Like the rest of British life around them, Great Britain's universities of adult and continuing education are currently in the midst of a period of great change. There has been much debate surrounding the relative importance of instruction, research, and community service in the overall mission of adult and continuing education in universities. It appears clear that university adult education still has a significant contribution to make. Universities need the kind of experiences and approaches in the university adult education tradition to manage their new circumstances. Industrial partnerships, community and commercial consultations, and continuing education of professionals can and do enhance the life and work of universities. Universities need older students for two reasons: for their motivation to learn and for the financial gains continuing education programs bring universities. Besides being able to respond to changing community needs by providing a variety of course lengths and formats, continuing education can offer and revive a recurrent education market. Perhaps one job of universities from the standpoint of their continuing education programs is to help breathe new life into social movements as vehicles for learning that can, in turn, define and codeline what Great Britain in the nineties needs of its universities. (MN)
THE FUTURE SHAPE OF CONTINUING EDUCATION AND UNIVERSITIES:

An Inaugural Lecture

Professor Chris Duke
THE FUTURE SHAPE OF CONTINUING EDUCATION AND UNIVERSITIES

Chris Duke

Introduction

"It was one of those sequestered spots outside the gates of the world where may usually be found more meditation than action, and more listlessness than meditation; where reasoning proceeds on narrow premises, and results in inferences wildly imaginative; yet where, from time to time, drama of a grandeur and unity truly Sophoclean are enacted in the real, by virtue of the concentrated passions and close-knit interdependence of the lives therein."

This is from Thomas Hardy's Woodlanders, written in 1887, and describes Little Hintock. Is such the view of universities in Britain one hundred years later? If so, what to do about it?

I read recently that most people in this country still do not know what a polytechnic is - despite twenty years of binaryism and "equality of esteem" with universities. Some of you here may be unclear what "continuing education" is - or at any rate what its place and scope are and should be. If so, I hope to reduce this uncertainty, at least in the context of the role and work of universities. I will suggest a positive agenda for action, and hopefully avoid two traps familiar in adult education: negative definition by exclusion which the term non-formal education in particular attracts - what adult non-formal education is not; and entrapment in the history, or mythology, of adult education. I shall be sparing in discussion of meanings, for terminological debate tends to be unrewarding in this field; volatile because of rapid changes in the environment, and in the organisation and practice of continuing education; political and prescriptive rather than descriptive or analytical since this is a battleground for resources and esteem, if not a graveyard of lost causes. On the other hand new chairs of adult or continuing education are few and far between, and it would be remiss of me totally to ignore the problem of terminology which affects this field.

Let me therefore say simply that in talking with colleagues in my own University I prefer to use the term continuing education, echoing the name of my new Department, whereas with colleagues on the national scene I am more inclined to adhere to the older university adult education (UAE) or the now favoured adult and continuing education (ACE). Nationally and internationally we are moving towards adopting continuing education as the generic term for all post-experience education of adults; witness the wide understanding adopted in the 1984 UGC Working Party report on continuing education. Alternatively, and especially where debate originates in another language and is then translated into English, adult education is used in this encompassing sense to refer to all educational activity of adults.(1) The difficulty with "adult and continuing" is that it perpetuates a dichotomy in thought and practice between non-vocational or "liberal", and vocational, education of adults. The THES has reported (28 March 1986) that the Department of Education and Science is increasingly concerned about "polarization of the vocational and non-vocational factions within
continuing education". The National Institute of Adult Continuing Education has wisely omitted the conjoining yet dividing "and". In referring hereafter simply to continuing education I imply neither priority nor exclusion as between the non-vocational and the vocational.

I referred just now to entrapment in history. As a soul twice lost - a historian and subsequently a sociologist manque - I remain for ever fascinated by the uses and abuses of history - especially in this country and in my own field of endeavour. In 1982, returning to Britain for several months after thirteen years in Australia, I looked again at British university adult education - still then the commonest encompassing term. I read a number of inaugural lectures delivered during my Rip Van Winkle years, as one way of discerning shifts in purpose and policy. Recognising as I thought I then did key features of the predicament of this honourable but often defensive and increasingly embattled enterprise, and the main lines of strategy and activity requiring development for the new Britain of the eighties, I took special interest in visiting Warwick and learning of the ideas forming here about a new kind of adult education department - ideas closely corresponding with my own which drew on earlier work at Leeds and then on Australian experience. I was delighted subsequently to be invited by the University to try to give practical expression to these ideas. I recall, clearly and wryly, when Warwick was moving to create a chair and department, the advice of a friend and colleague in a large and well-established UK extramural department to the effect that Warwick might be on dodgy ground, that one should think long and hard before taking the risk of going there. (Let me assure the Registrar that this advice did not emanate from University College Cardiff.)

Had this view of "Mrs Thatcher's favourite University" proved accurate I might now, two years down the road, be economically combining an inaugural statement with a final accounting, on taking early retirement. No such luck. Indeed retirement at 67 seems rather too soon to allow time for the job implied by my Department's role and brief to be done - though I must say that the environment, the collegiality and the institutional culture of the University, make such a sentence not too unattractive a proposition. I found myself, for example, much in accord with the inaugural lectures of Richard Hyman and John Tomlinson delivered in this room last year, more so indeed than with some of the inaugurals in adult education alluded to earlier. Professor Hyman's concluding choice between a repressive and an emancipatory paradigm in social science and industrial relations resonated for me, for example. This accord signals a central theme of what I have to say: the identification of continuing education with its own "parent" institution; its relocation at the core or heartland of policy, and a shift in thought and provision in continuing education from the shadowy, sinister, crepuscular periphery of twilight hours and night classes to the mainstream. This is not an original idea. The UGC Continuing Education Working Party "envisaged continuing education as a fully integrated function in the mainstream of university life". This is what the "Warwick model" of continuing education is about, and I am lucky to be able, for a second time, to start a new department in this interesting field, and perhaps to improve on my Australian performance. (The main limitation of the productive and high profile Centre for Continuing Education at the Australian National
University was precisely its utter marginality to the central mission and business of the A.N.U. – though why this was, and whether it was avoidable, is another subject than today's.)

A Discipline and a Research Agenda?

One thing I will not do here - though it might be expected of a foundation inaugural - is claim that continuing education is a "discipline" and sketch the basis for that claim. The story of academic disciplines, of the rise and jockeying for place by new subjects, is an absorbing and persistent theme in the history of the academy. Mine I prefer to regard as a field of inquiry where the perspectives and tools of other subjects are brought to bear on matters of significance in an integrative and disciplined way. It provides a testbed for interdisciplinarity - and for the linkage between theory and practice often loosely called praxis. John Tomlinson calls his field "the arrangements we make as a society for the raising of the next generation". (2) In these fast-changing times continuing education seeks to bring the future and the present closer together by "remaking" the present generation – echoing, in this our own developing country, the urgency that makes Julius Nyerere an advocate of adult education for development in Tanzania. How andragogy and pedagogy differ need not detain us here, beyond noting the derived academic-political argument as to whether or not continuing education is a sub-discipline of education, which some accept but others in my field reject. (3) More important is the way that adults' learning permeated all areas of human endeavour. The problem is exacerbated by a common careless confusion of learning with education (I do not mean that these never occur together, I hasten to add), and the consequent difficulty of corralling off a tidy field for academic inquiry. Thirty years ago Leland Bradford and others found multiplicity of activities to be the greatest problem in adult education, philosophically speaking. Much more recently Stuart Marriott, in his inaugural lecture at Leeds in 1985, asked who could provide the thread of coherence to string these brightly coloured beads. (4)

