The development of lifelong education in England has been slow due to the dualist educational philosophy characteristic of the English middle and upper classes. The two governing characteristics of British adult education have been its predominant concentration of provision for the working classes and its preoccupation with the liberalizing role of adult education to the exclusion of its role as an instrument of social and occupational mobility. Substituting "education for adults" for "adult education"—to include all learning activities adults engage in—would lessen the confusion and prejudices associated with the latter term. The shift of public educational provision toward the adult life-span for both basic and continuing education is likely to continue. But the expected expansion in education will be financially supportable only if the cost to the public purse is reduced, either by fees provided by users or by reducing the non-educational content of educational expenditure. Continuing education has become necessary because of: (1) the expansion of educational opportunities at the basic and initial training stages of life; (2) the scientific and technological revolution; and (3) the increase of leisure and the associated increase in material standards of living. The Adult Education Department at Manchester University has two objectives: (1) to develop an anthropocentric approach to the education of adults in its teaching and research; and (2) to place adult education centrally within educational policy and practice as a whole. (RM)
THE EDUCATION OF ADULTS IN THE SPECTRUM OF PUBLIC EDUCATIONAL POLICY:

PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER, UNITED KINGDOM

By

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I. INTRODUCTION

The comparatively long tradition of the United Kingdom in the field of adult education has in recent years had an inhibiting effect on the development of both adult education and the educational system as a whole in response to changing needs and circumstances. Britain has found it difficult to put into practice principles of educational advance which have long been enshrined in the very documents intended to point the way to such an advance. It is sobering to reflect, for example, that the term "life-long" as applied to education was first used in Britain at the end of the First World War (1); and that the power to make adequate provision for adult education of all kinds was expressly given to local education authorities in the Education Act of 1944.

The reasons for this difficulty in putting principles into practice derive from our social history of the last century or so. This has been characterized by two powerful factors. The first was the division of the country into two nations as a result of the industrial revolution; the rich and the poor particularly those in the urban slums of our large industrial cities. Culturally this division persisted long after the economic structure of the country became more egalitarian. The social and cultural deprivation suffered by the newly-urbanized poor during the industrial revolution remains a powerful psychological factor in the industrial strife which has racked the country in recent years. The division of the country was, until 1945, particularly marked in the educational field. Even since then the persistence of a powerful private school system has played a part in perpetuating class divisions which the public educational system set out to overcome.

The second reason may be found in the dualist educational philosophy which has characterized the English middle and upper classes during the same period of history. It was this philosophy that moulded, even if it did not create, the British pattern of adult education of the period 1850-1950. Although the adult education movement was in many ways a genuine movement at the grass roots of society, it could not have grown and flourished without the patronage and support of the educated classes of the community. These were the determining figures in, for instance, the university extension movement of the late nineteenth century and in the foundation of the Workers' Educational Association in the early twentieth century. The objective was to give the workers something of what they themselves had gained at school and at university. But these benefits were to be provided within the framework of the existing socio-economic structure, not in order to enable the working class student to emerge from his labouring position and to achieve effective equality of opportunity.

Hence the two governing characteristics of traditional British adult education: its predominant concentration on provision for the working classes; and its preoccupation with the liberalizing rôle of adult education to the exclusion of its rôle as an instrument of social and occupational mobility.

I hope I may be forgiven for this brief historical note. It is too brief to do justice to a complex and fascinating piece of socio-educational history. It does serve, however, to explain why British adult education is having such difficulty at the present time in bringing itself into line with modern thought in the field of life-long education. (It is significant that the current government inquiry into adult education (2) had its terms of reference limited, in the...
face of protests from academic and other adult educators, to the study of "liberal" adult education.) An understanding of this background is the more important since this pattern of adult education was exported with a good deal of enthusiasm to the colonial territories of the former British Empire; and implanted in many of these the same dualist educational philosophy from which these countries also now find it difficult to free themselves.

The complex of adult educational institutions in the University of Manchester has in recent years set itself the task of applying a creative critique to the "great tradition" of adult education in Britain, and of reinterpreting this in terms relevant to the needs of the present day. It has had a particular responsibility in this respect because of its influential position both in the United Kingdom and in the adult education systems of many developing countries which send their adult educators to be trained and to undertake advanced study there.

I wish in this paper to set out briefly the direction in which the reinterpretation of principles has moved and to give some indication of the way in which this reinterpretation has been applied to teaching and research.

