another philanthropic activity was home visiting, following the example of Octavia Hill's London schemes. (Elizabeth Sturge, whose account of the 'lectures for ladies' was quoted above moved to London in 1886 to work with Miss Hill returning in 1891) In the 1870's a number of Home Encouragement Societies were founded the purpose of which was to encourage neat and tidy homes, and annual exhibitions held contests which were judged by panels of ladies from prominent local families. (25)

The need for home improvement was linked to the education of both girls and adult women as it was felt that only by education and example could women be encouraged to provide 'fit homes for decent men and women'.(26) Anne Summers argues that earlier in the century it was the fear of riot and sedition which led middle class women to start visiting the homes of the poor, often the homes of their husbands' employees. By the 1870's, the motives had become part of a general concern to improve the standard of working class housing, to encourage working class women to give up paid employment in order to devote themselves to housework and care of children, with the over-riding purpose of improving national standards of health and hygiene. The same group of people who were active in promoting higher education for women at Bristol were also involved in a number of philanthropic movements which advocated the provision of evening classes for working class women and girls . The connections between these two movements thus are to be found in the influential activities and arguments of Percival and other members of his circle. According to Meller the particular character of Bristol's social and intellectual institutions as developed in the second half of the nineteenth century was due to the influence of a group made up of men and women who were Liberal in their political allegiance and either Anglican or Quaker in their religious persuasion.

Before looking in some detail at the variety of both voluntary and statutory, or state funded, provision of evening class education for women and girls in Bristol in the period 1865 to 1900, we can briefly consider the history of the domestic curriculum with particular reference to that of adult education . The curriculum in higher education was essentially based on the kind of education offered to boys in the ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge and the innovation demanded by the movement for the entry of women to higher education was that women should also be able to follow this curriculum. The demand of reformers such as Anne Clough and Emily Davies was that girls should not have to study those subjects which were considered proper for girls, especially the feminine accomplishments taught at the boarding schools for young ladies which had been condemned by the Taunton Commission.

The predominance of domestic subjects was to be found in all types of education for girls although this varied from the emphasis on deportment, music, drawing and sewing for middle class girls, to what amounts to a obsession with neatness, tidiness, and plain sewing for working class girls. Formal education for working class girls was relatively new in the mid-nineteenth century and such instruction as was given was provided by a mixture of voluntary and parish schools, but everywhere we find an insistence that girls should acquire domestic skills. That these should be formally taught in schools also assumes that girls were not being adequately taught by their mothers, and there were a number of voluntary initiatives which aimed at instructing adult working class women in housewifery. A survey of the variety of types of adult education in the first half of the nineteenth century by June Purvis (27) shows that where women were admitted to bodies such as Mechanics' Institutes or adult schools the education provided for women was in domestic subjects. The other major subject taught to women and girls was reading , combined with religious instruction, and here the emphasis was on moral improvement. Cleanliness and godliness went hand in hand for the moral crusaders, and the faith in the power of women to raise the physical and moral standards of the nation is seen in the insistent linking of the domestic and the religious in the curriculum.

A further reason for insisting on domestic instruction for girls was the expectation that the main source of employment for working class girls outside the home, either instead of or before marriage, would be domestic service. We shall return to this connection when looking at what constituted vocational education for girls, but we can note here that Hudson, in his history of adult education published in 1851, lamented the decline of female adult schools for evening instruction for 'the education of the domestic servant in this country has been grossly neglected'. (28)

Evening School Education in Bristol

The 1870 Education Act provided for the setting up of local school boards which were charged with providing elementary education, up to the age of 10, for all children. The 1880 Act made it compulsory for parents to send their children to the local schools. This provision fell far short of the aims of reformers such as Percival for it did not provide for the needs of employers for a skilled work force, nor did it provide for the needs of adults. Education provided out of money raised from the rates did not result in the disappearance of the many other kinds of education which were paid for either by voluntary contributions or by ancient foundations. However during the period 1865 to 1900 there was a gradual and steady increase in publicly funded education, and a withering away of the older forms of voluntary provision with a consequent change in the role of the philanthropists. This shift can be seen clearly in the work of the Bristol Evening Class and Recreation Society, which existed from 1884 to 1895, and the extension during the period of the work of the Bristol School Board.

The Bristol Evening Class and Recreation Society issued a prospectus and solicited support for its aims in 1884. The provisional committee was chaired by John Percival and the treasurer was Emily Sturge, the sister of Elizabeth Sturge whose account of attending the original extension lectures was quoted above. (29)

The Evening Class Society set out its aims in the prospectus as to 'assist and supplement by Evening Classes; efforts for the intellectual, moral and religious improvement of Boys and Girls after they had left elementary schools'. The Society devised a system of districts, based on the districts of the School Board, and volunteer visitors were to be assigned to each district. Their job was to get to know all the school leavers in their district, to introduce them to the evening classes, to keep up a permanent relationship with them, and to act as adviser and friend. It was hoped that 'ladies who have some leisure may be found willing to undertake this portion of the work'. By 1890, when Percival was still Chairman and Emily Sturge still Treasurer, the Society was organising lectures in elementary science, and domestic economy, and instruction in Woodcarving, Fret Work, Carpentering, Painting, Drawing, Music, Singing, Musical Drill, Chemistry, Shorthand, Book-Keeping, Modelling in clay and Logic. All this work was supported by subscriptions and some of the cookery classes were subsidised by ladies of Clifton out of their own pocket. The report of 1890 notes however, that changes in the evening class code had meant that some subjects could now receive a grant from the Department of Science and Education, and that other subjects were now being provided by the school board, and were thus removed from voluntary provision. There remained, however, categories of subjects for which grant was not available, for which subscriptions were requested particularly in respect of religious education. The report of 1895 is the final report as the Evening Code of

1893 had allowed local school boards to set up evening classes, and it was felt that the society no longer had a useful role. 'Recreative' subjects could now be provided by local School Board evening schools which replaced the voluntary activities of the Bristol Evening Class and Recreation Society.

The Bristol School Board, which had been set up in 1871 as described above, following the 1870 Act, provided evening classes at a number of different centres, mostly in school accomodation. Evening School Directories exist from 1897 . Prior to this date there was some evening class provision, but as we have seen the extension to the evening school code of 1893 encouraged local school boards to extend their activities. The prospectus of classes as laid out in the Evening School Directory is very similar to the kind of provision made by the voluntary society. This raises the point which is often overlooked, that whereas the shift from voluntary to statutory is seen as highly significant in terms of funding and organisation, in terms of the curriculum it may have had very little effect. This is true of initial education also where the schools which had been run by voluntary, often religious, bodies did not change their syllabuses when they became supported by state funds. The aims of the philanthropists, and those of the state, in so far as we can identify the aims of the state, were not very different. Where the education of girls is concerned the curriculum of the philanthropists and of the School Boards is identical in its insistence on the acquisition of domestic skills.

From looking at the Evening Schools Directory for Bristol in the period 1897 to 1902, it would seem that only Domestic Economy, Needlework and Dressmaking were provided exclusively for women ,all other subjects appear to be open to both women and men, and also to boys and girls. In fact the prospectus for 1897-8 offers separate provision for men:

'Men's Classes- a separate class will be formed in every school for men who prefer to be taught be themselves, and the Board is prepared to render more individual assistance in the men's classes.'

It is not clear why this special offer was being made to men, presumably to try and encourage them to enter what was already being seen as a female domain.(Further clues may be available in the School Board minutes, if they exist.) Where classes were held in schools which were single sex, then the evening classes were also single sex, as this example from the 1897-98 Directory shows. (see next page). From this example we can see that the curriculum for men and women was differently inflected, and in ways that seem surprising to us today. Both sexes could study basic literacy and numeracy, but women seem to be encouraged to do physical exercises (perhaps today's keep fit?) and men to do shorthand and book-keeping. Both can attend 'Ambulance', described elsewhere in the prospectus and equivalent to today's 'First Aid', but women do cookery and men drawing.(30) In part these differences reflect the gendered structure of occupations in the period. 'Drawing' was the basis for a number of skilled trades rather than a ladylike accomplishment, and shorthand and book-keeping were the tools of the clerk, which was then a male occupation. Office work was however rapidly growing in this period and we can see the recruitment of women into office work reflected in curricular innovations. The Evening School Prospectus for 1898-99 quotes from the Vice-President of the Council on Education at length on the need for more commercial education as 'commercial pursuits ... were open to the competition of the whole world'. The Evening Commercial Schools, it is claimed, provide a curriculum

NEWFOUNDLAND ROAD
EVENING CONTINUATION SCHOOL,
FOR MEN AND BOYS.

Head Master .. Mr. W. E. BRAUND, Certificated Teacher

SUBJECTS OF INSTRUCTION AND STAFF.

Reading	}	Mr. F. POMPHREY, Certificated Teacher.
Writing and Composition		Mr. A. C. TURNER, Certificated Teacher.
Arithmetic		Mr. L. A. DARLINGTON, College Trained Teacher.
Needlework		Mr. W. J. YANDELL, College Trained Teacher.
Domestic Economy		Mr. A. W. MARSHALL, College Trained Teacher.
History and Duties of a Citizen	Mr. A. W. MARSHALL, College Trained Teacher.	
Shorthand	Mr. F. A. GUNNING & Mr. H. MOORE, Certificated Teachers of Shorthand.	
Book-keeping	Mr. F. A. GUNNING, Accountant.	
Ambulance	ALEX. N. HERON, Esq., L.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., L.M.	
Drawing, 2nd Grade	Mr. F. W. GREGORY, Certificated Art Teacher.	

The Men's Class will be under the same Teacher as last year.

TIME TABLE.

Day	Hour	Subject
Monday	7.30 to 8.30 8.30 to 9.30	Reading and Writing, Shorthand, 2nd Grade Drawing. Elementary Bookkeeping, Arithmetic, 2nd Grade Dwg.
Tuesday	7.30 to 8.30 8.30 to 9.30	Reading and Writing, Shorthand. Advanced Bookkeeping, Arithmetic.
Thursday	7.30 to 8.30 8.30 to 9.30	Reading and Writing, Ambulance. History, Life and Duties of a Citizen.

NEWFOUNDLAND ROAD
EVENING CONTINUATION SCHOOL,
FOR WOMEN AND GIRLS.

Head Mistress—Miss A. M. M. FOWLER, College Trained

SUBJECTS OF INSTRUCTION AND STAFF.

Reading	}	Miss H. A. COVINGTON, Certificated Teacher.
Writing and Composition		Miss C. EYRE, Certificated Teacher.
Arithmetic		Miss L. C. WELLS, Certificated Teacher.
Needlework		Mrs. PAYNE, 1st "Metropolitan" making.
Domestic Economy		Miss C. EYRE, Certificated Teacher.
Needlework, Cutting-out and Fitting	Mrs. PAYNE, 1st "Metropolitan" making.	
Vocal Music	Miss C. EYRE, Certificated Teacher.	
Physical Exercises	THE HEAD MISTRESS, College Trained.	
Ambulance	ALEX. N. HERON, L.R.C.S., L.M.	
Cookery	Miss L. A. SIMMONS, 1st C.	

The Class for Adults will be re-opened.

TIME TABLE.

Day	Hour	Subject
Monday	7.30 to 9.30	Reading and Writing, Arithmetic, Domestic Science, Needlework.
Tuesday	7.30 to 9.30	Cookery, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic.
Thursday	7.30 to 9.30	Needlework and Dressmaking, Ambulance Exercises, Vocal Music.

which meets 'the requirements of modern business life' and classes for men and women , boys and girls, were to be held in five different centres. Subjects included French, Commercial Arithmetic, Commercial Geography, Business Training, and Shorthand. Although occupations were highly segregated by gender, and thus vocational education is also gender segregated, we can see that in this period office work was changing its gender character and there is a consequent co-educational strategy in some areas of the curriculum.

The Evening School Directory for 1901-2 shows that by the end of the period with which we are concerned , education in the evening was being offered to both boys and girls and men and women. There was very little restriction on what could be studied by women and girls, indeed it would seem that the only classes which were restricted to one sex were those in cookery and needlework which were closed to men. However from the attendance patterns, and the pattern of provision in mixed or single sex classes, it would seem that evening classes were in fact organized by gender. At the level of elementary education, here provided by what were called Continuation Schools, classes in Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography and History, could be followed in either boys schools, girls schools or mixed schools. Commercial Education was , as we have seen, co-educational. There was a third level of provision, corresponding to the Higher Grade Schools, which provided classes for matriculation. Here entry was open to both men and women but choices were influenced by gender, with some subjects being common to both sexes, while others such as Hygiene, taken by girls, and Building and Machine Construction, taken by boys, were seen as suitable for one sex or the other, as still occurs today.

Before moving to a conclusion about the ways in which this curriculum is still with us in adult education, I would like to look briefly at two other developments in this period, which although they do not lie within the field of adult education, still have implications for the general development of education for working class women and girls, and which form both a marked contrast to the educational developments for middle class women and girls and also provide a connection between the two spheres. One is about the formation of the curriculum in further education, the other is the curricular innovation of 'Domestic Science'.

Further Education was , in effect, founded in the period from 1889 to 1902. This period saw the implementation of central funding for further education through grants from the Department of Science and Art to local Technical Instruction Committees, as provided for in the 1889 Technical Instruction Act. This money was supplemented by the 'whisky' money of 1890, (Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act) such that in this period many of the buildings in which polytechnics and colleges are to be found today were built. After 1902 further education came under the auspices of local education committees and there were no capital funds available . Less important however than the buildings is what was taught in them and as Gill Blunden has shown (31) further education for girls consisted almost exclusively of domestic education. The Technical Instruction Committees were not elected as were School Boards, so women did not have the opportunity to put themselves forward. They could be co-opted but this was uncommon. It was assumed that the only technical education suitable for girls was in domestic subjects so as to equip them for employment as domestic servants. It is here that technical education for girls meets up with the other developments in domestic science.

The term domestic science has so entered our vocabulary that we rarely consider the significance of the word 'science'. For a number of key educational reformers in the 1890's however, the inclusion of the word science was crucial. Ehrenreich and English have traced these curricular innovations in the USA and shown how the main proponents of the domestic science movement were feminists. They were women who had taken advantage of access to higher education in order to qualify as teachers, and who then tried to change the science curriculum so as to make it more relevant to girls. (32) In Edinburgh, as Helen Corr (33) has shown, domestic science was part of a feminist movement, co-ordinated by women who were also involved in fighting for the suffrage and for local representation. They used the positions they had gained on the Edinburgh School Board to argue for the inclusion of domestic science on the curriculum for girls. The domestic instruction offered to girls in the new further education colleges also drew on a new method of scientific instruction. In addition a number of localities used the grants available under the technical instruction act to set up colleges of home economics. The nearest one to Bristol was in Bath and it was established in 1892. It was intended to provide classes for women and was established by the Committee for Technical Education. The rather odd thing about the Bath College is that it states quite firmly that classes are for 'ladies', whereas the majority of education provided by local technical education committees was aimed at the working, or at least the artisan, class. The College was able to qualify students as teachers in 1895 which is some indication that it was intended for the daughters of the middle class.(34)

The terms on which grant was provided for technical education were not very clear and much depended on local circumstances. University College Bristol, with which the first part of this paper is concerned, became embroiled in a dispute with the Merchant Venturers College in the 1890's over the whisky money. Technical instruction at the latter institution was grant-aided but science instruction at the university college was not. It is interesting that the university college tried to obtain such money for its science classes but it never proposed either to provide domestic science instruction, nor was this ever seen as appropriate to the university, whereas scientific education, presumably at a technical level, was appropriate when it came to getting a grant. The implications of these distinctions are only visible to us in gender terms when thus spelled out for it seems quite unthinkable that universities should instruct in domestic science. We have to ask why? In the 1890's it would seem that there were no laid down criteria about what was appropriate to the new university colleges, and there was also room for argument with the Department of Science and Art about what constituted technical education.

It is impossible to provide anything more than some suggestions in answer to such a speculative question. One relevant factor is that the women who were involved in the promotion of higher education for women wanted access for women to the established (male) curriculum. Their battle was for women to be able to learn Greek, not for learning better methods of washing pans. As we have seen most of the women who took advantage of the university lectures for women were from middle class families, and the cost of both the extension lectures, and the degree courses once they were available to women, (35) made it impossible for either working class women or working class men to study at university level. However, it is not so simple as to be able to say that the established university curriculum was deemed appropriate for middle class girls while the domestic curriculum in its new scientific garb was for working class girls for, as we have seen,

at Bath the new College was specifically for 'Ladies'.

Social class, and specifically the wherewithal to pay for education was one factor governing both women's entry to higher education and the curriculum they followed, but equally important is the construct of femininity which was being applied to the daughters of the middle class. The feminist reformers were applying a model of femininity equalling masculinity, although the strength of the equality concept varied from the stance of total identity taken by Emily Davies to that of modified equality favoured by Anne Clough. They were in opposition to a view which saw women as quite different from men with different needs, different lives, and different career futures. This latter view, while it emphasised the domestic curriculum, was not necessarily one which entailed a concept of femininity as inferior to masculinity but was capable of inflections which stressed the importance of providing education which was relevant to the needs of women and girls, rather than a slavish imitation of the masculine curriculum. In this form it could be quite compatible with the aims and ideals of some of the feminist reformers and we can see examples of how the domestic curriculum could be radicalised in the development of domestic science; in the work of the Co-operative Guild; in the work, for example, of the University Settlements in providing education for working class women in methods of child care; or the work of the maternity clinics set up during the first world war which led to the campaigns for a national health service and a family allowance.

Conclusion

What kinds of connections can we make between the changing curriculum for women in the period 1865 to 1900 and the present? Many of the arguments, as we have seen, are still the subject of debate and the different versions of equality outlined above are to be found in competing femininisms today. I would like to return to the Evening School curriculum in the 1890's and the shift from the voluntary provision of the Bristol Evening Class and Recreation Society to the statutory provision of the Bristol School Board. The voluntary society was able to give up its existence in 1895 because the School Board had broadened its curriculum and was offering subjects such as Singing, Drawing, and Dressmaking which had previously been provided on a voluntary basis to adults. However the Society saw some of these subjects as 'recreative', whereas the Evening School Code would only support subjects which were 'instructional' or, in our terms, vocational. The significance of the education offered to women and girls was that it was at one and the same time both instructional and recreative. The domestic curriculum prepared girls for domestic service but it also instructed women in how to be 'efficient' wives and mothers. In the years immediately following 1900 there was a national drive to improve standards of housekeeping, following the need for healthy recruits for first the Boer War and then the First World War. After the First World War the servant crisis, ie. their disappearance, meant that middle class women and girls, also needed instruction in the domestic skills. A number of writers have examined both the history of the domestic curriculum and its continued existence in secondary education for girls (36) but its predominance in the adult curriculum has not been the subject of much attention. A historical approach helps us to see how it came to be established in the evening school provision where it was defined as vocational.

Today 'classes for ladies' will be part of the non-vocational programme of LEA provision and will be subject to whatever constraints are currently favouring or disadvantaging leisure classes. It is assumed that women take subjects such as cookery or dressmaking or keep-fit as part of their leisure. We also know that the consumers of these classes, despite being classified by their husband's occupation, will include a number of women who are middle class; some who are in the shifting C2 or 3M occupational social class categories; and very few who are unskilled manual working class. The domestic curriculum, aimed at the working class women and girls in the 1890's, has survived in adult education by attracting middle class women. Its function in adult education is seen as adding to the quality of leisure it is not the remedial curriculum of the nineteenth century philanthropists. One could however argue, as does Nell Keddie in her paper and following a thought suggested by Alison Lurie in a recent interview, that such provision is misconceived as being non-vocational. Alison Lurie described a period of her life in which she 'supported herself as a wife and mother', ie. by choosing to do those things as a job. The leisure curriculum sounds like hard work to me, part of the up-dating of housewifely skills and body maintenance.

In the 1870's and the 1890's, then as now, the curriculum offered and available to women and girls was determined by the double inflection of social class and the construct of femininity. Then as now choices were made within these constraints and the educational paths followed by women were the outcome of gender and class rather than individual ability, aptitude or inclination.

Notes

- (1) See Summers (1979)
- (2) See Purvis (1980) and (1981b)
- (3) Meller (1976)
- (4) See Dyhouse (1984), Jepson (1973) Ch.3, Kamm (1966), Strachey (1978)
- (5) See Stuart (1911)
- (6) Shaen (1908) p. 260.
- (7) Little (1954) p. 290.
- (8) Sturge (1928) pp.16-17.
- (9) Shaen (1908) p.28.
- (10) Report etc (1874) p.18.
- (11) Cottle and Sherborne (1959) p.10.
- (12) See Marshall (1947)

The quote which is always cited by historians of Bristol University comes from this passage of Mary Paley Marshall's memoirs: 'Later on Lady Jebb told me that she went to his lectures because they supplied "such good after-dinner conversation"'. (p. 24) The quote is usually cited as evidence of the dilettante nature of women's interest in education (see McQueen and Taylor(1976) p. 7) but it seems apparent from the context that Mary Paley's tongue was firmly in her cheek. Her own account of studying at Newnham shows how the unsystematic study described by Elizabeth Sturge had been replaced by a rigorous syllabus identical in content to that followed by the male under-graduates, but pursued under the chaperonage of Miss Clough. (Such chaperoning, while preventing the young women from studying with male students, could not prevent them from meeting male tutors with the consequence of marriage for Mary Paley.)

- (13) Shaen (1908) p.260.
- (14) Report etc (1874) p. 18.

- (15) The Winkworth sisters, Susanna and Catherine, moved to Bristol in 1862 from Manchester where they had been tutored by Mrs. Gaskell's husband. Susanna Winkworth, despite her sister's reservations about Emily Davies, was aware of the need to provide for her future, as she wrote in 1846, in support of her arguments to persuade her father to let her join in a class for young ladies to be taught by the philosopher Martineau:
 'The great difficulty is to bring Papa to consent. Whether he will keep to the forbidding of all fresh lessons except Selina's painting? But surely it is as necessary for us as to her to have the means of supporting ourselves, and I presume Papa would not wish to expose any of us unnecessarily to the chance of having to be private governesses because we were fit for nothing better? Pray represent to Papa seriously that I cannot be easy while I could not get my own living without descending far in society, which would be the case at present(owing to my never having received ..any regular or sound education), and that you know how deficient I am in actual knowledge...(I)f anything happened to Papa now, we are, according to present arrangements, not adequately provided for, and he knows it too; so it is but common justice to put into my hands the means of providing for myself.' (Shaen p. 19) Her father agreed!
- (16) See Fowler (1983)
- (17) Shaen (1908) p. 303.
- (18) The Bristol School Board Year Books provide information on both the numbers of men and women teachers employed and their relative remuneration. In 1900 there were 29 male Head Teachers and 63 female Head Teachers, and of Trained Certificated Assistants there were 83 men and 154 women. While male Certificated Assistant received £75 per annum for their first year of teaching, women in their first year received £70. By the 10th year however, men would receive £150 p.a. compared to £95 p.a. for women. For Head Teachers the differential was even greater with men receiving £125 p.a. rising to £140 for schools of 140 pupils or less, compared to the female equivalent of £60 rising to £75 p.a.
- (19) Cottle and Sherborne (1959) p.10.
- (20) McQueen and Taylor (1976)p. 7.
- (21) Cottle and Sherborne (1959) p. 10.
- (22) The Universities of Exeter, Sheffield, Liverpool and Manchester, among others, all owe their existence to the movement for the Promotion of Higher Education for Women.
- (23) At Bristol lectures in French were given separately. See Cottle and Sherborne (1959) p.9.
- (24) Summers (1979) p. 24.
- (25) Meller (1976) p.172.
- (26) Sturge (1928) p. 46.
- (27) Purvis (1980) and (1981b)
- (28) Hudson (1969) p.25.
- (29) The Sturge family were Quakers and engaged in a variety of philanthropic activities. Emily was the eldest daughter and after an interrupted education, such as that commonly experienced by middle class girls, she became interested in the work of the elementary schools which had been set up after 1870. She had experience of teaching in the Quaker Sunday school, and in 1879, having been a visitor at one board school, she stood for election to the Bristol School Board in 1879. School Boards were one of the few public bodies to which women could be elected. Emily Sturge was not the first woman to be elected to the Bristol Board, she had been preceded by a Miss

- Richardson in 1877. As a member of the School Board from 1880 until her death in an accident in 1892 Emily Sturge promoted women's education in a variety of contexts such as the Day Training College for women teachers, founded in 1892, technical education, including cookery classes, penny dinners (a form of school welfare) and evening classes.
- (30) A registration fee of 1/- per session was charged. However there was a system of prizes whereby the registration fee was returned to all scholars who had attended two-thirds of the classes and whose 'conduct had been good'. Nine-tenths attendance carried a bonus of 3/6 while a 'prize of the gross value of 5/-' was awarded to each scholar 'who is neither absent nor late during the whole session, and whose conduct has been good. (see Bristol School Board Evening Schools Directory 1898-99 p.7)
- (31) Blunden (1980)
- (32) Ehrenreich and English (1979)
- (33) Corr (1983)
- (34) Bath City Council (1974)
- (35) Fees for attendance at the new University College were 4 to 6 guineas per session, or 5/- per term for evening classes. Compare this with the fees for Evening Schools above (note 30).
- (36) David (1980), Dyhouse (1976) (1977), Marks (1976), Sharpe (1976)

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ADULT EDUCATION AND THE FAMILY: AN EXAMINATION OF THE PRACTICE OF GENDER CONSTRUCTION

Nell Keddie
University of London

Locating the Problem

The 1944 Education Act designated the provision of adult education by Local Education Authorities a 'leisure time occupation'. Since the Russell Report (1973) which was concerned with a wide range of provision by statutory and voluntary agencies it has more commonly been designated as 'non-vocational' and recently there has been a trend towards classifying this provision as 'courses not related to work'. The distinction between work-related education and non-work related education is increasingly used to distinguish between Continuing Education (concerned with post-experience study, reskilling or retraining and with initial access to HFE by adult students) and Adult Education provision which is also described as providing 'general education'. This paper is primarily concerned with clarifying the location of the institutional provision of adult education within the education system with a view to re-examining its curriculum practices. It starts from the proposition that this provision is inappropriately located in the work/leisure distinction. The designation of adult education courses as 'leisure' or 'recreational' education fails to account for the persistent and salient characteristics of adult education: the predominance of women in its student body and its curriculum bias towards courses in child-rearing and home-making skills and a particular range of 'cultural training' courses in the arts, humanities and social sciences.

The inadequacy of the work/leisure distinction to identify the character of adult education practice with respect to gender is made clear by a comment from the authors of the Advisory Council for Continuing and Adult Education (ACACE) publication 'Adults: their educational experiences and needs' (1982). Their survey found that a total of 22% of a sample of 2448 people over the age of seventeen had been involved in some kind of study during the previous three years. Of these 63% of the men had attended work related courses, and 74% of the women had attended courses not related to work. The comment on this finding reads:

"Differences between men and women with regard to courses taken reflect the fact that men take more work-related courses. Men predominate in the engineering/electrical/mechanical/constructional field, and also in business/management/administration and computer studies. Subjects of this type account for about half of men's courses, compared with only a few percent of women's courses.

Women, on the other hand, are most likely to take sports/gymnastics/keep-fit courses, or to go for handicrafts: these two subjects alone account for almost one third of women's participation. The directly vocational element is much smaller for women, comprising mainly such subjects as nursing/midwifery and secretarial and office training. Among women there is also a larger element of participation in what might be termed general culture and creative areas: languages, arts subjects, cookery, dressmaking,

painting/sculpture/pottery. We do not know, however, whether this genuinely relates to differences in interest and temperament between men and women, or whether men simply do not have the time because of the more pressing need for work-related courses."

This passage is notable both because it locates the problem as the absence of men from courses in 'general cultural and creative areas' rather than in the under-representation of women on 'work-related courses', and because it offers an explanation for this in terms of 'temperament'. It is astonishing, in the light of current discussion about equal opportunities for girls and women in the education system and the labour market, to find an educational report invoking 'nature' as an explanation of inequality, but it is consonant with a body of literature and a practice which rarely makes gender visible except by occasional references to sex differences which are located in individuals rather than in institutional practices.

