

Learning for older adults in Portugal: Universities of the Third Age in a state of change

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U3As have their origin in 1973 in Toulouse, France, with Professor Pierre Vellas. This French influence was also felt in Portugal and the first Portuguese U3A opened its doors also in the 1970's. However, from inception the Portuguese reality was very different from the French model, especially in regards to its promoters. However, both in France and Portugal, these original models have since undergone significant changes. Within this context, this study seeks to analyse this shift in the organisation of U3A, attempting to understand, amongst other factors, who are the social players behind the change, their goals, and how they are organised. To achieve these research goals, several data collection techniques were used such as document/text analysis of information on the different educational opportunities on offer to older adults, especially U3A, as well as conducting interviews with some leaders of U3A. Theoretically, the work of several authors who have analysed U3A such as Aline Chamain and Marvin Formosa are considered as well as authors who have researched third age policies, in particular Anne-Marie Guillemard. In conclusion, the present work shows U3As in Portugal present themselves in a different context in terms of their promoters – as either tertiary institutions or as private associations.

Keywords: *Universities of the Third Age, learning, models, education policies, older adults, Portugal.*

Introduction

The advent of Universities of the Third Age in Portugal took place in the 1970s and were influenced by their French counterparts, also created in the same decade, and the so called Toulouse model. Despite the French influence, it is possible to identify several differences in the way the Portuguese Universities of the Third Age operate. From 2000 onwards several changes have taken place in the domain of Portuguese Universities of the Third Age such as a significant increase in their numbers and their emergence within the setting of tertiary education institutions.

The present work aims at a sociological analysis of the changes these universities have experienced. To achieve the goal, my paper frame the Universities of the Third Age within the context third age and adult education policies in Portugal and explore some of the premises of such policies.

In terms of methodology, an exploratory study was conducted to account for the changes that took place in these universities using several data collection techniques. Namely, a document analysis was undertaken of different websites running Training Programs for Seniors as well as documents published by organisations dedicated to ageing and the education of older adults. I also conducted an interview with a leader of one of the older U3As, founded in 1994. Briefly discuss the existence of two main models – those strategically aligned to universities; those opposed to links to universities. The older U3As are different from the newer ones in the sense that many of the older ones are still being managed by the older adults themselves. The leader was also chosen for interview because of his critical stance regarding certain changes in the U3As in Portugal.

The present study is divided in two parts. The first part deals with the emergence of U3As in Portugal as well as the third age and education policies contexts in which they formed. In the second part I analyse the changes that took place in the area of third age and adult education

policies, both nationally as well as internationally, and how, in turn, they framed the changes in the domain of U3A.

The emergence and growth of Universities of the Third Age in Portugal (from 1976 to 2000)

In 1976, third age policy was enshrined in the Portuguese Constitution and with it a new period started in the way old age is managed. From this date onwards there was a change in the way older adults are treated. One of the most visible examples is the transformation of asylums into homes (Veloso, 2011). The third age policy also contributed to the closer integration of older people into secondary groups such as unions, organisations promoting personal development or social activities, recreational and cultural associations such as the U3As (Durandal, 2005). According to this new policy older adults were encouraged to continue living in their own homes, creating the necessary conditions for the older adults to remain socially integrated. The policy adopted the premise that it is possible to delay (mental and physical) ageing through a range of different cultural, recreational and sports activities (Veloso, 2011).

The first University of the Third Age in Portugal opened its doors in 1978, a time when the new guiding principles of the third age policy were beginning to be implemented, in particular the principle that older adults remain in their own homes. As a consequence, new services that translated this new policy of dealing with old age started to be implemented in homes, day centres, recreational centres and home support services. All of these aimed at providing support in the area of social welfare, targeting mainly the elderly who are dependent and with economic needs (Veloso, 2011).

The first Portuguese University of the Third Age defined itself as an educational and cultural institution that aimed at promoting the image of older adults as capable people who have a useful role in society and can contribute to its development. This organisation did not place itself in the area of welfare from a perspective of providing assistance to “poor old people” with financial needs or social and/or physical limitations. The university aimed mainly at older adults who were autonomous, active and financially independent. Mr. Herberto Miranda, a civil engineer, with the support of his wife, was responsible for the creation of the first Third Age University in Portugal (Veloso, 2001, 2011).

The creation of the first U3A was based upon and expanded on the original French 1973 project of the University of the Third Age in Toulouse (Velo, 2011). The Toulouse model, as a reference in the Portuguese project, is also seen in the invitation made to Professor Vellas, the original founder of the Universities of the Third Age, to participate in the 1978 Seminar aimed at defining the goals of the emerging University of the Third Age.

