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LIFELONG EDUCATION: A STOCKTAKING

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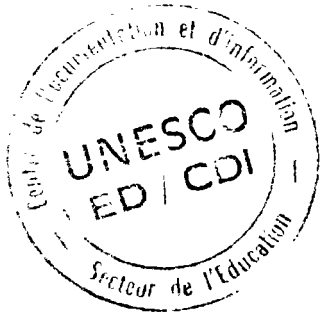

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FOREWORD

The Unesco Institute for Education has now been involved in research within the context of Lifelong Education for six consecutive years. Projects have been concerned with the theoretical aspects of Lifelong Education (What does Lifelong Education mean? What are its objectives? What are its characteristics?); with the feasibility of a system of Lifelong Education (What does a process of national reform towards Lifelong Education look like? How could formal and non-formal education be articulated? How is the organizing, planning, managing, financing and legislating of an overall system of Lifelong Education to be put into effect?); with the implications for school curriculum (How should curriculum-work towards Lifelong Education be initiated? How can the features of Lifelong Education be specified in curricular terms?); with the role and meaning of evaluation within the context of Lifelong Education (How is self-directed learning and learning through non-formal programmes to be evaluated?); with the role of teachers and pattern of their training in the context of Lifelong Education.

A recurring topic throughout the work of these years has always been the theoretical status, philosophical basis and conceptual precision of the notion of Lifelong Education. The present report is a contribution towards the clarification of this question.

The principles of Lifelong Education represent an attempt to adapt education to the conditions of modern life, as they may be seen in an increasing number of countries. These principles have not been invented by UNESCO, nor by the International Commission on Education, nor by any single specialist in education. They merely consolidate trends and practices in Education which have developed over the last 30 years. Some of the more evident trends subsumed under the principles of Lifelong Education are the following:

a) the recognition of a wide variety of learning styles, no less efficient, relevant and feasible

than the traditional ones of listening to a teacher and using textbooks;

b) the awareness of the substantial and increasing role played by the learner himself in the learning process, as well as of the importance of his initiative and control over the learning process in contrast to the traditional dependence on the teacher;

c) the acceptance of the fact that when learning takes place through non-formal services it is as significant as learning acquired through the school system, and that learning under informal conditions (family, peer groups, mass media, etc.) has a high complementary value of its own;

d) the emphasis on the flexibility and adaptability now required in the structure, content and operation of learning services, as against the rigidity and resistance to reform shown by the traditional educational structures;

e) the demand for articulation and co-ordination between the various educational agencies (parallel as well as consecutive) to which every individual is exposed in varying degree, throughout his life;

f) the insistence that all educational services be closely linked with the community, the region and the country in terms of objectives, medium of instruction, learning materials and examples, etc., as against the present frequent isolationism of the schools;

g) the gradual recognition of education and learning as a right which should not be denied on account of socio-economic conditions, religion, race, sex, limited ability or even age;

h) the conviction that systematic learning (learning which is planned) is a permanent need during the whole of a person's life, as a result of continuous new developments in technology, work, human relationships, institutions, public norms, etc.;

i) the understanding that all educational trends and practices such as those listed above are

> not isolated, independent and without relevance to each other, but correspond in each case to one aspect of the overall innovative pattern imposed by modern conditions on the "one" educative and learning process undergone by each human being. As a result, there is a need for "integrated educational planning" guided by a global conception of the educational process such as is contained in the principles of Lifelong Education.

Debates on Lifelong Education neglect the empirical roots provided by the above trends when they emphasize its utopian and idealistic character. They also miss the substantial difference between trends in isolation and trends seen within an overall articulated conception of learning, when they question the novelty of Lifelong Education. They ignore the operational evolution of this notion when they complain about the logical sequence lacking in the various features of Lifelong Education. They reveal an *a priori* attitude of mind when they reject the possibility of this idea being linked with antagonistic philosophies.