II. FROM ADULT EDUCATION TO THE EDUCATION OF ADULTS

Terminology in British education is nowhere more important than in the post-school sector. At present we use terms like "further" education, "higher" education and "adult" education without defining their precise boundaries. The term "adult education" evokes in the average citizen, and in the average educational policy maker and administrator, an image of a worthy but marginal element in the total educational spectrum; an element which has been under-capitalized for many years, both in buildings and in terms of staff; and which relies heavily on voluntarism and on the diseconomies and inefficiencies which go with it.

This image excludes large areas of adult education which operate under very different conditions: industrial education and training; the in-service training of many professional groups; the work of the mass media; and so on. There has been a tendency on the part of traditional adult educators to deny these activities the title of adult education. The new types of adult education, for their part, have tended to wish to avoid being "tainted" with the connotations of parochialism and the second rate which have too often characterized adult education as traditionally understood.

Hence the importance of a changed terminology. We have for example, found it appropriate to reverse the terms and to describe ourselves as being concerned with the education of adults. And this has been a more than semantic change. Whereas much labour has been devoted to the definition of adult education, particularly at the international level (3), the Manchester approach has been to analyse the common element in different types of adult education. It has found that the focus of interest in all of them is the adult in his learning activity. This anthropocentric approach made it possible for a wide variety of aspects of the learning which adults undertake to be accommodated in the Manchester programme of teaching and research without blurring the essential focus of either activity.

This is not to say that the transition has been easy or that it is as yet complete.
Many of those in traditional adult education settings in the U.K. find themselves battling with their past whenever they try to grapple with the present and the future. This tension is no bad thing. It comes out well in Professor Arthur Jones' contribution to the recent volume on Teaching Techniques in Adult Education "... the old distinction between vocational and non-vocational education has been questioned and some people would now distinguish between 'adult education' (in the traditional framework) and 'the education of adults', which is much wider and includes all forms of education - technical, professional, liberal or recreational - that adults may follow". (4) But I am not certain that he is entirely at home with this formulation himself. Towards the end of his essay he seems to revert, very understandably, to his first love. In his discussion of the relative importance of task-orientation and process-orientation in adult education he writes "I am not here denying that adult students should seek high standards of performance or knowledge, or that they often attain them, but merely emphasizing that the educative element lies in the process by which they do so, the way in which progress is made, in the 'devotion' of the pursuit and not in the thing produced". (5) Nor is this tension confined to British educational thought. In an international context Monsieur Raymond Aron reflects a similar tension, in his contribution to an IIEP symposium on qualitative aspects of educational planning. "The educational economist has", he says, "in the way of all economists, a relatively exact point of view. He endeavours to make the best possible use of scanty resources, whether financial or human. The outlook of the philosopher or educationalist - if they follow their inclinations - is of course diametrically opposed. They consider, and rightly too, that education, intellectual training, moral instruction, are the rights of every human being. This belief... leads to a non-instrumental outlook on the educational process. At the other end of the scale the economist... must cultivate an instrumental outlook". (6) Aron also describes the former as the "humanist" and the latter as the "productivist" concepts and argues as a sociologist that there is no radical contradiction between them.

I am not certain that I would go so far in glossing over the conflict. I think that at the level of objectives a contradiction remains and that we have to develop people and structures capable of "living with" this contradiction creatively. Aron says "... the more I sympathize with the humanist concept, the more I concur with the productivist concept in all developing societies... It is possibly necessary to reach a certain point of development in order to enjoy this luxury (i.e. the humanist concept) fully". (7)

It is interesting to speculate which degree of "development" would permit which degree of "luxury". It is arguable, moreover, that even if a developed country could afford itself to indulge in the luxury of a humanist concept of education, the surplus resources devoted to this would be more responsibly diverted to the support of even a productivist type of education in some less developed countries.