From the analysis of the proceedings of the Seminar, it is possible to identify the ideas and philosophy behind the original Toulouse model, namely the promotion of active and autonomous lifestyles to achieve a delay in ageing (Velo, 2011). Vellas, in particular, argued that Universities of the Third Age and their related activities played an important role in delaying ageing.

Therefore, all these institutions aimed at a common concept of delaying ageing through maintaining the older adults within their own environment, encouraging them to remain independent and participate in intellectually stimulating activities, promoting their sociability and participation in the community. Vellas also stated in his intervention that all these aspects that related to “delaying ageing” were scientifically supported by gerontology (Velo, 2011).

The different dominant lines of thought in social gerontology have influenced not only the different analysis and studies on the older people, but they have also determined the creation of policies aimed at older people. This is seen in France in 1961, and in 1976 in Portugal, where third age policies in both countries advocated for the older adults to remain in their own homes (Velo, 2011). However, this influence of gerontology can vary according to the area of study or intervention. Regarding this matter, Bond, Briggs and Coleman (1996) note that in the area of health and disease of older people, there have been prominent sociological philosophies such as structural-functionalist, symbolic interactionist, ethnomethodological and from a critical theoretical perspective.

In the particular case of older adult education, there are two main sociological perspectives to consider. From the analysis of different authors in educational gerontology (Glendenning, 1990, 2000; Withnall, 2000, 2002; Phillipson, 1999; Cusack, 2000; Formosa, 2002), it is possible to identify references to educational gerontology and critical educational gerontology. These two distinct theoretical approaches

have dominated different analysis and corroborated different practices. Educational gerontology has normally been associated to a functionalist perspective while critical gerontology has emerged from critical theory.

From 1940 to the 70s, the central questions of educational gerontology dealt with “issues related to ‘adjustment’, ‘activity’ and ‘life satisfaction’” (Phillipson, 1999:120), largely addressed by activity theory and disengagement theory. Activity theory introduced the idea of “non-idleness” in the discourse regarding old age and called upon a new ethic for the Third Age (Guillemard, 1980). According to this idea every old person should be active in body and mind to avoid the decline associated with old age. As noted by Guillemard, these guiding principles for old age were broadly disseminated in France by the media as well as

... specific instances, such as the preparation cycles for retirement or the Universities of the Third Age, which, in the last few years, had a considerable role in the “schooling” of old age. Their expansion demonstrates well the intensity of the moralisation task aimed at old age (Guillemard, 1980:88).

Taking into account the principles underpinning third age policies and the U3As, we agree with Aline Chamahian (2011) when she notes that the activities promoted by the U3As are intended for an audience that is relatively old and aimed at increasing the level of mental and physical fitness, foster sociability and improve the quality of life of older adults. However, the idea we would like to stress from this author is that in France the activities of the first U3As up to the 90s had medical, sociocultural and social goals (Chamahian, 2011). This was also the case in Portugal.

After the creation of the first University of the Third Age in Portugal, there was a very slow increase in the number of U3As. Between 1998 and 1999 I carried out the first survey of these universities, as part of a broader research related to PhD study. In this study (Veloso, 2001) 26 different U3As were recorded catering for 5,077 older adults. In the 90s alone, 18 new U3As were created.

One of the characteristics noted was that U3As were mainly an urban phenomenon with a higher concentration in coastal areas, especially in the north of the country where 50 per cent of the U3As were located. The detailed geographic distribution is as follows: North – 11; Centre 2; Greater Lisbon Area – 4; Algarve – 5 (Veloso, 2001, 2011).

The majority of the activities on offer were common to all U3As. The universities catered for a variety of disciplines ranging from a minimum of 10 to a maximum of 64 subjects on offer. The subject distribution was as follows: Languages - (most common) English, French, Portuguese; Social Sciences - History (common to all U3As), Local History, Art History and the History of Portugal. There were also several arts-based subjects as well as excursions, talks, seminars on a variety of topics and, in many cases, these were offered on a monthly basis (Veloso, 2001, 2011).

However, I also uncovered a distinct characteristic of the Portuguese U3As, when compared to their French counterparts: the fact that the majority of the Portuguese U3As were not-for-profit organisations (in the legal sense) with the exception of one cooperative and one institute (Veloso, 2001). According to several studies (Chamahian, 2009, 2011; Formosa, 2014), the French reality was different, as the U3As first emerged within tertiary institutions and this only changed from the 1990s onwards (Chamahian, 2009).