The preceding considerations indicate the type of questions which will be dealt with in the study. The UIE is fortunate in having the assistance of a group of scholars who have been engaged in the debate on Lifelong Education for a long time. Their experience enables them collectively to see all those problems which derive from the perspective of time, culture, area of specialisation, and of personal preferences which they represent. I would like to express my thanks and appreciation to all of them for the generous contribution they have made to this study. To A.J. Cropley my thanks for the determination and dedication he has shown in bringing this study to a successful conclusion.

M. D. Carelli

Director

INTRODUCTION

1. Rationale and Objectives

Statements about the importance of education as a lifelong process have not been lacking in the past, neither in antiquity nor in more recent times. However, the last ten years or so have been marked by greatly increased interest in the topic and by the development of a body of literature dealing specifically with it. This literature on lifelong education has been subjected to a great deal of criticism on the grounds that it is unworkably idealistic, contains nothing new, uses the label "lifelong education" to mean almost anything according to the interests of each particular writer, and on a number of similar grounds.

Nonetheless, a good deal of effort has gone into attempts to develop definitions of what is meant by lifelong education, suggest what its adoption would mean for educational practice, investigate its implications for society, and to clarify many issues of this kind. This activity has been widespread both in terms of the countries involved and also of the differing agencies and organizations supporting it. However, there is still a great variety of views concerning the theoretical principles or concrete practices encompassed by lifelong education. For example, in some countries and in some writings it is assumed to be almost a synonym for adult education or even for worker retraining programmes. For some writers it is seen as anti-school, for others as excessively school-oriented or even as threatening to turn the whole of society into a huge school. Both totalitarian and liberal regimes express their support for lifelong education, as do technologically more developed as well as technologically less developed societies. To some writers it is a way of freeing workers from their dependence upon a particular economic system, to others a device for enmeshing them even more deeply in the system. To yet a third group it has no economic significance at all, but offers only spiritual rewards which may seem ludicrous to a poor society struggling to feed

and house all its citizens. What is needed, then, is clarification of what is meant by lifelong education, both from the point of view of theorizing about education, and also of practice, in the hope of sorting out some of these differences of opinion. The aim of the present report is to contribute to this process.

The report contains chapters by seven individual authors (see pp. 6-7 for more details), plus an overview chapter based partly on these chapters and also partly on a meeting attended by five of the seven contributors. It is not a comprehensive summary of all known findings, nor a handbook of concrete suggestions for practice. It attempts to clarify the broader theoretical questions in lifelong education, and to show their significance for educational practice. In some cases, according to the preferences of the individual authors, the discussion includes, or even concentrates on, specific practices giving expression to the ideas put forward in the name of lifelong education. In others, the remarks are pitched at an abstract, general level. Basically, the report is concerned with four broad and general questions:

1. What clarification has so far been achieved in thinking about lifelong education?
2. What are the major unresolved issues? What problems still exist?
3. What are the major implications of lifelong education for educational practice?
4. What are the prospects for the future? Where should effort now be focused?

2. Lifelong Education

The main ideas encompassed by the term "lifelong education" are discussed in detail in various parts of the individual chapters which follow, and need not be repeated here. Furthermore, because of the lack of consensus already referred to, providing a brief but universally acceptable definition is difficult. On the other hand, it is clear that at least an initial working definition is called for. Of the several to be found in various sources, the UIE has adopted the comprehensive one implicit in the publications of UNESCO. According to this education should:

1. last the whole life of each individual;
2. lead to the systematic acquisition, renewal, upgrading and completion of knowledge, skills and attitudes made necessary by the constantly changing conditions in which people now live;
3. have as its ultimate goal promotion of the self fulfilment of each individual;
4. be dependent for its successful implementation on people's increasing ability and motivation to engage in self directed learning activities;
5. acknowledge the contribution of all available educational influences, including formal, non formal and informal.

This approach, as can be seen, focuses on the duration of lifelong education (the entire lifespan), the factors in life making it more desirable than previously (change), its goals or purpose (self fulfilment), the characteristics it seeks to foster in learners (self directed learning, etc.), and the need for a supportive network embracing all kinds of learning influences (formal, non formal and informal).