So it seems to me that it is in the present situation as irresponsible for adult educators to turn their backs on an "instrumentalist" view of the education of adults as it is for governments to restrict such provision to strictly "productivist" goals. Without belittling Arthur Jones' argument for process-oriented adult education, moreover, I doubt whether this argument by itself stands up as a rationale for adult education in the battle for priority in the application of scarce educational resources. In the past adult educators have not concerned themselves seriously with the place of their activities in the spectrum of public, social and educational policy. They have been content to pursue
their activities with such meagre resources as their work on the margins of the main educational system could command. But whether adult educators accept the challenge of the times or not, the discernible shift of public educational provision in the direction of the adult life-span for both the basic and the continuing stages of education is likely to accelerate. It is perhaps important at this point to stress the qualifying adjective "public" in the title of this paper. The arguments here deployed are confined to public intervention in education, with its concomitant element of financial support from limited public funds. There is, and one hopes always will be, ample scope in liberal societies for voluntary enterprise in the field of continuing education, in that area no contradiction need arise. But as in the field of social welfare, the growing scale of educational demand and the concomitant growth of pressure on the sources of supply, are bound to reduce the share of voluntary enterprise in the total volume of provision and to force the public sector to search for a model which does some justice to both the productive and the humanist elements in education. It is in this endeavour that the anthropocentric approach is able to do justice to the varieties of objective and aspiration which may motivate the same adult student.

III. ECONOMIC PRESSURES TOWARDS EDUCATION DURING THE WORKING LIFE SPAN

At present it may still seem absurd to think of a significant shift of the concentration of basic educational experience which is traditionally associated with childhood and adolescence (primary and secondary education) into the adult life span. (8) But moves in this direction are already discernible on both economic and educational grounds. The belated doubts now being raised in the United Kingdom about the wisdom of raising the school leaving age from 15 to 16 years may be a straw in the wind. (9) A similar point is made about the developing countries in the IIEP symposium from which I have already quoted:

"R. Poignant: 'It is certain that it is practically of no value if you take children of 5 or 6 years of age, but if you give them a two-year education at 14 or 16 years of age, that would make an impact... That is another form of education, an entirely new form of schooling... 'Arthur Lewis: '... in the territories we are talking about the great discovery of recent times is l'animation rurale. It has been said here that we can't do anything with the young person in less than four years. So let's leave him out of school, but, when he is 20, we will take him for three months or six months. The Danes took him into the folk high school. The Senegalese are now taking him as an adult out of his environment. They claim that in a few short weeks they are achieving wonders with him, that the whole society is being revolutionized by people subject to these short educational programmes'." (10)

This particular example has for some time been familiar ground, but the general argument is only now beginning to make an impact on educational thinkers and policy makers. This is largely because of the growing apprehension about the exponential character of the educational expenditure curve in all countries.

One of the consequences of the educational explosion of the last quarter century has been the increasing proportion of the gross national product taken up by education, and the even sharper rate of increase in the proportion of public expenditure devoted to it. As is well known, in 1968-1969 education for the first time became the largest single item in the British national budget, thus replacing defence as the most expensive publicly financed activity.
Table 1 shows the growth of educational expenditure, relates the figures to the gross national product and projects both sets of figures to the year 1979-1980.

Table 1. Total educational expenditure and GNP (England and Wales)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Total Education expenditure (£ million)</th>
<th>GNP (£ million)</th>
<th>Total Education Expenditure as percentage of GNP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1957-1958 (actual)</td>
<td>686</td>
<td>19,748</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-1968 (actual)</td>
<td>1827</td>
<td>34,844</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-1980 (estimated)</td>
<td>4070</td>
<td>53,200</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The projection for the gross national product is based on the assumption that the latter will continue to grow at a steady 3 1/2 % a year. If, as now appears to be the case, growth slows down to 2 1/2 %, expenditure on education by 1979-1980 would account for 9.5% of the gross national product. Comparable figures apply to most other countries. (12)

The United Kingdom is beginning to find it politically difficult to sustain educational expenditure at the rate of 6% of the gross national product. It seems doubtful whether the country will be willing to spend as much as 9.5% without a good deal more insistent demands for cost effectiveness than those to which education has been subject in the past.

It used to be argued that the expansion of education would ensure a more rapid growth of the gross national product. Thus the utilitarian argument has tended to favour the bending of all efforts to the promotion of those sectors of the educational system likely to make for economic growth, if necessary at the expense of the others. Sir William Alexander of the Association of Education Committees of England and Wales has suggested, for instance, that university fees might be varied according to some standard of national need. Whatever the human and educational merits of this may be, the problem remains of identifying what precisely is the national need. There are some professions, such as medicine, in which manpower requirements can be fairly precisely predicted. And steps can be taken to meet a foreseeable need. But over the major part of the manpower field, it is more difficult to match demand with supply. For example, a good deal of the spurt given to technological education in the U.K. since the mid-1950's derived from recognition of the need to keep up with the Russians and the Americans in the field of technological innovation. The effect of this increase has however been general rather than particular.