The central argument of this paper is that an adequate analysis of adult education practice must start by siting it within the sexual division of labour. This goes beyond making women in adult education visible and beyond speaking of 'women in adult education': it is predicated upon the assumption that what needs to be explained is why women consistently predominate in the student body of adult education although they are under-represented in all other forms of post-school education. It argues that an examination of its practices shows that adult education is to be understood primarily as a series of strategic interventions in the family that need to be positioned in relation both to initial schooling and to a broader nexus of social policies concerned with the family. In its formal provision (particularly that made by Local Authorities), in the practice of community education as it developed in the seventies and in the work of voluntary agencies which occupy a blurred space between education and social work, adult education is pre-occupied with women in the home - as wives, housewives and mothers. Neither the liberal consensus, which rests upon a concept of 'universal' or undifferentiated adulthood, nor class analyses of adult education practice have taken gender to be a central issue, and both are patriarchal in character. Adult education is less appropriately constituted as 'recreative', 'liberal' or 'community' education than as 'family' education and it is implicated in the construction of gender with respect to women in their familial roles. The family here is understood structurally and ideologically as the primary site of women's unwaged labour counterposed to waged labour in the labour market. The institutional provision of adult education is counterposed to most HFE provision which regulates access to the labour market and to those forms of adult education, like trade union education, which are primarily concerned with the workplace. It is also counterposed to Continuing Education which is concerned with post-experience education, reskilling and retraining and with initial access to HFE for adult students. The importance of this distinction is that it counterposes 'work' to the 'family' rather than to 'leisure'. It argues that adult education is implicated in the reproduction of the sexual division of labour in the ways in which it privileges women as unwaged workers in the home and in this it is related to a network of agencies concerned with the family rather than the leisure industry.

While adult education practitioners tend to locate themselves in

professional terms by insisting on the discontinuity between adult education and initial schooling, an analysis of adult education practice within the reproduction of the sexual division of labour indicates a continuity with initial schooling which prepared boys for an adult destination on the labour market and girls for an adult destination in the family. It is not suggested here that all women in the student body of adult education are solely occupied in the home since many have 'dual roles', but that curriculum practices overwhelmingly construct women as wives, housewives and mothers. In this sense it is questionable whether adult education courses are appropriately termed 'non-vocational' or 'not-related to work'.

The substantiation of this analysis is complex because despite the known predominance of women as adult education students, little significance has traditionally been attributed to its gender bias and, in the literature, gender has been largely invisible. Also, until recently, the major concern about the composition of the student body focussed on its social class composition and the gross under-representation of working class students. Even in those developments of practice which were mainly concerned to counter the class bias of adult education and, under the term 'community education', to promote working class adult education, gender remained invisible. A re-reading of the work reported by Lovett and Jackson in Liverpool during the last decade reveals that those issues with which most forms of community education has been concerned are those for which women take responsibility in their familial roles: housing, health, education, childcare and rights associated with welfare services and benefits. Indeed, it is possible that the term 'community' is in some sense co-terminous with 'family' and it will be argued that the development of adult education work with groups with 'special needs' (the disabled, the unemployed and the elderly) is contingent on central government policy for "putting care back into the community" and more specifically into the care of women in the family.

A further complexity in the elaboration of this analysis is the distinction between different institutional forms of provision of adult education with respect both to the class composition of their student bodies and their curriculum which argue continuity rather than a discontinuity with initial schooling. Statistics about adult education are crude, incomplete and infrequent but both surveys (1) and figures based on DES returns indicate the predominance of students from social classes A and B enrolling for the liberal-academic classes offered by Responsible Bodies, a predominance of those from social class C1 enrolled in Local Authority Adult Education classes, while those from social classes D and E, including students from ethnic minority groups are most likely to attend basic education classes and other provision for 'disadvantaged' groups. An analysis of adult education which takes its gender and bias to be its salient characteristic requires the relationship between gender and class to be re-examined not least because recent work has demonstrated the ways in which a woman's class position is incorrectly located when her social identity is attributed to her from her husband's occupation. There are more serious implications in theories of class relations predicated upon patterns of male waged labour in the labour market to explain the nature of educational provision mainly taken up by adult women.

CRITICAL AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

(1) Reassessing the social class basis of adult education: the construction of women as wives and housewives.

Examination of the 'general culture and creative' curriculum referred to in the ACACE publication is more appropriately described as a curriculum focussed on home-making skills. Both the categorisation offered by Mee & Wiltshire (2) of curriculum subjects and examination of programmes of courses offered by Local Authority providers indicates a concentration of courses around cookery and dressmaking as well as in arts and crafts which enhance and maintain the home. The publicity which accompanies many Keep Fit (slimnastics, aerobics) classes suggests that, like classes in Beauty Culture, they are aimed towards women's femininity and self-presentation as well as health. The substantial core of courses of this kind to be found in most adult education centres may, without irony, be characterised as preoccupied with 'the home and body beautiful' rather than with 'general culture and creative areas'. The argument that these classes are primarily concerned with enhancing women's home-making skills is supported by the fact that the few classes in which men predominate (eg. wine making, car-maintenance, woodwork, antiques) indicate a sexual division of labour within the family rather than a broad range of 'leisure' activities. These classes are generally understood both by tutors and students as offering the opportunity to learn or improve 'neutral' skills and competences. Where curricula do not address the context in which the skill is used, the practice of gender construction remains implicit.

The range of classes offered by Local Authority Adult Education attract students primarily from occupational class C1 which appears to be congruent with the lifestyle of families with upwardly mobile aspirations with respect to the husband's career and the children's educational chances (3). A recent unpublished study by Rita Kandela (4) which investigated the reasons why women attended computer classes at an adult education centre suggests how women may look to adult education to support their servicing role within such a family. Women students were less concerned to learn to use computers for their own purposes than to gain an understanding of them so that they could 'talk intelligently' to their husbands about their hobby or support their children's interest in computer technology.

Further investigation is required to understand the nature of the educational intervention in the family through this range of curriculum practices and to identify the particular forms of cultural reproduction through which gender is constructed. It is hypothesised that this form of educational provision not only privileges women as wives and housewives in a particular class location but also offers a form of 'cultural training' which is class specific in reproducing patterns of consumption. It is to be distinguished from the liberal-academic curriculum offered by Responsible Bodies which principally reflects, in its concentration within the arts, humanities and social sciences, those disciplines where women are over-represented at first degree level. As well as representing the exclusion of those subjects (Maths, Sciences, Technology) in which women are under-represented at all stages of the education system, it is also, as Jane Thompson has suggested (5), a curriculum which reproduces a patriarchal and mono-cultural culture and has been largely successful in

resisting any reconstruction with respect to gender or race by the marginalisation of Women's Studies and Multi-cultural Studies as separate curriculum areas.

(2) Reassessing the social class basis of adult education: the construction of women as mothers.

By contrast to those forms of educational provision which attract mainly middle class women, those which are targeted towards 'disadvantaged' groups reveal a range of curriculum practices which constitute women as mothers rather than as wives and housewives. Examination of Family and Parent Education (6) (Family Workshops, Family Groups, Educational Home Visiting Scheme, Parent Education classes) indicates a concern with the inadequate mother who has long been the object of state welfare intervention in the family (7). The recent concern with parenting in adult education, which is in practice almost exclusively work with mothers (8), is regarded by many practitioners as innovative but should more appropriately be positioned in relation to long established practices in initial schooling (9). It should also be located in terms of class related practices in constructing the family within adult education. A central issue for further investigation is the degree to which the location of women with respect to race and class legitimates a range of curriculum practices which seek to intervene in child-rearing practices along with further clarification of how the interventions are constituted.

(3) Reassessing 'disadvantage': 'putting care back into the community'

It is a characteristic of educational provision for disadvantaged adults that particular groups are targetted and sought out in the community by outreach work, special publicity or through referrals from statutory and voluntary welfare agencies. The educational provision is frequently sited 'in the community', that is, in church halls or community centres and is, by comparison with classes offered in adult education centres, poorly resourced. The redesignation of work with the disadvantaged as work with those with 'special needs' is more than a change in terminology. It indicates a further fragmentation of the social class basis of this range of educational provision which was recoverable in the term 'disadvantage' (10) and it also indicates a closer alignment between policy about education provision and categories of need which derive from social welfare policy. It will be argued in the development of the research that those categories of special need (the elderly, the handicapped and the unemployed) have a particular relationship to the family. In the first place these are groups which have an attenuated relationship to the labour market. Secondly the dismantling of State welfare services legitimated by the ideology of 'putting care back into the community' (11) means in practice that women will increasingly undertake the care of the handicapped and the elderly in the home with minimal support from State services. The family also becomes the primary source of social identity for unemployed young people and redundant workers. Much 'special needs' provision is based on closer liaison than before between adult education and social services agencies and it increasingly relies on special and short-term sources of funding.

The argument underlying this description of the development of educational provision for adults with special needs is that it is coherent with an

analysis of adult education which positions it structurally and ideologically, in relation to the family and counterposes the family to the labour market. This is at variance with descriptions of adult education as recreational or 'non-vocational' which address the class related practices of adult education or the marginalisation of the provision for disadvantaged groups by reference to a deficiency in the person rather than through the institutional basis of class and gender construction.

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QUESTIONS OF CONTINUING EDUCATION

P. Jarvis
University of Surrey

Continuing education, it would be true to claim, has in recent years become a term with which most educators are familiar and its practice has become known by a number of terms, such as: refresher courses, in-service training, paid educational leave, etc. Yet the term does require a broad conceptual framework, so that it is proposed to adopt MacIntosh's (1979:3) broad definition of 'post initial education' since this appears to be the way that it is currently being employed. While it is being employed in this way it must also be recognised that the term is used with a more restrictive connotation, that is as continuing professional education as opposed to liberal adult education. In this more restricted sense it refers to all forms of education and training that are offered to practising professionals after their initial preparation for their chosen sphere of work. It is, perhaps this latter use that has assumed prevalence in recent times although it is necessary to recognise that both usages refer to a post-initial educational phase.

While the term 'continuing education' has only recently come to the fore, the ideas underlying it (and, indeed, the term itself) are somewhat older, reflecting the nature of social change itself, which is evolutionary rather than revolutionary. Consequently, knowledge has evolved and in the process of that evolution it has differentiated into a multitude of different branches. But, as Max Scheler (1980:76) pointed out as early as 1923, different branches of knowledge evolve and change at different speeds. Hence, religious knowledge is slow to change and adapt, so that it sometimes appears to be out of line with contemporary thought. By contrast, technological knowledge changes with considerable rapidity. Indeed, Scheler regarded this form of knowledge as artificial, since it does not have time to become embedded in the culture of a nation before it has changed. He (1980:76) typified it as changing 'from hour to hour'. Hence, in a technological society, its infra-structural knowledge is 'artificial' and changing with great rapidity.

Professions, as occupational groups, are notoriously hard to define or even to delineate with any degree of accord among scholars - but whatever list is constructed and whatever definition is assumed, there might be more agreement with the assertion that they, at least, are occupations whose practice is based upon an area of knowledge. But that knowledge is not static and most professions utilise those branches of knowledge that are changing most rapidly. Hence, it is almost impossible now for a new recruit entering one of these professions not to expect to have to learn new knowledge, after his initial preparation, and for this to continue throughout his career. Indeed, the more the practice of his profession is based directly upon that new knowledge, the more essential it is for the professional to learn it - a point to which further reference will be made.

Continuing education, therefore, has grown in importance in recent years, especially in those professions that utilise technological knowledge and it is upon continuing professional education that this paper focuses. This is a relatively new phenomenon; there are few schools of continuing

professional education and, indeed, little central planning and organisation of it. Hence, it is appearing, evolving in response to infrastructural knowledge changes, in a rather haphazard manner and, consequently, potential problems appear on the horizon - and indeed, are now coming much closer. Five of these are examined in this paper: provision, education and learning, the nature of attendance, curriculum design and re-licensing. Thereafter, there is a concluding discussion that seeks to spotlight other elements in the future of this new branch of education.

I PROVISION

Since continuing education is emerging in such a haphazard manner the field is rather like a market place in which some people are prepared to sell commodities but are not completely sure what buyers wish to purchase. Departments and divisions of adult and continuing education are springing up in institutions of further and higher education, for a variety of reasons. Nearly everybody, except those wealthy enough not to be concerned, is in the market seeking business and, for some, continuing education provision is being clutched at as the economic salvation of their educational institution. But educational institutions are not the only people in the market! There are private organisations, the professions themselves, the professional associations and, even the employers. It is a buyer's market!

Yet can this continue? Exponents of a free market economy would argue that this is the way to ensure the survival of those institutions most able to provide what the consumer wants. But consumer sovereignty is an economic and a social myth - one that needs to be destroyed, especially in considering the nature of the provision of continuing professional education. Those institutions survive which are forceful enough to sell their commodity whether or not it is the one that the consumer actually needs; they survive that are strong enough and have sufficient resources; they survive by strength not by utility. Hence, the free market does not mean that the buyer necessarily gains what he needs. In addition, the market is not free because it may be controlled by both the financing of continuing professional education and the very nature of knowledge itself.

Therefore, if an employing organisation is large enough to have many employees needing the same type of up-dating, the employer may decide that the organisation is best able to meet the continuing education needs of its employees. Hence, some large organisations now have both their own training and continuing education departments. Killeen and Bird (1980:28), for instance, suggest that something like 15% of the total work force in England and Wales received in-house educational leave in 1976-7. This trend may well continue: Doyle (1983:30-31) notes that in a recent survey of industrial corporations in Texas, '54% placed the training function no more than one reporting level from the Chief Executive Officer and 74% said that they had increased their training budgets over the previous year'. Percentages may be misleading so consider the provision that a large company like General Motors in the USA makes for its employees:

- General Motors Institute (a degree awarding body with 2200 students)
- General Motors Continuing Engineering Education Department
- General Motors Education and Training Department

- Division and Plant Personnel Trainers
- General Motors Marketing Education Department
- General Motors Dealer Marketing Development Department (31 centres)
- General Motors School of Product Service (31 centres)

Five of the above seven are continuing education providers and the company employs nearly 1000 professional education and training personnel (Kost 1980:39). Perhaps it is also significant to note that General Motors Institute is a degree awarding, State of Michigan registered, educational institution.

Yet clearly not all employers are as large as General Motors and many organisations employ specialists for whom it would be uneconomic to provide continuing education. In some of these instances the professional association, and professional organisations, such as the National Boards of Nursing, Health Visiting and Midwifery, either seek to provide or to 'buy in' their continuing educational requirements. Other professional associations, such as the Institute of Personnel Managers, are actively seeking to co-operate with institutions of higher education in the provision of continuing education. In still other instances, there is collaboration between employing organisations, professional associations and institutions of higher education in establishing specific units of continuing education for a group of professionals, e.g. the National Health Service Continuing Education Unit for Architectural Staff established at the University of York (Todd, 1984:89-104). More recently, the British Pharmaceutical Society has re-emphasized the nature of the market place of continuing education by advertising for tenders for a continuing education research project with its members (Times Higher Education Supplement 7.9.84).

Clearly then, at present the professional associations are actively seeking co-operation with institutions of higher education, so that the market place model does not depict reality accurately but neither is it entirely false. Indeed, Killeen and Bird (1980:27-28) suggest that in 1976-1977 about one million people were enabled to attend continuing education courses offered by institutions of further and higher education - but the extent to which these institutions will be able to capture this slice of the market remains to be seen. Hohlmann (1980:83-94) notes that in the United States the professional associations are not only buyers of educational services but they are also regulators and providers of such services. Indeed, she (1980:85) demands, 'If professional associations do not regulate behaviour and provide continuing education, who will?' It is perhaps significant that Milton Stern (1980:23) predicts that:

Universities will be proportionately reduced as providers of continuing professional education; the providers will be the professional associations.

It may not always be possible to translate trends in the USA to Western Europe but it is important to recognise what is occurring in America and to realise that they may happen here also. Hence, two questions, at least arise from this discussion:

- who should provide continuing education?
- is Milton Stern's prediction likely to occur this side of the Atlantic?

II CONTINUING EDUCATION AND CONTINUING LEARNING

The concepts of 'education' and 'learning' often are treated as if they are synonymous phenomena but this is a conceptual confusion that results in policy decisions being made that are over-simplistic. Learning is often regarded as the outcome of the educational process but this is a very restricted view of the concept and it may be defined as 'the acquisition of knowledge, skill or attitude by study, experience or teaching' (Jarvis 1983:5). Hence, an individual can learn about any new developments in technological knowledge relevant to his professional practice by studying the relevant literature on the topic or by reflecting upon experiences in professional practice, so that he may not require teaching. Learning is, therefore, a wide concept and one that is almost synonymous with living, certainly with living and being awake! Hence, continuous learning may be an activity in which a professional indulges because he is a professional in practice - but it is important here to distinguish between continuous learning from experience and continuous learning from study. Reflection upon professional experience may lead to the practitioner developing new insights into his practice but it cannot lead him to knowledge of technological innovations, and to some forms of new technological knowledge. But awareness of need may well drive the professional to study the relevant literature, interest in the topic may compel the professional to do the same, so that it might be claimed that professionalism compels the practitioner to keep abreast with new developments in the knowledge base of his profession in order that he can render the best possible service to his client. It is, therefore, maintained here that continuing learning is an intrinsic feature of professionalism and that the practitioner cannot even be considered a professional if he has not endeavoured to keep abreast with new developments. This argument may be pursued a stage further by claiming that the failure to keep abreast with these new developments is not only an issue of professionalism but it is one of morality, since failure to be the master of the knowledge upon which the professional practice is based results in the practitioner being unable to offer his client the best possible service. Unfortunately, not all practitioners do keep abreast.

Hence, this section must conclude with three brief questions:

- to what extent should a profession be aware of the continuing learning among its members?
- how can a professional association assist its members to keep abreast with latest developments?
- to what extent should continuing learning be a moral question in professional practice?

III MANDATORY CONTINUING EDUCATION

It was suggested that continuing learning is an intrinsic element in professionalism, so that if practitioners do actually keep abreast with these developments why should continuing education courses be necessary? Simply because not everyone keeps abreast with the latest developments in their field and not every practitioner is a continuing learner by study. Indeed, Rogers (1962) showed quite clearly that 16% of medical practitioners were laggards in their approach to learning new knowledge. Houle (1980:159) describes these as the group who:

learn only what they must know if they are to remain in practice.

Their performance is so poor that they are a menace to their clients and a source of embarrassment to their colleagues.

Indeed, their chief source of new information is the representatives of the manufacturing companies who were to convince practitioners that they should adopt new drugs, techniques, supplies etc. Bernardi (1974, cited in Houle 1980:159) examined pharmacists and discovered two groups: those who did and those who did not participate in University sponsored continuing education. The non-participants received their information from sales and service representatives and from the brochures that accompanied any material purchased. Advertising material and descriptive brochures are hardly the best source of new knowledge upon which to base professional practice, or even the best source of continuing learning! Indeed, one of the fruits of higher education, it is to be hoped, is a critical awareness that recognises that information is neither necessarily knowledge nor neutral, and it certainly does not provide the professional with sufficient knowledge upon which to base his practice.

Hence, it may be argued that professions and professional associations are being forced to introduce mandatory continuing education in order to protect the public from the worst practice of the poorest members of the profession. But, it may be asked:

- are mandatory courses sufficient to ensure that the laggards become competent to practise, or should some form of re-licensing be introduced?
- to what extent should continuing learners be exempt from courses in continuing education?

IV CURRICULUM DESIGN

From the earlier discussion it is clear that any continuing education course for established practitioners will contain participants who have mixed levels of knowledge and experience: some will have been continuing learners and others will view continuing education as a necessary evil to be endured rather than an opportunity to explore and exchange ideas and knowledge with specialists and colleagues. This is not mixed ability teaching but something much more common in the education of adults, teaching people with different levels of experience, knowledge and motivation. However, this does raise a number of quite significant issues in curriculum design that may be clothed in the traditional language of education. The continuing learner may attend a specific continuing education provision because he is well versed in the area, interested in current developments in the field, knows what he wants and eager to get it. By contrast, the laggard may attend because he has to, if it is mandatory, and because pressure has been put upon him to do so, not because he has any real interest in the area but because he knows what he wants. He may have needs but he may not know what they are! Providers of continuing education can discover the wants and the interests of the continuing learner by approaching him and asking him either prior to a course or during the opening sessions. By contrast, the laggard may not know his needs and, even if he did, his level of need would be totally different from that of the continuing learner. With the former the curriculum content may be rightfully negotiated with the continuing learner but in the latter it may have to be specified by the profession or the continuing educator. Similarly, the continuing learner may be highly

motivated to learn, so that facilitative approaches to teaching and learning may be appreciated because this demands active participation from the learner. Such motivation may not be present with the laggards, so that the methods employed may have to be a little more teacher directed. But facilitative methods and active participation are the more efficient learning methods, so that the lack of motivation may actually result in the laggards receiving less efficient teaching and learning.

Hence, numerous issues of curriculum design arise, including:

- should continuing learners and laggards be subject to the same continuing education expectations?
- should more individualised educational techniques be adopted in continuing education?
- to what extent should professions use continuing education as a means to control the laggards?

V RELICENSING

The question of control is, to some extent, a question of ensuring that those who are licensed to practise are actually competent to do so. Qualifying examinations are no more than a statement of certification that in the opinion of a group of specialists a new recruit to a profession is competent to enter professional practice. But with the artificiality of technological knowledge those qualifying examinations do not indicate competence to practise for years after entry to the profession. Clearly continuing learners keep abreast with their professional practice and they may be among the most professionally competent practitioners, although this is an equation that cannot be drawn with certainty, but what of the laggards? Perhaps they should be required to demonstrate their continuing competence? But, even if the response to this rhetorical question were to be in the affirmative, the problems of discovering the laggards and examining their competence are almost insurmountable and almost unprofessional. Yet should this give the laggards freedom to remain laggards? Hence, it might be argued that mandatory continuing education might be seen as a way of control and, even, as an initial step in the introduction of mandatory relicensing of professional practitioners. In the United States, pharmacists have accepted that 'in the interests of the public welfare, pharmacists should be subject to evaluation and relicensure at periodic intervals'. (The Continuing Competence of Pharmacists 1974:432, cited in Houle 1980:279-280). In addition, specialist groups in medicine have also already accepted the need for relicensing. Perhaps one of the most significant innovations that has occurred in America is that as early as 1968 the American Medical Association introduced the concept of the Physician's Recognition Award, which is a certificate, valid for three years only, specifying that the physician had spent 150 hours in a variety of forms of continuing education, including - attending courses, reading, publishing etc. By 1979, a total of 178,232 awards had been made and these, at least, demonstrate the continuing learners - but it will also be noted that by their lack of certification every three years the laggards become a little more visible. Hence, can they be compelled to attend continuing education or else be debarred from practice? Clearly, the relationship between continuing education and relicensing is very close and it is a problem that will remain with the majority of professions during the coming years.

Hence, it is necessary to enquire whether:

- relicensing should be related to continuing education in this way?
- continuing education should be regarded as remedial education in order to ensure continuing competence in professional practice.

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

Expenditure on continuing education is growing and will continue to do so; of this there seems to be little doubt. In the United States the annual spending on internal and external continuing education was estimated at \$50 billion by 1980 (Kost 1980:38). If the European Economic Community develops in the same direction, and it appears to be doing so, then it can confidently be anticipated that continuing education will expand here as well. Thus, it may appear that educators are going to have to embrace this new branch of education. This raises some quite significant questions about the educational nature of continuing education. Most education courses are controlled and accredited by a variety of professional and educational bodies:

- who is to ensure the quality of continuing education provision?

If the Universities do this, then does it mean that courses, such as taught masters courses, will become a means of continuing education and 'quality control' for the professions? But what of the short, specialist course or conference, mounted for a specific purpose - how can this be controlled?

The final issue that must be recognised in this discussion is that among the main concerns of continuing education at present are those of provision, access and control. But once these basic organisational concerns have been confronted, continuing education will become a practice for academic study, and a separate academic sub-discipline. This knowledge will form the basis upon which another profession will grow and there will be qualifying examinations to this new profession and, finally, there may emerge the need for continuing education for the continuing educators.

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CONTINUING PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION - A COMPARISON OF INDUSTRIAL AND ACADEMIC PERSPECTIVES

Robin Paisley
University of Glasgow

Aims

1. This paper is intended to provide a basis for discussion at the session and is based on experience rather than detailed research. The experience is that of someone who has recently moved from being responsible for developing Training for Technologists in a large high technology company to being in charge of a unit whose task (within a Department of Adult and Continuing Education) is to develop further the University's Continuing Education services for Industry, Commerce and the Professions.
2. The intended outcome of discussion at the session is to enable those attending to identify appropriate methods, styles and strategies which academic establishments can use to respond to the continuing education requirements of professional staff employed in business.

Context

3. Contemporary developments in government policy towards education are giving increasing value to vocational education and the need for it to be a continuing process is recognised. 1986 has been declared "Industry Year" and has a major theme of linking education with industry so that those in education can gain a better understanding of industry and its value to society. The thesis is that this will enable the education system to produce people well equipped to contribute to the economic wealth of our society.
4. The Manpower Services Commission Adult Training Strategy gains momentum this autumn adding reinforcement to the themes already well expounded by the PICKUP initiative of the DES. The message that initial vocational education is no longer enough to enable people to respond to change is often stated and the task now is to develop a continuing education system which turns theory into practice in a significant way.
5. Continuing Professional Education is well established in fields such as medicine where the professional structure is closely linked with the employment structure. The work of professional people within industry is often not so clearly structured and this gives rise to questions about who determines the requirements for continuing professional education. There can be tension here, particularly between large employers and professional institutions and the fast changing high technology industries are a very good example.

6. In these high technology industries some staff may be referred to, for example, as professional engineers but membership of a professional institution, in the employer's view, and the institution's regulation of standards can be incidental to the employer's recognition of the person's ability to do the job required. This can be particularly marked when it comes to foreseeing requirements for Continuing Professional Education.
7. A possible explanation for such employers taking this view is related to their perception of professional institutions' ability to respond rapidly to change. The committee structures of institutions are seen as extremely slow mechanisms and can put a distance between those who understand the requirements and those with power to effect change. The same criticism can be levelled at academic establishments such as Universities.
8. An emphasis in this paper will be to examine issues surrounding Continuing Professional Education in the context of business such as high technology industries.

Issues

9. The following issues are discussed briefly in the paper in order to provide material for discussion as a comparison of academic and industrial perspectives. It is hoped that others will emerge during discussion.
- . The value of continuing education and training
 - . How requirements are articulated and met
 - . Factors determining the content of courses
 - . Appropriate teaching methods

If statements made seem to be unjustified assertions, please bear in mind that they are intended to provoke discussion rather than present the outcome of research.

Value of Continuing Education and Training

10. For employers, time and money are strongly linked and to send a member of staff on a course to update or upgrade his/her knowledge implies a decision on the value of that training to the health of the business against the salary and overheads paid. Lengthy courses of continuing education and training are therefore subject to considerable scrutiny and their support depends very much on the commitment of the employer to the concept of continuing education and training.
11. Most employers are not very committed, hence the need for the MSC Adult Training Strategy. Employers in high technology industries however are acutely aware of the need to keep their business and their staff up to date and those that are committed to such training tend to carry out much of it within their own resources because of their belief that they are the ones at the forefront of technology, they know what's needed and they have the expertise within the organisation.

Moreover the knowledge is commercially valuable and there is reluctance to share it with competitors.

12. Those in academic establishments value research in the pursuit of knowledge very highly and the link between the knowledge and its benefit in monetary terms is not the driving force. When it comes to structuring courses of continuing professional education the starting point is how much existing information can be put into the time available and a kind of Parkinson's Law rules with the preferred quantum of time being at least a term or preferably an academic year leading to a qualification such as an MSc or MPhil.
13. Continuing professional education tends to be valued in academic terms by the qualification it gives. If what is being suggested doesn't give a recognised qualification then the activity is relegated well behind research and undergraduate teaching.

How requirements are articulated and met

14. Employers who recognise the need for continuing education and training at a strategic level may establish a specialist member of their training staff to distill the ill defined requirements put forward by individual managers within the organisation. Much of the responsibility still lies with individual managers however to ensure that specialist requirements are recognised and met. Employers who are not only committed to the need for such training but are also prepared to invest significantly may establish their own internal training resources to meet the requirements.
15. Most employers are not in a financial position to justify either of the actions outlined in the previous paragraph even if they recognise the need. Training associations may be established to spread costs and this is a role which professional institutions can play. However the relevant expertise is usually only available in the headquarters of the institution and the requirements are best articulated locally in many cases - hence the development of MSC/DES Local Collaborative Projects.
16. Academic institutions ought to have a significant part to play in the process of defining requirements for continuing professional education in business and especially in the provision of appropriate courses to meet these requirements.
17. However, while there is a wealth of knowledge and research in adult education departments about meeting the needs of adult learners, this knowledge may not be widespread in other university departments. The concept of the curriculum of a course being determined in consultation with a client representing a group of potential students (course members) is less common than the concept of presenting a permutation of what the academic already has on the shelf and believes the students should receive.

Factors determining the content of courses

18. Because of the close linkage of time and money in the

employers' minds (already referred to in para.10), they tend to seek continuing training which is sharply targetted to the requirements of the business. Investment in training which is intended to make the employee more flexible by broadening horizons or adding a range of skills and knowledge which may be of use in the future, tend to be restricted to those who have been singled out for rapid advancement.