3. Level and Scope of the Contributions

For the purposes of the present study three "levels" for the analysis of lifelong education were identified. It is possible:

1. to treat it as a "philosophy" of education and to judge it according to the criteria accepted by philosophers such as its ultimate goals, its moral or ethical basis, its internal consistency, its degree of fit with more general philosophical systems, and so on;
2. to regard it as a theory either derived from observation of educational activities already in existence or else suggesting the general nature of practices which could be adopted (or both). In this case, discussion can emphasize comprehensiveness, effectiveness, responsiveness to perceived deficiencies of practice, feasibility and similar issues.

3. to identify it in terms of specific practices said to define it, either longstanding practices or novel ones. This approach permits formal, "experimental" evaluations.

In a comprehensive treatment of lifelong education all three levels might well be dealt with: a philosophical position could be adopted, guidelines for action could be worked out, and practices which were consistent with the philosophy and the theory could either be identified where they already existed, or implemented where they did not, and subsequently evaluated. In the present case, it was not anticipated that any single contribution would cover all three kinds of issue. Rather, the general intention of the project was communicated to the various participants, and it was then left up to them to define the kind of approach they would adopt as well as the particular phase or aspect of education on which they would concentrate. In this way, it was hoped to benefit from the richness and variety of knowledge and experience of the participants.

4. Focus of the Project

Two broad lines of attack were adopted in the project. The first of these was lifelong education and the revision of educational thinking, the second lifelong education and educational practice. These themes were then given a more specific nature by posing several broad questions for each, questions which, while still general, provided a certain amount of structure for the discussion of each theme. The participants were asked to keep these questions in mind when preparing their written contributions. In the case of theory, the questions were as follows:

1. Is lifelong education a philosophy of education, a set of operational principles, both of these or neither?
2. Is lifelong education compatible with any social or political philosophy, or does it imply a particular model of human nature, accept only certain ultimate goals as good, and so on?
3. What is the typical and unique contribution of lifelong education to existing educational theory?
4. What agreement has been reached concerning the notion of lifelong education? What are the

key issues and problems which need to be investigated? What kinds of approach hold out the most promise?

These questions were, in effect, a bridge between the purposes of the present project and the knowledge and experience of the various participants, as well as being a device for coordinating the different contributions, without providing a rigid structure. They were not selected in an arbitrary manner, but were identified during a preliminary review of the relevant literature written in English, German or French and published since 1974. No formal content analysis of this literature was carried out, however; the questions were judged to reflect the main domains in which clarification of ideas was being called for by writers in the area.

In the case of educational practice, lifelong education emphasizes that all of the various educational influences in life are capable of contributing to each person's learning, that learners need to develop the skills, attitudes and motives which would make them independent of schools, and that educational practice (including schooling) should further these goals. Accepting such a position, several broad questions were then posed:

1. To what extent, and under what conditions, would it be possible to transform educational practice in order to achieve the goals just mentioned?
2. Are the practical implications of lifelong education feasible only within an overall system committed to the implementation of lifelong education?
3. What are the potential contributions of cross national research to the implementation of lifelong education?
4. What are the major defects or shortcomings of current educational practice to the alleviation of which lifelong education could make a contribution?
5. What are the most pressing practical questions which need to be answered in connection with lifelong education?

As will become apparent from a reading of the individual contributions, not all of them make specific reference to these

or similar issues. However, especially when the written chapters were supplemented by discussions among the participants, a number of clarifications were achieved. The final chapter contains a cross analysis of this material in terms of the questions just listed. In this sense, it completes a circle starting from the variety of views which exists, proceeding via the questions to the specific contributions, and then returning to the general issues.

5. Method of Work

The project was essentially theoretical in approach, in the sense that there was no design, implementation and evaluation of novel procedures specifically for its purposes. However, this did not preclude the possibility of making reference to existing practices, or even describing them in some detail. The papers were meant to identify major issues, especially those which might not have been stated clearly in the past, as well as to make suggestions for lines of attack, indicate important avenues for research, and so on. They were thus meant to provide a kind of sorting out and organizing of the many approaches which have been seen in recent years, with the aim of providing a certain degree of focus for future thinking. They were not, therefore, seen as providing answers so much as asking questions.