Moreover, educational planners are now a good deal more doubtful about asserting that the extent of provision of education and industrial productivity can be brought into direct relation. As Professor John Vaizey has pointed out, "the historical evidence is by no means overwhelming. Russia, Japan, the United States and possibly Denmark certainly suggest that rapid economic growth depends..."
on education. Britain in the industrial revolution suggests the opposite". (13)

But then, the economic growth which Britain built up with a minimum of educational expenditure has created the backlog of under-investment in that sector to which I have already referred and which succeeding generations have now to clear. Professor C.A. Anderson similarly has argued that "Few Westerners realize how modest was the independent contribution of schools to economic development in their own countries before the most recent decades. Though the network of schools was thin and their quality poor, there were nevertheless many other inducements to accept new ideas and to cater into new kinds of production". And Professor Anderson goes on to contrast this with "the cultural impoverishment in this broader sense" which is characteristic of most developing countries. (14)

If the demand for educational expenditure is going to increase at the rate expected it will therefore meet growing resistance from governments anxious to keep the tax burden at a politically acceptable level. Clearly the cost of education cannot forever increase at a faster rate than the value of the gross national product. Thus I think it is inevitable that the expansion of educational opportunities on a scale likely to be demanded will be financially supportable only if those opportunities can be provided at a lower unit cost to the public purse than at present.

The burden of education on public funds can be reduced without a commensurate reduction in quality only if additional resources can be provided by the users and/or if the non-educational content of educational expenditure can be reduced. Both these types of saving can be achieved only if the incidence of educational intake is shifted from the non-earning to the earning sector of the population. As Professor Arthur Lewis implies, if adults undertake learning alongside their normal work, they are earning income from which they can contribute, if only a proportion, of the teaching costs. At the same time adults in employment undertaking part-time education do not require to be maintained, as do full-time students, at public expense. Moreover the return on educational expenditure for adults may be expected to be a good deal higher than that on child education for the simple reason that motivation and concentration are likely to be a good deal higher. This, it has been argued, more than makes up for the reduced expectation of use resulting from the shorter life expectancy of adults. (15)

Although ideas such as these may seem either heretical or fanciful, or both, they are gaining ground. I note that the editor of the recent Council of Europe volume on Permanent Education commits himself to this type of analysis. In his summing-up he describes the basic education process as having "no hard and fast age limits. Whereas it can normally be completed at the age of 12-14 it will be in individual cases extended beyond this; in some cases it may even have to be resumed at a later stage whenever shortcomings in basic knowledge, skills and attitudes appear or at least when they become acute". And he goes on to argue that "The financial problem is probably less serious than is feared, assuming of course that we can make up our minds to an overall educational plan that will make it possible to reduce somewhat the preponderance of investment in the pre-work sector in order to develop the institutional para-vocational education that is now required, i.e. new-style adult education". (16)
IV. THE FUNCTIONAL DEMAND FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION.

The development of the concept of continuing education for adults beginning at the conclusion of initial training for a trade or profession and extending throughout the rest of the working life span and beyond the age of retirement has been gaining ground for some years. Why has continuing education become necessary? Three factors which, in varying degrees, are common to all societies contribute to the unprecedented growth in the demand for continuing education.

The first is the expansion of educational opportunities at the basic and initial training stages of the life span. From the objective of provision of primary education for all we have in the U.K. moved to the provision of secondary education for all as a goal, at first to the age of 15 and now to 16. The number of children staying on beyond the school leaving age has also increased. Since the middle of the 1950's there has been a similar expansion of post-school education concerned with initial training for a growing variety of professions and trades. The following tables illustrate what has happened. Table 2 shows the growth in the number of primary and secondary pupils between 1945 and 1967.

Table 2 Primary and Secondary Pupils in England and Wales.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Primary millions</th>
<th>Secondary (15 and over) (included in previous column)</th>
<th>Total millions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945-1946</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947-1948</td>
<td></td>
<td>188,000 (leaving age raised to 15)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-1967</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947-1948 to 1966-1967</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The spectacular increase in the number of pupils staying on into the senior forms of the secondary schools has contributed to the tidal wave which has overwhelmed the higher education system in the last ten years or so. When it was published in 1962, the report of the Robbins Committee on Higher Education projected figures which were thought to be inflated. As Table 3 shows, they proved in the event to be conservative.
Table 3: Full-time Students in Higher Education in the U.K.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Universities (incl. ex-CATS)</th>
<th>Colleges of Education</th>
<th>F.E.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>actual Robbins</td>
<td>actual Robbins</td>
<td>actual Robbins</td>
<td>actual Robbins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957-1958</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-1963</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-1968</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>percentage growth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-1963</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-1968</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This spectacular growth is due to a combination of the "bulge" in the birth-rate in the second half, and immediately after, the end of the second war with the effects of the trend to which I have already referred, that is the increase in the proportion of the age group staying on at school and achieving high enough school leaving standards to justify them in seeking higher education.