It may plausibly be argued that adult education is merely an intellectual construct of its more academically minded practitioners - that there is no coherent thread. If so I make no apology for this; nor does this reduce its value, or its validity as an academic and professional domain within universities. I do not wish, either, to pre-empt my departmental colleagues' rights and responsibilities by here and now prescribing a research agenda for our new Department. My inclinations are firmly in the directions of policy studies and action research, with all the gains that this allows a department with a brief such as ours. I might however just echo the opinion of a Canadian colleague in a paper grimly entitled "Vivisecting the Nightingale" in which he offers "a few glimmerings of our collective research task ... if we are to recover and reconstitute our movement tradition". (5) His call for a critical theory of learning and education within social movements, and for a new paradigm for the study of adult learning and education which "deprofessionalises our analytic procedures if not our vision", is pertinent to what I want to say.
Change and the Universities

In accepting the invitation to give this lecture now, I observed that any time was probably both too soon and too late - so rapid is relevant change. In this respect Continuing Education faithfully mirrors the University. Warwick seems continuously to be addressing opportunities that universities generally must surely encounter sooner or later. What for example does self-financing or full cost provision really mean in continuing professional education (and indeed in respect of research grants) when the institution has no slack capacity to accommodate new people in the space freed by closed courses and early retirements, no clerical staff with time on their hands to look after this aspect of the work on the side? Experience here - in Business Studies, in Manufacturing Systems, the in-service education of teachers as also in new areas being developed by my Department - has wider relevance for new policies and new forms of provision, both institution- and Government-initiated, to meet the new needs confronting this country. The practical meaning of a five-fold increase in PICKUP work (professional, industrial and commercial updating) at full cost - one government aspiration - becomes clearer in a busy place like Warwick than it can be in an institution not yet seriously addressing the need for lifelong rather than once-off education.

My subject therefore starts and ends wider than education: with the changing society, the environment within which education takes place and which, unavoidably, it must both serve and reflect. What do changes here mean for universities, and for the enterprise of adult continuing education within them? What assumptions prevail and persist about what a university is - and about what it should be and do? How widely are these assumptions still held in universities? How many still yearn for Hardy's Little Hintock of 1887 rather than the bustle of 1987 where Californian Milton Stern asks us in British universities whether we can "walk in the market place and keep our academic virtue"?

I discern a remarkable shift among many decision-makers in a number of universities, though this may take a while to percolate - and there are still practical obstacles in the way of putting new perceptions into effect. (6) We have long suffered from the powerful metaphor - or is it libel? - of "ivory tower" - now up for sale according to the Chairman of CVCP. (Perhaps we should refurbish the real estate and sell the metaphor.) In the United States "service station" is used to indicate a third function of universities - community service alongside teaching and research. Neither this nor "supermarket" seems likely to appeal as a metaphor in this country, but we are overdue to find an acceptable and compelling metaphor to communicate what universities now are and can do.

A New Paradigm?

Among adult educators there are (to wield a tool now blunted by misuse) calls for a new paradigm especially for university adult education. Even more obviously now than when I visited in 1982, elements of a new concept and practice of university continuing education are widely scattered, so paradigm shift is an appropriate term. The emergence of a desirable new paradigm may however still prove difficult. Deformity at birth is a
possibility. Trade unions are said to be Britain’s most conservative institutions, but the reputation of universities is little different. Adult education has often been a site for innovation within universities but its conservatism has also resulted in the bypassing of EMDs in a number of universities now forced to innovate across the wide CE spectrum. I discern a sameness of assumption among some extramural colleagues who claim to be radicals as among others embracing liberalism or conservatism. For me the central issue is that university adult education should cease to stress separateness of identity and mission. It should instead have a mission and set of purposes properly shared with “internal colleagues” - to borrow the old internal-extramural terminology; mutual respect and partnership in place of the occasionally arrogant superiority of some extramuralists.

Such partnership within the university does not mean selling out. The "new paradigm" however involves re-energising - enshrining but not embalming - key values, insights and experience from UAE. There is a substantial if not encumbered UAE dowry. UAE, and now UCE, has laboured long in the wider world where many within universities once feared but now must learn to tread. It has experience of external partnerships (more maybe than of internal ones), and knows some of the potential, and the problems, that these present. I will try to explain, with minimal reference to such ambiguous and encoded terms as "liberal education" and "the Great Tradition", what this dowry is. John Tomlinson alluded to it in this room last year in speaking of Mansbridge and Tawney, Temple and the WEA. What might be practical implications of the bonding or fusion of traditional and more recent adults’ education with the central mission of universities? Each university is unique - and curiously in this sense all are the same. Something else they have in common is their environment or predicament, in late twentieth century Britain. What I am saying therefore applies throughout the university system even though, as has been brought home to me quite sharply, this University is exploring new ground.(7)

The New Environment...

How best to characterise the present environment, in order to clarify the nature of the "crisis" of universities, and of university adult education? A very varied literature on the post-industrial and information society goes back at least to Toffler's *Future Shock*(8) and I make no pretence of reviewing it now. Apart from global uncertainty - the interlocking mess of issues referred to as the global problematique to do with non-manageability of systems and indebtedness, political stresses and the nuclear threat, ecological strain and malfunction, cultural conflict and transformation - there is the particular local variant almost affectionately referred to as the British disease. Husen has long argued(9) that much educational research is futile because it ignores the wider environment, treating education, and even the classroom, as a closed system. Such myopia is yet more futile in time of rapid change; without entering into the debate I hold that the rate and uncertainty of change, nationally and globally, have been unusually unsettling this decade. A few years ago lines were drawn over unemployment and new technology, participants characterised as optimists, pessimists, Luddites. That debate continues at ideological, popular and technical levels. The debate about the British disease is similarly tangled
and frustrating. The "dries" are bullish about economic recovery and national pride; scepticism is close to sabotage, and a political position is assumed in advance. Yet (as with new technology and unemployment) debate about the cause of Britain's difficulties belongs essentially outside the mould of current politics. Few seem seriously to believe that a different election outcome in June 1987 would greatly have altered the fortunes and treatment of higher education - several years of Labour Government in Australia, and more latterly New Zealand, support this view. The party political mould largely survives, even though the SDP may have broken itself on the wheel in the attempt to change it. For higher education the mould is broken already; our problem is in understanding the new reality, and finding terms to handle it (re)constructively.

Let me return for a moment to the "British disease". Labelling optimists and pessimists, or optimisers and realists, obscures more than it reveals. Where do those fit-in who look with hope towards a more self-sustainable society running at lower levels of energy and personal consumption? There is another division: between those who see the seventies (1973 if you want a particular symbolic year) as a significant watershed in Western and worldwide affairs, regarding the territory on this side as quite new; and those who argue, for example in terms of long-wave economic cycles, that this is but a hiccup before steady growth with full employment returns. We do not really know. Yet continuing (and other) educational policy-making does make assumptions, and require judgement, on such matters. My own view is that we are in a quite different world than that world of the fifties and sixties which formed the dominant values and assumptions of those now in power in the education system and other liberal professions. It may be an English strength, as Burke suggested, to change things but keep the name the same; but it may also be counter-productive, if it blinds us to what is really new. Different interpretations imply different approaches to continuing education. Relatively short-term economic adjustment may respond to focussed crash programmes of vocational retraining; major socio-cultural shifts also require far wider and deeper responses, through continuing education encompassing knowledge, attitudes and skills, to meet the new needs of the whole community.