19. The narrowness of the specification depends on the depth of analysis of the requirements and the degree to which future flexibility is a feature of the resultant specification but the tendency, from an employers' point of view, is to shy away from specifying features which are difficult to measure immediately.
20. Whether a course leads to a recognised qualification is another factor which some employers may not value against the requirements of being sharply targetted. Others however may see the value of a qualification as being a motivator to their staff to undertake continuing professional development and yet others may see a qualification as a passport to another company.
21. Academic staff on the other hand tend to give much greater emphasis to the role of continuing education in broadening students' perspectives and enhancing their ability to respond to new challenges. The sharply targetted approach would be regarded as too narrow and restrictive.
22. The time in which employers would expect even sharply targetted objectives to be achieved usually contrasts significantly with the time academics think they require. Employers, even if they are committed to providing continuing training for their staff expect it to be done in a week or 2 weeks at the most. This too tends to force academics who take on such courses to curtail their ideas on course content.
23. A significant factor determining course content from an academic viewpoint is the research in which the academic is engaged and the course material already constructed from it. It is rare for this material to be exactly what the client needs and rather than just give what exists, staff can use the opportunity for the development of new applications orientated material which may lead to further research ideas.

Appropriate teaching methods

24. Professional staff, when they know they are to go on a course of Continuing Professional Education, anticipate in their mind the form it will take and usually base it on previous experiences. If their last experience has been a university undergraduate course, their anticipation is often tinged with "oh no, not back to being a student again".
25. From the point of view of such students, it is important to recognise that they have much experience now to bring and yet they have probably lost some of their skills to study. They are looking for teaching which engages them, motivates

them and does not make them feel vulnerable.

26. Their employers, who are likely to be paying the full cost of their continuing professional education expect teaching methods which do not waste time and recognise the circumstances of the course members. This means scheduling and locations to suit the course members while taking into account the requirements for special facilities and locations which are a special feature of the course design.
27. From the point of view of university academic staff, involvement in continuing professional education implies a review of the appropriateness of the teaching methods normally employed for undergraduates and postgraduates. Lectures and tutorial supervision are the usual responses and are appropriate in many cases although the style used may need changing for more adult clientele and other methods should also be considered when appropriate.
28. If university provision of continuing professional education courses for those in business increases considerably and involves staff who have only taught undergraduates, such staff may welcome guidance on appropriate teaching methods from those in adult education departments. Some however may take the view that there is no significant difference in methods which they need to learn.

Questions for specific discussion

29. What role do universities have in articulating the continuing professional education requirements of those employed in business? How can they work collaboratively and with whom?
30. What types of course design are likely to be required to respond to an increased involvement in continuing professional education for business?
31. How well are most academic staff equipped to respond to these sorts of requirements?

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A DEGREE IN NURSING STUDIES UTILISING DISTANCE LEARNING METHODS IN THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Charles P. Hancock
Salisbury School of Nursing

The average British citizen knows very little about the German Democratic Republic, a country some 400 miles away from us. No British head of state has ever visited the GDR and there is very little official contact. It is usually portrayed as a drab, authoritarian state slavishly following the Diktat of the Soviet Union. This lack of knowledge is especially so in respect of the way in which the health and welfare needs of its 18 million people are met. It could be argued that this is regrettable in the extreme, since both the United Kingdom and the GDR have many similarities in the way their personal social services are organised. The purpose of this paper is to examine a development of considerable importance in nursing education that is both exciting and innovative for the first time in the English language.

Within the past 35 years, since the German Democratic Republic was founded in 1949, there has been one paper published in the English language describing the structure of nurse education in the GDR (Hancock, 1982). There appears to be no logical reason for this since German is the second most commonly taught foreign language in English schools and the Ministry of Health of the German Democratic Republic and their associated printing house 'Volk und Gesundheit' (People and Health) publish a wide variety of books and journals on health care including a monthly nursing journal 'Heilberufe' (Healing professions) which are cheap and easily available to anyone who wishes to read them. The Ministry of Health of the German Democratic Republic have a deliberate policy of subsidising technical and professional journals. A year's subscription to Heilberufe costs £7.65 whereas a yearly subscription to a comparable English nursing journal costs £40.00 (Subscriptions department, Nursing Mirror). For this reason the majority of material to which I make reference in this paper will be from sources from within the GDR.

Nurse education in the GDR can be divided into four levels.

1. Facharbeiter fur Krakenpflege (Qualified worker in nursing).

This is the lowest level of preparation for nursing. The training lasts for approximately two and a half years and the candidate for training must have completed at least eight years of full-time education. Theoretical training takes place in one of the sixteen District Academies for Health and Social Service professions in the GDR or in one of the five schools for Health and Social Services. There are special regulations for mature students and for women with small children (Beruf fur Dich, 1980, p. 41). There are provisions for qualified Facharbeiters providing they have attained a standard of general education equivalent to that of graduates of the 10th class, to enter training for the next level of technical preparation (Beruf fur Dich, 1980, p. 43).

2. Krankenschwester (Nurse)

Of the 62 Specialist Training Schools for Middle Medical Personnel in the

GDR, 53 prepare nurses. One of these schools, the Dorothea Christina Erxleben School in Quedlingburg, trains only foreign students. The training lasts for three years and is divided into six semesters. There is some 1770 hours of theory divided among 26 subjects. (Basic and further education of Middle Medical Personnel in the German Democratic Republic, 1981, pp. 93-94). Although all students receive a stipend and for married women or mature students (i.e. those over the age of 25) there are special allowances which provide a proportion of their previous income, it is possible for those students who do particularly well to receive a supplementary grant as a reward for their effort. (Instructions regarding the interpretation of Protocol nr. 16/1974 about the payment of stipends and training grants to students in the middle medical schools: Ministry of Higher and Technical Education, instruction nr, 9, p. 97, Berlin 1974. Further explanatory notes relating to Protocol nr. 16/1974 and its application to certain occupational classes of the special type: Ministry of Health Order nr. 11, p. 71, Berlin 16th August 1976)

3. Fachschwester (Nurse Specialist)

Once the nurse has worked for two years after qualification, he or she is eligible to undertake Fachschwester (Nurse Specialist) training. There are six areas of specialisation:

1. Operating department nurse
2. Occupational health nurse
3. Community nurse
4. Nurse specialist for anaesthesiology and intensive care
5. Nurse specialist for dialysis and renal transplantation
6. Nurse specialist for psychiatry and neurology. (Beruf fur Dich, 1981, pp. 71-73)

The training lasts for one year irrespective of the speciality being studied and consists of a theoretical component for which the student must be given time off with pay and a practical experience, part of which may be taken within the seconding institution and part of which must take place in other delegated establishments (regulations relating to the extension of further training of nurses; further interpretation of the Regulation of December 12th 1975: Order of the Ministry of Health of the GDR, nr. 3 p. 20, March 1978). Once the student successfully passes all tests of competence they are then eligible to take and use the title 'Fachschwester/Fachpfleger' (Beruf fur Dich, p. 74).

4. Diplomschwester/Diplompfleger (First degree in Nursing)

This represents the most academically oriented of all the levels of continuing education for the nurses of the GDR although since 1980 there has existed a degree in Medical pedagogy (DiplomMedizinpadagogen). (The preparation of teachers of nursing in the GDR will form the basis of a further paper at a future date).

The decision to create a degree in nursing in the GDR owes its origins to the response of the Section 'Nursing' of the Ministry of Health of the GDR to two separate, though in the end apparently interconnected, occurrences. The first of these was the resolution of the Conference of Health Ministers of the Comecon countries in Havana in 1973 to strengthen the theoretical part of the preparation of senior middle medical personnel

(principally nurses) for their function as 'executives of decisions of the people regarding their local medical provision' (Finzel, 1973). The second appears to have been the delivery of a paper by Dr Siegfried Finzel at the 1977 Symposium on the further structuring of the training of Nursing Personnel in the German Democratic Republic. In his paper on the international position of nursing, Dr Finzel compared nurse education in the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany (Finzel, 1977a, Finzel, 1977b, Finzel, 1977c). His explanation of the functioning of the Nursing Studies Unit at the University of Edinburgh and the University of Manchester aroused considerable interest amongst many of the 'Nursing' section members and it was subsequently decided to explore the possibility of developing degree level courses for senior nursing personnel (Dietze, 1982 personal communication).

The official announcement that such a course would begin was made by the Minister of Health of the GDR during the opening speech of the first Nursing Congress of the GDR in March 1979 in Dresden. His speech is of particular significance in the way in which it was seen that nursing was to develop in the GDR because he publicly announced that 'Nursing in the Socialist ethos of the GDR is not now, and will even less in the future, be relegated to the role of assistant to the Doctor ... Nursing is an independent branch of medicine with its own role and responsibilities.' (Nursing today and tomorrow; the opening speech of the Minister of Health of the GDR reported in Heilberufe, April 1979, pp. 357-361). The Minister then went on to announce, that as from 1981, a degree course in Nursing for senior nurses would be established. This, itself, was a part of the state policy of the medical part of the 5 year plan to raise the level of further training of personnel in the Health and Personal Social Services.

It was decided that the course would be four academic years in duration and it would utilise a combination of distance learning methods and direct teaching techniques coupled with short practical allocations. This is a fairly common technique throughout the Socialist lands in almost all areas of adult education. Further, it was decided that the course would be, in reality, a course for senior administrative nurse managers and that the entry requirements for the course would reflect their abilities and experiences (Grosser, 1983).

The course has 5 broad aims:

1. To improve the quality of nursing care.
2. To enable the nurse manager to more effectively plan, organise and control nursing care in her area of responsibility.
3. To enable the nurse manager to play a more effective part in the leadership of the hospital as a whole.
4. To improve the theoretical component of the basic and advanced nurse education and thereby influence the development of nursing theory.
5. To encourage research into nursing and to promote collaborative research between medicine, nursing and associated disciplines (Dietze and Grasse, 1982)

The central areas of the study are Nursing, Socialist Management and the principles of Marxism-Leninism although there are 13 areas of study in all (see Appendix 1). In describing the course in detail in Heilberufe in

September, 1982, Dietze and Grasse write:

'In the theoretical component, Nursing, the student will expand her knowledge of nursing as an independent discipline of medicine. In close relationship to the newest techniques of Prophylaxis, Diagnosis, Therapy and Rehabilitation she will learn the current theoretical position and the developmental tendencies internationally (my emphasis) in the areas of basic nursing care, patient monitoring, the carrying out of certain clinical procedures including physical therapy and the psychological and social care of the patient ... From her study of the history of nursing, both in its current and perspectivist functions, the student will be able to discern the nature and consequences of the development of functional self determination for nursing ... Especially noteworthy is the study of professional ethics in nursing. Nursing is a selfless and conscious service to humanity. This service to humanity is characterised not merely by the possession of a satisfactory understanding of the scientific bases of nursing but also an understanding of the ethical and moral underpinnings of our Socialist Community. Nursing and Socialist Humanism are indissolubly bound together ... The subject of Socialist Management equips the future Diplomkrankenschwester to assume an increasing responsibility and greater independence in her role of the planning and management of nursing care. The course covers three main areas of study, these being Socialist Leadership Theory, the economic basis of the Health and Personal Social Services and - Socialist Law ... The interdisciplinary complex, Anatomical, Pathophysiological and Pathobiochemical bases of nursing, is intended to give the scientific basis which is an important pre-condition for the theoretically sound exercise of nursing skills ... in her study of Microbiology/Hygiene the student broadens her knowledge of medical microbiology and of the prevention of infection, especially the prevention and combatting of hospital cross infection as well as the other areas of hygiene in medical establishments ... The subject area Documentation, Statistics and Information Technology, equips the student to make use of statistical analysis and computer technology in such areas as work organisation analyses as well as enabling her to analyse and interpret data ... The purpose of the subject Pedagogy is manifold. It serves to enable the student to better lead and develop working parties and project teams. Similarly it enables the student to take a more effective part in the teaching of both learner nurses and patients. The student will also become aware by means of this subject area of the training and educational functions of Teaching in our Socialist state as well as the functions, forms and methods employed in the basic and further education of personnel in the Health and Personal Social services ... In the subject of psychology, the student broadens her basic theoretical knowledge of Marxist-Leninist psychology. In particular she is going to be concerned with such specialist areas as personality and personality assessment, with social psychology and the sociological bases of Management, with occupational psychology and other aspects of Sociology. In addition it is expected that her previous knowledge of the individual and the psychosocial problems of the sick would be both broadened and deepened with the purpose of enabling her psychological care of the patients with a variety of conditions and prognoses to be improved ... By studying medical technology, the student will gain a working knowledge of various

medical-technical apparatus. More specifically she will learn how the various diagnostic and therapeutic machines are used and the necessary safety precautions which must be followed. She will also gain an understanding of the latest trends in the development of such equipment ... By increasing her fluency in the reading, writing and speaking of Russian the future Diplomkrankenschwester will be better able to read Soviet medical and technical books and journals ... The subject area Clinical Pharmacology shall thereto enable the student to administer medication to patients and to assume her responsibility for the control of all therapeutic substances within her area of responsibility armed with the latest of scientific knowledge of the nature and effect of therapeutics and the unique responsibility of the nurse ... The subject area culture theory and aesthetics, gives the student a basic knowledge of the Marxist-Leninist theory of culture and aesthetics, the Socialist politics of Culture, the creation of Socialist culture and of the Humanist legacy. With the help of this specialist knowledge the student will be better able to meet the cultural needs of the patient and improve the cultural consciousness of staff in her area of responsibility ... In the specialist study area civil defence, the student will gain specific knowledge relating to the protection of patients and staff as well as the help she and the Organisation are expected to render to the civil population in the event of either major natural catastrophes or widespread destruction of normal medical services resulting from other phenomena. The student would be expected to be able to assess, plan and execute programmes designed to mitigate the effects of such occurrences ... ' (Dietze and Grasse, 1982)

I have translated a part of the contents of their paper in order to attempt to convey to the English reader the flavour and the tone of what they have written. At no point in anything that they have written describing the course is it possible to escape from the fact that the central pillar of this course is the Socialist orientation of the society in which it is being conducted. The party line is emphasised at every opportunity.

The course is spread over four years and is a combination of

- a) Directed distance learning using both written material, radio broadcasts and exercises.
- b) Face to face teaching sessions in the form of consultations and tutorials, lectures, seminars, group exercises and experimental work.

The theoretical work is built on annual residential schools and short secondments to other establishments (Grosser, 1982).

The first course began in 1981 and is now entering its final year. The students will be required to submit and defend a thesis as well as achieving satisfactory grades in their speciality area assessments of competence. Upon successful defence of their thesis they will be granted the degree Diplomkrankenschwester of the Humboldt University of Berlin. There are at present 39 students on the course; all but two are women (Grosser, 1985 personal communication). There has been no formal study of their backgrounds, their educational attainments or their working lives so far and although this would be an exciting study there are, to the best of my knowledge, no plans afoot in the GDR for such a study.

Such a course has interesting implications for a hitherto neglected aspect of adult education in this country and that is the preparation of senior nurses for their specific management function in a context of providing nursing care. Although the Open University has begun to take a more active role in educating nurses with its learning package on the Nursing Process (A Systematic Approach to Nursing Care, O.U., 1984) and although some nurses are being encouraged to take its non-degree course, Effective Manager, there is, as yet, no opportunity for nurses in the United Kingdom to take a degree course in nursing by distance learning methods. There is evidence that some nurse managers are taking the Open University package, 'The Open Manager', although this has not yet been reported in the journals. In addition, the Polytechnic of the South Bank is in the process of establishing a Distance Learning Unit for Nursing Studies though how far this has progressed is difficult to assess because no course material or prospectuses have, as yet, appeared.

Jackson (1981, 1983) describes the facilities for distance learning in Australia and the means whereby nurses can gain advanced qualifications such as the Diploma in Applied Science (Nursing). In another centre, the Armidale college of Advanced Education, external courses leading to the award of Associate Diploma in Nursing Studies (Management), and a number of other advanced courses are offered on a distance learning basis. The reason offered by Jackson for the establishment of such courses is related to the vast distances between centres of population and the relatively low population density of Australia.

It could be argued that distance learning for 'professional' courses of study in this country has been slow to develop because, firstly, it has been felt that such studies required direct teaching methods, secondly, the overall need for advanced academic education for nurses was too small to justify effort and expense, and thirdly, that sufficient part-time and day release courses were becoming available, especially since the rapid increase of places offering instruction in the Diploma in Nursing of the University of London in the mid 1970's.

There are some features of the Diplomkrankenschwester course that could well be studied at some greater depth. There is no doubt that the content of the course reflects the political orientation of the GDR. 400 hours of directed distance learning and 80 hours of face to face teaching are devoted to Marxism/Leninism (Dietze and Grasse, 1981) when one bears in mind that the basic training to Krankenschwester will also have included some 216 hours of theory of Marxism/Leninism this means that by the time the nurse has reached the level of Diplomkrankenschwester she will have undergone some 796 hours of instruction relating to Marxism/Leninism. This is in addition to any political instruction she will have received during her normal schooling. The extent of this emphasis can best be understood by considering that the entire theoretical content of the average English SRN course extends to some 1200 hours in total.

Similarly the teaching of Russian during the course extends to some 320 hours in total (260 hours directed distance learning and 80 hours of face to face teaching). When one combines this with the Russian language content of the Krankenschwester training (some 72 hours of theoretical instruction) the total is nearly 400 hours of teaching in the Russian

language by the time the nurse reaches a position of seniority. The teaching of a foreign language is by no means confined to either the GDR nor is it confined to nurse education within the COMECON group. Instruction in a modern foreign language is a requirement of both the Swiss psychiatric nurse training scheme (Syllabus of the Psychiatric Nurse Training of the Swiss Red Cross, 1980, p. 9) and the Mental Health Nurse Education Programme of Austria where it is a requirement of training that 80 hours instruction in 'Technical English' be given (Groblinger and Stockmayr, 1983, p. 139).

Therefore both in the attention to Marxism-Leninism and also to the learning of Russian as part of the degree course, the nurses are reinforced in the orientation of their state. Similarly, it could be argued, in the teaching of Civil Defence which amounts to 27 hours in the basic training and 100 hours in the degree course the GDR either fears because of her position in Europe and the consequences of attack by the NATO powers or she is preparing for the effects of the reprisals that would surely follow in the wake of a strike against the NATO powers by the forces of the Warsaw Pact. What is, however, incontrovertible is that the nursing Personnel of the GDR are infinitely more systematically prepared for their role in the event of major disaster or military conflict than we are.

On a less distasteful theme the emphasis upon culture theory and aesthetics is an aspect of advanced nurse education that we could well study with a view to incorporating something similar within the English Nurse Education system, either at the level of basic education or after qualification. The reason for this is that many patients who, because of their illness, must remain in hospital for periods of months and, in some cases years, are often denied all access to cultural and spiritual enrichment. By making such subjects a part of nurse education one would not only be enriching the education of the nurse but also providing her with the wish and the means whereby she could immediately influence the quality of the lives of patients within her care.

How far is the Diplomkrankenschwester course actually a course relating to nursing and how far is it a course of political indoctrination? The answer to this question can best be judged by an analysis of the hours of instruction devoted to the respective subjects. Of 2630 hours of directed learning 520 are devoted to nursing (19.77%). The number of hours of direct distance learning devoted to Marxism-Leninism is 400 or 15.2%. A study of face to face teaching hours devoted to the two subjects however shows a quite different picture since, of the 668 hours of face to face teaching, there are 166 hours devoted to nursing or 24.8%.

In conclusion it must be reiterated that 'the facts' do not speak for themselves. By their selection and presentation the reader is invited to draw certain conclusions.

In studying the development of this distance learning degree course one fact is incontrovertible. Whilst British nurse educationalists have busied themselves with evaluations and study tours, in order to learn something of value about nurse education in what are often remote countries with very different systems of health care delivery to our own, they have almost totally ignored a country with a very similar welfare

state to ours and with a not dissimilar educational system. English nurses know, apparently, far more about Nurse Education in the People's Republic of China or the Asiatic section of the USSR than they do about a country that is in reality one of our near neighbours. Whilst we are not even in the planning stages of the development of a degree course utilising distance learning methods the German Democratic Republic has, with little fuss, quietly gone about the business of developing such a course.

It could further be argued that as our nation becomes ever poorer and resources become ever more stretched we should look to those countries who have developed educational opportunities for their workers using the minimum of resources.

The tragedy (and I use the word 'tragedy' advisedly) is that for no valid reason that I am able to discern, English nurse educationalists are apparently almost completely ignoring countries such as the GDR. It is a tragedy because, if the study of advanced nurse education in the GDR brings nearer the possibility that more English nurses will have the opportunity of enjoying an educational experience that would otherwise be denied to them, this can only be to the good for our Health Service, for the patients in our care and lastly for the profession of nursing. This is certainly not happening at the moment and this arrogant insularity may yet cost us dear.

What of the course itself? There is no doubt that it is functionally orientated in terms of much of the content. The German Democratic Republic seems to want senior nurses who are 'au fait' with their technical function as nurses just as much as their function as leaders and managers. Likewise, it would seem that they are trying to prepare their leaders for their pedagogic function as well as to broaden their cultural horizons. There can however be no doubt that the Socialist Unity Party of the GDR intends that its senior nurses will be steeped in the lore of Socialism and dialectical-materialism and that in this course, as in every other technical and educational experience, the party line is made starkly clear. This is, in all probability, the inevitable consequence of the geopolitical situation in which the GDR finds itself. Whilst at the same time the inclusion of Russian language studies would appear to be an inescapable accompaniment to Soviet Russian dominance it may come as a surprise for many readers to know that language studies are not confined to the countries of the COMECON. One must ask the question of their exhaustively thorough preparation in Civil Defence: 'To what purpose is all this energy and expense directed?' The answers may not be comforting for us in the West. That they have opted for a distance learning model is interesting and since we have a well established distance learning organisation in the Open University, the way in which their course is organised may well give us the impetus to consider creating something similar.

In summary one could say that in several ways there are similarities between our Welfare and Education systems and those of the GDR. Both are strongly centralist in nature and in the case of our Education system, apparently increasingly so, and both provide their services, in the majority of cases, free at the point of delivery. Like us the GDR is faced with the challenge of preparing sufficient nurses for a variety of

skilled functions. The manner in which they have gone about developing a degree course that uses a minimum of resources could hold important lessons for us as we grapple with the ever more difficult task of making the best use of what we have. There is no doubt that in this paper I have, perforce, ignored a number of other aspects of their course, for example, the detailed structure of the face to face teaching sessions. I have made no analysis of the learning material that is provided for the students, nor have I looked at the methods of evaluation.

There can be no doubt of one point however. In Nurse Education at least, the German Democratic Republic is neither the slavish mimic of the Soviet Union nor is it the 'Red Prussia' that some would have us believe. It could be contended that, faced with a need to improve the level of advanced nurse education, this country of 18 million people and of which we know so very little has gone about it in a way that could hold important lessons for us here in Great Britain. The question remains as to whether British Nurse educationalists have either the humility or the industry to make the effort?

(I would like to record my thanks to Obermedizinalrat der DDR, Herr Doktor Medizin Jurgen Grosser, Prorektor of the Department of Internal Medicine of the Humboldt University for his invaluable help in providing me with much of my source material.)

APPENDIX 1: Theoretical Subject Plan for the Diplomkrankenschwester Course

SUBJECT	Hours	1st Year		2nd Year		3rd Year		4th Year		Total	
		DDL	FtF	DDL	FtF	DDL	FtF	DDL	FtF	DDL	FtF
<u>Anatomical, Pathophysiological and Pathobiochemical bases of nursing</u>		120	24							120	24
<u>Microbiology/Hygiene</u>		180	50							180	50
<u>Documentation, Statistics & Information Technology</u>		110	25							110	25
<u>Pedagogy</u>		50	12	90	24					140	36
<u>Psychology</u>		90	24	110	24					200	48
<u>Marxism-Leninism</u>		120	24	120	24	160	32			400	80
- Dialectical & Historical Materialism		120	24								
- Political Economics				120	24						
- Theory of Communism/ History of the working Class Movement						160	32				
<u>Medical Technology</u>				60	12	80	18			140	30
<u>Socialist Management</u>		70	20	120	30	120	30			310	80
- Socialist Law		70	20								
- Socialist Leadership Theory						120	30				
- Economic basis of the Health and Personal Social Services								120	30		
<u>Russian</u>				120	24	120	24	60	12	260	60
<u>Nursing</u>				200	48	230	68	90	50	520	166
<u>Clinical Pharmacology</u>						100	25			100	25
<u>Culture Theory</u>											
<u>Aesthetics</u>								70	24	70	24
<u>Civil Defence</u>								80	20	80	20

DDL Directed Distance Learning
 FtF Face to Face Teaching (Dietze and Grasse, 1982)

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SOCIAL WORK AND ADULT EDUCATION

Tom Hale and Billy Coull
University of Nottingham

INTRODUCTION

The speakers became involved in the professional education of social workers in 1974. In 1978 they began a research programme concerned with the unity of theory and practice, a problem which proceeded to redefinition and radical action. Crucial was the response to experience, that of the adult educator and adult learner. Initially, a joint interest in phenomenology compelled critical examination of the taken-for-granted assumptions in which social work education was embedded. It became apparent that analysis and change had to embrace the totality of the educational institution, its roles, relationships, structures, practices and values. Action was informed primarily by a sociological analysis. In order to respond to the learning of professional practitioners it was necessary to attend to the following areas. The main part of the address will consider the impact of these areas on adult learning and in particular, the ways in which they can be changed to facilitate it.

At the beginning stage, two vital conditions prevailed. Firstly was an awareness that the research concerned the education of the professional adult, a realisation that carried implications for its organisation and practice. Secondly, that work to unite theory and practice required action.

What follows are some issues which not only remain alive but which the speakers believe to be of continuing relevance to the adult educator engaged in professional learning.

We begin with the higher educational context of social work education.

1. Academic Culture and Professional Education.

Historically, in the quest for professionalisation, social work education was inserted into the site of higher education. It was assumed that this institutional location would meet the needs and interests of the adult learner and practitioner. This assumption is viewed as deeply problematic. Consider, for example, some of the dominant features of academic structure and culture and how these articulate in conflict with the demands of professional practice:

(a) structures and norms

Separate subject disciplines versus an integrated knowledge base; standardised and bureaucratic assessment as opposed to individualised evaluation; teacher monopoly of institutional power in place of power-sharing (but not abrogation); exclusion of the learner from everyday processes and structures rather than the provision of opportunities for

'real' involvement and participation; a pre-packaged curriculum versus its joint construction; teaching and student centred as opposed to learning and learner centred; didactic transmission in contrast to facilitation; the adult learner's role as 'student' characterised by passivity and dependency rather than activity and autonomy; the unrelatedness of knowledge to everyday life as against its relatedness.

(b) values

The high valuation of bookish knowledge to the devaluation of experiential knowledge as a commodity and private property as opposed to shared learning; an emphasis on literate rather than oral or verbal skills; a focus upon objectivism to the neglect of subjectivism; a celebration of academic skills (analysis, conceptualisation, reasoning, logical argument, the use of evidence, etc.) at the expense of relationship skills; the premium placed on abstract and theoretical knowledge and the devaluation of the practical and applied; the dominance of subject mastery in contradistinction to the capacity to relate stocks of knowledge; the stress placed on cognitive as opposed to affective processes; academic success in place of personal growth and development; competition versus cooperation; individualism at the expense of individuality and groupwork.

The argument can be stated succinctly: the structures and culture of higher education exist in fundamental contradiction to the needs of the adult learner for professional practice.

2. Sociology and Professional Education.

Historically in social work education, sociology has reposed as just one other discipline within a traditional and conservative curriculum characterised by the academic division of labour. It has come to be associated with what is conceptualised as a 'theoretical radicalism' manifest in the works of such writers as Bailey and Brake (Radical Social Work) and Corrigan and Leonard (Social Work Practice: A Marxist Approach). This has taken the form of theoretical, ideological and moral prescription to professional learners, in place of any focus on the educational context. So it is possible to find courses assuming a 'radical' identity in theory, practising a profound educational conservatism, or to attend so-called 'radical' conferences where the radical theoretical content is transmitted through traditional educational forms. Indeed, this was the experience of one of the speakers who some years ago attended a 'radical' conference and was treated to a 1½ hour lecture on the merits of Paulo Friere's idea of 'dialogue'! As a consequence, sociology has been seen to be of little practical use and in a reactionary ideological climate, has been rejected by some (such as Martin Davies) to the periphery of the social work curriculum. In contrast to this precipitate rejection, it is argued that sociology can be put to creative and imaginative use, both in relation to adult education and the institutional context. For example sociology grasps the educational institution as a complex of assumptions, structures, values, roles, relationships and contradictions - all of which impact vitally on adult learning. In particular, sociological principle is axiomatic to the restructure of an educational environment conducive to the learning of the professional adult.