What of the future? With the steadying of the birth-rate in the U.K., the increase in primary school pupils over the next ten years is likely to be no more than 1.3% per year. That of secondary school pupils will be higher at 6%, reflecting the recent high birth-rate as the children born during the bulge years themselves become parents. The raising of the school leaving age to 16 and the continuing trend for more pupils to stay on beyond the statutory school age is expected to push the rate of increase in the number of those staying on beyond 16 to 8.4% a year.

Assuming these growth rates, the size of the primary and secondary school population is likely in 1979-1980 to be of the following order:

Table 4: Primary and Secondary School Population in England and Wales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1979/1980 (Estimate)</th>
<th>Millions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary (under 16)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary (over 16)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further/Higher Education</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Taking the 1966-1967 figure of 7.7 million students in primary, secondary and higher education as a baseline, this means an increase of just under 36% overall.

These figures indicate the massive enlargement of the sector of the population who have education and will want more education. It is by now a familiar phenomenon that the more educated people are, the more likely they are to seek more education and the more likely they are to be mobile and to require community services of various kinds. The present growth in demand is only a beginning of the increase and diversification of demand which we may expect during the next decade.

The second factor increasing the demand for continuing education is the scientific and technological revolution. The main outlines of this are familiar, so I do not need to labour the point. What Norbert Wiener has called the third industrial revolution leads to an acceleration of the obsolescence of industrial processes as more intensive and automated methods of production are devised. Expenditure on research and development of many industries has expanded in geometrical progression since the second world war. The budget for research and development in the United States of America at present is greater than the whole of the Federal Government's budget at the time of Pearl Harbour.

The growth of expenditure at this rate has been accompanied by an expansion in the number of scientists. This, so Lord Bowden has pointed out, (20) has doubled every ten years or so for more than 200 years. Of all the scientists who ever lived, three-quarters are alive today. And these scientists have knowledge which becomes obsolete within 5 to 10 years of their leaving their places of initial education and training. Hence they can be kept on top of their jobs only by a substantial and steady programme of continuing education. Professor Harbison has argued that at a lower technological level, "pre-employment training of craftsmen in secondary vocational schools is a poor investment in most countries. It is far more advantageous to provide potential craftsmen with general secondary education and then develop their skills on the job. In other words, formal pre-employment education should aim at forming trainable people, while the task of developing specific skills should be the responsibility of employers, both public and private". (21) Retraining and reorientation during the working life span is also increasingly required in non-scientific and technological fields, such as public administration, the social services, and, not least, in education itself. Government officials have to tackle both economic planning and social planning. Few of them have the basic academic tools for the job. Police officers have to deal with a wide variety of socio-cultural problems, whether with immigrants, students, or other citizens who find in protest their only means of participating in the decisions of the community. Teachers have to be kept up-to-date with developments in their subjects. These and many other areas require adequate provision, and the format in which this is made must be suitable to the needs of adults.

The third factor in the new socio-economic situation is the increase of leisure and the associated increase in material standards of living. This trend is reflected in the strong demand for activities which enable people to use their leisure creatively, but which, according to Arthur Jones, fall well outside the adult education which the 1919 Report describes as "a permanent national necessity". (22) As Dennis Gabor has pointed out, a positive approach to
leisure requires a reversal of many of our traditional Protestant ideals. "Modern man in the West has been kept going for a long time by what William called the gospel of work and the bitch goddess of success...education for leisure is a modern slogan with little solid substance behind it for the time being. What else can one expect in the case of a movement which appears to stand in direct opposition to the gospel of work?... Education for leisure would be more properly be called education for happiness". And Gabor looks forward to such education producing a new type of man, "Mozartian man" who is "a creator whose art does not live on conflict, who creates for joy and out of joy". (24)

Mozartian man may yet be some way off, but there is no doubt that adult educators have to address themselves to the psychological problem which Gabor describes; how to enable modern man to use leisure without a guilty conscience. Since there is some evidence that at least part of the present volume of unemployment derives from these technological changes this is a matter of urgency.