The first step in the execution of the study was the identification of a group of people who had made substantial contributions to earlier thinking on the topic of lifelong education or to closely related topics such as, for example, adult education. The people identified were then invited to participate in the project in two ways - by writing a paper and by taking part in a meeting in Hamburg - and six of them accepted, although eventually only four were able to attend the meeting. These six people were as follows:

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UNESCO
Paris

A. Pflüger
Deutscher Volkshochschulverband
Frankfurt/Main

K. Richmond
Glasgow, Scotland

A. Stock
National Institute for Adult Education
Leicester

B. Suchodolski
Warsaw.

In addition, a staff member of the UIE (A. Cropley) prepared a contribution for the project. This document, which appears in the present monograph as Chapter 1, was distributed to the participants prior to the meeting, thus serving as a working paper. Participants also received brief documents outlining the purpose of the project in essentially the same terms as those in the preceeding pages. They were then asked to prepare a paper of about 4000 words dealing with a topic within each contributor's area of expertise, but keeping in mind the overall aim of contributing to the issues started on p. 2, with particular attention to some of the more focused questions on pp. 4 and 5.

Those participants who were able to take part then attended a meeting in Hamburg from March 20th to 23rd, 1978, to discuss lifelong education from the point of view of the present project. The issues already identified formed the basis of the discussions at this meeting, although its "agenda" was continually developed as the discussions proceeded. Minutes were kept during the meeting, while the proceedings were also tape recorded. Subsequently, an analysis of the discussions was carried out, sorting and focusing the remarks of the participants according to the purposes of the project as they have already been stated. This analysis was distributed to the participants and was subsequently revised on the basis of comments received from them. It now appears as the final chapter in the present report.

I would like to express my appreciation of the work of the contributors, who were patient and constructive throughout. I would also like to acknowledge the support of all my colleagues at the UIE and express my appreciation to the University of Regina, Canada, for the leave which made possible my participation in the project.

A. J. Cropley

CHAPTER 1

LIFELONG EDUCATION: ISSUES AND QUESTIONS

A. J. Cropley

Much has been written about lifelong education in the last few years. The idea has been hailed by some as ushering in a new educational millenium, and has been advocated with almost "theological" fervor, as one writer put it (Elvin, 1975, p. 26). By contrast, it has been criticized as a meaningless "elastic concept" (Pucheu, 1974, p. 375), a device for subverting educational reform, or a "trap" permitting perpetual control of people (Illich and Verne, 1975). It seems appropriate at the present time, several years after the appearance of the Faure Report which recommended the adoption of lifelong education as the master principle for the future development of world education, to take stock of the progress which has been made in resolving the differences of opinion just sketched out. The present paper will attempt to make a contribution to this stocktaking by reviewing some of the major criticisms of lifelong education, with the aim of clarifying a number of key ideas in the area.

1. Focus and Limitations of the Paper

The method of work in the present paper was largely review of the literature. This review was restricted to writings in English, French and German, with heavy concentration on materials available in English, so that it is highly selective. It also focuses on theoretical discussion of lifelong education, and does not review empirical research in the area or draw upon the practical experiences of those who have tried to implement lifelong education, except to the extent that such experiences may have influenced their theoretical statements. The paper does contain discussion of the practical implications of life-

long education, but these were mainly arrived at by a process of theoretical deduction rather than trial and error or formal experiment, and are stated at an abstract level. Although lifelong education is seen as having implications for all forms and levels of education, the present discussion concentrates on schools. This approach was adopted on grounds of practicability, and does not, of course, reflect a cavalier attitude to other issues.

Finally, although frequent citation of sources has been necessary in the text, one limitation was imposed: publications issuing from the UIE have, by and large, not been cited. This is not because these publications may not have made a substantial contribution to recent advances in thinking about lifelong education, but because it seemed self congratulatory or somehow intellectually incestuous for a paper prepared for a UIE sponsored meeting to review the work of the Institute.