And the Part of History

Ours is an intensely historical, yet at once ahistorical, society. It is possible in the Warwick Open Studies Programme to fill a dozen courses on The Past in Warwickshire; almost impossible to attract people to analyses of the present, let alone the future, of Warwickshire or the wider world. Hankering for the "rock and roll years" blinds us to their ephemerality - though even in those days we had to be told that we had never had it so good. In the universities the brief good post-War years seem often to be treated as the norm; the subsequent, for some institutionally and culturally traumatic, reduction in funds is seen as a betrayal, rather than a small step forward or back, in terms of public funding, towards where universities here and elsewhere have more usually been. Can this be seen as partial recovery of university autonomy(10) rather than merely a time of contraction and mergers? Or is the combination of pressing towards mass rather than elite higher education(11), greater functionally, and more diversified income sources, intolerable? For some, a return to Hardy's Little Hintock seems the only sane response.
It is even harder nationally, if more understandable; Britannia did rule the waves for many decades, and led in industrial production for a vital period (there is only one first). None the less, concern about quality, innovation and competition was as sharp around the time of the Great Exhibition as today - and the capacity for central government to intervene with microscopic curiosity while affecting a stance of free-market self-help as impressive then as now. We need more, not less, historical vision and understanding on the part of those who manage our country and its institutions; not special pleading but an understanding of longer continuities than those within living memory, and a better appreciation therefrom of what is really new, really significant, today. Can we address the role of continuing education in higher education from this broader perspective? "In a word, the purpose of history is to extend our definition of the possible, whilst securing our understanding of the probable."

Crisis and Response

The sharper the break from the recent past, and the more inaccurate our assumptions and practices, in all fields of community life including employment, the more urgent are questions about the role of higher and continuing education - as indeed about the whole socialisation and educative enterprise in schools.(13) The dominant demonstrated assumption in British universities is still that the proper and normal student is the very bright - or should I say fortunate, well socialised and at least well coached - eighteen year old; that the university is an expensive finishing school for future leaders and the more senior professions. By contrast Milton Stern, addressing British university adult educators from his Californian perspective, recalled the medieval Italian origins of the university, the main function of which was not to educate the young. Our dominant contemporary mind-set has survived quite dramatic changes in student motivations and fields of study: humanities students shifting to, or doubling with, business studies; bright pure mathematicians heading for the City. Various writers have addressed the essential continuity of assumption and function through the now not so radical Robbins years, discerning the survival of the elite model through and within the binary system, co-optation of the polytechnics into this system and its assumptions. The Open University has functioned to take the heat off - a safety valve protecting the main system from democratic expansionism towards "mass higher education".(14) Diagnoses of the crisis developing for higher education through these same Robbins years vary, but that there is a crisis few would dispute. In Harold Silver's phrase, "a buttress and a coat of paint will not be enough" to deal with the crumbling fabric.(15) Some blame the Government, the society or the public. Martin Trow, characterising HE systems as elite, mass, and universal, and appraising the gains and costs for Britain of adhering to the first of these, recommends diversification within the total higher (or post-secondary or, as the Australians say, tertiary) education system.(16) This implies a new charter and stature (if not "freedom") for our Cinderella FE system; quite new conceptions of FE-HE relations and partnerships; and greater diversification as one form of healthy growth. I would extend Trow's thesis and argue that diversification should also occur more within the pinnacle of the tertiary system; that is to say within individual universities, and not just between different institutions in the system as a whole. Internal diversification of effort (well displayed at Warwick though it will fruitfully go further) goes with
new forms of partnership beyond the walls - partnership with industrial and community educative enterprises as well as with other kinds of educational institutions.

Martin Trow from California, at a recent OECD conference, and in response to a paper which I presented on UK trends, commented on Warwick's position at the head of the field - after "seven long years" in the wilderness and being stigmatised for the academic impurity of supping with big business. Ironically the closer involvement with industry (rather than the local community, so note the community's use of the Arts Centre and sports facilities as well as the name of Foces Hall and the recent Austin-Rover Advanced Technology Centre), which was seen as compromising Warwick fifteen years ago, now gives it an enviable measure of independence at a time when many see autonomy as threatened by Government.(17) It is this recent legacy, and the absence of an older legacy of cumbersome committee structures which are said to preserve academic freedom but function rather to delay or frustrate change, which make Warwick a natural place to express and test slightly iconoclastic views about the role and future of British universities. Similarly the lack of an extramural tradition (a tradition of glory without power, to reverse the title of Frank Hardy's novel) makes it easier to explore new futures for the liberal adult education tradition which might inform not just the newer areas of continuing education now vital for British economic and cultural recovery, but also the contemporary university role and enterprise more generally. That tradition is due for revival, despite funeral orations already pronounced over its demise.(18)

The Extramural Tradition...

If universities are suffering a crisis of identity, community faith and self-confidence, university adult education has known such feelings much longer, for debate about the essence and expression of liberal adult education is almost as old as the practice - or profession(19) - itself. If this chronic crisis is to be solved it will be, for better or worse, as part of a resolution of the wider question of the identity, character and contribution of the universities. The dramatically higher profile which the education of adults - continuing education - has enjoyed in HE policy discussion this decade makes this a pretty safe prediction. The problem of identity, and of finding the right vehicles, or delivery systems, for expressing the liberal values of UAE, has been sharpened by resource problems shared with, but more acute than, those affecting universities generally. In particular the special purpose DES funding to two dozen universities enjoying what is known as Responsible Body (RB) status for liberal adult education in their designated regions has been reduced in total and partly converted to a competitive and output formula. The protected non-UGC funding of extramural academic staff posts is thereby severely attenuated. There are, moreover, prospects that the whole RB system may be terminated and all university adult/continuing education supported - inasmuch as it is judged a matter for public support - by the new Universities Funding Council.
Such past and prospective change in the RB system, which had caused anguish and absorbed energy, resulted partly from a perception of special pleading and shortfall from objectives: both adult educators' own objectives and those newer and not always entirely acceptable objectives set by Government. This is not the time to rehearse all the arguments on the several sides - arguments about middle and working class composition of courses, about the balance between arts/social studies and science/technology, about routinisation and innovation. (20) Slippage between vision and performance is a common enough theme in the human story, along with unintended consequences of desired and apparently desirable arrangements. One consequence of the RB system has been to encourage a kind of irresponsibility on the part of those universities which are RBs, even while they supported extramural departments out of UGC funds beyond the level which that Committee professed to know or have authorised. Responsibility has been sloughed off onto extramural departments which became (and in some cases may still proudly see themselves as) mini-universities (21) - largely self-contained, with a protected RB budget source, ornaments and gestures towards the local community, while the real university gets on with its real research and "finishing school" business. (22) The same dynamic may be discerned nationally apropos the OU: in 1987 one still hears in some universities that "we" do not need to concern ourselves with older students, that being the job of the OU. (23)

I mentioned earlier the batch of seventies adult education inaugurals which I read in 1982 for the particular light which they threw on British UAE during my exile years. Their analyses of the extramural tradition and practice ranged from elegant apologia to more or less open criticism. At its worst the extramural tradition can be seen as complacent, slightly arrogant in respect of a certain moral superiority vis-à-vis colleagues in internal departments, yet defensive apropos its predominantly middle class clientele, and the small proportion of "socially relevant" subjects in the regular programmes - this against a background of concern with equity, disadvantage and social change. A sharper set of criticisms comes from beyond the professoriate and is characterised as radical, socialist or neo-marxist. (24) Here is heard the call for a new paradigm. The more forceful and articulate critics however tend either to leave the universities altogether, or to remain in extramural work in evident discomfort, manifesting in a personal way that marginality which is a theme of the literature on both sides of the Atlantic. (25) One lucid contributor to the radical critique has shown how when "extension" becomes important to the university it is taken away from the EMD or equivalent and managed from the core. (26) The functions of both the RB system and the OU in Britain, allied to present rapid and significant changes in university continuing education here and now, lend support to Rockhill's thesis.