3. Sociology and Adult Education.

Adult education celebrates the role of 'experience' in adult learning. No more is this so than in 'andragogy' where experience is viewed as a "rich resource" for learning (Knowles). The speakers are presently engaged in a critique of andragogy from which the following points are selected:

- (1) Andragogy divorces the individual adult from a concrete social, historical and institutional context; this is an artificial abstraction which 'dissolves' the dialectic between the individual and society.
- (2) It is highly ideological and concensual in that it presupposes so-called 'free', 'rational', 'responsible', 'self-directing' individuals. This predominantly reflects the conditions, reality and experience of the white, young, middle-class male rather than that of the coloured, elderly, female and working-class.

A sociological view analyses experience as the product of socialisation within key institutions such as the family, school and work, via a mapping of individual biography and social career. Such socialisation, far from being a "rich resource" may constitute a key problematic in relation to adult learning. For example, it may leave the so-called 'mature' adult rigid, conformist, deferential, individualistic, competitive, sexist, racist, authoritarian, dependent, passive and fearful of and resistant to change. The failure to grasp the complexity of experience connects directly to the dominance of psychologism and individualism in andragogical thinking (Hartree). More seriously, it disbars the emergence of a more rigorous sociological understanding.

4. Theory and Practice: Redefining the Problem.

Historically represented by the separate institutional sites of Education and Practice, each, note, with a definite culture, the problem has been understood as the transfer of learning from EDUCATION to PRACTICE. How could transfer be ensured? Many attempts have been witnessed, e.g. a recourse to "theoretical radicalism", as discussed, a tendency for adult educators to attend to the problems of Practice - rather than those of Education. Also noted is the joint appointment. Here an individual is situated partly in the educational setting and partly in Practice as an organisational resolution. Given the failure of such attempts some would abolish social work education altogether. It has to be said that such anecdotal examples should be treated seriously as they continue to surface in areas of contemporary provision i.e. continuing education and post qualifying studies. Academic mystification is experienced by many practitioners as contagion. It is a problem which adult educators have to recognise and respond. Generally the problem of theory and practice is understood as the transfer and relevance of "bookish knowledge" to the conditions of Practice. The speakers challenge this notion of theory and practice as it constitutes not its definition but institutionalisation.

A more viable, rigorous and useful definition lies in the adult educator's testimony to the importance of adult experience. In the context of theory and practice, experience is understood in relation to the individual learner, accommodated by educational structure which are

informed by it, and which in turn are grounded in the skills of Practice.

For professional learning this is the problem of the relation of theory and practice.

5. The Theoretical and Practical Grounding of Professional Learning

An educational condition essential to the unity of theory and practice but what does it mean? Theoretically, that educational structures and teaching practice are informed by theory. In this case the key educational structure is a working group, the practice of which responds to a sociological understanding of experience, and, in particular that of the dominant socialising institutions of family, school and work. From this position learning is considered in so far as it is affected by the experience of the male, female; is learning disadvantage reproduced? Does social class affect a use and response to authority? Could racism possibly infiltrate learning, or could the aging learner experience rejection? In other words are unmistakable facets of the wider society reproduced within the educational context to impact on learning and, importantly, impair future practice?

The experience of the speakers confirms, unequivocally, that these practices do occur. Therefore, for professional learning these socially induced "barriers" must be confronted to constitute part of the work of the group. But it is important to state that unless adult learning is liberated from a conservative context these barriers are not revealed. They function, simply, as the social and political hidden curriculum. For example the liberal class wrecked by institutional racism, the teacher demoralised and learning curtailed. Why? Because there was no educational opportunity or awareness of what was happening. The idea that liberal adult education is about equals rests uneasily against observations of this kind.

It is important to state that a failure to reform radically, simply encourages, unwittingly, practices that would horrify the adult educator if allowed to surface. Is it possible that our educational structures and practice foster the very traits our values condemn? For what reason is the oldest group female known as 'granny'? Why do males compete for leadership - exclusively, and why are many working class adults frightened of authority to a point of 'paranoia'? These barriers sabotage learning.

Practically, educational structures and practice are grounded in the skills of Practice. By working to confront all barriers to individual and group learning it is necessary to act, learn and grow. To assess, manage conflict, use authority, organise and decide. Most importantly, to be clear about one's own learning and that of others. The adult learner, because of an emergence from individual experience must have it responded to individually, but, within an interactive situation. Through cooperative work the adult achieves individuality in contrast to the traditional and conservative environment in which the experience is of rejection and isolation because of the dominance of individualism and its related structures. But the entire educational

context can present as learning opportunity if the imprisoning assumptions of conservative education are challenged. Adults can participate realistically to act and to further their learning. They can assume responsibility for it and for that of others. But learning is real, for example, the theoretically fixated learner experiences the discomfort and achievement of action whilst those encouraged to become involved in selection participate in real decision making. They function as liberated rather than infantilised adults. Professional education can be grounded theoretically and practically; it requires real work, support and action.

6. Knowledge, Skill and Action.

What does the professional adult learner need to know? What skills are necessary and can they be demonstrated? To achieve the unity of theory and practice this triad is unfragmented - institutionally or educationally. The assumption that learning simply transfers from educational to practice setting is unsound and may be dangerous. Adult learners need continuing support, opportunity, rehearsal - experience; it can be offered in the educational context. Additionally it is possible to construct for the individual learner a continuum of educational experience that transcends setting.

7. The Integrated Curriculum.

Before turning to the construction of the integrated curriculum it is useful to note the characteristics of the traditional curriculum conceived as an ideal-type. This is defined by an academic division of labour, separate subject disciplines, a cult of expertise, knowledge as private property, the dominance of pedagogy, the insulation of knowledge from the everyday life of the educational context, exclusion of the learner from power, the emphasis on objectivism, abstract theory etc. etc. The consequences include reification, mystification, fragmentation, individualism, competition, conflict, ideology ('Behaviourist', 'Marxist', 'Systems' Courses), a rigid and bureaucratic timetable and a 'hidden curriculum' of control, role, time and space. This can be classified as a 'collection' type educational code (Bernstein) where the contents stand insulated and segregated from each other, or again as Jarvis terms it, 'education from above'. The important point to be made here is that the adult's experience of such a conservative curriculum is one of 'secondary infantilisation'. This reproduces the experience of the child in schooling where prohibition is set on the development of such attributes as control, responsibility, participation autonomy, choice and independence.

By contrast, the interests of the professional adult compel the need to understand and act on a complex, dynamic and inter-related social reality; this demands the development and use of connective and relational skills. The goal therefore becomes the construction of an 'integrated' curriculum (Bernstein) premised on unity. In pursuit of this goal subject disciplines were abandoned, instead knowledge was selected to respond to the needs and interests of practice; cooperation and team teaching was innovated, groupwork was instituted to replace individualistic forms; a rigid timetable was abolished and instead space and time became flexible and negotiable resources;

bureaucratic assessment was reformed and individualised; roles as adult educators changed to become facilitators, consultants, enablers, supporters and resource persons rather than the all powerful directors of every activity; the adult learner was liberated to participate, contribute to and control her/his own learning and to exercise a degree of power, choice, responsibility and autonomy in relation to the totality of educational and institutional structure.

'Integration', however, goes beyond Bernstein's limited concern with knowledge to incorporate the 'subjective' components of learning and to integrate this with the 'objective'. Thus is included the impact on learning of subjective experience via individual biography and social career, and also via ongoing social interaction as the group pursues its work. Finally, the concept of 'integration' captures the everyday life of the educational institution - its roles, relationships, structures and practices - to forge a process of learning ordered to accommodate objective and subjective dimensions. Integration therefore, is of the totality of educational context in which the curriculum is but a central pivot.

8. A Structured Working Group.

The group is structured to facilitate learning and skill. It requires leadership to plan, organise, decide and use resources. This constitutes its objective task. Additionally, it requires sensitivity to the learning needs of individual members, its subjective task. Both roles demand the deployment of knowledge, skill and action. As mentioned, a key part of its work is the confrontation of individual and group barriers. The group is structured to ensure that learning is individualised. It has a dynamic that unfolds as learning proceeds.

9. The Assessment of Professional Adult Learners.

A radical but formal assessment demands understanding of the group, its roles, relationships, its barriers. How and why it is able to achieve change, through what knowledge and skill does this occur? What are the major influences on group interaction and how are they understood - theoretically? This offers recourse to a multitude of explanation not confined to subject discipline.

Given completion of this formal process of assessment, adults share knowledge and understanding of the group's reality. No reform or radical change is more necessary than the arrest of the consequences of conservative formal academic assessment. It functions at the heart of social work education and epitomises, profoundly, the contradictory structures and practices in which it is grounded.

Finally, the intellectual nature of this form of radical assessment is more rigorous and demanding than the conservative and theoretical guessing-games it supercedes.

10. The Implications for Professional Adult Education.

The unity of theory and practice so far described carries important implications for the professional adult educator. Firstly, educators

need to develop a critical and reflexive consciousness in relation to their own practice. Secondly, action and change need to be directed not to the conditions of Practice but to the educational context as a totality. Thirdly, such work demands not remedial nor tinkering devices nor cosmetic adjustments, but radical action in the pursuit of qualitative change. Fourthly, work of this nature is far more rigorous and demanding, both for the adult learner and the adult educator, than the comforting trappings of conservatism and traditionalism. Since the institution becomes a living embodiment of the knowledge and skills it teaches, the role of the adult educator is transformed to become flexible, dynamic and responsive. The adult educator applies stocks of knowledge to everyday life and models the roles and skills assimilated by the adult learner - skills such as planning, organisation, leadership, analysis, risk taking, conflict management, decisiveness, sensitivity, autonomy, flexible use of power, an 'open' orientation to change, etc. etc. Finally, change of this kind only accrues from action; the greatest barrier to its attainment is theoretical fixation, a condition that risks, through an uncritical conservatism, the unity of theory and practice.

TOM HALL

Lecturer in Social Work

BILLY COULL

Lecturer in Sociology

Nick Boreham
University of Manchester

1. Introduction

Adult educators face a difficult dilemma: adults learn from experience throughout their lives, but experience of life in the raw is not always an ideal teacher. A central concern of andragogy is consequently to find ways in which this dilemma can be negotiated. In approaching this question, the seminar raised issues such as the crucial role of self in adult learning; the sometimes negative effect of formal educational institutions on the development of self identity; the role of emotion - stress, doubt, comradeship in adversity - in the learning process; the contrast between the theoretical forms of knowledge stressed in formal education and the situational understanding which underlies competence in adult life; and the ways in which language may facilitate or hinder effective communication and personal growth.

2. Action Learning: Professor Reg Revans

Action Learning appeals to many adult educators as a way of facilitating the process of learning from experience. Professor Revans, the originator of Action Learning, illustrated the techniques by describing how he used it when he was Director of Personnel and Training at the National Coal Board. Colliery managers face enormous problems, both geological and human. At any time a tunnel might collapse or a strike break out. How can an adult educator help them to cope with a job which threatens such disasters almost daily? Not by calling in Management Consultants to give advice on the theory of effective management. While didactic teaching might suffice for routine jobs in the office, Revans found, the only way colliery managers could learn was through comradeship in adversity. The method Revans developed has subsequently been termed quality circles: a manager is asked to visit another manager who is also in difficulties, and they spend time discussing each others' problems. Following this, he returns to his own pit and experiments with the lines of action which emerged from the discussion. Then back for more discussion, and so on for three or four months.

The essential conditions for learning, Revans found, were comradeship linked with adversity. Adversity: we only learn when our problems are so great that we feel we cannot cope. But this alone does not promote learning. There must also be Comradeship: it is only through discussing our problems with someone else who also has problems that we become empowered to effect change.

Revans stresses that discussion is not enough: Action Learning is so called because an essential component is to act upon the inspiration of those discussions, language being an imperfect medium for solving real world problems. Revans also believes that learning to cope depends on developing our self identity, and this is why he stresses the relationship of comradeship with someone else who is also in adversity - normally, preservation of the self against overwhelming challenge can only occur in

the medium of a relationship.

The role of the adult educator is to set up effective patterns of interaction of this kind. Some imposed structure might be desirable, such as a requirement to report on decisions taken at the end of each month, but in the main Action Learning is self directed. Recent years have unfortunately seen the growth of action learning consultancies, which market 'action learning packages'. It should be clear by now that the notions of 'consultancy' and 'package' conflict with the true spirit of Action Learning.

Pursued thoroughly, an Action Learning initiative should not stop with the managers (or others) who were initially involved. In attempting to implement solutions to problems with their own organisations, they should extend the process to their co-workers so that eventually the whole organisation becomes a learning community. Such an organisation is characterised by a pattern of communication whereby the people doing the work at grass-roots level can readily communicate any doubts they feel to the managers. Only where such openness of communication exists are grass-roots problems effectively overcome - not necessarily through the speedy intervention of the managers, but because of the ability to cope which such a communication structure develops in the grass-roots workers themselves. And not only does their ability to cope improve, but their attitudes and their relationships with families improve also. For if you consciously face and grapple with your inability to do your work as an employee, so you undergo growth as a person.

Central to the process of Action Learning, then is the act of facing up to one's own failures. Professor Revans traced the origins of his thinking on this subject to his own experiences in the Cavendish Laboratory at Cambridge University in the 1920s. Revans, himself the discoverer of ionic waves in 1929, was a member of a team of physicists which included Rutherford, Thompson and Chadwick. The Cavendish researchers held a weekly seminar to discuss research in progress. However, unlike other staff seminars in academia, which invariably concentrate on claiming successes, the Cavendish seminars concentrated on failure. You were only chosen to speak if it was obvious to everybody in the Laboratory that the mess your research had got into was so profound that others might benefit from hearing all about it. Such comradeship in adversity, Revans pointed out, contributed to the award of eleven Nobel Prizes and helped lay the foundation of modern physics.

Action Learning programmes have been organised in a wide range of fields ranging from hospitals to Third-World development projects. Evaluation by controlled experiments has demonstrated that this approach can produce real payoffs (Revans, 1980).

3. Learning from Experience in Retail training: Denise Partington

The issue of self identity also emerged in Denise Partington's account of CUE, the Cooperative Union's Education Package for Youth Trainees. Developed under the auspices of the Manpower Services Commission, this work experience scheme for unemployed youngsters was intended to introduce young people to the food retail trade.

The CUE package consists of six audio-cassette tapes and seven assignment books covering the following modules:-

- (1) Review of learning at school; study skills; using the local library.
- (2) The use of toys; toys in the retail trade.
- (3) Retail images - shops, stores, staff, goods, advertising, promotion.
- (4) Legal and technical issues in the growth and planning of shopping centres.
- (5) Legal and technical issues in the location and development of retail outlets.
- (6) Members of the community - the police, the council, trade unions, agriculturalists and traders - their inter-relationships.

There are sufficient assignments in the package for over 70 days of off-the-job-training.

Although methods vary between Co-operative Societies, the basis of the system involves the selection and training of in-store Advisers. These people, selected from among the shop-floor supervisory staff, or assistant store managers or training officers, receive copies of the CUE materials. Each Adviser is provided with a Brief which includes the answers to assignments and guidance on assessment and motivation of trainees. According to the need of each Society, one or more trainees are assigned to an Adviser for both on-the-job and off-the-job training. The Adviser is the in-store contact for advice and guidance on assignments and, depending on the size and geographical spread of each Society, the Store Manager or the Training Officer is responsible for evaluation and assessment of the trainees' assignments. The CUE learning system is based on guided discovery learning and many of the assignments take the trainee out of the store in which they work to investigate wider aspects of retailing of their community.

Trainees attend two separate one-week residential courses at the Co-operative College. Trainees attend residential courses during the first and second thirds of the programme. The first involves an in-depth study of retailing by auction, markets, small stores and shopping complexes, in two contrasting centres - Melton Mowbray and either Nottingham or Leicester. Trainees produce a video programme on their investigation using the closed circuit television studio at the College. Evaluation is carried out during the week of each trainee's performance and each trainee prepares a ten-page essay, on their return to the Society, comparing retailing in Melton Mowbray and either Nottingham or Leicester. These essays are returned to the College for assessment.

The second residential course has several components. It provides a hands-on experience in computer technology related directly to retailing and trainees progress from basic computer operation skills through to the level of being able to input a simple programme. In conjunction with the computer skills course, trainees visit London to investigate retail practice in the West End and to conduct market research. This information is fed into the computer to produce a comparative analysis of store image, pricing and customer turnover. At the end of the residential period, trainees prepare a ten-page essay comparing retailing in London with retail practice in the trainee's home town. These assignments are evaluated and assessed at the College before being returned to the

trainees.

Both residential periods are fairly intensive for trainees, demanding adaptability, initiative and resourcefulness. However, they also provide the opportunity for trainees to mature socially through their interaction with peers, with store managers, senior officials and directors and with course members from overseas.

Although ostensibly a work experience scheme, the CUE system was designed with personal growth as one of the main objectives. Among the aims were "to provide trainees with an opportunity to manage and direct their personal development, their learning skills and their life and social skills; and to provide trainees with a learning environment which enhances self-reliance and develops independent questioning attitudes".

It was clear from the description of the trainees' response to the system that CUE succeeded in developing in them a sense of self identity which their previous schooling had in many cases failed to provide. By showing the trainees what they could achieve through self directed activities, their self esteem was enhanced and great energy was released for productive work.

4. What is Learned from Experience?: Nick Boreham

The next paper raised the question of what is learned from experience. It set out to review recent research on the nature of the knowledge base which underlies competence in the adult years, and focussed in particular on the development of judgement by practising members of the professions. The question posed was: what does the expert decision maker in banking, business or any other profession know that the novice does not, by virtue of which the former can solve problems that defeat the latter? The answer to this question is of course a prerequisite to planning continuing professional education.

The view on this issue which predominates in universities today has been called the doctrine of 'technical rationality'. This is the view that the essence of expert knowledge can be captured in formal models (such as econometric models of a banking system). On this view, professional judgement comprises the cognitive processes of (1) operating on the model to obtain a prediction, using deductive, inductive or mathematical inference procedures, and (2) mapping the outside world on the model, so that its prediction can be applied in real life. Conceived in the light of technical rationality, continuing professional education would concentrate on 'updating' practitioners by teaching new formal models, and training them in applying these models in their professional lives.

But recent developments in cognitive psychology have challenged this doctrine. The increasing range of expert-novice comparison studies in widely differing professions have shown that experts and novices do not differ in their ability to perform logical operations on formal models. Rather, the judgemental ability of the expert appears to be due to his superior situational understanding, which is constructed out of his professional experience. Thus the knowledge which underpins professional expertise is acquired on the job, and is qualitatively different from the formal modelling which academics in the tradition of technical rationality

tend to assume is the ultimate that can be known.

The knowledge-based theory of problem solving which has grown out of expert-novice comparison research represents the expert's knowledge base as a vast memory store for schemata or stereotypes, each corresponding to a type of situation which he has previously experienced. Attached to each stereotype is information on how to act in that situation. The process of professional judgement thus conceived is a process of pattern recognition, rather than a process of hypothetico-deductive logical reasoning. The expert scans the situation confronting him and recognises a familiar pattern; this activates the relevant schema; and the schema delivers the solution (or a solution-generating programme). If this is a correct account of the expert's knowledge base, then continuing professional education would be ill advised to concentrate on expounding formal models to mid career professionals, whose learning needs will have advanced beyond that stage.

According to the knowledge-based view, formal models are little more than simple approximations to reality which may serve to get the beginner started, but which should be abandoned as naive once he has begun to amass a memory store of situational schemata. The role of education is to facilitate the transition from formal modelling to situational understanding. This may not be what many Vice-Chancellors have in mind when, commenting from within the tradition of technical rationality, they describe continuing profession education as the provision of 'updating' and 'refresher' courses.

What is learned from experience, then, is not the way that theory applies in practice. It appears that massive cognitive development occurs through the experience of professional practice, and that new forms of knowledge develop which supplant the simple theories taught in college.

5. The Self in Experience and Learning: Mike Toye

Most adult educators appreciate that there is a connection between learning, experience and the self, but lack an adequate theoretical perspective on how these are related. In this paper, Mike Toye outlined a theoretical framework which provides a much-needed integration of these constructs.

Attempts to understand the nature of adult learning have resulted in a multiplicity of models and theories, each describing only a limited segment of the learning process. In searching for a common element in all adult learning, Toye identified it in the concept of the Self. While learning situations may vary in context, content and method, one factor constantly emerges: any experience which can be related to the enhancement of the self is bound to result in significant learning.

The neglect of this in theories of adult learning has led to an inevitable fragmentation. Two theoretical perspectives are commonly adopted, the Outside position and the Inside position.

The Outside position asserts that learning and performance, including that of humans, should be studied and described in objective terms following what is supposed to be the model of the natural sciences. The earlier

versions of this are familiar as behaviourist psychology. This found some favour in educational circles for its clear, confident picture of learning and for its apparent role in the development of programmed instruction.

But the conditioning mechanism often appeared too much of a mechanism to encompass understanding and imagination. Those who emphasised imagination as an educational concern soon rejected, perhaps never accepted, the behaviourist picture. Those for whom the understanding of 'hard' subjects was more central also became aware of the need for something more. This was provided by substituting 'cognitive structure' for 'behaviour'. Thoughts, meanings and understanding were accommodated, but the objective lawfulness of behaviourism was retained. The ideal role of the teacher shifted from being a behavioural manager to that of 'mental chemist' conducting cognitive reactions inside learners' heads. Ausubel exemplifies this position.

The Inside position has been espoused much more in adult education and psychotherapy. This position clusters round ideas of participation, facilitation and relativism. It emphasises constructivism i.e. the learner's own contribution to knowledge, and the centrality of feelings.

Unfortunately, the Outside and Inside positions have challenged each other for the role of the one true theory of learning. Not only has this led to pointless antagonism (such as when the Black Papers argued for the Outside position) but attempts to reconcile these alternative positions has led to the doctrine that there are two kinds of learning for two kinds of situation. Thus the Outside position is often taken to describe the learning of objective knowledge required for producing (for instance) a technician, and the Inside position to describe the learning about one's own feelings required for producing a social worker.

In attempting to understand our efforts to promote adult learning, we need to avoid the assumption implicit in current theories that the cognitive and the affective are separate. While these terms are useful, it is misleading to talk about cognitive learning in isolation from affective learning. Really, they are two aspects of the same process.

The central concept which unifies cognitive and affective is the self. The self is the only ground for cognitive and affective states, which do not exist outside it. We have attitudes to our thoughts and thoughts about our attitudes. Learning depends on cognitive/affective interactions of these kinds. In mathematics, you cannot fully learn a proof by appreciating the logic of the steps. It is only by experiencing the problem for yourself that you will develop the insight needed to understand why the proof moves in the direction it does, rather than in any other direction. Learning a cognitive skill is often a matter of personal emulation of a respected master. Intellectual development is thus interpersonal, as well as personal. From Rush Rhees: "I learned from . . . my teacher . . . not things he taught me . . . I learned from him. I want to say that my education comes more from knowing him than from my schooling."

6. Chronological Age and Learning through the Life Span: Nod Miller

How significant is chronological age in determining how or what we learn?

Are we open to learning from those who are younger than ourselves?

In this experiential workshop, the life experiences of those present were used to answer these and other related questions. It is impossible for a written report to express the significance of the communications which occurred. Nonetheless, one comment seems to be justified. The older members of SCUTREA present tended to initiate interaction with the younger members more than they received it, both in this session and in their wider professional lives. The youngest SCUTREA members seem to accept this pecking order as natural, but the middle age group felt left out. Their not inconsiderable experience, they felt, tends to be overlooked by senior members of the world of University adult education.

7. Future Research on Learning from Experience: Judith Conway

In the final review, Judith Conway highlighted the central role of language in learning from experience. It is crucial to the development of self identity; we know ourselves by sending messages to ourselves. But language can also be a barrier to personal growth, for the upward expression of doubt in an organisation may not be possible using the language codes imposed by those in authority.

Research into the relationship between language and self in adult learning should be considered a priority.

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Mike Stone
University of Manchester

Recent work on the curriculum for adults has tended to move away from trying to define it in terms of what it is to be 'adult'. It has tended to reject those approaches which have tried to inform the adult curriculum either through examining the philosophy of adulthood, the psychology of adulthood, or the organisational characteristics best suited to the performance and the execution of adult roles. Colin Griffin's book Curriculum Theory in Adult and Lifelong Education is an example of such work. Griffin does not wish to banish such approaches from the study of the curriculum completely but rather feels that adult education theorists, or more precisely, theorists of the adult curriculum, should rather concentrate on such issues as the educational centrality of knowledge, culture and power. He wants us to move away from the 'adult characteristics' approach and instead engage in the kind of curriculum theorising that has mainly been confined to the examination of schooling. So, before moving on to examine the kinds of curriculum study that have been applied to schooling, let us examine briefly the theories that are said by Colin Griffin to comprise the 'adult characteristics' approach.

The first approach is the philosophic approach, which, I think it is fair to say, is represented by people like R.W.K. Paterson and Kenneth Lawson. They tend to utilise the techniques of analytical philosophy in order to tease out the meaning of 'adulthood'. This is done so as to deduce the kinds of knowledge which are to form the basis of a distinct adult education. For instance, for Paterson, adulthood is an ascribed status which can be given to people of a certain age. Such a definition, I think, verges on the tautological because when people exhibit characteristics and modes of behaviour associated with being adult we can then attribute them with adult status. In relating age to 'adult' we have already decided what it is to be adult. This does not, I think, get us very far. Colin Griffin shows how the forms of knowledge involved in education for Paterson and Lawson are taken from the work of Peters and Hirst, but they are not in fact successful in integrating this conception of knowledge with the examination of what it is to be an adult. I think there are various reasons why that is the case; but partly it is because the kinds of forms of knowledge that Peters and Hirst are talking about are transcendent, and therefore, the forms of knowledge should not necessarily change with the character and nature of the educand. As such specifically adult knowledge is unattainable, this dovetailing between the definition of adult and the definition of knowledge is not very successful, and, in fact, what we are left with is a kind of soft version of what 'adult education' (in their sense) should be. This soft version states that knowledge for adults is those subjects which involve or require a maturity of outlook. So, for instance, the study of something like mental handicap or abortion would be correctly designated as 'Adult Education'.

The psychological approach to distinct adult aspects in curriculum design is typified by the work of Malcolm Knowles and his conception of andragogy. Very briefly, since I am sure these arguments are very familiar to people, Knowles speaks of the achievement of adulthood being

related to the increased self-directedness of the individual. When the individual achieves such a self-concept and when others recognise him or her as achieving it the status of adulthood can be confirmed. Griffin here correctly takes this approach to task for being too culturally bound. In many societies adulthood is confirmed at different stages, when individuals have exhibited various kinds of psychological and social behaviour. As such this is a very restricted basis argues Griffin, for constructing a fundamental curriculum for adults.

The third adult characteristics approach is, according to Griffin, represented by the work of people like Graham Mee and his work on the organisation of adult education. This view of adulthood is culled from organisational and management theory and the aim broadly is to designate the kind of system and organisation in which adult learning can best take place. As Griffin points out, the content of learning in this instance is generally unproblematised and as such the theory tends to work with a very received idea of what it is to be adult and indeed what it is to conduct education.