2. What is "New" about Lifelong Education?

The single most obvious idea in writings about lifelong education is that it should be something which goes on throughout people's lives. At first glance this assertion seems so obvious that the best that can be said for modern writers is that they have succeeded in rediscovering the wheel, albeit with a certain vigour and sense of urgency which may have been lacking in earlier writings. Certainly, it is clear that the basic idea of a lifetime spent learning is very old and dates back to antiquity (Asian Institute, 1970). It is also seen in the writings of theorists such as Comenius and Matthew Arnold, and no doubt many more. The term "lifelong education" appeared in English-language educational writing about 50 years ago (Richmond, 1973), and many of the main ideas of lifelong education in their contemporary form were stated immediately after the Second World War (e.g. Jacks, 1946).

From the point of view of educational practice, however, what is new is the concentrated and systematic attack on the question of how to support and foster lifelong learning. A distinction should be made here between everyday learning - in which everyone engages throughout life as a result of day-to-day experience and without particular consciousness of its occurence - and learning which is, at least to some extent, purposeful, and involves some degree of consciousness that learning is occurring. It is this second kind of learning with

which what is here called "educational practice" is concerned, although, as will become apparent shortly, it should not ignore the other kind: what is good for deliberate, purposeful learning may also be good for the other kind, and vice versa. The mounting of a large scale attack on how to encourage, support, strengthen, even improve, lifelong learning is an educational event of considerable novelty and importance (Hummel, 1977).

A key distinction in discussing the implications of lifelong education for educational practice is that between *education* and *learning*, and correspondingly, between lifelong education and lifelong learning. As Delker (1974, p. 24) has pointed out, learning is a normal and natural process which does not need teachers or even awareness that the process is occurring (although these factors do not necessarily impede it, and may even help it). Education, on the other hand, focuses on the experiences which influence learning, and is usually used to refer to those activities which have a conscious educative purpose. To put this in a somewhat different manner, discussion of lifelong learning focuses attention on what the people who are engaged in learning do, lifelong education concentrates on the people, processes, methods and materials, institutions, organizations and sites, and administrative and organizational conditions which hopefully facilitate learning (Gestrelius, 1977). Education is thus a much broader concept than learning, since it includes the activities of students and teachers and also administrational and organizational activities.

Contemporary discussions differ from earlier, then, in that attention has been shifted from lifelong learning to lifelong education. What has emerged in a way not typical of earlier discussions, although not necessarily completely absent from them, is the realization that lifelong learning could be greatly facilitated by appropriate support aimed at developing students' interest in and capacity for lifelong learning. Provision of this supportive infrastructure is the task of educational practice in the context of lifelong education and the conscious turning of attention to the question of how to do it is a feature of recent writing in the area.

A major theme in contemporary writings on the subject of lifelong education is that learning which goes on in schools, universities and the like should be closely linked with learning in out-of-school life, as it occurs in peer groups, in the bosom of the family, in libraries and museums and "on the job" - learning in workshops, factories, small businesses, and

similar places of work. As Pucheu (1974) has pointed out, there was a time when it would have been incomprehensible to have talked about learning in any other terms. The young learned by serving masters of a craft or trade, watching them at work, helping with menial tasks, participating in the simpler aspects of a job, practising it, and slowly developing the necessary knowledge, skills, values, attitudes and self image, as a result of actually carrying out the work.

The call for a re-acknowledgement of the importance of learning in the course of day-to-day life, not only in terms of job skills but in the areas of social relations, customs and mores, seems, then, to involve return to a principle which was normal and everyday until quite recently, and therefore scarcely novel. However, as Long (1974, p. 9) has pointed out, although it is true that traditional societies, both of the past and the present, make extensive use of the linkage of learning and the events of ordinary life, the purpose of such "lifewide learning" is preserving the *status quo*. By contrast, in the case of contemporary discussions of lifelong education, its purpose is adjusting to change, or preparing for the future.

Thus, many of the individual ideas currently expressed during discussions of lifelong education are not in themselves novel. However, what is novel is their integration into a coherent and systematic discussion involving perception of the goals of education in terms of lifelong learning and analysis of the relationship between education and day-to-day life. What is needed now is an indication of what these discussions mean for educational practice. As Foster (1975, p. 105) put it, what is new is "... grasping of the idea (of lifelong learning) and its implications, and making of specific arrangements ... to support it". Specification in detail of how to do this lies beyond the limits of the present paper, and could not in any case be done in a few pages. However, it is the subject of ongoing research, for example at the UIE. Some guidelines can be given here.