And Its Contribution

If it is all as bad as this may sound, why not let the older work die and start afresh? - in a memorable earlier phrase about the second phase of white policy towards Australia's Aborigines, merely "smoothe the pillow of a dying race". To press the analogy a little further, Australian policy towards Aborigines moved on to integration, with anxiety as to whether this meant assimilation, as distant from genuine multiculturalism or poly-ethnicity - for which read the diversity within universities which I am
suggesting we need here. The tradition and work may of course die out, but I believe the values in that tradition remain vigorously, widely, and desirably, shared within universities.

Let us return to a more heery metaphor and consider the "dowry" referred to earlier: the experience of "socially relevant" education for adults who are active and challenging learners; participative methods which engage, respect and channel the interest and energy of such learners, who create both their own and often also a wider, public, knowledge by integrating experience with took learning; the capacity to respond quickly and with sensitivity to new needs (we now call it being market led); the practice or partnership with local authorities, community groups and voluntary associations, even with industry, that ogre of British liberals. Some few have taken the liberal, individualistic, very British approach to learning beyond isolating individualism to ask, and find out, how communities, organisations and society learn. Rather too few of those who identify with the emancipatory and developmental adult education tradition seem to recognise the contradiction within individualism. It makes little sense to speak of "adult education for a change" and to criticise those, whether or not in government, who blame the victims rather than address the social-structural causes of poverty and its companion ills, and yet concentrate on the private learning of the private individual, virtually ignoring learning in, and especially of, society and its different communities and organisations.

There is none the less a handy dowry, of values as well as experience and skills, that UAE can bring into a marriage with parent universities; though for some the route will appear too difficult, or feel morally wrong. There is urgency. The past five years have seen quite dramatic change, manifested in the renaming, restructuring or relocation of CE work and responsibility in a score or more of British universities. Scanning the job descriptions in the press which weekly record this process of change, I wonder if "deathbed" is after all not too lurid a metaphor for the position of UAE today. Yet this tradition is a rich repository of experience and understanding, anchored in values shared in the wider academic community, a store which can be salvaged and used if brought successfully into the heartland of policy-making and resource-allocation.

Let me recap. University adult education still has a significant contribution to make. Universities need the kind of experiences and approaches known in the UAE tradition to manage their new circumstances. Apropos diversity of function in higher education, universities can gain from doing more than one or two things: they can simultaneously excel according to several different criteria, and gain from the synergy latent in such combination of functions. Industrial partnerships, community and commercial consultancies, continuing education of engineers or managers, environmentalists or community leaders, can and do enhance the life and work of universities: enriching undergraduate teaching and facilitating innovation in curriculum content and method, providing new perspectives and data for research. It is a fallacy, albeit often repeated, that more means worse. Contraction will not preserve excellence. Universities have generally been vigorous with, not diluted by, expansion, and moribund with reduced student numbers. British as well as overseas studies of the performance of non-traditional mature age students document their generally
above average performance. (31) It is also generally if sometimes reluctantly conceded that universities need older students to fill the space left as smaller cohorts at eighteen plus come from school. The 1987 White Paper postulates greater access for both young and older non-traditional students. (32) Some (intramural) British university teachers advocate more radical mature entry, even on Swedish lines of entry almost by right and without qualification at 25 plus; such has been the impact of pleasurable teaching of highly motivated adults - and of the good results achieved by these latter day "volunteers for learning". (33)

Gains for Universities...

Universities' need for older students is thus well anchored in two forms of self-interest: in short both jobs and job satisfaction; lively challenging minds as well as bums on seats. Mainstreamed continuing education in the form of post-experience adults taking regular degrees is certain to expand. As the THES has pointed out, however, increasing the generally tiny numbers of older students should alter the culture of the lecture room. (34) Assumptions and practices should change as numbers of adults rise from one and two to twenty and fifty per cent on some courses, an experience already familiar to some at Warwick. (At my previous University the majority of undergraduates were not eighteen-year-olds coming straight from school; in Swedish universities adult numbers are higher still.) If the extramural survivors do come in from the cold they have much to offer here. Several extramural departments teach the first stages of part-time degrees for adults, the work being farmed out to EMDs rather than the staff migrating in; but joint appointments and other boundary-breaching devices may become commoner.

Universities need CE for other reasons. In some areas it brings in money, and this can increase further. At Warwick high quality work relevant to industry has been wedded to competent entrepreneurialism and applied to the manufacturing base regionally and nationally, to the benefit of the whole institution. System-wide short course CE will not however prove a huge financial bonanza - especially if it is broadly provided in the community and public as well as private sectors, and to small and medium sized enterprises as well as to large firms in those obvious subject areas where industry can and will pay real full costs. (35) Of course public funds may be laundered through one or another British or European government agency and then paid to CE providers (direct or via the consumer) as special purpose grants, but this is merely another form of publicly funded education. It may save face for a Government committed to the free market, but the employer is not really paying. (36)

Less tangible arguments about the university's community (or industrial) service, its public and community relations, access to industrial and other partners for research contracts and consultancy, and partnerships beneficial to research in other senses (access to communities and networks, to data, equipment etc.) are actually much stronger. The nutrients are less quick to gather and less easy to weigh, but vital to build and nourish the university and to foster a beneficial environment for its varied work. Wise leaders here talk about market positioning; about fostering long-term strategic
planning within companies; and entering into partnerships in which continuing education is integral to strategic planning and fosters the expansion and application of knowledge within the "learning organisation". Then there is the relationship between existing and new CE business - existing industrial partners can be used to involve for example their suppliers in educational programmes. There are analogies in the non-profit-making sectors where the need for new learning - new perspectives as well as knowledge and skills - is just as acute, but it is still less likely here that the consumer can pay full cost.