So, these are the three main approaches which are associated with the 'adult characteristics' approach to the curriculum. These approaches, for Griffin, are viewed as obfuscating the really valuable curriculum approaches which have been adopted in the study of schooling and which address the problem of knowledge, culture and power. So, very briefly, and I am sure this is again familiar, let us look at the approaches which are seen to address the real issues of education, knowledge and power. Most of the approaches can be described as sociological. This approach to the curriculum conceives the content of the curriculum as a selection from culture. Michael Young and colleagues tend to politicise this process of selection and for instance argue that the categorization of high and low knowledge in the curriculum is less to do with the intrinsic nature of such knowledge than with the process whereby the curriculum acts as a form of social control and as a vehicle for selection. Arising out of that kind of approach, one of the dominant schools of thought in the last decade has been that associated with Marxist theorists. In particular, the work of Althusser has been central. Althusser's theories are complex, and I do not want to go into it all now, but one of his main premises serves as a basis for several recent theories of curriculum. That is, following Marx, Althusser believes that a social formation such as Capitalism must reproduce the condition of its production at the same time as it produces goods, material, wealth etc. That is, the productive forces - land, knowledge, labour and capital and the relation of production must be reproduced. For Althusser, the reproduction of skills and the division of labour is carried out outside the production process as such and is instead to be found in the institutions which comprise the educational system. Children are taught not only the specific skills and the knowledge required to execute their productive role but are also given the relevant ideological outlook which complements their particular function. Bowles and Gintis, two American writers, take a reproduction model for their study of the American curriculum, and see an almost direct correspondence between the character of the production process, and the relation of production and the content of the curriculum itself. Similarly, they maintain the institutional nature and character of the school is directly read off from production, so that for instance the school may represent the factory in the way manual and mental labour are

designated and distinguished within the school curriculum. This is far too crude a representation of their case, which has been revised by them but I present it at its most stark so as to distinguish it from the cultural theorists of reproduction such as Bourdieu. For somebody like Pierre Bourdieu the process is a little more subtle, in the way reproduction is effected, and he shows, amongst other things, how culture can be seen as a form of capital: a resource which can be cashed in, to secure one's place in adult society. Public knowledge and the structure of the curriculum favour those endowed with cultural capital, chiefly the children of the middle class. The assumed and taken for granted common culture is, for Bourdieu, an arbitrary; it has no inherent value and justification but its value is in its symbolic role where it legitimises and facilitates the perpetuity of current social and economic relations. In this instance we move away from direct correspondences to see culture which facilitates the reproduction of class based society and its social relations. But it does this indirectly; the content and nature of the curriculum is not directly determined by the economic base. I am arguing that the dominant perspective, in the analysis of curriculum, in terms of culture, knowledge and power is the the approach associated with the theorists of reproduction. I think it is fair to say that these divide roughly into those approaches which on the one hand, as Bowles and Gintis indicate, see a direct correspondence between the form and content of the curriculum and the production process and, on the other those that see the process occurring more indirectly through the work of culture. As I mentioned, the key element of reproduction theory is that reproduction tends to occur outside the production process itself, i.e. as we have seen the education system is outside production but is involved in the production of labour and skills. Also critical is the family and the structure of social relations associated with the sexual division of labour and age relations which are also important elements in the reproduction of social life.

If in rejecting the adult characteristics approach have we not perhaps thrown the baby away with the bath water? The point I want to make is as follows: yes; as it stands, the 'adult characteristics' approach is inadequate, but what I suggest is a view of 'adult' and 'adulthood' as socially constructed. I will explain exactly what I mean by this. Basically it is a construct which serves in the process of reproduction which I have just described the theorists of school curriculum as addressing, and it was their approach which I think Colin Griffin favoured in his view of the curriculum. What I want to suggest is that a sociological and social meaning of adulthood indeed may show that adulthood too has a role in the reproduction of existng relations. And if adulthood is sustained or indeed constituted in the adult curriculum then a sociology of the adult curriculum should not ignore this.

What are the grounds then for viewing adulthood as a social construct, and what do I mean by socially constructed? I want to oppose the view that somehow adulthood is biologically determined, that there is a distinct biological criterion for classifying people as adults or children. I think we can reject this because some cross cultural examples show how adulthood is ascribed to individuals at very different periods in their biological development. Nor do I think that there is anything in the philosophic analysis which would warrant thinking that 'adult' must be a fixed universal since I do not think there are any 'a priori' reasons why the

kind of common sense version of adult found in Paterson for instance should be thought immutable.

To counter this, it might be argued that although the ascription of adult status occurs at different times in an individual's chronology in different societies, and indeed the substance of adult roles may vary, all societies nevertheless do have a conception of adulthood. This may be the case although there is plenty of anthropological evidence which would test this assertion; one can think of numerous examples. The Latooka tribe of the Sudan for example have four age grades - children, youths, rulers of the village and the extremely aged. Now, I am not completely sure that a concept like adult which would presumably span the last three categories, could really be applied in this case in any meaningful way. However, this is a side line, and if it is conceded that adulthood as such exists, there is plenty of evidence showing how the particular meaning of 'adult' varies considerably.

Apart from referring to cross-cultural examples for evidence of the socially constructed nature of adulthood, the other main argument is derived from the study of the two age categories with which adulthood is counterposed - childhood and youth. In the case of childhood and youth the research on the social origins of each stage is well developed and overwhelmingly points to the constructed nature of each category. The construction of childhood is of relatively recent origin. Childhood was not a universal phenomenon prior to the 19th Century and indeed the nature of childhood varied between classes. Philip Aries' work is probably the best known in this area and he argues that the idea of childhood could first be detected only in the 16th and 17th Century. His evidence is drawn chiefly from the study of paintings where, for the first time, children are presented in non-adult clothing in a distinct world of childhood. Aries attributes this change in thinking to various sources but concentrates on the changes of attitude held by priests, moralists and lawyers. Certainly the religious view which equated childhood with innocence and the views of the 17th Century Port Royalists, (for example Pascal and so on) must have been very important, but he over emphasises the influence of this attitudinal change.

In trying to link the social construction of age groups with the reproduction of social relations in a quasi-Marxist way, a much more fruitful thesis is advanced by Hoyles who argues that the invention of childhood as a separate state corresponds to the transition from feudalism to capitalism. He also thinks changes in religious thinking were important but wants to go further than Aries. He wants to look for the causes that lay behind the development of Protestantism and the particular view of the child advocated by the Protestant church, and he sees the growth of capitalism as the primary cause of these changes in religious belief.

He also asserts that the first children were middle class and only later did the concept of childhood take hold in working class society. Hoyles' argument is a little tenuous and it does not really specify the exact link between the changes in the organisation of capitalist production and the rise of childhood. John Fitz of the Open University has done some work in this area by drawing attention to Marx's works on the Factory Acts. Marx saw capitalism going through two stages: firstly, capital is used in order

to extract absolute surplus value; secondly it is then used to extract relative surplus value. In the case of absolute surplus value, labour is exploited by means of an unregulated working day, in dangerous conditions with the most exploited groups being women and children. Certain State policies (the provision of Factory Inspectors), technological change and a change in the composition of capital, whereby capital becomes tied up in machines as constant capital, leads towards the development of a second stage, the extraction of relative surplus value. This is crucial, since it leads to the expulsion of large sections of wage labour from production proper. The majority of those excluded were women and children and it was the adult male skilled operative who largely remained in production. With the rise of mass compulsory schooling in the 1870s, the removal of the child from the productive sphere was further secured and the institutional space for children and childhood was established. Thus, at the risk of crude generalisation, we can see how the development of childhood as a distinct age category is related to the position of children vis a vis production.

The domestication of women and the social practices and ideology associated with the regulation of the family also become entrenched in the period 1850-1900. Interestingly, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, the first cited usage of adulthood is to be found in 1875. These processes can be viewed in terms of the movement whereby capitalist relations are increasingly perpetuated outside production proper and the family and school become the principal sites of reproduction.

In view of the time I will not go into the argument about the construction of youth but a similar case is made for the relationship between youth and the growth of capitalism in terms of the influence of things like the apprentice system on the idea of a distinct stage of the life cycle between childhood and adulthood. It is really interesting that in all these debates and arguments, 'youth' and 'child' and the rise of these categories are always explained in terms of their changed relationship to adults, as if adult life and adulthood were somehow constant. Surely adulthood itself must have undergone a radical change during this time, and being adult must have begun to signify a whole new set of practices and roles with the changed view of childhood and youth? The usual way in which we conceive of adulthood can principally be reflected in some of the 'adult characteristics' approaches that Griffin was talking about. For instance we usually conceive of adulthood in terms of the freedom from childish things, or being responsible for younger persons and taking the superordinate role in the family unit, being workers, employees and being free from compulsory education. These really would have been largely empty observations prior to the changes that occurred with the rise of 'child' and 'youth' in the late 19th Century as distinct categories. So surely it is as legitimate to speak of a social construction of adulthood occurring at the time as it is to speak of social construction of childhood and youth in this period, since they are mutually entwined. Adulthood is a residual category and its specific nature is very much historically and culturally specific. The areas where adulthood is principally constituted are the family, workplace and in the individual's relation to the state. The content of an adult curriculum based on the 'adult characteristics' approach will tend to reinforce these roles on the grounds that this is what adults do, and therefore will sustain the restricted view of adulthood which function in the reproduction process. What adults need,

parental education, education for citizenship, domestic skills etc., does not challenge the particular view of adult which has been developed nor does it even problematise such a role as being the only one that could be adopted. So, yes, one can agree with Colin Griffin that reading off what adults are and do, is in a sense, a kind of reactionary activity when trying to theorise radically about the curriculum. But I would contend that in order to appreciate fully the way the adult curriculum functions in terms of culture, power and knowledge which was central to Griffin's project, it is necessary to see the way adult itself facilitates reproduction and include the sociological account of adulthood in curriculum theory: not 'adult characteristics', but the examination of 'adult' as a social construct in adult curriculum theory.

It is important to see the adult curriculum as subject to the same influences and social determinants as the school curriculum. Therefore it is unhelpful to construct a theory of the adult curriculum based on the characteristics of being 'adult'. But the sociological approach to adulthood draws the theory of the adult curriculum closer to the kind of school analysis Griffin commends, since it shows the curriculum as being involved in the reproduction process through sustaining a view of adult roles as natural and taken for granted. Such an approach integrates the analysis of the school and adult curriculum in other ways. How much of the school, and particularly the 16 to 19, curriculum is after all designed to inculcate skills and competency for adult life? However, by speaking of adult life as taken for granted this may obscure the fact that pupils are being equipped for a very particular occupational and gender specific role. Angela McRobbie makes this point when she shows how romance in girls' magazines is presented as the achievement of adult status and girls gravitate to such culture as a means of escaping the school where they are treated as a subordinate category - as children. The urge to become adult, to grow up, is then usually a call to enter a particular form of life. The stress on adulthood presents the route being counselled as natural and right. One can think of many examples of this, in particular a lot of Manpower Services literature on Life Skills which tends to equate becoming adult with exhibiting the characteristics of the compliant and sober worker. The promise of adulthood is used then as a kind of pedagogic carrot, a reward for certain forms of behaviour. By presenting adulthood as given and somehow natural this process is achieved. As well as the ways in which adulthood serves in the structure of the family and social relations to secure their reproduction, and the eventual reproduction of capitalist relation, we can also see how it has an effect on schooling itself and the nature of the initial curriculum. The exposure of adulthood as being socially constructed is very necessary if this process is to be countered.

We can see exactly why the inclusion of the adult characteristics approach in Griffin's sense does tend to be unhelpful. But the inclusion of the sociological account of adulthood draws attention to the reproductive role of the adult education curriculum and presents a useful perspective with which to view the school curriculum.

I will end with a few questions. If we accept that everything I have said is right, and I am sure we will not, what kind of curriculum would we want to construct in order to counter such tendencies? Is there much mileage in seeing 'adult' as differentiated in terms of class and gender? Is an

education based on 'adult' always destined to facilitate age categories which are conducive to the maintenance of the status quo? Finally, is there any possibility of a radical conception of education which concentrates on 'adult' as a category?

(This paper was prepared from a transcription of the conference session)

ANDRAGOGY: A REVIEW OF THE TERM

Judith Conway
University of Leeds

If one perspective can be singled out as the major influence on writings about adult learning in recent years, it is that of andragogy.

The concept of andragogy rests on the view that adults learn in ways which are different from the ways in which children learn. Andragogy may be considered a theory by its proponents (1) (2), or a particular sort of ideology by its critics (3), but whichever the classification applied, it has covered elements as diverse as political emancipation, individualistic humanism, lifelong cognitive development and the marketing of courses to adults. This suggests that it is, at least, useful to possess a concept which can include and generate so much that is central to the concerns of the adult as learner.

Knudson (4) argues against separatism, proposing instead that we adopt the term 'humanagogy' as a human theory of learning, not a theory of 'child learning', 'adult learning', or 'elderly learning'. As Jarvis (5) comments, this merely invents a new term for education.

This paper acknowledges a place for a separate word denoting the needs and characteristics of the adult as learner. What the concept may yet lack in elegance and completeness as a theory is compensated for by its generativity and its usefulness as a shorthand label among adult educators. The chief concern here is to examine the term attached to this concept. Is 'andragogy' the most suitable word to use in the context of adult education in Britain?

'Andragogy', as a term, first became current in Europe in the 1960s, gaining popularity in the 1970s in N. America. There, the purpose and direction given by this word to adult education has been likened to that engendered by the word 'disadvantaged' in Britain. The chief popularizer of andragogy, Malcolm Knowles, has acquired a status likened to that of 'guru'. This historical attachment, taken together with the importance to American democracy of a consensus viewpoint, may indicate that this particular term is firmly rooted in the American context. In Britain, the word is less widely known. The proposal in this paper is to suggest that the term is not the most appropriate one to reflect the theory and practice of the education of adults here and that an alternative label is required.

Much that is implicit in the liberal tradition of British adult education finds expression in the humanistic elements of American discourse on andragogy. Mezirow (6), in describing the learning mode he calls 'perspective transformation', derived from a national study of women in college re-entry programmes, details ten stages which exactly reflect the 'New Opportunities for Women'/'Fresh Horizons' courses offered in Britain over the past decade. Perspective transformation involves the individual in re-assessing experience and building the confidence to put into action plans based on knowledge gained and options explored in learning with others. 'New Opportunities for Women' examines possibilities for work and education for returners, building up in women the confidence to take up

new ways of behaving. Deriving from a long tradition, these courses can be seen as uniting what Stephen Brookfield (7) refers to as the 'two, often contradictory forms' of the philosophical spirit pervading British adult education theory and practice. These are:

- 1 a strong tradition of liberal adult education, with the 'development of personhood' as one of its purposes.
- 2 a striving towards social change.

In developing the personhood of women in this way, we are moving towards social change which strives to counteract gender-bias in education and employment. 'New Opportunities for Women' seems to exemplify the 'emancipatory action' identified by Mezirow as the domain of learning most appropriate to adult education. Emancipatory action is synonymous with perspective transformation, 'the emancipatory process of becoming critically aware of how and why the structure of psycho-cultural assumptions has come to constrain the way we see ourselves and our relationships' (8). Mezirow synthesizes insights from the areas of sociology, philosophy and psychology in describing the arrival of each one of us at an individual perspective on reality. Examination of the work of theorists in each of the three areas on which Mezirow draws suggests that the way we come to possess our psycho-cultural assumptions is chiefly by the use of language. Meaning is essentially private. We can only share and negotiate meanings by signs and symbols, most of which are verbal. Halliday, (9) for example, holds language to be the principal agent of cultural transmission. We therefore need to be sensitive to the language we choose; to be aware that it can contain and reflect psycho-cultural assumptions. Concluding his theory of adult learning and education, Mezirow draws up 'A Charter for Andragogy'. The adoption of the word 'andragogy' in this context presents us with an anomaly, for the word itself reflects an assumption that belies the reality of adult education: reality as described in the studies by Mezirow: reality as it has long existed in British adult education.

Let us turn now to the definition of andragogy as elaborated by Knowles, (10) to whose somewhat mechanistic views Mezirow is giving humanistic extension. First announcing the emergence of a new theory and technology for the education of adults, Knowles continues

'To distinguish it from pedagogy, this new technology is being given a new name: "andragogy" which is based on the Greek word "aner" (with the stem andr-) meaning "man". Andragogy is, therefore, the art and science of helping adults learn'.

The leap implied by this use of 'therefore' is puzzling. It poses certain questions. Why does 'man' equal 'adult'? What about women as learners? The case for avoiding the use of gender-biased terms in education is established by Stanworth (11) who quotes groups of students asked to choose textbook illustrations on a common theme. Those given headings 'Industrial Man', 'Social Man' or 'Political Man' selected illustrations which largely excluded women; whereas those students whose titles read 'Industrial Life', 'Society' or 'Political Behaviour' included a high number of women and girls. 'Man' did not appear to include 'woman'. Views questioning the validity of using masculine terminology as the

generic form have received extended discussion, and it seems unlikely that anyone working with women in adult education remains unaware of them for long. It seems that the use of the specifically male form, 'andr-', as in 'andragogy' goes one stage further, and, rather than including women, it excludes them. Where the form, from the Greek, has been adopted into English usage, it has been in order to denote that which is specifically masculine, in the same way that its counterpart 'gynae', from the Greek - gune - woman, denotes that which is specifically female. Thus, we find 'androgen - the male sex hormone', 'gynaecology - the science of functions and diseases of women' and 'androgynous - at once male and female' (Oxford English Dictionary).

It seems reasonable to suspect that those involved in adult learning will hear overtones of specific masculinity when they encounter the word 'andragogy': that at a pre-conscious level they may interpret it as 'the art and science of helping men learn'. For those who have read Knowles and have met his definition containing specific equivalence of 'adult' with 'male', this gender-biased interpretation of the term 'andragogy' would be reinforced.

Women currently make up over two-thirds of those enrolled in adult education in Britain (12). It would be a move towards equality to adopt a term which acknowledges the presence of women as well as men adult learners. Perhaps we can reflect the reality of adult education in Britain today and in the words of Mezirow's Charter, 'reinforce the self-concept of the learner as learner and doer' by coining a new, yet related, word for the art and science of helping adults learn. How about 'GYNANDRAGOGY'?

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| Enrolments in Adult Education Centres 1983: | Males | 507,000 |
| | Females | 1121,000 |

COMPUTERS - MAINFRAME AND MICROS - IN EDUCATIONAL GUIDANCE SERVICES FOR ADULTS

John Taylor
ECCTIS

This session focussed on the development work so far achieved by ECCTIS (Educational Counselling and Credit Transfer Information Service) in creating a national database of educational courses information on a mainframe computer, followed by a brief look at possible complementary links with local microcomputer databases.

John Taylor explained the background to ECCTIS as a three year development project funded by the Department of Education and Science under contract to the Open University. Now in its third year ECCTIS would claim that it has already achieved the Department's two main aims of creating a national database and of making that data directly accessible on-line to professional advisers and the general public.

The database is already comprehensive UK-wide at the following levels: 4,371 postgraduate taught courses; 11,546 first degree courses; and 4,809 higher national diplomas and certificates, a total of over 20,000 course records. The big job of adding in non-advanced FE courses is already underway with 2,036 courses covering South-West England. When the whole NAFE scene is covered, the database will probably contain somewhere between 60 and 70 thousand course records.

The planned main route for getting at this data is direct on-line access to the mainframe computer. Enquirers sitting at their own microcomputer terminals (fitted with a quite cheap telephone modem so that their micros can talk to and fro down the telephone line to the ECCTIS mainframe) can feed in their questions and immediately find the answers coming up on their computer screens. This system has been up and running through a Gateway facility on the British Telecom national viewdata service, Prestel, since February this year.

With very limited publicity (deliberately low-key in the early weeks while the infant Gateway was being 'house-trained') the weekly number of on-line enquiries has risen from 200 or so in February to over 500 in June. This suggests that at the minimum there could be something like 25,000 enquiries handled this way in the first full year of operation. The evidence is that almost half of the enquiries are being made by people using their own home computers; the rest are coming from professional advisers, especially careers teachers in schools and also careers officers and public librarians.

To demonstrate the present scope of the Gateway system, John Taylor then put through a sample enquiry on-line to the ECCTIS mainframe at Walton Hall in Milton Keynes. The answers appearing on the screen showed where the appropriate courses were available, their duration, their validating body, whether they were full or part-time, the faculty and department responsible for them, their normal course entry requirements and the general entry requirements for the institution (e.g. the institution's attitudes towards accepting mature students).

In due time more information will be available including a brief synopsis of each course's structure and content. At present only a very limited amount of credit transfer (i.e. non-regular entry opportunities) information is available on-line; much more is held manually in the ECCTIS office and will eventually become accessible on-line.

The last point to be addressed was the relationship of ECCTIS to other regional and local databases of educational information. ECCTIS appeared at present to be internationally unique, at least in the educational world, as a national computerised database with fully public access. It was already clear that there were two directions in which regional and local cooperation could be mutually beneficial.

First, in the collection and maintenance of data, especially in the very big NAFE scene, ECCTIS needed to operate at least at a regional level. It was hoped this might be achieved in England and Wales by working with and through the ten Regional Advisory Councils for Further Education. Second, the gap in computerised information about the even larger scene of non-qualification courses (not covered by the ECCTIS remit) could be filled by local computerised databases. The present technical prospects for this were currently being investigated by UDACE (Unit for the Development of Adult Continuing Education) with the help of Linda Butler, the ECCTIS Educational Liaison Officer. Local databases of this kind will clearly benefit from the presence of ECCTIS which would relieve them of any need for creating their own national databases and leave them to concentrate on collecting local data.

Whatever the outcome in the next few years, the ECCTIS development project has already shown that it is now possible to harness the latest information technology in the interests of the educational guidance of adults. It is already equally clear that this does not portend the replacement of advisers and counsellors by machines. In fact it offers local counsellors improved information resources, and ECCTIS could now begin to demonstrate, perhaps for the first time, the real size of the largely latent demand among adults for educational information. The deduction from that can only support the need for more local advisers and counsellors.

INDUSTRIAL STUDIES TEACHING IN UNIVERSITY ADULT EDUCATION DEPARTMENTS

Bruce Spencer
University of Leeds

The origins of today's university industrial studies teaching for trade unionists can be found in the extension lectures, NCLC (National Council for Labour Colleges) and WEA classes between the wars. The intention was to introduce industrial workers to broader liberal studies and to 'really useful knowledge' which would not only help in performing labour movement responsibilities but also prepare workers for leading community and political responsibilities beyond their trade union function.

Today there is less clarity about the political direction of the labour movement, less certainty about the trade union and community interface and about what is 'really useful knowledge'.

John McIlroy (1) has traced the recent history of the development of the TUC (Trades Union Congress) education scheme for workplace representatives. This acknowledges the massive expansion of provision for lay representatives afforded by the scheme and the improvements in course materials and teaching methods encouraged by the TUC education department. However, it charts how the TUC has consciously shifted away from liberal adult education provision towards a concentration on workplace, problem-based courses designed to exclude broader considerations (2). This has been achieved via TUC control over the funding and placement of courses (although there are regional differences).

Most university departments cooperate with the TUC providing some TUC courses as part of their industrial studies programme. In addition, they provide one, two and three year courses of 'industrial studies' for trade unionists either on a day release or evening basis. These industrial studies classes imply a commitment to a broader syllabus than is possible under the TUC scheme with, for example, quite distinct 'politics', 'economics' (or 'political economy'), and 'history' slots. This broader curriculum exists alongside project and research work and more direct labour movement concerns which are also addressed in many other shorter courses for trade unionists: new technology, sexism, racism etc. (The research work on longer courses, or undertaken in specific research groups, is often more more substantial than is possible on shorter courses (3)).

University Adult Education is under threat from the cuts in DES and UGC funding and from the new formula for distribution of future DES funds. Many outsiders are unaware of the distinctive contribution of university adult education (UAE) departments to education and knowledge in many fields (for example, the address to this year's conference by the guest speaker). University Adult Education needs more actively to publicise its work in the development of cultural studies, womens studies, local history and local studies, along with its maintenance of the amateur/professional study of archaeology and natural science. We also need to demonstrate our contribution to working class adult education both in the traditional tutorial classes and in new areas like work with the unemployed (4), and of course in industrial studies.

The Society of Industrial Tutors (SIT) exists as a professional society for industrial tutors in all fields of this work and the newsletters and journal 'Industrial Tutor' are a useful source of information for all adult educators interested in this work (5). However, there is no reason why those tutors employed in UAE departments should not form a SCUTREA interest group to share experiences and promote study and research into this area of UAE work (perhaps in conjunction with the SIT). In order to defend this provision we may well have to be more open about what we are doing and less shy about our contribution to education and to our students.

1. J. McIlroy 'Adult Education and the Role of the Client - the TUC Education Scheme 1929-1980' Studies in Adult Education 1985
2. C. Edwards et al 'Student Centred Learning and Trade Union Education' Industrial Tutor 3 1983
J. McIlroy & B. Spencer 'Methods and Politics in Trade Union Education - a rejoinder' Industrial Tutor 3 1984
3. See Industrial Tutor Vol. 2 No. 10 1979 and Vol. 3 No. 8 1983
4. Two books are in progress in Leeds, one covering all the 'Pioneer Work' and one just on 'Work with the Unemployed'
5. For individual or library copies contact John Elliott, 64a Eden Crescent, Leeds 4

STRUCTURES, PROCEDURES AND ASSUMPTIONS IN UNIVERSITIES AND THEIR EFFECT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF PEVE (POST EXPERIENCE VOCATIONAL EDUCATION)

Eric Garbett and Alan Wellings
University of Sheffield

We are both involved in the development, organisation and academic oversight of PEVE courses (using PEVE here in the same sense as the UGC Working Party on Continuing Education i.e. self-financing short courses quite distinct from grant-aided responsible body courses and from part-time award-bearing courses). Eric Garbett has for two years held the sole UGC-financed post in the Sheffield Division of Continuing Education concerned with PEVE and Alan Wellings has been involved with PEVE courses over a period of ten years around the margins of a DES post and a full extramural programme. We don't offer this information as self-advertisement but as part of the background to our deciding to invite Conference members to join a discussion - as a stall in the Conference Market Place - on universities as settings for PEVE development. Our interest in the organisational conditions for PEVE has developed fast over the past couple of years under the stimulus of the changed circumstances in our own University where we have been involved, in various roles, in the development of and decision about both policy and practical provision to do with PEVE. Our interest has also extended to acquiring a small research grant to carry out some exploration of PEVE organisation nationally.

Eight people came together for our Conference discussion session - an international mix of delegates from the USA, Australia and Europe. No record was kept of the discussion - it was deliberately set up to be informal and in the event was wide-ranging and sometimes outspoken. We shall indicate just three of the major areas in which questions and issues were raised.

1. How should institutions determine the priority to attach to PEVE, relative to conventional undergraduate and postgraduate work (whether full or part-time)? PEVE is increasingly 'fashionable' in all kinds of further and higher education institutions and this circumstance itself militates against rational appraisal of what universities should do in terms of their roles vis a vis society and changes in society and economy.
2. Within universities, there are, in principle, possible choices about the extent to which PEVE is a centralised or a devolved activity and to which it is under academic or administrative direction.
3. A contentious area for some universities is whether or not PEVE is similar enough in its purposes and its academic and organisational demands to the work of traditional extramural and/or adult education departments to create a presumption that they should be the primary settings for its development and organisation.

ADULT EDUCATION AS POLITICAL DETOXIFICATION

Stephen Brookfield
University of Columbia

The Felt-Needs Rationale as Adult Education Orthodoxy

There is in adult education at the present time an a-curricular orthodoxy concerning appropriate programmatic offerings for adults. Briefly stated, such an orthodoxy maintains that adult education is concerned with meeting the felt needs of adults. In effect, the responsibility for developing curricula has been ceded entirely to learners. In the name of a democratic, person-centred, humanism we declare that adults are self-directed learners and that our task as facilitators of learning is to assist these adults to realise the goals they have set for themselves. The educator becomes a facilitator or resource person engaged in a non-directive release of latent learning potential. Adult learning thus becomes a joyful, wholly fulfilling experience characterised by a perfect match of educator intent and learner need.

This felt needs rationale is adaptive, reactive and pragmatic. It is a consumer oriented approach to education with the educator cast in the role of marketing technician. The educator's role becomes that of accurately determining felt needs and then planning effective educational formats to assist adults meet those needs. There is an abdication of the educator's responsibility for making curricular choices so that courses on fascism, aerobics, computers for business use, peace education and creative divorce exhibit an essential isomorphism. There is no suggestion that significant personal learning may involve anxiety, pain, doubt or ambiguity, so that prompting adults to consider ways of thinking and living other than those they have uncritically accepted might be disturbing, threatening and met by considerable resistance.

In this paper the felt needs rationale is rejected as an acceptable means by which programmers arrange their curricular offerings. The encouragement of a measure of political literacy among adults is proposed as the chief curriculum development task facing adult educators today.

Adult Education as Political Detoxification

Detoxification refers to the ridding of the body of poisonous and dependency inducing substances and encouraging the individual to live without the benefit of artificial stimuli. It is used to describe the treatment of alcoholics and other drug dependent individuals. As employed in this paper, the term political detoxification describes the process by which adults are weaned away from dependence on, and adherence to, simplistic explanations of complex political reality. The process of political detoxification would assist adults to realise that the simplistic explanations and representations of political realities apparent in television and the press are frequently offered by vested party interests, reflective of an unchallenged ideological orthodoxy, and culturally specific. The mass media, sometimes deliberately, sometimes unwittingly, tend to offer adults distorting, crudely simplistic, personalised analyses of political issues. A major task of adult education must be to remove this perceptual poison from individuals' minds

and to nurture in them a scepticism of simplistic, ideologically biased, explanations of the world. Essential to this process is encouraging adults to consider interpretations of political matters other than those generally offered by politicians and commentators.