3. The Need for Lifelong Education

The reasons why educational reform along the lines of lifelong education is needed are frequently stated, and will not be listed here in great detail. Halls (1973) has reviewed the conditions of modern life making new forms and methods of education necessary: as de Sanctis (1977) explained, they are

social, economic and cultural in nature. They include the problem of change, with its effects on the relevance of job skills, social roles, values and attitudes; the need to overcome the risk of alienation and passivity; the need to develop educational systems which more closely reflect the values and attitudes of the whole society, rather than those of narrow interest groups; the need to improve the quality of life of individuals in all societies. In this latter respect, Aalbaek-Nielson (1973) went so far as to suggest that, without drastic educational change, life will become de-humanized. Indeed, although there is considerable ideological disagreement among writers on lifelong education, it is now clear that, at least as far as the call for educational change is concerned, it is possible to discern a general dissatisfaction with the *status quo*, even among writers of markedly different points of view.

4. Use of the term "Lifelong Education"

The term "lifelong education" presents a number of problems of use. There is a danger of reifying it by referring to "the principles of lifelong education" or "practices arising from the application of lifelong education" or even of personalizing it, for example by saying that "lifelong education implies that ..." or that "lifelong education requires ..."[1] Thus, the question arises of the linguistic/epistemological/educational status of lifelong education.

The term is used in a variety of ways. For example, in one sense it refers to what Rüegg (1974, P. 7) called "a Utopian idea" which is, at best, capable of stimulating people to think about education, but is not itself a goal and does not provide guidelines for change. Long (1974) has discussed in some detail what might be called the "philosophical" conceptualization of lifelong education. At its most superficial level this approach reflects "the mystique of education" (p. 7) according to which, since education is a good thing, more of it would be even better, and lifelong education would clearly be best of all! As Long (1974, p. 5) put it, the view is also sometimes taken that learning is almost synonymous with living, so that to talk about lifelong education (especially if this is

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[1] Discussions in the present paper come very close to this kind of usage. However, although possibly irritating to some readers, the practice makes for ease of reference.

taken to mean lifelong *learning*) is almost the same as talking about lifelong *living*, and therefore requires no further discussion.

Lifelong education is also justified on the grounds that human beings continually need to grow, in the sense that the term "grow" is used by psychologist/philosophers such as Maslow, and that lifelong education would, by aiding this growth process, help to make people and society more "human". In the same vein, lifelong education is often assumed, in philosophically-oriented writings in the area, to be inspired by humanistic values, and thus to be almost a synonym for humanistic education, despite the fact that there do not seem to be any concrete or practical reasons why a lifelong system of education could not be based on an altogether different moral philosophy (such a system might be repugnant, but by no means impossible to imagine). Discussions of lifelong education at the philosophical level contain many unstated assumptions about morals, values and the nature of man: more specific specification of the underlying values and ethics is called for if doubts such as those expressed in the October 1974 number of *Esprit*, or in Dauber and Verne (1976), are to be settled.

At a less abstract level, it is possible to discuss lifelong education as a set of statements concerning the goals of education, the kinds of outcomes which should result from education, the kinds of schools needed to achieve these outcomes, and so on. Statements of this kind would permit disagreement, argument, clarification and refinement. Finally, lifelong education can be seen as a set of guidelines for developing educational practices consistent with the philosophical statements mentioned earlier, and implementing the goals just discussed. In this respect, it is a cluster of organizational characteristics, administrative techniques, and classroom methods, procedures and materials which are thought, on some ground or other, to be capable of putting the more abstract principles into effect. It can be seen as "a set of measures" for making possible learning at all ages (Pucheu, 1974, p. 326, citing Bertrand Schwartz).