It is possible to conclude that the Portuguese third age policy promoted and advocated an active physical and mental lifestyle for older people, and was designed to keep them in their own homes. However, the policy was characterised by interventions in the welfare area, and the lack of a global third age policy did not promote education among older adults (Veloso, 2011; Veloso & Rocha, 2016). On the other hand, in terms of public policy aimed at adult education, my research identified that, up to the year 2000, the policy promoted schooling preferentially targeting a younger audience (Lima, 2001) and did not focus on the education of older adults (Veloso, 2011). The education of older adults was carried out by U3As that belonged to the third sector. Next I will analyse the U3A domain in the 21st century in terms of third age and adult education policies.

Senior universities and the education and training of older adults: Year 2000 to present

To frame the discussion on third age policies and the Universities of the Third Age in the 21st century, it is necessary to take into consideration demographic ageing and its impact on the economy. Concern with economic consequences of demographic ageing has been emphasised by several international organisations in the past few years.

The situation is worsening and the challenges posed to the economy and sustainability of the welfare and health systems are increasing in many countries. Different agencies such as the European Union, have set standards to monitor and/or mitigate the consequences of demographic ageing.

The Lisbon European Council of March 2000, also known as the Lisbon Strategy, put forward a central goal that would influence subsequent councils and affect interventions aligned to the older Portuguese population. The central goal was for European Union to become the most competitive and dynamic economy in the world, based on knowledge and sustainable economic growth, with better jobs and strong social cohesion. However, the European Union was faced with the serious problem of population ageing in achieving this goal and responded by putting forward, amongst other measures, its active ageing strategy (Veloso, 2011).

This way, in March 2001, the European Council in Stockholm proposed that people aged 55 years or older should remain longer in the workforce, so that by 2010 half of the population in the age bracket 55 to 64 years would remain at work. In addition to the measure drafted in Stockholm, the European Council of 2002 in Barcelona postponed the retirement age by five years up to 2010.

In Portugal, these EU directives and concerns on demographic ageing were also expressed through official documents advocating active ageing (Veloso, 2011). One such document is the Ministerial Act Number 137/2002, November, in which the National Plan for Employment for the year 2002 promulgated a policy consistent with active ageing. The document states the goal to be reached in the employment rate for the age bracket 55 to 65 years should be greater than 50 per cent, advocating that older workers should remain in the workforce and would be provided with access to education and training (Resolução do Conselho de Ministros n.º 137/2002).

Therefore, postponing the retirement age located older workers as the recipients of education and training programs that aimed at increasing their qualifications and employability. This need pressurised member states to invest in the learning of their older workers and became one of the five messages delivered in 2006 by the European Union in a communication entitled: Adult Education: it is never too late to learn.

In this communication the EU alluded to the fact that older workers should have better competencies and improved access to lifelong learning so that they could continue to participate in the workforce (Veloso, 2011).

However, within the same communication there is another challenge to the member states in terms of the education of adults. In addition to the need to invest in the learning of older workers, the states should also promote education (including tertiary education) to retired people because;

people are reaching retirement in better physical and mental health, and post-retirement life expectancy is extending. Learning should be an integral part of this new phase in their lives' (Commission of the European Communities, 2006:8).

The Commission added that these efforts in education matters will allow 'retired people to be in touch with their social environment' (Commission of the European Communities, 2006:8).

In terms of third age policy, it is important to note that the policy in Portugal was developed mainly in the welfare and health areas, postponing access to retirement (Veloso, 2011; Veloso & Rocha, 2016); and a global third age policy that contemplated the education of older adults was still lacking.

In practical terms, the education of older adults in Portugal continued to be promoted by the U3As and not by means of public policies aimed at third age and/or adult education. From around 2000 onwards, adult education policy was centred on adults in the workforce and did not address the promotion of education associated with older adults (Veloso, 2011; Veloso & Rocha, 2016).

In 2005, a body that aimed to represent Universities of the Third Age in Portugal was created. The body was called RUTIS (Association Network of Universities of the Third Age or Associação Rede de Universidades da Terceira Idade in the original Portuguese) and was managed by a former leader of a retiree association who, curiously, was too young to be considered a senior himself (Veloso, 2013). The Association defined itself as a promoter of active ageing and as a representative, advocate and energiser of the Universities of the Third Age (Jacob, 2012). This concern with the promotion of active ageing earned RUTIS the official recognition of the Ministerial Council as a fundamental partner in

promoting active ageing policies. The Council also acknowledged that U3As carry out important work in the improvement of the living conditions of their student population, facilitating their inclusion and participation in society.