V. THE MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY ADULT EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Unless this analysis is entirely faulty it seems inevitable that the education of adults will form a significantly greater element in the spectrum of public educational intervention in 1980 than in 1970. The trend in the U.K. has certainly been significant in the previous decade. The Industrial Training Act of 1964; the creation of the Open University and the recognition of community development as an important instrument of socio-educational intervention on the part of government are only the three most striking illustrations of this.

It is similarly significant that the three developments mentioned have been initiated outside the orbit of the existing agencies of adult education. And but for the persistence of Miss Jennie Lee, the Minister responsible for the development of the Open University, who ensured a base for the Open University in the D.E.S., all three developments would have occurred outside the government department responsible for education.

In my view this failure of the educators to discern the signs of the time and to anticipate the educational needs of the community derives from their unwillingness to live with the tension between the humanist and the productivist concepts of education. This has caused them to confine their criteria of quality to those internal to the educational system. There has been little application of external criteria, largely for fear of their productivist influence. (24) It is for this reason, and against this background, that the Adult Education Department at Manchester has set itself two objectives. The first is to develop an anthropocentric approach to the education of adults in its teaching and research. The second is to place adult education centrally within educational policy and practice as a whole.

The first objective is being pursued by the systematic identification of areas of public intervention in which the adult learning activity is of significance, irrespective of whether these areas are concerned with the formal or informal provision of learning opportunities. Moving outwards from the traditional pattern of adult education in which the work of the Department was grounded, we have come to recognize that that pattern has now outgrown the circumstances for which it was designed. We have recognized that the commitment of adult education in the future must be more professional than emotional, more hypocritical than ideological, if they are to sustain the humanist-productivist tension outlined in this paper. What have been the practical implications of this policy?
The most important has been the broadening of the area of teaching and research. As long ago as 1961 it was recognized that, in addition to the formal area of adult education, the informal adult education activities subsumed under the designation of Community Development should form part of the Department's area of interest. The Department's substantial engagement with students from developing countries indicated that in such countries much that would elsewhere be done under the heading of adult education was being carried out by agencies of community development (or animation rurale in the francophone countries of Africa). The education of adults in the developing world, it was found, ranged from fundamental education concerned with raising the level of literacy, through community development activities concerned to help indigenous populations identify their needs and act together to meet them, to the formal adult education settings, many of which were derived from Western models. By 1965 it had become necessary to establish a Community Development Unit in the Department to develop this particular specialism. In the course of the following five years the need to find new ways of solving the communal problems caused by rapid social change, whether in decaying inner city areas or in new towns and housing developments in the United Kingdom, caused the Government to promote the application of community development techniques there. This has required the creation and professional formation of a new cadre of community workers, whose professional skills draw from the established disciplines of both adult education and social administration. The Department played a prominent part in the identification of the training needs for such workers (25) and is currently as heavily engaged in this activity as in the provision of opportunities of advanced study for those responsible for community development in the rural areas of developing countries. Next, the need to build, from small beginnings, a large cadre of adult educators to implement the provisions of the Industrial Training Act 1964 caused the Department, in 1969, to take the initiative in establishing a further specialist unit to provide for advanced studies in this field. In view of the limited resources available to the University, and the provision by Polytechnics and Technical Colleges of the lower levels of training, it was decided to concentrate on those responsible for the planning and management of training situations in the private sector of industry and commerce, the nationalized industries and the public services. The relevance of adult education principles and methods to this area of the education of adults was initially by no means self-evident to the potential students or to their sponsors. But as the need has become recognized for effective means of achieving rapid and repeated change both in the cognitive and the affective domain at all levels of personnel in industry, industrial education and training is coming to be seen progressively as an aspect of the main area of the education of adults.

In the main stream of adult education provided by public authorities the demand for advanced qualifications is also growing fast. Here the need is as much for mid-career courses to enable adult educators to take on greater responsibility in the management of institutions or the control of adult education over wider geographical areas as for study of the basic teaching and learning skills.

The most recently established area of work is concerned with the training of university teachers. Since the University of Manchester has an academic staff of about 1500 the Department's main effort at the present time is addressed to its colleagues in the 100 or so different departments of the University. In this field, unlike those already mentioned, no full-time courses leading to awards of the University are at present available. But it is becoming widely recognized that teaching at University level is methodologically allied more
closely to adult education than to the type of education provided in primary or secondary schools at present, and should therefore form part of the spectrum of adult educational provision.