This last level offers good prospects for clarifying what is meant by lifelong education, since it gives the opportunity of working out an operational definition of the term, trying out ideas in practice, rejecting them, refining them and trying again, or even accepting them as the case may be. According to Rüegg (1974), when thought of as a set of guidelines for re-

forming educational practice, lifelong education expresses an ideology and criticism of existing education, a perceived set of educational needs, and a belief concerning the role of education. It also expresses goals for education, and suggests methods for achieving them. Briefly, from the point of view of schools, lifelong education aims at developing students' interest in learning throughout life and their ability to do so. This would require that students took progressively more responsibility for their own learning, and that all learning resources in society should be given appropriate recognition, especially those which lie outside the realm of schools or school-like institutions. Lifelong learning could not be dependent upon schools, except in the early stages, or else we would be confronted by the spectre of lifelong schooling. A key question for educational practice is specification of the educational consequences of these principles. Such discussions are still scarce in the relevant literature, but the time is certainly ripe for their emergence.

5. Lifelong Education and Educational Practice

In outlining some of the main features of educational practice based on the idea of lifelong education, it is useful to distinguish between characteristics which are essential and crucial to lifelong education (without which it would not be lifelong education at all), those which might well be necessary characteristics, but are not inevitably linked with lifelong education and would not mean that what remained was not lifelong education if they were absent, and those which are best seen as happy outcomes of the implementation of the ideas of lifelong education. These latter characteristics largely encompass values which are regarded as desirable by many educational theorists, but are not uniquely related to lifelong education, since they would be important features of any acceptable approach to education. One problem in achieving clarity in understanding what is meant by lifelong education has been the tendency to fail to distinguish between these various kinds of characteristics, with the result that lifelong education has sometimes seemed to encompass every highly desirable educational practice ever discussed, even when there has been no obvious link with the idea of lifelongness.

As far as the first kind of characteristics is concerned, it is arguable that there is only one such aspect of lifelong education. This is the idea that education should be available

at all ages. Certainly, without this characteristic, what remained would not be *lifelong* education, and at the same time, it is the one property which is not already to be found in other descriptions of desirable educational practice, if adult education, recurrent education and the like are discussed separately.

There are however, two major ideas which, while not falling clearly into the first category just described, are central to theorizing about lifelong education, and are not simply characteristics of the second kind (those which, while necessary, are not definitive attributes of lifelong education). The first of these is embraced by the idea that systematic and purposeful learning is not confined to schools, and that education aimed at fostering lifelong learning would have to take cognizance of learning in other settings such as the family, work, peer groups, church, unions, and in community places of learning such as study centres, museums, zoos and libraries. This idea, involving what might be called the "lifewide" aspect of lifelong education, is not unique to lifelong education, but is of central importance to it.

The second such characteristic concerns the way in which people's participation in a process of lifelong education could be achieved. It is possible to conceive of individual participants being coerced into taking part, for example by making employment contingent upon carrying out a programme of lifelong learning, or by publishing in the newspapers lists of "bad" people who had not taken part in some kind of on-going learning project, or in other ways.

However, an approach which is more humane, and probably more acceptable to the overwhelming majority of educational thinkers, is to concentrate on building within individuals, during earlier stages of education, a desire for further learning, a belief in themselves as capable of continuing to learn, and the skills which will later be necessary for such on-going learning. Education would then become, among other things, a device for building in people the personal prerequisites for lifelong learning (in the form of motives, values, attitudes, skills and the like). Especially because of its widespread public acceptance, even in those countries which cannot yet afford it for all their citizens, the period of early schooling seems to be a particularly important time for encouraging the emergence of these personal prerequisites.

More clearly in the second category are a number of characteristics which would be necessary features of any educational system based on the ideas of lifelong education. Such a system would presumably encompass education at all ages such as pre-school education, primary and secondary education, post-school formal education such as that offered in universities and technical institutes, post-school nonformal education such as that in *Volkshochschulen*, adult education organizations, and the like, and in all settings, including those enumerated earlier. It would thus be a total system. However, although this characteristic (totality) seems to be necessary for lifelong education, it does not form a crucial element of the kernel-description of lifelong education, since for example, total systems not based on the idea of lifelong education can easily be imagined. Similar characteristics of a lifelong education system are flexibility, linking of general and specialist education, and utilization of educational technology and the mass media.