And for Society

I have moved already to my next point: the nation requires universities to make continuing education central to their work because of the fast-changing, information-based nature of "post-industrial society". The quickly growing and changing DES/WAB/UGC/FICKUP programmes are a flag-carrier here, but much larger cheques are signed for such work by others. Capacity for learning is acknowledged to be an important attribute of the modern workforce. The same applies however to the same people not as workers but as citizens in diverse community roles. A simple example under new legislation is as parents in school governance. The elite idea of the educated man - or even person - is increasingly dated, and carries ever sharper class connotations. The lifelong learner must take his place. She or he needs, and is required by different social, including occupational, roles, to continue to learn. Periodically this means getting formal educational support for learning - the basis of recurrent education. Think of the qualities and attributes which this implies, and it becomes obvious how obsolete is the dichotomy between vocational training and general education. Already, though maybe less than in the United States, the utility of a general education for vocational application is again being recognised as a necessary underpinning of specific skills updating; neither is a substitute for the other. Critical analysis, problem-defining and problem-solving drawing on different perspectives, academic disciplines and sets of conceptual tools are needed for social and political as well as for vocational effectiveness. For all this the once-only finishing school is an anachronism. A society perturbed by rapid change needs the support for new learnings of broad, not narrowly conceived, CE. There are a million Muslims in England as well as a need for manufacturing renewal - one random illustration that society as well as technology is changing. The Government has recognised the need in respect of vocational updating. It berates employers and education alike for paying and providing too little, pump-priming meanwhile through a bewilderment of initiatives and a proliferation of channels. The rhetoric of inner city regeneration - and the substantial need behind this documented by Lord Scarman and others - implies continuing education needs which are no less pressing in this public and community sector. Here too there are clear demands on universities and other educational institutions for relevant, tailor-made and flexible CE in partnership with the consumers, and also to reconsider their undergraduate teaching and research agenda in the light of this.
The Response of the Universities

Remember that CE encompasses short courses of all kinds and levels; access to new and existing full and part-time first and higher degrees, diplomas etc; and, increasingly, self-directed, distance and other machine-aided forms of education of a flexible and individualised kind. Modularisation, credit accumulation and transfer, educational portfolios which recognise work and other educative experience for academic credit, already represent responses on the part of higher education to society's need for more, and more flexible, CE. So do the PICKUP consortia - the Coventry Consortium, Manchester's CONTACT and their counterparts all over the country; end the open access and open learning forums and networks, government-sponsored collaborative projects, language export centres, new technology centres and so on.

There is in other words already a substantial, diverse, albeit ragged and often reactive, response to the new need for CE, some of it dragged, kicked or pump-primed along by government initiative - state-directed in the name of the free market -, some deriving from the strategic planning and self-determination of institutions, and so proactive - genuinely market-responsive but professionally and academically led. While the crisis has already hit UAE, with major changes system-wide and university by university, the mould is also being broken for the universities themselves, even though many scholars and teachers - and indeed some administrators - may not, or may choose not to, see it.

What is needed, then, is a set of concepts and maybe symbols to assist those in the system to understand, feel confident with and direct the new forms of knowledge-creation and dissemination which are both possible and necessary. Extramuralists need not crouch behind crumbling defences and suffer further decimation, enduring mutual suspicion with faculty colleagues in also stigmatically perceived non-utilitarian areas of the arts, social and natural sciences. There is more that is common than divides, as there is also with colleagues in the more utilitarian areas now in favour. Here too differences are mostly quite modest, more a matter of posturing than of substance.

Let me recall once more the assets of UAE: experience of participation in educational transactions, dialogue, negotiated curriculum, valuing and using students' experience; insights into and experience of curriculum renewal less restricted by the tramlines of departments and their disciplines, more open to other orderings of knowledge derived from life and work experience; a capacity for creating and sustaining external relationships via partnerships, networks, support systems and resource centres; flexibility and lateral thinking in respect of time, place and mode of "delivery", to bring education to the client, community or organisation on terms and in ways valued and having meaning for the learning partner - the customer or consumer.

New Look Recurrent Education

In addition CE can offer and revive a recurrent education agenda.(38) Looking at the planning and allocation of educational resources on a
lifelong basis poses questions about the purpose, content and processes of education as vocational and life preparation at 18 to 21 and its viability for the rapid change which most occupations now experience; and questions about the rationality and equity of distribution of this costly resource at age eighteen. Educational vouchers, favoured by the political right but now of interest too on the socio-democratic left, are just one element in the reconsideration of shibboleths which recurrent education invites. How vocationally effective are the vocational schools? How much general science, and practical hands-on skills, should be included in the medical or engineering first degree? Why should the costly privilege of at least nominally non-vocational higher education be concentrated on so few such high school achievers - however well or ill motivated they may turn out to be at university? Society's needs including equity considerations may mean that this educational good is better shared wider and taken later: by well motivated students in their early and middle adult years who can mix or alternate full and part-time modes of study, connecting this "liberal education" to their life roles and responsibilities.(39) Such questions are posed by the concept of recurrent education, integrating as it does (out of its OECD origins) economic and labour market, social and equity concerns, and should be pressed by adult educators to the point of implementing practical changes. The fine but sometimes hollow rhetoric of opportunity for the disadvantaged in the extramural tradition could thereby gain more substance. Access could be won for the excluded to the extrinsic rewards of the HE system - degrees of the same classes, quality and market utility as the privileged "real students" enjoy - and not only to separate, unrecognised courses which only tenuously connect with the main world of the university.

Recurrent education is not a new idea. Dating from the late sixties it has acquired new validity in new economic circumstances. The expansion of the Robbins years did not alter our idea of the university, though its function was extended to incorporate larger numbers of able students in the training of an elite social leadership; essentially more of the same. Standards rose rather than, as some feared, fell. Maybe student activism and the economic difficulties of the seventies each shook popular faith in higher education, while the OU siphoned off some adult demand for university places and the polytechnics expanded adults' degree options. The THES has pointed out, however, that the similarity between Option E of the DES Discussion Paper of 1987 and Projection Q in the recent White Paper is superficial.(40) Option E, like recurrent education, now appears an idea born ahead of its time, and coming into its own later. Adopting Projection Q as a way of limiting further cuts in the nineties however probably involves further lowering the unit of resource - that is to say worsening the staff-student ratio. More significantly, widening access will not mean simply more eighteen-year-olds of the familiar kind. The White Paper specification of non-traditional entrants at eighteen from new, more vocational, school paths, as well as older non-standard entrants, means that present teaching formulae - course structures and formats, teaching methods, time scheduling - will not suffice. For many university teachers of undergraduates their work will change faster than they have been used to.
Open learning, with its potential for self-paced and self-directed study, may prove important here, though relevant expertise has been too restricted, until recently, especially to the OU. (41) We now suffer from "flavour-of-the-month" over-confidence in open learning as a quick and inexpensive solution to many educational and training problems - for the highly sophisticated but also the educationally disadvantaged, socially excluded and unemployed. More traditional adult educators could perhaps meld the best of open learning with older knowledge of group-based and peer-supported learning. Combined and translated into the full-time undergraduate setting, these might enhance the quality of learning and ease the problems caused by a deteriorating unit of resource.