Among areas in which no formal awards are offered at present but in which the Department undertakes teaching and research, are Mass Communications, Health Education, Correspondence and Multi-media Education and Adult Religious Education. The list of adult education research recently issued by the Standing Conference on University Teaching and Research in the Education of Adults (26) lists over one-hundred research dissertations, theses or other projects currently being undertaken by the Department and/or its staff and student members. Besides individual research undertaken for higher degrees the Department undertakes a growing volume of research sponsored by Government Departments, Foundations, Industrial Undertakings and International Agencies.

These teaching and research activities have led to the substantial growth of the Department. Currently about 150 students are registered from about 30 different countries for advanced diplomas or higher degrees. They are served by a teaching and research staff of between 15 and 20. Besides being the only University Department of its kind in the United Kingdom it also has by far the largest teaching and research programme in adult education of any University in the United Kingdom. For clarity of operational direction the Department is quite distinct from the University's Department of Extramural Studies, which provides one of the largest programmes of part-time courses of any University in the United Kingdom. The programme covers most of the disciplines practised in the University. That Department has its own full-time academic and administrative staff of about 55 who work with a part-time tutorial staff, drawn mainly from other departments of the University, of about 300. The Extramural Department is also responsible for the management of Holly Royde College, the University's residential adult education centre. But the Adult Education Department has the use of the College for such of its activities as require a residential setting. These include a regular programme for those of its higher degree students working in other parts of the country or abroad. These are permitted to satisfy the University's attendance requirements by participation in the residential programme.

In spite of the wide diversity of interests represented by those teaching and learning in the Department, the anthropocentric approach to the education of adults ensures a strong focus for the Department's work. This is expressed through common course work undertaken by members of the separate specialist programmes as well as by a strongly developed departmental identity. Thus it is possible to be reasonably confident that the Department is on the way to achieving the first of the two objectives which it has set itself.

The achievement of the second objective, that of placing the function of adult education centrally within educational policy and practice as a whole, is to some extent a function of the achievement of the first. There is little doubt that the way is now open for the movement of adult education into the mainstream of educational activity in most parts of the world. Whether this happens depends on the quality of the work done by adult educators and on their ability to see their role in the context of education as a whole. There has been a regrettable tendency on the part of some adult educators to regard the concept of life-long education as being a charter for the exclusive expansion of post-school education. This is a serious mistake. If a life-long education is to be meaningful it has to be provided in the form of an integrated system.
designed to offer opportunities for citizens of all ages to undertake relevant educational activities, and to make such an offer in a way which makes optimum use of a supply of educational resources which will always fall short of demand.

The Manchester Adult Education Department endeavours to pursue its second objective as a constituent department of the University's Faculty of Education. It co-operates with the other departments in the Faculty through the joint use of staff, as in the area of Youth Studies, which is of interest both to it and to the Department concerned with primary and secondary education and by the organization of joint courses and joint research projects (as in the area of Educational Development and Planning, where it co-operates with the department concerned with teacher training). Furthermore the mere fact of its existence within the group of departments of the University specializing in educational studies ensures that adult education is seen by all educators as an integral part of the educational system and that such cross references and links as are appropriate are in fact made. A recent example is the creation within the Faculty of the Manchester University Centre for Overseas Educational Development, in which the Department played a leading part.

VI. CONCLUSION

In this brief paper it has been possible to do little more than provide an outline of the principles on which the Adult Education Department of Manchester University bases its contribution towards the reorientation of the present educational systems in the direction of life-long education, and to indicate some of the practical ways in which these principles are applied. I shall be happy to supplement this information in the course of the forthcoming Symposium on Life-long Education.
REFERENCES


2. The Committee sitting under the chairmanship of Sir Lionel Russell is expected to report in the Spring of 1973.


5. op.cit. p. 197.


7. op.cit. p. 170.

8. It is a matter of argument what this initial stage should contain, but John Vaizey's list of the seven areas which ought to be covered by a "good" education may serve: "music of some kind; visual arts; physical education; mathematical comprehension; a foreign language; the principles of experimental science; a command of the mother tongue and a knowledge of the literature in it". (Beeby, op.cit. p. 182).


17. Source: Ollerenshaw, op.cit.