The recent Presidential election has afforded numerous examples of the way in which the media can substitute the personalisation, trivialisation and perpetuation of pleasing images for any kind of objective analysis of the merits of differing ideologies. During the Democratic campaign, for example, the contest was cast in terms of shorthand, abbreviated images of each candidates's selling point. Jackson was the radical peacemaker, Hart was newness and youth, and Mondale was responsible experience. In the Reagan-Mondale contest itself, the Republican campaign managers have acknowledged their reliance on creating images of leadership, prosperity, family and patriotism. James Lake, press secretary for the campaign, declared that for a candidate to be elected he or she must define a vision of America on television and persuade an audience to subscribe to that vision (New York Times, 23rd September 1984, p. 32). The first commercials for the Reagan campaign contributed toward the generation of this vision through the projection of a series of images of happy families, tranquil harbors and sunlit suburban neighborhoods. This was followed later in the campaign by an 18 minute documentary style advertisement portraying the ecstatic welcome afforded President Reagan at the Republican national convention, with the camera placed below his podium thereby stressing his height and physical strength, and closed with a passionate rendition of 'America the Beautiful'. The New York Times described the commercial as 'overpoweringly warm, patriotic, nostalgic and confident' and reported that the advertising trade considered it to be 'the most luxurious, symphonic and technically proficient political commercial ever made' (14th September 1984, A19).

Politicians view the medium of television as uniquely suited to presenting comforting and appealing images designed to create impressions of firmness, compassion or prosperity in the public mind. David Gergen, director of communications at the White House until 1984, has declared that the government must set the agenda of news and public discussion of policy issues. It cannot let the press assume this responsibility (The Village Voice, September 18th 1984, p. 10). The White House admits to coining an issue of the day which will be spoken to by officials at all levels of the administration on the same day, irrespective of questions from reporters and journalists. In the months leading up to the election events such as President Reagan's visit to Eire, or his attendance at the D-Day 40th anniversary celebrations, were presented to the media by the White House communications aides as campaign commercials in which the President appeared, alternately, as 'man of the people' and as the reified, strong leader of the free peoples of the world.

Other examples of these practices are not hard to find. In the 1982 election for the Governor of New York state, for example, the Republic opponent to Mario Cuomo ran three minute commercials which comprised pictures of him (Lehman) jogging, playing with his children and chatting to hard hat, blue collar workers. There was no voice over, no policy message flashed on the screen, simply up-tempo music accompanying pictures of Lehman photographed in appealing situations. In Britain, the 1979 election which brought Prime Minister Thatcher to power was notable for

her hiring an advertising agency (Saachi and Saachi) to 'sell' her to the electorate. They advised her to lower her voice to a more modulated tone, to speak more slowly so as to appear less strident, and to concentrate her funds not on espousing policy, but on being photographed in visually memorable and appealing settings which would be reported in evening news broadcasts and featured in the daily newspapers. In 1984, in a style reminiscent of that used in the Reagan campaign, she was photographed facing ecstatic and adoring audiences, and in the company alternately of show business personalities and world leaders. For both candidates, the public's perception of their having successfully waged a war (in Argentina and Grenada) allowed the media consultants to emphasise their strength, patriotic leadership, and apparent impregnability.

In British politics, in fact, the Falklands conflict of 1982 is an excellent example of a political act in which the government of the day was effectively able to set the agenda for public debate so powerfully that any questioning of the wisdom of governmental actions was labelled treason. The day after a BBC news program ('Panorama') broadcast interviews with some M.P.s who were critical of the government's actions, the network was accused of broadcasting treasonable programs. In the most widely read newspaper of the day, the 'Sun', a form of Orwellian newspeak seemed to take over the headlines. When the British navy sank the Argentinian cruiser the 'Belgrano' outside the limit of the war zone set by Britain, no query about the legitimacy of this act was raised and the 'Sun' carried a one word headline - 'Gotcha!'. Only now, three years after this act, are questions being raised concerning its wisdom by members of Parliament. It is interesting to note that in the Falklands war journalists complained of censorship by commanders on the spot, and that in the Grenada war reporters were denied the conventional opportunity to accompany the invading forces and record their actions.

Political Literacy

Specifications of political literacy by adult educators are few and far between but are essential to the generation of useful discussion. To this writer, the following conditions appear to be necessary and sufficient conditions of such literacy:

adults exhibit a scepticism and mistrust of simplistic views and explanantions presented to them by politicians. Justifications for policies, interpretations of conflicts, and explanations of the acts of opponents offered by politicians will be scrutinised for over-simplification of reality

adults exhibit a concomitant awareness of the complexity of the real world of political disputes, policy decisions and the interplay of ideology and circumstance

adults realise the importance of context to political actions and decisions. This awareness of context causes them to question the correctness of ultimate, universal or final solutions presented to them

adults are aware of contrasting political ideologies, irrespective of their personal reactions to these. They realise that ideologies of

capitalism, socialism, liberalism, fascism, nationalism and democracy have characterized the actions of different societies and different leaders at different times

adults are alive to the potential for the manipulation of political images in the mass media. They possess an awareness of the ploys and devices by which media consultants and politicians can portray attractive images of leadership and personal charisma, with no substantive policy content

adults possess a global perspective on inter-country disputes and consider the implications of their own country's actions on the international scene. They realise that in terms of economic action, strategic condition, and acts of aggression or assistance towards other countries, that the world is an holistic, global village

adults engage in free public discourse on these events. They possess the inclination, the capacity and the opportunity to exchange, consider and explore the alternative interpretations they offer of events, policies, and ideologies

It can be argued that this view of political literacy is too cognitive, elitist and neglectful of the literacy gained by working as community activists, amateurs and organizers - more appropriate to a liberal arts discussion group than to the real world of politics. To presume, however, that the desire to exercise political rights, to engage in community action, or to make the political system work to the advantage of a certain group, are somehow independent of changes in political consciousness or awareness, is misconceived. Adults engaged in such activities generally have their political actions guided by a philosophical rationale. Or, concurrent with an engagement in political action on one specific issue is a politicising process by which an opposition to one policy becomes the catalyst for the development of a questioning political consciousness. It is revealing how those engaged in single issue politics (for example, working in a nuclear freeze campaign, opposing speculator developments in a particular neighborhood, or campaigning on the abortion issue) become active in a whole range of concerns.

Critics of the foregoing conditions of political literacy may also argue that the only really 'useful' education is that which focuses on the development of learners' practical instrumental skills. But this is a delimiting and constraining view of education. As argued earlier, much personally significant learning involves changing one's self-image, developing new estimations of self-worth, realising the malleability of personal social worlds, and becoming aware of the culturally constructed nature of previously unchallenged values, beliefs and behaviors. Following on from this realisation of contextuality comes a readiness to act upon the world to change personal and social lives. Such action may well be manifest in engagement in local political activities, as well as in re-negotiating personal relationships. The point is, though, that the action is consequent upon, or concurrent with, the alteration of personal meaning systems and with speculation on alternative ways of thinking and living.

There is also the danger that the development of practical, instrumental

skills will be uncritically felt to be most helpful and most appropriate for groups of working class or 'disadvantaged' adults. It has been argued by many that disadvantaged adults will be sceptical of the development of critical awareness as outlined above, and will be much better served by skill development courses on committee management, local government and advocacy tactics. The problem with this view is that it is fundamentally insulting to working class adults. It comes close to assuming that an instrumental learning style is the characteristic learning style of such adults. This is a limiting and constraining theory of learning for a great many adults. The capacity to engage in imaginative speculation on alternatives, or to reflect on one's uncritical acceptance of beliefs, values and ideologies, is not class-specific. Adults generally learn best when involved in praxis; that is, in action combined with reflection on action through an exploration of other's experiences. To suggest that working class learners should be limited to participating in the action part of praxis is to create a dangerous self-fulfilling prophecy by which educators avoid encouraging critical awareness among working class learners because this is seen as inappropriate to their learning style and beyond their capacities.

Media Literacy

Our images of the world, from which we draw inferences about correct behavior and acceptable values, come from a number of sources. We construct personal meaning systems comprising behavioral rules and moral codes based upon the messages we receive from a number of sources. Among these are the school, parents, the extended family, formalized religion, work colleagues and our peer group. In the political sphere, all these socialization agencies operate to inculcate adults into a predefined set of values, attitudes and ideologies concerning political allegiances. Such allegiances are frequently lifelong and attain the status of unquestioned givens in adulthood.

The mass media occupy an important status in the process of political socialization in adulthood. Their socialization is, however, quite different in nature from that exercised by the family, school, workplace and peer group. These are all concerned to initiate individuals into correct political views, acceptable values and party philosophies which are seen as directly serving their interests. The mass media tend not to be so explicit in their transmission of specific values and attitudes, or to make any commitment to any specific policy issue. Their socialization occurs in a more subtle and insidious manner. Primarily, the mass media socialize adults into viewing political issues, disputes and events in a highly simplistic, undimensional manner. Issues rooted in ideological conflicts are presented as personality differences. Policy decisions are reduced to simplistic analyses of complex questions. Most insidiously (and perhaps most significantly) the mass media present their analyses of political affairs in such a way as to encourage the view that the framing of public policy is on the same level of non-interference to citizens as is the weather. Hence, viewing a series of reified God-like political leaders on a television screen obscures the connection between the individual's personal circumstances and biographical troubles, and the actions perpetrated by political leaders.

A primary function of adult education, therefore, must be the

encouragement of a new form of literacy. Such literacy would not be in the form of a command of reading and writing skills, or in the form of a traditional political literacy whereby adults are educated to a sophisticated degree on specific political issues of the day; rather, this new form of literacy might be called media literacy or tele-literacy. Those adults who are media-literate are aware of the potential for political manipulation inherent in the mass media. Such adults have developed filtering devices through which the content of media images can be sifted, decoded and demythologized. Such adults are not definitively knowledgeable concerning every public issue of the day. They are, however, possessed of a sophistication in terms of their capacity to be aware when issues are being trivialized, when images are taking precedent over substantive discussion, and when the pursuit of apparent objectivity is masking the presentation of a monolithic, consensus viewpoint from which deviant or unpopular interpretations are excluded.

The political and ethical correctness of any of the policies and ideologies informing the actions of the politicians just outlined are not a: issue in this discussion. On every political matter a range of interpretations, ideologies and viewpoints will come into play, and adherents of different allegiances will castigate each other's positions. Adult educators need subscribe to no party line (though all should acknowledge their own biases), nor argue for one ideological interest over another. The perpetration of political images is the business of political interests of every ideological hue. We need not fear accusations of being overly rightist or leftist if we seek to educate adults regarding the potential for the manipulation of emotions which exists in television, and the ease with which the affirmation of evocative themes and images can replace considered debate.

A Populist Example of Media and Political Literacy

The Phil Donahue show airs every morning and is presented as a popular 'chat' show. It includes features on show business personalities, different styles of cuisine, diets, and the lives of television actors. Viewers switch on the show in the expectation of seeing Joan Collins discuss her personal life. Mixed in with these populist programs, however, are some quietly effective exercises in promoting media literacy. The show features regular debates on foreign and domestic policy issues, a readiness to critique differing interpretations of policy, and a constant attention to the trivialising aspects of television coverage. Donahue challenges his audience without making them feel personally threatened, he encourages an examination of differing perspectives on issues, and he engages his audience in an active exploration and exchange of experience. An excellent example of this was a show broadcast in the summer of 1984. The film Seeing Red, a series of interviews with members and ex-members of the Communist Party of America, had just been released. Guests on the show were two ex and one current CP member, and the film's producer. On introducing the guests and explaining their present or past political allegiances the studio audience were restless and hostile, telling the guests to 'Go back to Russia'. By asking his guests to explain their vision of what America might be, by letting them talk about the humanist and Christian altruism which had motivated them to join the party in the 1930's and by their speaking of their disillusionment with the current state of the party, Donahue quietened the audience. In under one hour of

studio discussion the audience had come to view the guests not as treasonable devils, but as Americans who had been distressed in the 1930's at what they saw as the hollowness of the American dream for a great many ethnic groups, and for working class adults. This program was aired to many millions of American homes and prompted a flood of angry letters. However, Donahue was careful to express no overt political allegiance and did not seek to convert or proselytise either his audience or his guests. He functioned as an educator, assisting his audience to explore and consider critically interpretations of the world different to those they normally held.

The Donahue show can be viewed as a metaphor for many adult education programs. Many programmatic offerings are deliberately populist since the continuation of continuing education programs frequently depend on healthy enrolments. In the real world of cost-recovery adult education, we cannot abandon entirely the felt needs rationale, and nor should we. What is both possible and imperative, however, is that adult education programs have a portion of their activities devoted to political detoxification. In an age when the mass media confirm our political allegiances and shape our political sensibilities, it is irresponsible for adult educators to ignore the need for promoting some form of media literacy. Fostering in adults a critical rationality where the media's versions of political reality are concerned, is an exemplification of all that is best in the tradition of adult education.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION AND LEADERSHIP

Boyd Rossing
University of Wisconsin/Madison

Introduction

In 1984 Stephen Brookfield authored a book which I found most helpful in drawing together several important areas of thought regarding informal adult learning in the community. He said "if we are to consider the full range of adult learning in the community, then we must also examine that learning which occurs in groups whose aim is not primarily educational" (pp. 7-8) and here he mentioned citizen participation groups, neighborhood improvement councils, cooperative societies and other voluntary groups.

In some small ways I have attempted to take up his challenge. In today's presentation I have several objectives. I would like to ask you to join me in considering one very important adult task, the task of providing leadership in groups and organizations, and to consider the knowledge that has been assembled on how this important competency is acquired or not acquired through participation in voluntary associations and activities. I will make a case that little is known in any conclusive manner about this topic.

I will then describe a few attempts to give some conceptual order to the key concepts involved in understanding how adults learn or fail to learn to be effective volunteer leaders - attempts that could guide new and needed research. My third objective will be to describe a small study I have recently undertaken which specifically focuses on experiential learning of leadership competence through community group participation. To conclude the presentation I will make some general observations on adult learning in natural settings and the role which adult education could play in this area.

Volunteerism and Leadership

The 1970's have witnessed a resurgence of interest in the size, role and impact of volunteerism in the United States (Langton, 1982). Voluntary associations account for over 80 billion dollars of the annual economy; 84 percent of the adult population donate to voluntary associations (Gallup, 1979), and there may be as many as six or seven million voluntary groups in the country (Nielsen, 1980). Over a one year period about 50 percent of adults and teenagers volunteer for some non-paying activity (The Gallup Organization, 1981).

The new-found appreciation of volunteerism rests on the emergence of new attitudes and feelings toward the role of volunteerism in society. According to Langton (1982) the new consciousness includes both a greater appreciation for the historic roles of volunteerism and a new expectation of the voluntary sector as a corrective force in society. He contends that voluntary associations can help to correct deficiencies in the government and business sectors through three functions: a prophetic function, a supplemental function and a modeling function.

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The prophetic function refers to the moral mission of the voluntary sector to "continuously shape and reshape the vision of a more social order" (Sherry, 1970:3). The supplemental function refers to the role of voluntary associations in providing services otherwise performed by government (Langton, 1982). The modeling function connotes an expectation that the voluntary sector has a special innovative, experimental capacity to create and demonstrate new forms of social service organization and operation (Berger and Neuhaus, 1977).

Interest in volunteerism is by no means limited to the United States. This is witnessed by the formation of the International Voluntary Action and Voluntary Associations Research Organization and similar national level associations in Britain, France and North America. Two books growing out of the First World Congress of the new international organization provide up-to-date summaries of international perspectives on volunteerism (Smith, 1983). You are much better aware than I of the history of volunteerism here in Britain and of the studies of voluntary and government roles in reports by Lord Beveridge prior to the 50's (Pifer, 1985) and by the Wolfenden Committee in 1978.

Having acknowledged the importance of volunteerism in society, I would like to turn to the status of research on volunteerism and particularly on volunteer leadership. A fair amount of research has accumulated which addresses many important facets of volunteerism. The previously mentioned edited volume on International Perspectives on Voluntary Action Research includes several studies proposing or testing theories that explain voluntary action and formation of voluntary groups.

When one turns, however, to the important matters of the nature and quality of volunteer leadership, the research literature is dismally lacking. Spiro (1983) attests to this when he says "research on the composition of boards of voluntary social agencies has been rather scanty." He calls for case studies of leadership of the voluntary sector. Pearce (1983) states "there has been little scholarly examination of the leadership function in voluntary associations." When leadership has been studied most attention has been given to the structure of leadership and to relative levels of activity of leaders versus members.

As further evidence of the lack of attention to voluntary leadership, one need only peruse the indexes of many current books on leadership. Many do not even include the term volunteer. The vast majority of theory and research in such literature is based on leadership in large business sector organizations or in small laboratory groups.

In the absence of leadership theory and research explicitly focused on the special attributes of volunteer settings, the general practice has been to apply theories derived from organizational and laboratory research. There are some indications, however, that voluntary organizations may differ from other organizations in important ways that affect the exercise of leadership. For instance, a study by Pearce (1983) concludes that the motives for seeking leadership positions in voluntary organizations differ substantially from motives in business and government organizations. Wortman (1982) cites three studies that indicate differences in characteristics of profit making and not for profit organizations. Some of the differences are very likely to have a bearing on how leaders behave. Among such characteristics in non-profit voluntary organizations are:

1. Restraints on the use of rewards and punishment.
2. Greater use of persuasion and diplomacy.
3. Constituents have a feeling of ownership and belonging.
4. Tendency to pluralistic purposes.
5. Leaders rate relationships with co-workers higher and prestige lower.
6. Often lack of hierarchy of authority.
7. Often lack clear definitions and divisions of work.
8. Positions assigned on criteria other than competence.

While all of these characteristics apply in different degrees to different volunteer organizations and groups the message seems clear. Operating procedures and thus leadership performance exhibit a different character in the voluntary sector - a less bureaucratic approach than the government and business sectors. In fact, Langton (1982) believes that one of the primary functions of the voluntary sector is to provide a societal laboratory for developing and demonstrating innovative forms of organization and leadership. These forms and procedures can then be transferred to the corporate and government sectors. For instance he believes some of the transferrable innovations of voluntary organizations in the 70's included the use of rotating leadership and decentralized conferences to develop national proposals.

We have been discussing leadership in voluntary organizations. Of greater impact to adult educators is how volunteers learn to lead other volunteers. There is very little empirical research on how volunteer leadership attributes and skills are acquired. The research that has been done generally focuses on the effects of formal training programs in large businesses or government sector organizations. Bass (1981) reviews a variety of approaches used to train and develop leaders principally in large organizations. Formal training programs predominate although some on-the-job efforts are reviewed.

Interestingly, despite limited evidence based on research, numerous writers advance optimistic claims on the "training" effect of participating in voluntary organizations, especially community or political activities. Rousseau identified such psychological and educational consequences of voluntary participation two centuries ago (Uzzell, 1983). They include learning how to participate and learning to distinguish between private personal interests and public community interests. More recent scholars have also argued that important learnings derive from participation in voluntary community activities. Schler (1970) contended that participants gain intrapsychic, interpersonal and task related competencies, a broadening of scope of concern and understanding and skills in applying the technology of social change. Biddle and Biddle (1965) contend that participation in community development can influence social skills, orientations toward problems and emotional orientations.

Empirical research on the nature and extent of learning which occurs through community problem-solving experience has, however, been limited. A few studies in the area of voluntary action report mixed results on the impacts of voluntary participation on participant learning (Schulman, 1978; Salem, 1978). A series of research studies (Hay and Apps, 1981) conducted at the University of Wisconsin in the 1970's investigated how adult educators can promote individual, group and community growth while working with community problem-solving groups. These studies identified a variety of impacts of community problem-solving participation on the growth of participants.

The glowing claims and the limited research evidence of the salutary effects of voluntary participation on participant development should not lead us astray. There are still serious questions about the amount and quality of learning especially of leadership skills, which takes place in these settings. Simpson (1982) reminds us that one of the common criticisms of neighborhood government is the lack of leadership skills within the citizenry. Dakin (1962) and Payne (1963) also contend that rural leaders often lack the skills, knowledge and experience necessary for effective leadership. For those citizens who do acquire participation or leadership experience in voluntary organizations it is well to remember the counsel of both Lewin (Bennis, et al, 1985) and Dewey (Brookfield, 1984) that experience by itself does not automatically result in learning or acquisition of correct concepts. To quote Lewin, "Thousands of years of human experiences with falling bodies did not bring men to a correct theory of gravity" (Bennis et al, 1985, p. 277).

One further small piece of evidence that supports this concern about the efficacy of voluntary participation experience as a form of leadership development comes from a random sample community survey in a rural Wisconsin County. When asked to indicate the reasons they liked to participate in organized community groups only thirteen percent chose the reason, "Chance to be a Leader." All other reasons were selected by 40 percent or more the respondents. An even more revealing statistic was provided when people indicated reasons they dislike participating in such groups. The reason selected most often (34%) was "Poor Leadership in Group" (Long Range Planning-Oconto County Extension, 1984). Thus volunteer leadership ability and leadership confidence appeared to be quite low in this county.

My experience and the limited evidence that is available indicates to me that while some people learn to be very effective leaders through the school of experience, there are some real questions about the general efficacy of this "school" and a great need for research to better understand both the potentials and limits of natural experiential learning.

In my organization people frequently express confusion over the disarray in content and focus of leadership development efforts. This leads me to the second part of my presentation. I would now like to briefly review several activities that attempt to provide some conceptual order to the key concepts involved in voluntary leadership development.

Conceptual Frameworks

The Cooperative Extension Service as many of you know is probably the largest informal adult education agency in the world. Through a partnership of national, state and county governments and designated state universities in each state a staff of community based educators seek to extend the research/knowledge base of the university to the people. Frequently Cooperative Extension staff assume initiative in developing voluntary organizations in the community and/or in assisting in the development and training of leaders.

In 1983, the National Extension Service decided to conduct a large scale evaluation of the impacts of leadership development programming provided by Extension services in the 50 states. As a first phase faculty at Washington State University were commissioned to prepare a Definition and Taxonomy. A draft version has recently been proposed.

The taxonomy though in rough form, is notable for several contributions (Michael et al, 1985). First it offers definitions distinguishing between leadership - behavior aimed at influencing the ideas and actions of others and leadership development - the intended acquisition of knowledge, skills and frame of mind for influencing others. The authors of the taxonomy note that scholarly literature on leadership is far more extensive than scholarship on leadership development.

Of greater value in my opinion to adult education is the second important contribution. The taxonomy clearly designates two primary modes for acquiring leadership competencies, 1) formal instruction and 2) experience. In experiential learning the volunteer is placed in situations where he or she may observe and practice leadership. Thus in an explicit way experiential learning as a source of agency supported leadership development is recognized.

A last contribution I would highlight is the taxonomy's reference to a graduated notion of leadership development. The authors suggest that the neophyte first acquires basic group and communication skills and basic technical expertise. A second stage is marked by guided development of knowledge and skill through experience. In the third stage leadership knowledge and skills are applied more broadly to public issues and public policy. The educational format shifts steadily from a formal instruction emphasis to an experiential emphasis at higher stages of leadership development. The taxonomy then presents a classification of knowledge, skills and frames of mind needed to be a leader. All in all the taxonomy represents a potentially fruitful beginning framework for understanding and studying voluntary leadership development.

In the state of Wisconsin a parallel effort has been underway to clarify the meaning and practice of leadership and leadership development. The conceptual scheme developed in Wisconsin is similar to the national taxonomy in many respects (Think Tank, 1985). One of the more useful contributions of this effort I feel is the identification of key kinds of capacities that underly leadership competence. Briefly they are identified as:

- * Assumptions and values held by the leader
- * The leader's self-concept
- * The leader's access to personal and societal resources
- * Knowledge and skill pertaining to problems facing the leader's group or organization
- * Knowledge and skill pertaining to processes for working with people, groups and organizations
- * Understanding of the context or culture which surrounds the leadership situation
- * Appreciation of varied perspectives on the problem's facing the leader's group or organization.

One other attempt to articulate a coherent volunteer leadership development framework can be mentioned. Greenberg (1982) has used a learning levels concept to diagnosis learner levels, to plan volunteer training programs and to plan volunteer placements. The levels exhibit a progression from apathy to policy influence and from one-to-one relationships to broad community involvements. Finally, the levels propose a progression from theory to experience or from experience to theory as the situation of the volunteer warrants.

Taken together I believe these three frameworks help do clarify the complex dynamics of leadership development. They give attention to the key ways that people learn to be better leaders. They identify the key competencies and they recognize the progressive nature of leadership development. They need to give more attention, however, to the unique aspects of leadership and leadership development in volunteer settings. Notwithstanding that limitation, these frameworks to provide helpful guidelines for planning formal or informal leadership development programs. They also provide guidance for defining and pursuing important research questions.

In the first part of my presentation I made a case for the need for research on volunteer leadership development. I believe research on this phenomena is essential to improve knowledge and practice in this area. In the second part I highlighted several conceptual schemes that might guide research on volunteer leadership. Now in my third section I would like to review a small study I have undertaken to investigate experiential learning of community volunteer leadership.

A Study of Leadership Development

The purpose of the study is to formulate grounded hypotheses (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) about the content and processes associated with learning about leadership in voluntary community problem-solving or betterment groups. I and my associate are inquiring into the leadership competencies volunteers acquire from experience in voluntary group settings. We are studying members of three community problem-solving or community betterment groups in rural Wisconsin communities.

The methodology for the study has been developed through applying certain theoretical concepts and pre-testing and revision of procedures in the field. The primary organizing construct is drawn from Kolb's elaboration of the Lewinian experiential learning cycle (Kolb, 1984).

The cycle is shown in Figure 1. According to Kolb "Immediate concrete experience is the basis for observation and reflection. These observations are assimilated into a 'theory' from which new implications for action can be deduced. These implications or hypotheses then serve as guides in acting to create new experiences" (1984, p. 21).

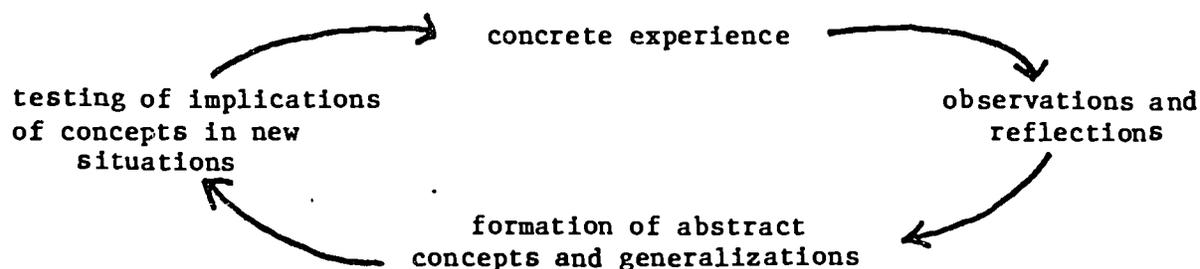


Figure 1: Lewinian Experiential Learning Model (as applied by Kolb)

The second guiding construct is that of the functional notion of group leadership (Yukl, 1981). This is the concept that several functions are

conducive to effective group functioning and that any member who performs any of these functions in a constructive, timely manner is exercising a form of distributed leadership. The functions are commonly classified as task-oriented or group-maintenance oriented. A fair amount of research on these leadership functions has been conducted in laboratory situations (Bales, 1950; Benne and Sheats, 1948; Bradford, 1976; and Schein, 1969). The leadership principles which group members identify in the study will be compared to the group functions framework to better understand the role of experiential learning in acquiring these functional behaviors.

The focus of the research is on what people learn about group leadership through participation in voluntary community groups. Initially, the goal was to focus on what people learn from participation in a single group. The scope was broadened, however, after initial pre-test interviews revealed that the most significant experiential learning may have occurred in previous group situations especially for older veterans of considerable community work. Since the purpose of the study is to provide broad outlines for future research, the scope was broadened to encompass a greater range of significant sources of learning.

The groups selected for study are voluntary groups formed with the assistance of the Cooperative Extension community development agent for the purpose of analyzing community conditions and proposing or taking action to improve them. Typically such groups are formed in rural communities of several hundred to a few thousand population. Generally membership is somewhat representative of the most active level of community residents. The group may or may not have some formal advisory relationship to local government. Such groups typically meet on a monthly basis and receive various forms of assistance from the county agent. Reasons for originally forming the group vary from responding to a particular community concern to organizing out of a general concern for community development.

As one form of inquiry we directly observe meetings of the community group and make tape recordings of the events for later transcription and analysis. During observation, notes are made on the identity of participants and various distinctive patterns of behavior that become evident.