RUTIS has also coordinated different meetings and recreational activities between associates. However, the association does not limit its work in Portugal to these social activities and it also promotes research in areas such as active ageing and gerontology (Jacob, 2012).

Another important function of RUTIS is to provide information on the role and operation of U3As in Portugal. This includes providing information regarding the establishment of new U3As, which resulted in the reproduction of the goals and activities across different U3As. The role of RUTIS in assisting in the set-up of new U3As has also resulted in a significant increase in their numbers. Presently, there are in excess of 200 U3As, reaching over 35,000 retirees and older adults (Jacob *et. al.*, 2013).

Further to this increase in the number of U3As, there were also changes in the way they were run. It is interesting to note that in 1999 the U3As were mainly associations run by retirees. Presently (in 2017), these retirees run associations that represent only 30 per cent, as new promoters joined in. They include not-for-profit associations such as local and city councils, Rotary clubs and tertiary education institutions (Jacob, 2012:34-35).

This evolution, in numerical terms and in relation to the promotion of leadership models, is a contentious issue between the leaders of the different U3As. One of the leaders of a U3A from the group that emerged in the 1990's and is still controlled by older adults is an outspoken critic of the changes. He contends that U3As should continue to be run by older adults in an autonomous way, free from interference from third parties. Although the leader acknowledges to the benefits a RUTIS membership offers in terms of contact with other U3As, he does not agree to its loss of independence.

Another change that took place was the replacement of the designation Universities of the Third Age by Senior Universities, and by 2012 nearly all the universities were using this new nomenclature. Curiously, a name change also took place in France in the 90s. The new designations included names like 'Free Time Universities' or 'Universities for All

Ages', which reflected a change in the profile of the typical student to a younger person with higher levels of schooling, in search of cultural, scientific and physical activities that did not revolve around ageing (Chamahian, 2011).

Further to the changes in the U3As context in Portugal, there was also an emergence of training programs offered by tertiary institutions aimed at older adults. These tertiary institutions were offering a variety of senior training courses along with their own U3As. These organisations included two publicly funded universities as well as a private one; two public institutes as well as the Lisbon Science Academy. These tertiary organisations began catering for older adults for the first time in 2006 (Veloso, 2013). In some cases, the program on offer was a service provided by the university. In other instances, it involved a cultural extension or even a pedagogic unit of their respective organisations. Typically, a lecturer would be in charge of coordinating the project, the subjects would also be taught by lecturers and the classes would take place at the university where they worked (Veloso, 2013).

Some of the programs promoted by the Portuguese tertiary institutions offered certificates based on attendance and/or assessment if the older student conformed to the established rules. Some programs had entry prerequisites such as mandated minimum years of schooling, a bachelor degree or the provision of evidence of sufficient prior knowledge; whilst others required none.

The characteristics of these U3As or Senior Training Programs bear some similarities to the French U3As that were run by tertiary institutions. According to Chamahian (2011), these U3As were also led by university lecturers and the subjects were taught by professors at their respective university campuses. In other words, the U3As were integrated in the tertiary education world and were dependent on the traditional university model in terms of pedagogy, administration and geographic location on the university campus. However, from the 1990s onwards, there were some changes to the status of some U3As, which became associations. In some instances, however, administrative, financial and pedagogic cooperation agreements were put in place with the tertiary institutions that previously controlled these U3As (Chamahian, 2011).

The change in status allowed some retirees to assume teaching roles as well as leadership functions. Whilst in France this change took place long after the emergence of the first U3As, in Portugal the association model existed from the beginning (Veloso, 2011, 2013). However, the Association model of U3As in France and the loss of the tertiary education status may no longer cater to the expectations of younger retirees with higher qualifications who seek highly structured courses that allow them to gain further qualifications (Chamahian, 2011).

The availability of structured courses connected to tertiary education institutions, such as the senior training courses, are also starting to appeal to some retirees in Portugal. The interview with the above mentioned U3A leader is very revealing of this in this respect. When asked about the possible similarities between the two U3A models, he replied:

“In those ‘universities’ it is all different because they provide courses with diplomas and the older adults who seek them want to learn and progress academically and have a diploma. Here, at our university, the people who come here do not want a diploma. They also learn, but it is a pastime.” (Interview with U3A leader)

According to Ratsoy (2016), the education programs aimed at the older adults and promoted by tertiary institutions are often characterised by their hierarchical nature and higher costs when compared to education programs based on the peer-to-peer model. The peer-to-peer model programs are often self funded or financed through contributions of several agencies and universities, and the students carry out the work on a voluntary basis. According to both Formosa (2014) and Ratsoy (2016), the universities have a lot to benefit from older students as well as the partnerships they form with organisations for the older adults. The benefits are reciprocal and the organisations, educational and non-educational, benefit in turn from these collaborations, whilst remaining independent from tertiary institutions. In terms of the benefits for the universities, a variety of examples can be given of the collaboration of older adults with younger students in courses such as nursing and social work. In these cases, the older students play the role of clients, using of the services on offer (Formosa, 2014). The benefits for the older students are varied and also include free access to resources and facilities such as libraries and tuition support services, as well as low tuition fees (Formosa, 2014; Ratsoy, 2016).