And the New Look University

Uncertainties affecting the universities within the encompassing society, with its high level of uncertainty about the future, make prediction hazardous. No blueprint is reliable. Within the single university, however, Norman Jeppson in his inaugural lecture at Leeds sketched the essentials. Suggesting that the university extension movement of the 1870s "brought the university, as distinct from university people into adult education" he proposed a "modest support role" for contemporary UAE implied by such involvement: "(a) in examining and exposing the generic aspects of continuing education; (b) as acting as one entrepreneur between university departments themselves and between university departments and the outside world; (c) in studying the inter-relationship between learning and adult experience upon which the wider discipline of adult education is based". (42)

Two comments. Note first the modesty of this proposition and its emphasis upon the whole university - no separatist mini-university or imperialist ambitions here. (The arrangements in detail might also require say a pro-vice-chancellor with responsibility for CE institution-wide, and a guarantee that CE features regularly on the agenda of planning bodies, something which should anyway grow naturally from the model.) Secondly, there was little movement in this direction during Jeppson's years as head of the Leeds Department. The historical ballast was too heavy and there was lacking enough external pressure for change during much of that time. Warwick lacks the proud tradition of a great extramural department - and the incubus which this presents for both thinking and staffing. As to staffing, or rather, membership of the university, the student clientele is changing, and will change faster. So may the distinction between CE and "real" students increasingly blur and perhaps dissolve. And the idea of an almost monastic, almost closed community of exclusively dedicated lifetime scholars - the real academic community - must give was to a more open and permeable notion of variable period, fractional and other contractual and less formal relationships with and memberships of the university. I am conscious not only of the greying of the campuses as "young" for a new appointment comes to mean mid-thirties rather than early twenties, but also of the change, even in the short time I have been here, as luminaries like Christopher Zeeman move on and others (hopefully) are appointed; also the implications of tenure changes for both the facts and the perceptions of academic community membership. Maybe we should see the university as an energy source rather than - as I recall of my Cambridge days - a closed community.
with iron spikes to keep in and keep out. My colleague Tom Schuller suggests the splitting of the atom to convey the energy release, and the possible danger, that such a change, such a shattering apart of the closed community, may represent.

Flexibility and permeability within universities may, incidentally, help resolve a problem faced by large extramural departments built on the no longer appropriate separatist mini-university model. Change and attenuation have been too much in the spirit of a "dying race". If departments and disciplinary boundaries become more permeable, as they must and as for instance modularity and short course provision are already requiring, extramural staff might more commonly move into, or in and out between, or hold joint appointments with, subject specialist departments or study areas, thereby assisting these departments and areas to explore and interact more with the world outside. In this and other ways every department might come to have its own CE tutor analogous to the admissions tutor. (43)

Work too can move around. I have mentioned some cautious recent approaches to part-time degrees which involve farming our first year work to EMDs, and which might be subsumed in more flexible part-time and mature age provision, some of it (at first level) farmed out not only to the EMD, on or off campus, but also to further education colleges in the region. There are signs that the British F/HE system is moving in this direction, on lines advocated from North American observation and experience. (44) Developments in this region already go some steps towards such a collaborative, multi-institutional open learning and accreditation system. At a more mundane level the CE tutor in every department could promote from within what in OECD circles is infelicitously translated as "adultification". (45)

The Substance of Access...

Is this to betray an honourable tradition? I have said that I think not, though integrity of purpose and continuing membership of a wider adult education "movement" will be necessary. That tradition has often fudged some key issues: individuals versus collective (class) advancement; whether to use the universities as vehicles of convenience while colluding to leave the university system itself unchanged. The liberal tradition has been hung up over the supposedly corrupting qualities of credentialling; it is ironic to hear well set up PhDs hectoring their students, wives or offspring about the immorality of chasing paper qualifications! In the Third World adult education is often a tool for development, sometimes empowering and mobilising the illiterate and excluded; there is no necessary conflict with credentialling, nor with individual or collective economic advancement. The anti-economicism of the liberal tradition is as poorly grounded as its anti-credentialism - although both credentialling and economicism can of course be anti-educational and dysfunctional. (46) Anti-vocationalism slides easily into cultural preciousness, to the point where value-laden definitions of "adult" in adult education become elite and exclusive. (47) Adult education is then curiously trapped in just that social exclusiveness and classism which its egalitarianism seeks to challenge. If "Irresponsible Body" behaviour results unintended from RB funding, so may non-egalitarian exclusiveness sometimes have been an unintended consequence of definitions and practices of "liberalism" governing the use of RB funds.
Access to a single tutor, with no recognised academic qualification after maybe several years of study, is not good enough. Although extramural awards are increasingly being articulated with degree work, the links tend to be too little and too late. In a society led towards increasing competitiveness and individualism, egalitarian efforts for the disadvantaged should include access to as wide a range of degree courses as possible at each local university - and should develop new variations and constellations of degree work which relate more effectively to the particular talents and learning needs of adults in diverse circumstances.

And Social Development

For those who see education as about development and change other than purely by individual advancement, it is necessary to go beyond prevailing individualism. This seems obvious enough. Yet so strong is the individualistic tradition that even "radical socialists" hesitate to take the step.(46) Returning to partnerships between universities and other institutions in the social system, which are the key intervention points? What forms of partnership with the university may be implied, and with whom? Voluntary associations, including but not only trade unions, and diverse community groups (geographical, ethnic, special interest) should be included alongside private and public sector formal organisations. At Warwick Manufacturing Systems, Educational Studies, Industrial and Business Studies, each has de facto, if not explicit, strategies for determining priorities, and allocating resources on these, if you wish social engineering, lines;(49) partnership with modernising manufacturing companies through the Integrated Graduate Development Scheme; with local education authorities for staff development in the new political and funding circumstances; with key firms via part-time and consortia MBA programmes in the business field.

Many in the liberal tradition have not acted as effectively in structural or systemic terms as the more successful vocational schools - a third weakness alongside hang-ups over credentialling and things economic. Trapped within defensive individualism we risk losing rather than reviving the great tradition of critical education for a humane society. The universities need community partners analogous to those found in the engineering and business schools, if we are to foster and support community, institutional and organisational learning - "system learning" effected through the applied learning in situ of individuals as citizens, voluntary leaders or paid workers. Such learning is live, relevant, applied and meaningful, linking theory with experience and putting it into practice.

Work is also needed within each university professional and programme area on the nature and mix of educational experience (both formal and hidden curriculum) for the different professional as well as less specifically vocational fields. University adult educators could engage more with their colleagues on campus to dismantle the trite and indeed class-tainted dichotomy between the liberal and the vocational. If instead we disdain, with neutered superiority, to have truck with vocationalism, we contribute to building, not averting, a new barbarism. A new paradigm, which radical adult educators rightly seek, must involve just such a re-orientation. It will be attained rather through shirt-sleeves work of this kind than by re-analysing yet again the meaning of liberalism or the nature and functioning of hegemony.
Confidence and Openness...

I asserted earlier that most of the pieces for this picture, this new paradigm, can already be found scattered here and there. A few observers have seen the connections and put the pieces together. One recently concluded an analysis of structural barriers to continuing education on the note that, naive and narrowly utilitarian as some might be, the arguments for vocationalism do provide leverage for making HE more accessible, and for blurring its boundaries with the outside world. "The history of education is full of examples of instrumental demands stimulating great intellectual achievement... there is no reason why this should not be the case in the future."(50) Peter Wright, while sympathising with anxieties about philistine attacks on education, calls for more confidence in our own values, a call which I echo.