The second form of inquiry takes place after the group has met several times. Members are interviewed individually. Again recordings are made for later analysis. In conducting the interviews we use an open-ended approach guided by certain objectives we hope to accomplish. We find it helpful initially to clearly explain the purpose of the study and to indicate that our goal is to help the person recall and reflect on what they have learned about leadership through participation. Having introduced the purpose of the interview, we ask participants to tell us about the kinds of groups they have served on, to contrast the groups and to discuss how and why they became involved in community group work. During these preliminary discussions, we note comments the participant may make about principles for working effectively in a group. We then ask the participant to indicate any kinds of knowledge, attitude, or skill that they have found contribute to success in group activities.

We note the ideas they mention and then take time to explore each idea. Our exploration is designed to illuminate the role of Kolb's experiential learning cycle in the development and progressive elaboration of the

leadership principles participants identify. First we ask the participant to recall and describe a concrete situation where they experienced the principle being properly or improperly applied. Following Kolb's model we ask the individual to describe their feelings in the situation, to point out consequences of the behavior on the actor or actors, to discuss whether they feel some generalization can be drawn and lastly to indicate if they have observed, experienced, or practiced the principle in other groups. If the experience described occurred in a group other than the current community problem solving group we ask them to discuss application of the principle in the current group. Finally for each episode we ask the participant whether they feel they learned anything from the experience.

Aside from a few summative questions this describes the interview procedure. The account implies, however, a greater degree of structure than actually occurs. In actuality, the interviews are highly fluid and require intense concentration on the part of the interviewer. Every attempt is made to bring about a natural, easy recall of important leadership principles and experience episodes without forcing the participant in any way.

The two research methods, observation and interview have the following roles and relationships. Our primary focus is on the understandings of experiential learning of leadership to be derived from the interviews. We are seeking concrete examples of leadership learning experiences. From a sampling of such examples, we hope to formulate some hypotheses on what people learn about leadership from experience and how they learn it.

The observations of community groups serve several supplementary purposes. First such observations give us a better understanding of the group leadership context as a backdrop for understanding interview comments. Second, when participants recall an episode in the group our observations help us to facilitate a more complete recall by the participant. Third, the group observations and informal conversations that occur when we visit meetings provide additional insight on the nature of group experience and possible learnings in these settings. Finally, our analyses of group behavior will provide a frame of reference which we can compare to the episodes and principles that participants identify. This comparison may help to discover additional hypothesis on the characteristics and processes of experiential learning of voluntary leadership.

To illustrate more graphically the kind of data we are accumulating, I would like to share a few excerpts from interviews we have completed:

"In my situation I had gone to a Dale Carnegie course and part of their philosophy is to become involved and to try to become leaders in different areas, assert yourself a little bit. I just thought that again that would be a situation where I could do that and also selfishly maybe help my business along the way by making some decisions that would maybe help it instead of sitting back and complaining about the decisions I thought were bad to become involved in it.

I: You mentioned this course. That's another thing that influenced you to get involved.

S: That was probably as much of an influence as anything I'd have to say. Other than my work experience in the past had not really been involved in any kind of committee. I guess the real reason was just maybe a lack of self confidence as anything else, not wanting, afraid that my ideas would be rejected or whatever it would be. After going to the Dale Carnegie course and being involved with it for the three month period of time I came to realize that I could participate and I had ideas and I just felt it was something that I needed to do. I had to push myself to become involved in both of these groups. It wasn't an easy decision with either one of them."

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"I: Can you think of an example to illustrate that for us?

S: I had a meeting this morning so it's rather fresh. We have a billboard out on the highway that was blown down in the storm we had in September. We're getting around to trying to get it repaired now. One of the individuals in the group after a motion had been made about allocating the money to get the sign in and all this went off on a tangent about an altogether different billboard and the advertising on that which really wasn't part of what we were working on at the time. The president of the Chamber let him have his say so to speak and got it turned around back to the problem at hand and let us solve that. Firmly but politely allowed that we would have this other situation on the next meeting which made the individual feel like he accomplished what he had set out to do yet we didn't waste the limited amount of time we had to talk on the subject that really wasn't as important as the subject we were talking about.

I: How did you feel when all of this was taking place?

S: I guess I get irritated when someone goes off on a tangent that isn't related to the matter at hand. If it's related to the matter I feel anybody's opinion is important. When it's away from the point at hand my time is valuable too and I've got time deadlines and everything I get irritated about that. I feel they're a little bit infringing on my time to do this. If it's germane to the subject that's fine. That's not an infringement on my time. That's something that anyone deserves to have."

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"I: Do you think that now that you've had a little more experience in these community groups if you were leading a group, whether it was community or work, would you try to operate differently than you did previously?

S: I think so. Again you never know until you get in the situation but I think I could make it so people would feel more at ease in a situation even if it was a work related type of thing where they would be a little more at ease to voice their opinions whether they were contrary to my thinking or not. I think I've got enough self confidence now that I wouldn't feel threatened by a contrary thought that someone had. I think that probably as much as anything would lend itself to openness. I think I just through experiences have dealt with people enough and witnessed



enough to be able to direct the course of conversation, activity kind of where you wanted it to go and still let people feel like they've done their thing so to speak."

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"II: You made a real interesting point. It's something I've thought of. The important role of self confidence and I was going to ask would you say for instance that the development of self confidence contributes to one's ability to learn from a given experience? Does it make you more open to learning what's there to be learned from an experience?

S: I definitely think it does because you can learn from negatives as well as positive and I think without the self confidence you'd shut off anything that was negative and say, well, those people are totally wrong and never be able to learn from it. When you have a little bit more self confidence you can look at a situation where you had some negative feedback and maybe even learn more that way. In my situation looking back at my previous situations in groups I think I can probably look at that and maybe learn more from things that I did wrong than maybe things that I did right. Self confidence I'm sure is a key in the group situation as well as everyday situations."

These excerpts illustrate the highly qualitative nature of the data we are collecting and hopefully demonstrate the fertility of such interviews for developing hypotheses about experiential learning of leadership capacities.

Hopefully my discourse up to this point on the state of knowledge regarding leadership and how adults learn to be leaders in voluntary settings has piqued the interest of some of you. Perhaps you are already addressing these matters and my comments have only reinforced your convictions. Or perhaps I have strayed from the mark and you are anxious to steer me back to the correct path. Whatever reaction I have provoked, before accommodating it, I would like to conclude my presentation with some general comments on experiential learning of adults in natural community settings and roles of adult education in response to such learning.

Learning in Natural Settings - Role of Adult Education

"Experiential learning refers to learning in which the learner is directly in touch with the realities being studied" (Keeton and Tate, 1978). It can occur inside or outside of a classroom. Thirty-five years ago John Dewey (1937) presented a basic rationale for experiential learning in education (Flack, 1981). He described two necessary phases of experience - doing and undergoing. When a person connects his or her doing to the return wave of consequences learning takes place. Other major exponents of learning from experience have included Piaget and Lewin. In more recent years David Kolb has extended Lewin's concepts and presented training models based on an experiential learning cycle.

As Brookfield (1984) points out, learning, to include experiential learning, can occur in the natural societal setting and in the formal instructional setting. The amount of learning which occurs as an incidental by product of a person's everyday experience, however, is far greater than that which derives from formal instruction (Lovell, 1980).

It has been a matter of debate whether the learning that occurs in natural settings should be of concern to adult educators. Little (1979) cautions against relying on such learning in a rapidly changing world. He says that learning in the natural societal setting is inefficient and uncertain. Kirkwood (1976) argues that experiential learning "must be neither so esoteric as to defy description nor so mundane as to caricature the academic crediting process. Others in adult education have argued that too little attention has been given to incidental learning (Apps, 1978; Lovell, 1980). Such advocates though would still restrict such learning to deliberate and purposeful episodes (Brookfield, 1984).

Given such views in adult education it is not surprising that little thought has been given to how adults learn from everyday experiences or to developing methods to facilitate such learning (Brookfield, 1984). Having prejudged the value of such learning there has been little impetus to study, understand or attempt to promote it.

The study I have just described departs from this tradition. A different set of premises guide the research. First it is suspected that a majority of the leadership development that volunteers acquire occurs as a by-product of experiences in voluntary settings. Second, it is presumed that the prime concern of adult educators interested in voluntary leadership development is to bring about learning in the most effective, efficient and universal manner. Given these two premises it is concluded that a potentially fruitful line of research would be to attempt to better understand the learning which takes place through volunteer experience in hopes of ultimately finding ways of enhancing that process.

In this instance, I might borrow from a concept that is central to the 4-H Youth Development Program - the concept of life skills. Perhaps in adult education we should be working harder to formulate concepts of the central life skills of citizens, to understand how those skills are developed and elaborated over the life span through a combination of formal instruction and experiential learning and to develop services to foster the most universal acquisition of the highest levels of such skills. In my opinion, leadership competence is one such skill and volunteer experience is a critical medium by which people become or can become better leaders.

Stephen Brookfield points out that adult educators exploring links between formal adult education and informal adult learning soon come to a realization that a state of ambiguity is almost a given condition of their work. He mentions the ambiguity of institutional attitude. Add to that the ambiguity of scholars regarding research on such phenomena.

Hopefully, as a field we can start paying more attention to such informal natural learning processes without succumbing to the temptation to categorize, control and manage them (Tough, 1982). We have much to learn as we come to better understand these natural processes. We also can, I believe, find ways to enhance the learning which occurs in everyday experience in many beneficial ways.

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Paul Ilsley
University of Syracuse

This paper contains an analysis of models of literacy volunteer administration for the purpose of sparking discussion of prevailing issues. Consideration is made of selected research, literature, and programs, mostly from the context of the burgeoning emphasis on literacy voluntarism in the United States. Questions are then raised that are somewhat neglected in the literature. The questions are intended to shape policy for programming more than to actually provide administrative strategy.

Literature on Administration of Literacy Volunteer Programs

Popular topics for research on literacy voluntarism include volunteer profiles and demographic characteristics of volunteers, and success rates of various strategies for instruction (Pasch and Oakley 1985) volunteer and student retention, (Johnson and Palmatier 1975) volunteer motivation in literacy education programs, (Charnley and Jones 1979; Massachusetts Council for Public Schools, Inc. 1964) and effectiveness of volunteer recruitment strategies (Jones and Charnley 1977). These pieces of research have a practical bent and offer program advice: how to recruit and train volunteers, tips for placement, motivation and evaluation of volunteers, and ideas for program organization.

A significant percentage of the documents (over 30 percent) located through searches of data bases, as well as a smaller portion of documents from other sources, focus on literacy volunteer campaigns, crusades, and projects in other countries. Especially through efforts of the World Council on Adult Education and the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, many attempts have been made to bring literacy educators together to define what it means to be literate, what the goals of literacy initiatives should be, and how people (students) can be involved in the determination of curricula. These organizations recognize that illiteracy is part of a global condition. Several national literacy volunteer campaigns lay claim to reaching more than 90 percent of the illiterate population. Outstanding examples of such literacy programs can be found in Cuba and Nicaragua, and to a lesser extent, in Great Britain, the Soviet Union, the Philippines, Iran, and Mexico.

Including manuals, reports, and books, perhaps as much as one half of the literature base is devoted to describing the mechanics of volunteer-based programs. One reason for the preponderance of such material is that final reports, manuals, or books concerning administration of volunteer-based programs, are generally stipulated as a part of funding requirements for grants received from libraries, state and provincial offices of adult basic education, and local school and community college authorities (Bernstein 1980; Brockbrader 1982; Dehli, Greenaway, and Alkenbrack 1984; Drake and Morgan 1975; Larson 1984; Koehler 1984; Outman, Pringle, and Latimer 1984; Sawyer 1984; and Suttle and Stewart 1985). These administrative manuals are frequently written as if they are intended for novices of the profession and suggest that literacy voluntarism itself is a new idea. Administrative materials, especially those contained in program reports, are laden with success stories, not failures, that are often attributed to a keen organizational strategy. An outcome from this is that, over a 30 year span, manuals of volunteer administration have proliferated but have remained general and unchanged.

Analysis of the Literature

The following points are intended to summarize the state of the art of the literature base of literacy voluntarism:

1. The majority of the literature is descriptive and case-specific in nature. Literacy volunteer administrators never seem to tire of writing detailed accounts of their programs. Several hundred reports have been written since the 1960s describing various program features. Many are useful for conveying successes and constraints of program strategies. But for the most part the reports are written as if the viability of literacy voluntarism must be proven with every account.
2. The next largest group of material are publications that refer to strategies for success. Typically, the approach taken is to inform volunteer administrators of tried and proven techniques of program planning, implementation, and monitoring. Components of program planning models, such as recruitment, orientation and training of volunteers, instructional approaches, development of instructional materials, student assessment, counseling of volunteers, and program evaluation receive special attention.
3. There is no detectable cohesiveness or direction of research. Nor is there evidence that the literature builds on itself. Rather, for the most part, it is idiosyncratic, time specific, or of a short-range nature.
4. There has not been a perceptible evolution of information; many of the concerns expressed in the 1960s are reiterated today with first-time exuberance. Examples include the professionalization of volunteers and volunteer coordinators, the need for increased governmental support, strategies for increased public recognition, and suggestions for the formulation of coalitions. A possible explanation for this is the relatively little attention, and therefore progress, afforded literacy voluntarism up until recently.
5. Current actions, such as the National Awareness Campaign, funding of the National Adult Literacy Project, the rise of volunteer components in Adult Basic Education Programs and libraries, and the advent of the Coalition for Adult Literacy, to name a few, suggest that progress has been made to win support of educators and the public alike. However, analysis of these achievements and reformulation of long-range strategies have not been forthcoming.
6. Very few works can be found in the data bases that describe the overtly political, Freirian-type community-oriented (also referred to as community-based organizations or CBOs). For understandable reasons, namely lack of funding and human resources, leaders of these organizations do not often engage in research. A notable exception is the monograph funded by B. Dalton Booksellers, Adult Literacy: Study of Community Based Literacy Programs (Zachariadis 1983). It is a survey study of a representational number of community based literacy programs in different parts of the country.
7. The prevailing managerial schemes for literacy voluntarism have, for the most part, remained unchallenged for 30 years. The result has been at least twofold: first, elaboration of various techniques have caused greater levels of efficiency in volunteer programs, i.e., productive recruitment campaigns and higher retention rates, (Slatkin

1981a) and second, an "employment model" replete with job descriptions and programmed training schemes dominates programs. The illusion results that there is and ought to be a homogeneity of strategy among literacy volunteer programs instead of a diversity of approaches.

8. Even though there seems to be no evolution of type of volunteer program reflected in the literature base there is an unmistakable trend toward professionalization of volunteers. From various sources, (Crandall, et al 1985, Johnson 1985, Lyman, 1977) planners of literacy volunteer programs are encouraged to develop structured training and management schemes for volunteers and for volunteer coordinators. Certification of volunteers through training volunteers has gained attention. (Waite 1984)

Considerations for Building Policy of Literacy Voluntarism

Before managerial strategies can make sense, the philosophy upon which they are built must first be examined. The point strikes true in the field of literacy voluntarism because many techniques are established and passed down from program to program and stated in the literature without critical examination of their true value. One explanation is that techniques are concrete, linked with program successes, and can be shared easily. Discussions of program philosophy, on the other hand, are abstract, require much consideration, and usually lead to debate.

Without a full examination of choices of purpose, scope, organizational setting, professionalism, and finance, a program runs the risk of being haphazardness, misuse of resources, and, ultimately, an early demise. Below administrative considerations are made according to these variables.

Choices of Purpose and Scope. Choices of purpose are linked with choices of scope. The intent and planned outcomes of any educational program are stipulated by who is to be served. In this case the question, which non-reading adults should a program serve, is related to, what problems are going to be addressed. By answering one the other is answered. As Eggert states (1984) it depends on how literacy is defined. Mention has been made of three purposes of literacy programs, skill development in reading, problem solving, and political action. The following discussion suggests how these purposes stipulate scope.

When literacy is defined in terms of reading, communication, and numerical skills alone, other choices seem to fall into place. For example, determination of who is to be served, where, and how, move to the domain of planning, relatively unencumbered by weighty philosophical decisions. Cooperation is sought from a variety of agencies and funding sources and, as long as the site is in the general proximity of the students, location can be almost anywhere. To run a literacy volunteer program of this type, a modicum of organization is obviously required. To satisfy sponsoring organizations, and to lend structure to the process, volunteers would receive training in the methodology of teaching reading. Finally, a plan for a volunteer process, alluded to previously, might include strategies for recruitment, selection, training, placement, and evaluation.

Another purpose of literacy volunteer programs is problem-solving. Administration of programs having this purpose is difficult because the subject matter can be obscure, meaning that consistency and control can evade administrators. Here the issue is, what problems will be addressed? Should a program focus on only a few, such as job training

and health-related issues, or should it expand the opportunities for students and accept other problems, such as tenants' rights, voter registration, powerlessness, and racism?

With selection of the specific purpose within this category comes selection of type of student. Should the program accept all people, and allow instruction for any problem those students care to solve? If so, chaos would reign. The question is, what students, with what kind of problems, are to be served. Once resolved, other issues become more manageable. For example, a program serving black adults, specifically designed to enhance students' awareness of tenants' rights operates with an implicit understanding of who is best served, where the program might (or might not) be housed, and how volunteers should be trained. But difficult choices might have to be made regarding who may and who may not volunteer and who may and who may not enroll.

The third purpose of literacy volunteer programs is political action. Leaders of programs with this purpose believe that there are structural inequalities in society that require attention just as much, if not more, than does the symptom of illiteracy. Compared to the other models above this one is the most sacrificial of all. That is, once the purpose of social change has been determined, program leaders may sacrifice access to funding, institutions, and volunteers who were interested in protecting the status quo. So in a sense the choices are simple: sacrifice status for the sake of consistency of purpose. When it comes to scope, again, confusion can result if agreement regarding the direction of the political action cannot be found. Literacy programs that subscribe to this purpose, in any case, opt out of the mainstream and are unlikely to form linkages with school districts, law enforcement agencies, vocational-technical institutes, and other common institutions.

In summary, when it comes to determining purposes of literacy volunteer efforts certain questions might be addressed:

- * Whose values are served through literacy voluntarism? At times the values of students, volunteers, and a sponsoring organization can come into conflict, such as when volunteer training is mandated, or when needless records are required of students, i.e., income, marital status, and age. Either example could be a source of conflict. When conflicts of this nature arise, discussions among all invested parties help to ease the tension.

- * Do the purposes determine who can and cannot join? That is, when a program is specific about its purposes it must also be specific about the type of student to be served? When purposes are quite specific, a voter registration drive for unemployed steel workers, for example, so are the types of students sought. A tradeoff occurs in this regard between specialization of purpose and egalitarianism. In other words, a program cannot be "open to all" when the purposes are narrowly defined. Conversely, when programs attempt to be all things to all people, they find they cannot provide instruction of immediate value.

- * Likewise, are volunteers selected according to program purposes? Should anyone be allowed to volunteer? If not, by what criteria ought they be selected? Contained in the purposes of programs are stipulations for the kind of commitment and skills desired from volunteers. One of the purposes of any literacy volunteer program should be to construct a challenging and worthwhile environment for volunteers. The

experience for volunteers is not likely to be beneficial if they have not learned and agreed with the mission of the program prior to beginning their service.

Choices of Organizational Setting. There are at least four possibilities of organizational setting: programs affiliated with similar kinds of programs, those attached to different kinds of organizations, multi-level sponsorship, and private/independent. The question here is with whom can a literacy volunteer program attach itself or form linkages in such a way that the benefits are mutual? As Mark (1985) argues, "There is a growing consensus that the challenge of education - specifically assuring basic literacy for all youth and adults - can only be met by locally built partnerships between all segments of the community" (p. 5). But there are caveats which, to some extent, lie in the purposes of the program.

While it would be difficult to imagine who would oppose a program that has as its purpose to teach people to read, it is not difficult to see how political action groups, even when they also help people learn to read, are not well received by a number of institutions. Such programs, at times, sacrifice beneficial opportunities for cooperation with other institutions, even in times of financial desperation, for the sake of maintaining a mission. Though not all programs face such dramatic choices, the goal in forming linkages, beyond winning support and cooperation, is the need to educate community leaders and decision-makers. Following are managerial considerations for the four types of literacy volunteer programs based on organizational setting.

- * Literacy volunteer programs are social change organizations. Some people advocate it more deliberately than others. To what extent does advocating the rights of students jeopardize program status?

- * In cases where volunteer programs are independent but attached to a sponsoring organization, such as a library or to a national organization, can agreement be reached on such matters as definitions of literacy, program goals, roles for volunteers, and how to manage an advisory council? These kinds of agreements can hardly be taken for granted. One person's definition might require extensive organizational resources. Another person's might be easily fulfilled by a low-cost program.

- * Are assumptions about volunteers similar at all levels of an organization? Have volunteers gained the approval and trust of higher level decision-makers? If not, when there are opportunities to share information about the program, such as during staff meetings, or meetings of similar kinds, it is helpful to invite organizational decision-makers. When higher level administrators are either over- or under-enthusiastic, there may be a problem. In these situations education of administration ought to be a top priority.

- * What is the relationship between organizational setting and the establishment of a climate for volunteer participation? Do volunteers "fit" in the organization? The type of organizational setting can influence a volunteer's decision whether or not to continue. Here climate is regarded as "the predominant set of standards, attitudes, and conditions that govern a volunteer-based program" (Ilsley and Niemi 1981, p. 30). Whether the establishment of a climate in a volunteer-based program is within the power of a volunteer coordinator is a matter for investigation. Suffice it to say that the type of leadership a volunteer coordinator displays influences the comfort level of

volunteers. One theory is that volunteers should be involved in decision making as far as possible, or at least be encouraged to suggest program changes or air grievances without fear of reprisal.

* Affiliation with other organizations can influence the type of organizational structure a literacy volunteer program employs. Decisions regarding location of classes, hours of service, and the type of ancillary services afforded, e.g., provisions for child care and transportation, might be desired by a volunteer program but vetoed by a higher level decision-maker. Procedures for accountability can shape a program and, for that reason, might be required by higher level decision-makers but opposed by a volunteer coordinator. To attain harmony it is wise to periodically evaluate how organizational demands influence the life of the project and quality of service to students. Upon the advice of volunteers and students it may be discovered that a program might be better off to achieve greater amounts of independence.

* As for linkages with community organizations, such as public schools, police departments, and mental health institutions, it is important to remember that while some people associated with the program may be on friendly terms with them, others may not. Some people—students, volunteers and paid staff alike—are threatened by such organizations. Meetings about linkages among people associated with the program is not only considerate, it is democratic.

Choices of Professionalism. One way of viewing professionalism is in terms of training and role. Program types can be hypothesized based on the observation that some programs provide extensive training opportunities for volunteers while other programs encourage volunteers to "learn by doing." At the same time, the role of a volunteer can vary from routine tasks to extensive decision-making, meaning that some volunteers are asked to assume authority for the progress of the program, while others are not. Thus there are two variables, training and authority, that are helpful in understanding professionalism.

Issues arise in this category when volunteers are either under- or over-used. An under-used volunteer is one whose energy and talent is greater than required by a program. An over-used volunteer might be one who does not have the energy or talent to perform the tasks assigned by a program. In either situation there are problems. To dispose of such problems, administrators attempt to achieve a "goodness of fit" between volunteers' efforts and program requirements. Below are questions and considerations designed to help managers achieve this balance.

* A foundational question is, what roles should volunteers perform in a literacy volunteer program? There are, of course, roles to be found other than one-to-one tutor and tutor trainer. Group I roles, those that are the most common, include career counselor, child care specialist, diagnostician, food worker, reading specialist, receptionist, and transportation coordinator. Group II roles, those that are less common, might include proposal writer, fundraiser, artist, public relations agent, researcher, and materials specialist.

* In situations where volunteers assist paid staff, to what extent do volunteers, particularly those with high levels of expertise, pose a threat to those paid staff? Without precautions, volunteers may threaten paid staff, even if those threats are imaginary. One fear is that volunteers will not be dedicated to the cause. Another is

that volunteer positions will supplant the paid positions. Too commonly, the managerial strategy used to allay such fears includes avoiding the assignment of significant responsibilities to volunteers. Unfortunately, this sort of strategy hides the fears rather than allowing the fears to be faced squarely.

* Is it important for volunteers to adhere to a schedule? Certain roles, such as those listed in group I, carry responsibilities that require structure and reliability. Generally speaking, volunteer assignments that include direct service with students ought to be delivered with a firm time orientation. Other positions, such as those represented in Group II, can be afforded a flexible time arrangement. The argument is that when tasks call for no structured schedule it is probably best to refrain from imposing one. Control of volunteer performance may have less to do with prescribing hours than it does with assigning appropriate responsibilities and conditions to achieve tasks.

* There are several important facets of volunteer training: orientation, preservice, and inservice, each of which serves an important function. Programs that display the most consistency of purpose are those that value a learning environment for all individuals associated with them—students, volunteers, and staff alike. In the case of volunteers, one way to achieve this environment is to provide upward sequential training, or transition training, when volunteers are ready to assume new responsibilities. A well-planned training program can make a positive difference in helping a volunteer identify additional areas of interest while allowing an organization to recognize volunteers' increased abilities.

* In this sense, training is not routine, and does not resemble authoritative models that attempt to preserve the status quo through mandated instruction. Rather, when possible, training should reflect the dynamic quality of a volunteer program. As for determination of topics for training, what would happen if training in all its forms was planned jointly by volunteers and administrative personnel?

Choices of Finance. Literacy volunteer programs can be characterized as underfunded. Administrators scramble to bring funding levels up to minimum levels and their skill in grant writing is becoming more evident. At first glance it appears that choices of finance boil down to one point: how to get more money. Further reflection brings a different viewpoint, that not all types of funding are the same. The following questions are designed to raise awareness of fundraising considerations.

* Who should pay for literacy voluntarism? Funding sources include governmental grants, corporate and private foundation grants, social service agency grants, volunteer donations, and student tuition. With each source of funding, or combination of them, there are advantages and disadvantages. Different types of literacy volunteer tolerate different types of funding better than others.

* Does control of program planning follow allocation of fiscal resources? Control can range from direct intervention in such matters as hiring to demands for certain kinds of actions and reporting schemes. It would be a mistake to assume that funds are handed to program administrators without constraints on how those funds will be spent. If a program can tolerate the constraints of funding without sacrificing program policies and principles then the funding source is probably a good one.

* Is lack of funding the chief impediment for achieving a literate nation? It is easy to lament poor funding levels, but if the problems lie elsewhere, twice the current allocations combined may produce improvement by only one fifth. It is important to be realistic about the limits of effectiveness.

Conclusion

Several themes characterize this paper. One is that program choice in literacy voluntarism is a function of clarified policy. Policy can be viewed as a mediator between sets of rights, the expedient route to achieving stated ends, in a way that is filled with wisdom and reason. Wise practice includes critical examination of policy and consistency of purpose, scope, organizational setting, professionalism, and finance. Literacy voluntarism is more than technique, it is the rational use of technique in light of purpose. Excellence in volunteer programming cannot be found in the development of program tools alone, such as organizational linkages, marketing schemes, and grant writing. Program tools, at best, can merely illuminate purpose. But careful examination of purpose and policy holds promise for expansion of literacy voluntarism beyond its current level of effectiveness. Certainly the future of literacy voluntarism is more in the hands of wise practitioners than the generosity of external funders.

Policy in literacy voluntarism mediates the rights of students, volunteers, and the organizations that sponsor them, and each player has unique values, standards, and goals. When organizational standards predominate, such as when roles for volunteers are predetermined and fixed, and when lessons between volunteers and students have been presupposed, then both student and volunteer values have been sublimated. Such a strategy is not necessarily wrongheaded. Sometimes it is important to provide extremely consistent, and therefore structured service, even if that service appears to be rigid. But other options exist, such as student-defined curricula, volunteer-defined training, and cooperative, democratic programs. Such ideas are not necessarily correct for every situation. But in light of the fact that quite a number of effective models have not received much attention in the literature or by funding agents, and because the models of literacy voluntarism that predominate are not cutting the illiteracy pool in significant ways, we may be ready to try something new.