Lastly, I believe it is pertinent to widen, even if briefly, the context of the Portuguese U3As in terms of the different models that exist around the world. Several studies, including the work of Formosa (2009, 2014) and Swindell and Thompson (1995) have identified a variety of different models of U3As. Among these, the Toulouse and British models have gained prominence. Whilst the Toulouse model is characterised by a dependence on tertiary institutions at different levels, the British model is substantially different, as its U3As do not depend on these institutions. Typically, the British model is based on a self-help approach with its members taking ownership of their respective organisations. In their operations, they are normally organised in small self-help groups with no distinction between lecturers and students.

In addition to these two models, Formosa (2009, 2014) notes other models that differentiate themselves from the previous two according to way they relate with tertiary institutions, how their members participate and the syllabus on offer. These include the culturally-hybrid model, the French-speaking North-American model, the South American model and the Chinese model. As the name suggests, the culturally-hybrid model shares elements from both the British and the French models. Formosa (2014) provides the U3As in Malta as an example of this model, where university lectures are complemented by group sessions run the members themselves. In the French-speaking North American model, the U3As are part of existing universities and the distinction between tertiary education and third age education tends to be blurred. An example of this model is the creation of the Bachelor degree of Arts at the U3A of Montreal, accepting either students with relevant background education or self-taught students with sufficient knowledge of English and French. Despite a connection and dependency on tertiary institutions akin to the French model, the U3As in the South American model are mainly concerned with older adults from underprivileged classes. Finally, the Chinese model is characterised for making use of paid lecturers, both young and old, as well as older adult volunteers. The syllabus is comprised of compulsory subjects such as health and fitness, as well as leisure courses including languages, philosophy and traditional crafts.

Taking into account all of the above, we can say that at least two different models of Third Age Universities coexist in Portugal. The first is similar to the French model and is representative of the education

programs aimed at the older adults that were offered by tertiary institutions from 2006 onwards.

The second that began in the 1970s, bears some resemblance to the British model since the U3As are independent from tertiary institutions and because they are promoted by private associations managed and operated by the older adults themselves. However, there is a difference that I consider to be significant: in the Portuguese model the roles of lecturers and students have always been distinct and well defined. Typically, the lecturers in the Portuguese U3As hold active teaching jobs, are former lecturers or teachers, or are older adults whose mastery and competency in a particular art or craft is readily acknowledged and recognised. In any case, the majority of the lecturers are volunteers (Veloso, 2011). Another differentiating characteristic of the Portuguese U3As is how they mimic elements of formal education despite their independence from teaching institutions. In particular, we note the adoption of practices such as formal lectures or lessons and the use of school calendars by the Portuguese U3As (Veloso, 2011). However, the number of Portuguese U3As managed the older adults themselves is decreasing (currently 30%) and this model seems to be in decline.

Regardless of model and in essence, the U3As and the existing senior training courses in Portugal promote educational activities that address so-called active ageing, providing new knowledge, development in different subject areas and access to different sociability networks that allow them to continue to participate in society.

Concluding remarks

Up to the 1990s, adult education in Portugal was the responsibility of the so-called third sector and was not part of the concerns of public policy, either in terms of third age or adult education (Veloso, 2011) and was formulated in terms of personal and cultural development (Chamahian, 2012).

From 2000 onwards, there is evidence of an emphasis in promotion the policy of active ageing both nationally and internationally. Within the European Union, this emphasis has taken a position that is closer to a vision of a more productive old age, where education and lifelong training are promoted for older adults, so that they can participate more actively in society, and be more competitive and employable in the workforce (Chamahian, 2012).

My paper identifies a progressive shift in the domain of education for older adults in Portugal, where different educational and training projects coexist, particularly within the domain of the so-called Senior Universities or Senior Education Programs, which meet the different expectations of a heterogeneous group of older adults. However, despite the variety on offer, there is plenty still to do, as Formosa (2014) advocates, to ensure all older adults can access education and training, including those who are also dependent and have mental and physical needs.

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