Diminution of support for liberal adult education has understandably generated fear and anger. Funds have been diverted, directly or covertly, into especially targeted programmes for economic and social priorities identified by the Government - something which, as Keith Drake reminds us,(51) a popularly elected government is right and duty bound to do. The pendulum has swung towards short-run utilitarian perceptions of education, and to attractively and deceptively simple recipes for centrally directed change - functionalisation. Some of these recipes may produce more malfunctions than successes.(52) I recognise however the strength of concern over Britain's economic decline which, wedded to currently favoured political and economic theories, has produced so sharp a turn of policy and events. I also acknowledge the dynamic conservatism that characterises education systems, traditionally charged with conserving and transmitting rather than with innovating. In my own professional field too little was done to put the house in order during the somewhat easier times. If the liberal tradition is not to be closed down, in arts, science and social science faculties as well as in adult education (and indeed in professional faculties though it is likely to re-appear sooner than if only from evident practical necessity), its supporters need to work together - clarifying, redefining, persuading policy-makers at all levels. Grumbling into one's beer in the back bar will not do. Some aspects of the debate about school education and a national curriculum are positive, particularly recognition of the narrowness of the upper secondary curriculum. It would be a pity if the main response from higher education was to worry about "dilution of standards" measured by notoriously unreliable A level scores; happily things are not unfolding thus.(53) On the other hand, as long ago as 1970 the then Universities Council for Adult Education remarked that a key sector of work would be within the scope of the (1964) Industrial Training Act. "It will, in our view, be disastrous if a liberal tradition is not established in the development of this work."(54) One asks how many person hours of scholarly and entrepreneurial extramural endeavour have gone into averting such a disaster - into forging real partnerships with the MSC for example? - and I do not mean merely touching the Commission for a few bob when times get hard.

I have deliberately said rather little about PEVE or PICKUP - the new high profile areas of CE - though I have said much by implication. If such work is of indifferent quality, if too little is done to understand the learning
needs of PICKUP clients and to respond actively (and collaboratively) to them, then we have only ourselves to blame when business is transferred to the private sector - and is followed by the transfer of initial vocational education and graduate studies to corporate universities - or is it monoversities - such as are found across the Atlantic. "We" again refers to the universities in toto, not merely to adult educators. I have concentrated especially on my own field of adult continuing education, however, in saying that if we refuse to demean ourselves with "relevant and useful knowledge" we invite precisely those trivialising and marginalising perceptions that have undermined a great tradition - entertainment education for leisure and recreation rather than for social and community purpose, which quickly becomes (the sexism and ageism are not mine) "little old ladies playing at philosophy and flower-arranging".

Is this all throwing darts at paper tigers? Am I too trapped in my own history, knocking a tradition that has already rejigged itself for the 21st century? If many in the field had not done just this, or could not do so, then this lecture would have little point. There is much that the older extramuralists and their younger PEVE-type siblings can bring back to the parent university from their work in the wider world. CE in its full range of forms may not prove to be the financial bonanza that some still seem to expect, although it could mean the survival of some small departments not always in obvious areas, via short course fee income or by sustaining degree enrolments and thereby attracting UGC/UFC support as numbers of eighteen-year-olds decline.(55) The UAE tradition can be re-energised by assisting the universities to find the concepts and metaphors, the skills and techniques, for exploiting their new circumstances. Riding and permeating the boundary of the university is not an alternative to coming in to the heartland, old metaphors of off licences notwithstanding. Universities must learn to live as open systems and cope with a level of permeability unfamiliar to many - or shrink into obscurity and even extinction as an alternative. I have played about with metaphors without finding the one I really need: something that would replace the dated and destructive "ivory tower". For ivory maybe the permeability and utility of pumice is better. For tower, perhaps powerhouse. A permeable powerhouse may be too leaky a metaphor, but we are overdue for a new one.(56)

Through New Partnerships

I have said that more and new partners are needed if universities are to be effective across the range of society's learning needs, and enrich themselves in the process. If the goods of knowledge creation, re-creation and dissemination are not to be handed down arbitrarily from an ivory tower, as if this were the only place and form of knowledge creation, many forms of partnership and participation are necessary. The best organised and most articulate "consumers" of continuing education, research and training tend to be big private and public sector organisations. The greatest need may however reside elsewhere, among the voiceless and the dispossessed whose predicament moved Paulo Freire, and whose writings in turn inspired adult educators in a hundred countries. Such peoples, such needs, are found in large numbers in our own society - found, or rather hidden, in the inner cities and the wasteland estates, but also deserting jobless areas of
Scotland and suiciding in enforced early retirement in rural Wales. There are silent communities which need empowerment via education; some of these needs only the universities can meet.

Meanwhile as a nation we play statistics in the international league tables, not only of education participation rates but also of atmospheric, land and seawater pollution, nuclear safety levels, landscape degradation, and so forth. (57) We have our share of the larger world problematique to which no part of the university should consider itself irrelevant. Our traditionally hierarchical yet now fractured society lacks in organisation and articulation of community movements able to demand what they need of higher education; "recipient systems" able to absorb what is provided by educational "delivery systems". Universities have known such movements in the past: trade unions, mechanics' institutes, workers' education organisations. One manifestation of the British disease is the weakness of community associations to focus energies and address new needs - although women's, ethnic, ecological and economic self-help movements do suggest social regeneration and reconstruction around new energy sources. Maybe one job of universities in their continuing education manifestations (powerhouses of society?) is to help breathe life into new social movements as vehicles for learning which can, in turn, define and codefine what Britain in the nineties needs of its universities.
Notes

1. Continuing education is described as "any form of education whether vocational or general, resumed after an interval following the end of continuous initial education". Report of the Continuing Education Working Party, UGC, 1984. See for example the encompassing definition adopted by Unesco in the 1976 Recommendation on the development of adult education. The definition adopted by OECD at about the same time was similarly broad.


3. See Michael Welton "Vivisecting the Nightingale: Reflections on Adult Education as an Object of Study", Studies in the Education of Adults, 19, 1, 87, 46-68. Rubenson, quoted by Welton, refers to adult education as a sub-discipline which aims to study the role of adult education in the process of cultural and social transmission, within as well as between generations. Rubenson is interested in questions of the political economy of adult education. Those who stress andragogy, and the technical differences between child and adult teaching-learning processes, have been accused of that kind of apoliticality which is de facto conservative. Adult education, or andragogy, is well established as a distinct academic field of study in many countries, notably and early among them Yugoslavia; volumes have been dedicated especially in the United States to the attempt to establish that it is also a "discipline" distinct from education. On the other hand the landmark volume edited by A.A. Liveright, Jenssen and Hennenbeck referred to field rather than discipline: Adult Education: Outlines of an Emerging Field of University Study, AEA of the USA, Washington DC. 1964.


5. Welton, loc. cit., p.36.

6. The extent of this shift has been demonstrated by the findings of a Working Group drawn from seven universities which is engaged in a DES PICKUP-funded study of staff development needs in this area, and began by addressing the perceptions of senior decision-makers in the respective universities about the role and significance of continuing education.

7. Comments made in one national meeting after another and by overseas observers, especially from North America, are constantly bringing home to me the extent to which Warwick is seen as different, and ahead, in terms of its relationships with the outside world. This can prove disconcerting as well as disarming; it seems too easy for others to dismiss ideas such as those in this lecture on the ground that "that would only apply to Warwick".
8. Toffler's *Future Shock* was first published by Bodley Head in 1970, and


11. Martin Trow usefully analyses trends in higher education systems along
 a spectrum from elite through mass to universal.

12. Humphrey McQueen "Cultures and Illiteracies", *Australian Society*,
  5, 1, 1986, p.21.


14. An aspect noted by Martin Trow in "Academic Standards and Mass Higher
   "Notes and impressions based on a visit to England, December 1984" he
   remarks on the lack of political support for higher education, and its
   small size and relatively high cost. A comparative review, "Reform and
   Innovation in Higher Education", International Bureau of Education
   *Information File* 3, 1985, notes how little change (reform or
   innovation) there was in the British HE system, and that what there was
   (OU, CNAA) was outside the traditional university system (pp. 10-11).