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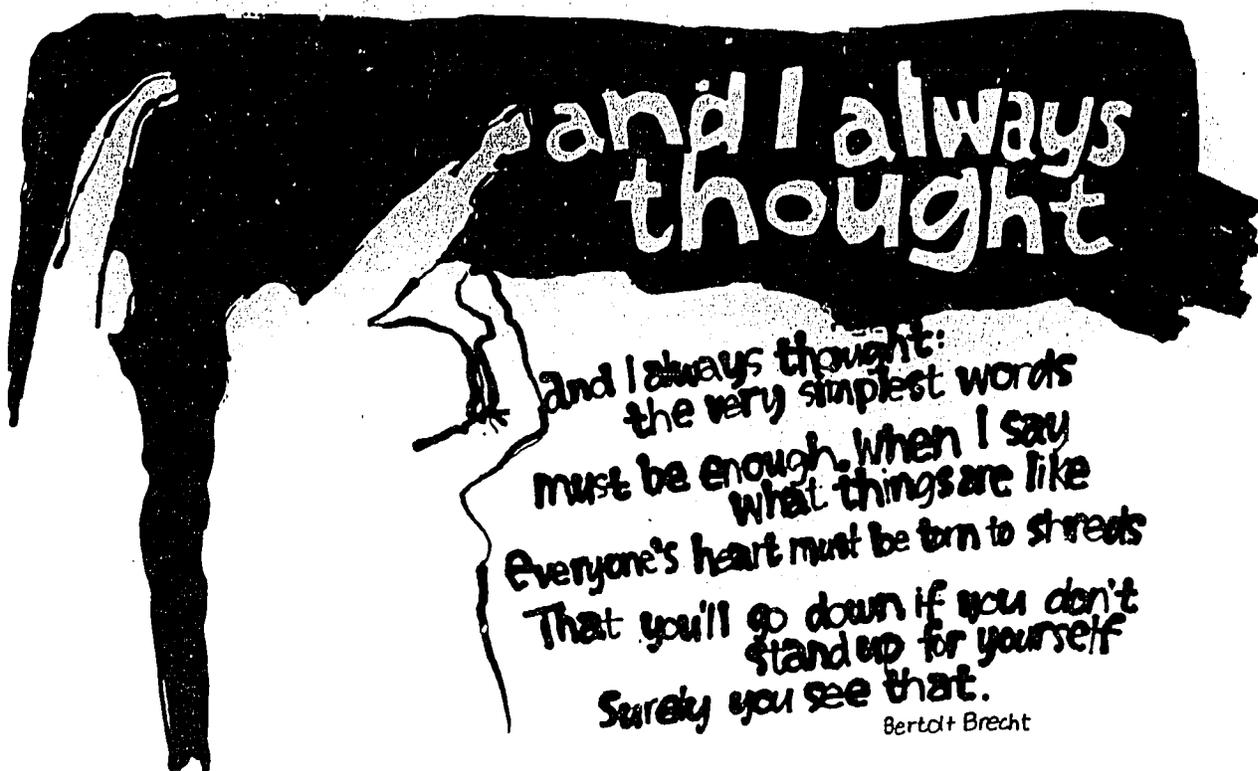
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Dian Marino
York University, Ontario



This poster illustrates several of the themes that will be explored in the paper: hegemony; resistance; re:framing and adult education. Each of the themes will be developed in abbreviated forms and illustrated with material drawn from my work as a popular educator. This work of the last seven years, has been in the development of learning materials which are part of a participatory research process. Gradually I began to ask myself and colleagues how we would know if we were engaged in producing emancipatory materials or if we were unconsciously reproducing colonized patterns from our immersion in our cultural pea soup. As an artist I am well aware of the differences between the confused, incomplete and inarticulate consciousness of actual persons engrossed in a process and the apparently 'decisive form' that emerges from retrospective analysis. So on the one hand these questions directed my research, and on the other we themselves clarified and made less naive. There is a Bertolt Brecht poem that conveys my stance toward research.



This is a Valentine's day card I made in 1982. The 'simplest words' that do not trivialize can aid in linking words and actions - words drawn from action for action. 'When I say what things are like; Everyone's heart must be torn to shreds.' Interpretation and explanation which is related and relevant to everyday experiences can be an important step to emancipatory patterns. However incomplete my articulation of the influences I have brought to this investigation, it is like the unbending

figure in the card - an unbending from years of servitude, from colluding through silence to a depoliticized 'objective' frame that permeates much of contemporary research.

It is proposed that we (in North America) are immersed in a mass mediated culture, and that learning of a deep and continuous nature is occurring daily for most adults. It is further suggested that some of these patterns of interpretation and practices of cultural production are significant impediments to education for social transformation, and are sometimes unintentionally reproduced in the process of constructing alternative or popular education materials. In North America the frame on learning and education is that they are neutral and not political. It is argued that this frame obfuscates and weakens the link between words and action and distracts people from constructing questions and actions leading to empowerment. And finally, it is proposed that an important task for adult educators over the next few years will be not only to reflect on the persuasion aspect of hegemony but also investigate the consent aspect of hegemony - to review our own practices and patterns of interpretation.

HEGEMONY

Antonio Gramsci in Selection from the Prison Notebooks (1971) develops the notion of hegemony as the process whereby public consensus about social reality is created by the dominant class. He noted the heterogeneity of working class consciousness:

Common sense is not a single unique conception, identical in time and space. It is the 'folklore' of philosophy, and, like all folklore, it takes countless different forms. Its most fundamental characteristic is that it is a conception which, even in the brain of one individual, is fragmentary, incoherent and inconsequential, in conformity with the social and cultural position of the masses whose philosophy it is. (Gramsci, 1979, p. 419)

In very simple terms hegemony could be defined as persuasion from above (by the dominant class) AND consent from below (by the subordinant class). Gitlin (1980) delineates hegemony as the systematic but not necessarily deliberate 'engineering of mass consent to the established order.'. Williams (1977) further extends the implications of this concept in cultural terms:

A lived hegemony is always a process. It is not, except analytically, a system or a structure . . . it does not just passively exist as a form of dominance. It has continually to be renewed, recreated, defended, and modified. It is also continually resisted, limited, altered, challenged by pressures not at all its own. (Williams, 1977, p. 112)

Hegemony functions to obscure power relations and to develop a 'common-sense that accepts structural class inequality as an accidental by-product of the larger political system.' (Sullivan, 1983, p. 2)

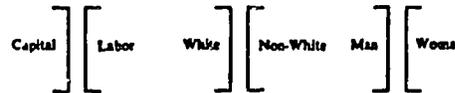
Wilden's (1980) study of power relations in Canada entitled 'The Imaginary Canadian' proposes a schema which attempts to distinguish between 'real'

power relationships and 'imaginary' representations of those relationships. Within the 'imaginary' there is first the appearance of opposition of equals which he labels 'symmetrization' and second the 'inversion' of real power relationships.

(a) Examples of presently existing, short-term power relationships between dominant and subordinate (contradictions):



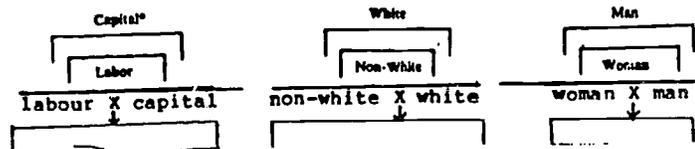
(b) Imaginary symmetrization (oppositions) in the present context:



(c) Imaginary inversion of the present power relations:



To this schema we could add the notion of the development of an alternative and not imaginary set of power relationships, but this would have to be directly in relation to the current real power relationships. Schematically it might be portrayed this way:



This addition to Wilden's schema is important in that some media and pedagogical research has shown that the decontextualizing of interpretations is a major reason for the depoliticization of working class consciousness in North America (Gitlin, 1980). By decontextualizing is meant the disappearance or distortion of current real power relationships and their origins.

When these two notions are combined - hegemony and Wilden's schema, the precarious location of the adult educator comes into sharper focus. Because we (adult educators) participate (the consent part of the hegemonic process) in our surroundings (a large portion of which are represented and interpreted through the mass media), we are likely to use

these imaginary (symmetry and inversion) patterns in the production of knowledge aimed at changing power relationships, whether this production is of a reform or a structural nature.

RESISTANCE

My research has previously been to look at the obstacles to 'speaking out' (Marino, 1980) but now I consider the term 'obstacles' to reflect a frame that originates in the dominant class. Perhaps a better term would be one that reflects the notion of invisible participation - hidden from ourselves. We (adult educators) need to pay closer attention to not just the details of particular experiences of resistance but equally importantly - the frames (names) we give to those chunks of lived process. Otherwise resistance will always be contained or managed by the dominant class. In my study of popular education practices in a Canadian context, I found that there were two participation patterns - integrative and disruptive, and that both of these modes were necessary for both producing and using popular education materials.

Conflict and resistance are significant moments in a process of social change, and the mass media includes a great deal of material dealing with conflict and resistance. Sullivan (1984) suggests that portrayals of conflict and resistance can be apparently diverse (integrating, agitating, and fragmenting) and yet function in harmony to contain and manage attempts to alter power relationships. Thus, resistance which could potentially become transformative (altering power relations) is brought into line with the dominant ideology - maintaining current power relationships.

RE:FRAMING

The production of knowledge is a many layered process that includes the power to express and interpret accurately and coherently, as well as construct new ways of knowing and relating. I propose that another difficulty in attempting to develop alternatives has to do with the metaphor which dominates the symbolization and resymbolization of experiences - the discovery metaphor. This metaphor is analogous to Wilden's imaginary power relationships in so far as it promotes a sense of pseudo agency - to name or identify a problem WITHOUT consideration of its origins or the politics involved is to set up a kind of ad hoc action frame. A more appropriate metaphor would be that of construction. 'The ability to RESYMBOLIZE events or expressions is indicative of the reality that interpretation is a constructive act rather than a process of discovery' (Sullivan, 1984; Bauman, 1978). One characteristic of the alternative frame would be the shift from a discovery metaphor (vis a vis the production of knowledge) to a construction metaphor. So, for example, for adult educators engaged at this level, interpretation must be reflexive. This means that the social scientist cum educator must consider the effects of her horizons on the interpretive act. Further, 'When meaning is RECURSIVE, as in a conversation, we expect that the resymbolization not only challenges the participants but that the resymbolization can also be challenged by the participants.' (Sullivan, 1984, p. 121).

Re:framing occurs when problems or experiences are represented in ways

that both retain the realities of existing political relationships and transcend them by opening up new (for those involved) and real opportunities for acting on the inequities of those relationships. This is not just a substitution of one headline for another but rather requires both teachers and students to co-construct new and useful frames on their experiences - ones that mobilize and empower them.

THE GHOSTS IN THE FRAME

Some examples of resistance and hegemony as expressed in the mass media will be presented in order to describe some of the ways in which the media frames reality so as to obfuscate real power relationships and distort the links between knowledge and action.

The first is a photograph of a demonstration taken from a local (Toronto Sun) newspaper which is apparently working class (a tabloid format, lots of photographs, copious advertisements for consumer goods, 'sunshine girls and boys', etc.). Duran (1982) has done extensive work analyzing photographs and texts in newspapers suggesting that juxtaposition is significant in generating interpretive connections. Gitlin (1980) shows how these decisions are not necessarily conspiratorial in nature but rather owe a debt to the everyday practices in the making of news.

30 The Sunday Sun, April 22, 1984



Linked for a protest
 Anti-cruise missile demonstrators tied together with strips of fabric formed a human chain in a march from the U.S. Consulate on University Ave. to Liberal party headquarters on King St. E. yesterday. A nation-wide protest is scheduled for Saturday.

Porn viewers needed

More volunteers are needed to view sexually explicit videotapes for research at York University.
 "We still require about 100 men over the age of 18 to view and evaluate sexually explicit videotapes," said psychology professor James Check.
 Check said screened volunteers will be paid \$10 to \$40 for up to four nights' work. Volunteers are guaranteed anonymity, he said.
 The movies will be a cross-section of the types of sexually explicit videos that can be rented across Canada, Check said.
 Volunteers can call 667-3962 or 667-2511 for details.

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USED CAR DIVISION
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BRING YOUR USED CAR IN FOR A FREE MARKET EVALUATION ALL THIS WEEK
 MON. APRIL 23 - SAT. APRIL 30
DROP BY AND MEET OUR 43 ft. GORILLA AS BIG AS A 8 STOREY BUILDING
SPECIALS ON DURING THE WHOLE WEEK

83 New Yorker 8th Avenue Loaded Dark blue, Christian leather interior, 12,000 mi. 90A, 64007A, Was \$14,300. NOW \$13,549	82 TOYOTA COROLLA SR5 LIFTBACK, Silver, 5 spd. A/F, Real Sporty number, Was \$7795. NOW \$7495
ALL CARS CARRY A 6 MO/10,000 KM WARRANTY	
81 BUICK SKYLARK Maroon, 6 cyl., auto, 2dr, 2dr, 97196. NOW \$6595	80 AMC EAGLE 2 Dr, 424 6 cyl., auto, 9579, 4r, 64029A, Was \$5795. NOW \$5295

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 SCARBOROUGH'S BEST DEALER
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In this photograph there are several connections made which are not rational but nevertheless are made to appear real. The first is that the peace movement is full of folks willing to sign up for something like porn viewing. Then oddly enough the next dominant word message is GORILLA. These three notions converge into a 'commonsense notion' that people who resist (demonstrate) are sex crazed animals, or some similar version of the three bits of information. No respectable paper would print that but it does come through in this 'hidden university' of your local newspaper. This is an agitation frame which although logically invisible is quite effective in managing resistance.

The other two examples are drawn from two television advertisements which were originally shown around a Sunday political talk show in the United States. They are advocacy advertisements (they do not sell a product but rather an attitude towards a company/country). United Technology is the fourth largest armaments manufacturer in the world. At the time these were produced Alexander Haig was president of the company. The advertisements are only one minute long and are extremely slick and soothing to see and hear. Each one begins with a phrase such as 'United Technology is our name, technology is our business ...'. One of the advertisements then follows this up with the text

and we're developing new methods for transforming waste materials into energy and valuable raw materials. What you're seeing here is one of the most eloquent symbols of the environmental movement.' (the visuals are of a large bulldozer type machine moving huge piles of cans to a large building/machine for recycling) 'But most of us don't realize that it's only the beginning of the cycle, because recycling means far more than just collecting old cans. On Long Island, a technologically advanced centre will turn 2,000 tons of trash into enough power to generate electricity for 180,000 homes a day . . . now we're studying other ways to turn garbage into power and we really think that's like turning lead into gold. Technology is a continuing response to the needs of life.'

There are many ways to decode this advertisement but I would like to stick to the theme of resistance and suggest that this advertisement is an illustration of the integration of resistance into dominant thinking, so for example, the 'environmental movement' whose origins were to conserve not to promote consumption - to resist dominant relationship patterns - is symbolized as yet another 'super dooper pooper scooper' piece of machinery which will enable us to consume energy at the same rate or perhaps even greater rates than before the era of 'environmental crisis'. A machine, not people, will turn lead into gold - just one more magic trick brought to you by a corporation with intimate links to the military and state. So resistance is resymbolized to fit the dominant story line of how the world works; it is integrated into the dominant story line.

A slightly different treatment of the theme of resistance is found in a second advertisement from the series of 20 put out by United Technology. This advertisement begins with the phrase 'United Technology, a continuing response to the needs of life.'. It is purportedly about nature in general and wolves in particular. All of the text is reproduced here as it has many twists and turns. Wolves in an idyllic woodland setting

constitute the visuals. A deep male voice says the following:

Some words about wolves. One of the most interesting things about wolves is that they almost never fight amongst themselves because their teeth and jaws are so lethal. They've developed a complex system of howls and grimaces and snarls. This gives them the freedom to live so they can enjoy their appointed rounds on earth. This characteristic of wolves is exhibited by virtually every large mammal species in the animal kingdom. It is also exhibited by large governments in the world community. The ability to protect oneself is often the surest guarantee against ever having to fight. Much of America's protection comes from technology that's why we believe the relationship between technology and peace is a positive one. It helps us to guarantee the freedom to live. This is neither a sad fact nor a happy one; it's just a fact of life.



The menacing aspect of the arms race is put into a natural process thereby turning a social process into a 'natural' one. This pattern continued in the last three lines where evaluation by ourselves portrayed as 'un-natural'; what is natural is to let a corporation make these contracts - these connections between peace and freedom. Through advocating their position - technology is good for peace - they are ag

integrating resistance (fear of the arms race) into a natural description of how the world works. There are several ghosts in this advertisement - the peace movement; the armaments firm - United Technology; and finally the audience or viewer. The peace movement ghost is presented as un-natural, the United Technology ghost is only doing its appointed job, while the third ghost (the viewer) is admonished to interpret this natural relationship as 'just a fact'. It is a fact that does not require emotions or evaluations from us, as this is 'not natural'. Resistance is made to appear as an 'un-natural act'. I would label this pattern as fragmenting, as it severs the logic of the social construction of knowledge and decreases the likelihood of collectively naming and acting on these 'facts' as happy or sad or destructive etc.

These illustrations are very preliminary and suggest that more systematic analysis of the treatment of resistance in the dominant media would be an important step in understanding this 'hidden university' and to re:framing how we might be participating in or reproducing these patterns of interpretation. Three examples of the framing of resistance are given - agitation, integration and fragmentation. (It is important to note that agitation can be used both to manipulate change as Duran (1982) has shown it did in Chile during the period leading to Allende's assassination as well as for liberating purposes.) There are undoubtedly others, but these examples are sufficient to show how three apparently different ways of portraying resistance can function to the same end of marginalizing and trivializing resistance aimed at empowerment or social transformation.

EVERYDAY SPECTACLES

Popular education is a term that originated in Latin America and has been used to describe participatory political education aimed at empowerment. There are many ways to describe the characteristics of popular education; I will use a summary drawn from the writings of those I have worked with over the years. In general there seem to be three primary characteristics: 1. The foundation of learning is the ordinary and real problems people experience. 2. Learning is not neutral; political issues of participation, control, ownership, benefit, etc. are explored when learning is a mutual goal of students and teachers. 3. Collective processes of production are understood to be a significant quality of constructing alternative interpretation and organizing action.

Recent reflections on some of the popular education projects that I have been involved with over the last seven years brought out some examples of hegemonic interpretations (frames) and practices embedded in popular education materials and processes. Instead of strengthening the connection between action and reflection, these materials and practices diluted the links between integrative and disruptive participation, often diverting resistance into a less than transformative action. These materials and practices of production diluted the links between integrative participation and disruptive, between resistance and transformation or relationships. The following section will look at some popular education materials and practices - some reflected hegemonic patterns while the others re-presented what I would label as empowerment frames.

In analyzing these projects the notion of opposing mainstream analysis and

development of alternatives was almost always explicitly discussed or included in the final material. They consciously avoided mainstream tactics of trivializing and marginalizing real problems; nevertheless, I did find numerous instances of 'flattening out conflict' or avoidance of 'sticky issues'. These findings led to another observation - the power and importance of how we construct and frame knowledge was not often made to figure in the material itself - and the conclusion that this loss aids in reproducing patterns of consent. Another way to say this is there seems to be a lack of illustration of the struggle and messiness of resistance that is transformed into creative alternatives.

In all the projects the intention of the adult educator was to see the world from the point of view of the less empowered and to represent that view in the words and images of those people. While I still consider this an important characteristic of good popular education materials and process, I would add the notion that it is particularly important to attend to CONTROL of the PRODUCTION of KNOWLEDGE and those rare moments in the making process where the GROUP TAKES CONTROL of the STRUCTURE of INFORMATION.

One project that was studied in depth was the making of two photo-stories about immigrant women's experiences around the theme of work. Two photo-stories were produced by three adult educators. These two photo-stories were then included in a book for adult educators on how to make photo-stories with people. In this project, the theme or metaphor for a photo-story on work was produced by one of the educators. This seems like a small incident, but because it frames and structures the story it is a decision of significance. Yet the other adult educators and participants accepted this frame without much discussion and proceeded to the details. One consequence of this inattention to framing was that participation was decreased and the potential for creative re:framing by the whole group was also diminished. This decision becomes more important when coupled with another decision. The first group interview with all of the women was tape recorded. This tape was full of jumps in topics, over-talking when people got excited, and different and potentially conflictual interpretation of issues. Normally this tape would be transcribed but the adult educators decided it was 'too messy' and so we transcribed a second tape which was a second version of the pieces of the first tape that fitted the metaphor chosen by the adult educator. This small decision regarding transcription resulted in the loss of many conflictual issues and also the loss of discussion of which frame or metaphor might best reflect the group's issues. Another habit in the editing of the text (done in this project by the adult educators) was keeping the problem and dropping the actions that the women had taken on them. For example, one of the women in the discussion described an interview with a manpower counsellor in which she requested a course in English as a Second Language; he denied her access to this course because she had been in the country too long. She then went on to describe a second encounter with the bureaucracy, only this time 'she opened her eyes a bit'. She went in and stated that she wanted to take an accounting course and where did she go to sign up for it. She observed that there is difference between asking a question and making a statement. In the transcript she stated:

The next time I went there I was smart enough. I opened my eyes a bit. I went to Dundas Street (manpower office) and I went to

the counter and I said, 'I would like to apply for a course.' I didn't ask for a course, I told them. And they replied in room such and such there is an explanation of how you can apply.

The first incident with the manpower counsellor was included (where, she was refused a course) but her above solution to the problem was not. The adult educators did have a brief discussion about this but it was decided that her solution would play into the stereotype of the immigrant as system beater and so was deleted. I think that we were unconsciously letting the women name the problems but not portraying them as agents in resolving those problems. This stance whereby the naming of problems is dominant is an illustration of the difference between a discovery metaphor and a construction metaphor for the production of knowledge. With the discovery metaphor there is a tendency to idealize the links between naming and action. To be able to analyze a problem can become a substitute for action, so that it becomes easier and easier to 'rationalize' little or no change.

In this project, there were other practices which helped to close down discussion and disruptive participation. Much of the material for the text was drawn from tape recordings of conversations - a form of oral history. There was a habit of listening to audio tapes, and NOT paying explicit attention to the areas of the oral histories that were lost because so many spoke up at once. Not seeing this moment of the conversation as critical just because we couldn't transcribe it was analogous to the practice of the dominant resymbolizers' (the mass media) habit of organizing and 'cleaning up' conflict. Choosing the metaphor or theme for the photo-story inadvertently ended up being an unexplored decision. There seemed to be a habit of using those parts of the oral history that described a problem, but too frequently we did not include the solutions/actions the women had taken on those problems. All of these small practices contributed to a loss of conflictual material in the final text. The links between resistance and empowerment were sparse or omitted. I think that it is an important omission that reflects dominant interpretation patterns and practices.

Another project involving the Native Community in Toronto in assessing the needs of Native Families living in Toronto, resulted in many small community projects. One of these small projects was described in a booklet called 'Halloween from beginning to end'. When I looked carefully at the text, I found many instances where both integrative and disruptive participation occurred. The booklet described how a Halloween Party was organized, run, and evaluated by a group of Native families. In the section on evaluation, they were able to identify many things under the heading 'What did we do right?'. When they moved to the heading 'What did we do wrong?' they felt immobilized.

The heading disturbed them so much that they could not continue. They said right/wrong discourages people and decided to use the heading 'possible improvements' instead. (Akiwenzie, 1979)

What was unusual about this text is that this disruption was not buried or disappeared but included as a description of the events. The author of the booklet, by including this disruptive participation along with the creation of an alternative that resulted in clear and useable knowledge

for the next event, provides an opportunity for readers to work their way through, to experience the contradictory movements involved in change.

There were also many examples of integrative participation described in the booklet. These examples were not predicated on denying real conditions or suggesting that individuals should adjust to their 'new settings'. This kind of integrative participation does not function to 'make people fit in' or 'discourage people from acting'. The opening lines of the text accurately reflect the isolation and alienation of native families in an urban area.

Elizabeth could have yelled out her door and I am sure Dorothy and Joan would have heard her. They were practically neighbors but had never met until they all decided to attend the same community meeting. Carol came sauntering in a little later as she lived a little further down the street. She was a bit tired from her bicycle ride over but still eager to meet the others and find out what was happening. It was here in Liz's living room, where we all sat sipping tea that the idea of having a halloween party first came up.

While the needs for connection were highlighted, the sentences did not focus on 'their lack of social initiative or passivity'. Rather they were portrayed as eager for contacts and connections. Carol came over to find out what was happening. Besides acknowledging a condition of isolation, there was also a focus on action - what they did do to act on those conditions (come to a meeting, develop a plan for a Halloween Party, etc.).

The author of this booklet has included a number of instances of resistance which led to mobilizing changes. In writing this account of what happened, the field worker could have left out the part where the committee struggled with renaming the category. Including this disruptive participation along with the creation of an alternative frame that resulted in clear and useable knowledge, provides an opportunity for the reader to work their way through, to experience the contradictory movements involved in change.

RE:FRAMING OUR TASKS AS POPULAR EDUCATORS

The management of the structuring of knowledge comes not only from the media per se but also from ourselves as life-long learners of these secret story lines. Dorfman in his book The Empire's Old Clothes describes the consequences of this submersion in our culture. He underlined the lack of images of rebellion and resistance in children's and adult literature. About Babar and Donald Duck he notes:

Once the child identifies with other children who are really adults, he participates in his own self-domination, thereby circumscribing his freedom not only to become another person, but also to invent another kind of world. In this way his natural rebellious energies - which should normally be used to question the established order and risk imagining one that is different - are neutralized. (p. 59)

In his summary he concludes that children (and infantilized adults who read the Reader's Digest and watch the Lone Ranger, etc.) are:

. . . at this very moment assimilating fiction which, under its pert and smiling guise, turns them into competitors, teaches them to see domination as the only alternative to subjugation. They are learning sex roles; perverse and deformed visions of history; how to grow up, adapt, and succeed in the world as it presently is. They are learning not to ask questions.

This research suggests that one important task for adult educators engaged in popular education is the identification of frames (in both the mass media and alternative materials) that distract us from asking questions, from creating frames that are more intimately linked to changes and actions. A second task is to ask ourselves while we are producing materials - What's missing from the text that was there in the event, and what are we learning from its absence? It is not sufficient to be in opposition, we need also to generate alternative knowledge and images - new wisdom out of the mud of our current interpretations.

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Participants

Dr P Allman	University of Nottingham
Dr P F Armstrong	University of Hull
Dr W Bacon	University of Sheffield
Dr J Banfield	Queen's University, Belfast
Mr R Bell	Open University
Dr J C Berryman	University of Leicester
Dr E Bird	University of Bristol
Dr N Boreham	University of Manchester
Mr B P Bright	University of Hull
Ms C Charlesworth	Barnsley College of Technology
Dr G E Chivers	University of Loughborough
Ms J Conway	University of Leeds
Mr W Coull	University of Nottingham
Mr J L Dobson	The British Council
Professor C Duke	University of Warwick
Mr K Elsdon	
Mr D Fielden	University of Nottingham
Professor P E Fordham	University of Southampton
Dr E S Garbett	University of Sheffield
Dr E Gerver	Scottish Institute of Adult Education
Dr I Haffenden	University of Surrey
Mr T Hall	University of Nottingham
Professor W A Hampton	University of Sheffield
Mr C Hancock	University of Surrey
Ms S Harrop	University of Liverpool
Mr B Harvey	University of Nottingham
Ms J Henfrey	University of Liverpool
Dr P Jarvis	University of Surrey
Ms C Jones	University of Bristol
Mr D J Jones	University of Nottingham
Ms F Jones	Times Higher Education Supplement
Ms N Keddie	University of London
Ms E Kingdom	University of Liverpool
Dr S Langrish-Clyne	University of Manchester
Ms A McIntosh	University of Surrey
Professor J S Marriott	University of Leeds
Ms N Miller	University of Manchester
Ms G Mitchell	Northern College
Ms W Moss	Goldsmiths' College, University of London
Mr P F Nelson	University of Strathclyde
Mr G Normie	Open University
Ms K L Oglesby	University of Sheffield
Mr S R Paisley	University of Glasgow
Mr S Parrott	University of London
Ms D Partington	Co-op College, Loughborough
Mr C Pemberton	University of Nottingham
Mr K Percy	University of Lancaster
Ms E Pole	NIACE

Professor R Revans	University of Manchester
Mr A Rogers	formerly New University of Ulster
Mr N J Small	Open University
Mr B Spencer	University of Leeds
Professor M Stephens	University of Nottingham
Mr J M Stoddart	Sheffield City Polytechnic
Mr A Stock	NIACE
Mr M R W Stone	Manchester Polytechnic
Ms A Swarbrick	Open University
Mr K Symeonides	Pancypreian Committee for Adult Education, Cyprus
Mr J Taylor	ECCTIS/Open University
Professor T Thomas	University of Nottingham
Ms L Thomas	University of Nottingham
Professor E J Thomas	University of Bristol
Dr C Titmus	Goldsmiths' College, University of London
Mr M Toye	University of Manchester
Ms S M Vickers	Goldsmiths' College, University of London
Dr J Wallis	University of Nottingham
Dr S Westwood	University of Leicester
Ms A Withnall	NIACE
Ms M Zukas	University of Leeds
Mr A Wellings	University of Sheffield (host)

USA/NORTH AMERICA VISITORS

Hal Beder
 Valerie De Bellis
 Barbara Boulden
 Stephen Brookfield
 Betty Hayes
 Paul Ilsley
 Dorothy Letizia
 Dian Marino
 Karen Panayotoff
 John M Peters
 Sandra Peters
 Boyd E Rossing
 Catherine Warren