15. See Harold Silver's "From Great Expectations to Bleak House" for an
    analysis of the fortunes of higher education from the 1960s; *Higher

16. The Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission (CTEC) replaced three
    separate Commissions for higher and further education, in the late
    seventies, with Councils for the three sectors within its structure.
    One watches with interest to see whether the creation of two higher
    education funding councils here (UCF and PCFC) may not inch us towards
    a similarly integrated planning structure for all post-secondary
    education.

17. I make no comment on those lively days, separated as I was by some
    12,000 miles from the events about which E.P. Thompson then wrote under
    *Warwick University Limited*, and which remain in the wider memory (eg.

18. See for example Roger Dyson's inaugural lecture *Determining Priorities
    for University Extra-Mural Education*, U. of Keele, 1978, also A.D.
    Crombie and G. Harries-Jenkins *The Demise of the Liberal Tradition,

19. Geoffrey Squires writes of the dissolving cultural unity of adult
    education in *Newsletter* 4, 1986 iii, of the recently formed
    Commonwealth Association for the Education and Training of Adults
    (CAETA): "A Profession of Adult Educator?"
20. Many of these issues have been brought back into discussion in UCACE (Universities Council for Adult and Continuing Education) circles in recent months and years by actual and possible changes to the RB funding system. One such discussion took the form of a UACE seminar at this University in April 1987.

21. The mini-university character was highlighted recently over the identification and appropriate location of academically diverse research in extramural departments during the UGC exercise on research, with its focus on research centres.

22. This unintended function of the RB system has generally evaded notice, although John Mollroy observed recently that the existence of the specialised extramural departments had "provided cover for the wider university's neglect of the majority of the nation's citizens", "Continuing Education and the Universities in Britain: the Political Context", Int. J. of Lifelong Education, 6, 1, 1987. See also Marriott, op. cit.

23. I have heard of precisely this attitude very recently frustrating the efforts of some seeking to wider access in at least one eminent university.


25. See particularly the work of Burton R. Clark and more recently Kathy Rockhill (formerly Penfield).


28. Norman Jepson and Stuart Marriott at Leeds have long stressed the organisational context and organisational learning, as did my Continuing Education group at the A.N.U. See also Frankie Todd's recent Planning Continuing Professional Development, Croom Helm, 1987, which is sensitive to such matters and their implications for an educational strategy.

29. There is also the question whether those adhering to the liberal values will feel strong enough not to be pulled away by other pressures if they are not in a cell or enclave of like-minded people. Anxiety over loss of what is special, almost mystical, surfaced at a seminar on institutional change and adult education at Southampton, October 1986.
where the migration of adult education into the vacant space in formal institutions was discussed. See Philip Selznick Leadership in Administration, Harper and Row, 1957, for a discussion of this issue of identity and purpose. Jepson has written of the same problem for adult educators within the prison service.


33. An oft-cited American study of adult education stresses by the use of these words in its title the distinctive voluntarism ("voting with their feet") of non-credit adult education. This is another of those familiar dichotomies that may have to yield to current actualities.

34. THES 28 November 1986 "Son-of-Model E?"

35. The appearance of the mandatory CEU (continuing education unit) for various professions in various parts of the United States was hailed as heralding a "bonanza" for continuing education; see for example Beverley T. Watkins in Aus. J. of Adult Education, XXII, 2, 1977. Milton Stern in California and Gareth Williams in Britain are among those who have long been cautioning against seeing it as a great net revenue earner for educational institutions.

36. A lively debate is developing about the meanings of full fee or self-financing CE work, and about the extent to which and the means whereby pump-priming can lead into such provision in different sectors of need. See also the papers by Bilham and van Ments in C.L. Soown and G.E. Chivers (eds.) PICKUP in Universities, CCVE Sheffield and DES 1987.

37. W. Norton Grubb has recently argued that Britain was wrong to follow the American model of vocational education from which many in the United States were turning away: "Blinding faith in new orthodoxy", THES, 26 June 1987.

38. A recent OECD publication takes this as its title. See also my introduction, "Recurrent education - the neglected perspective", to Ed. Davis et.al. Recurrent Education: a Revived Agenda, Croom Helm, 1986.


41. Thanks in part to the stance of other universities. That of my own extramural department when the Open University was being formed was one of resentful dissociation.

42. N.A. Jepson "University adult education - 99 years old", inaugural lecture, University of Leeds, 1972. Stuart Marriott, Jepson's successor, has pointed out, for example in a Kellogg presentation at Oxford in September 1986, that the tutorial classes movement (the "Great Tradition") acquired a life of its own and that the extramural departments subsequently failed effectively to reconnect with their parent universities.

43. A suggestion which appears increasingly in discussion documents about organisational models for CE.

44. One implication of the kind of commentary on the British HE scene developed over the years by Martin Trow. I was much struck at an Anglo-US university adult education conference convened at Oxford under External Studies-Kellogg auspices in 1986 by the way that British participants talked in the main about extramural departments while their American colleagues talked rather about the whole university.


46. Ronald Dore has criticised the former in The Diploma Disease. See also Peter Gilmour & Russell Lansbury Ticket to Nowhere: Training and Work in Australia, Penguin, 1978. The latter is at the heart of the whole, often tired, "education versus training" debate.

47. In the sense that only autonomous self-directed learners are truly adult and able and worthy to participate "in adult education. It may then become easy to justify second class provision, or "training", for non-self-directed second class people.

48. See however Keddie op. cit. as one example of focussing explicitly on the problems inherent in individualism.


51. "The Recovery of University autonomy in Great Britain", loc. cit, p.350. The most recent overt transfer of funds of this kind was from Scottish adult education departments to start a Scottish PICKUP programme. See for example Olga Wojtas in THES 5 September 1986 and 9 January 1987.

52. The new system of UGC grants for PICKUP in universities, the first funds through which became available in October 1987, may actually have set back the clock in some universities. PICKUP or CE officers in various universities persuaded their colleagues to put scarce time into making bids which were known to have merit and attracted favourable comment from those handling the system of allocation, but which ultimately won the university nothing because of competitive bidding against a small sum. Resistance to such CE officers (internal change agents) may well be stiffened next time around.

53. See for example the "Radical plans for a revamped A-level examination composed of five subjects and new university entrance requirements" recently proposed by university principals and school teachers, and reported in The Guardian 30 September 1987.

54. Universities Council for Adult Education University Adult Education in the Later Twentieth Century, UCAE, Birmingham, 1970, p.27. The fact that this was couched in the future tense six years after the Act suggests a relaxed if not complacent approach.

55. For example in Classics, as reported in THES, 9 January 1987.

56. Martin Trow notes that, unlike Europeans, "Americans cultivate institutions of higher education which have multiple and overlapping functions, and with boundaries that are permeable and blurred. And we see this blurring as on the whole a good thing... one of the marks of a learning society". "Latent functions of continuing education", paper to OECD conference in Stockholm on adults in higher education May 1987, p.2.

57. Comparative education seems at times to be a vehicle for jingoism or self-flagellation rather than genuine learning by comparative study of the experience of other countries and systems.
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