Finally, at the third level, are some characteristics which, although highly desirable and likely to be facilitated by lifelong education, are not intrinsic elements in the "definition" of what is meant by educational practice guided by the ideas of lifelong education. Such characteristics include democratization, improved quality of life, and personal self fulfilment. These characteristics are more or less universally recognized as worthwhile, and are by no means exclusively advocated by proponents of lifelong education. Furthermore, they are not peculiar and definitive features of lifelong education: they could result from many approaches to education (indeed, would be claimed by most), while it is certainly possible to imagine a version of lifelong education which was not democratic, did not lead to an improvement in the quality of life for ordinary people, and so on.

Thus, to some extent the complaints of writers like Pucheu (1974) that discussions of lifelong education are too general, and too overburdened with re-statements of universally accepted educational goods, are not without foundation. However, it is also possible, with an appropriate sorting out of ideas, to argue that writers in the area of lifelong education have developed, not only a critique of conventional education, a radical principle for reforming it (supporting systematic learning throughout each person's lifetime), and a specification of some of the necessary features of educational practice aimed at achieving the first goal (co-ordinating learning in

schools with important nonschool sources, agencies and processes of learning, and developing the personal prerequisites for lifelong learning), but they have also suggested values against which to judge the desirability of any such educational practice (it should be democratic, foster individual self-actualization, be aimed at improving the quality of life, and so on).

6. Schools in the Context of Lifelong Education

Given the existence of a felt need for educational change, learning is often advanced as the principle for reform which will most appropriately meet the needs identified. This means learning of new job skills, learning of new social roles, acceptance of new responsibilities, and so on. Clearly, such learning could not take place during the conventional school years only, for instance because the need for new learning might not even be apparent until many years after the end of the period of formal schooling. Similarly, the necessary learning could not be spatially confined to schools, since essential information might only be available outside schools, the need for the learning might only be apparent in non-school settings, and, in any case, it would be absurd to envisage people of 40 or 50 or older returning to school every time they wanted to learn something, an idea which raises the spectre of lifetimes spent going to school (Illich and Verne, 1975; Dauber and Verne, 1976). This means that lifelong *education* cannot mean the same as lifelong *schooling*.

At first glance the idea of lifelong education has, as a result, seemed to some critics to imply a downgrading of schools as they are currently known. However, this view has been specifically rejected by Husén (1974), Agoston (1975), and Gestrelius (1977). On the contrary, it is argued that what is needed is not the abolition of schools, but the acceptance of new educational practices within them. Wroczynski (1974), for example, criticized existing schools on the grounds that they make pupils "passive". What is needed is schools which have the effect of producing people who are capable of learning after leaving school (Rüegg, 1974), so that the major task of schools would be laying down the foundation of lifelong learning (Wolczyk, 1976). This would require that schools "reinforce" lifelong learning (Hiemstra, 1974, p. 35). To put it slightly differently, emphasis in schools would shift from the 3Rs to the 3Ls of LifeLong Learning (Rüegg, 1974, p. 5). However, this would not necessarily imply neglect of conventional

skills: the three Ls would presumably encompass the three Rs rather than replace them.

This conceptualization of the school has implications for the content of schooling, methods and organization of instruction, and the criteria against which to evaluate the success of schools. Furthermore, these criteria are capable of being identified in practice, or even operationally defined, so that it cannot be said that they are merely slogans or catchcries as some critics have suggested (e.g., Pucheu, 1974). However, details of the operational level would differ greatly from society to society. Thus, it is not possible to provide a single set of detailed specifications which would hold for all societies. Nonetheless, broad guidelines can be established.

For example, a major task of schools will be to develop a taste for lifelong learning in all pupils, variously identified as requiring "an open mind" (Wroczynski, 1974, p. 465), or as necessitating positive motivation and necessary skills (Partisch, 1976). Appropriate practices could include pupil involvement in decision making, opportunities for self evaluation, and inclusion of learner initiated activities in classroom learning. Appropriate organizational features could involve multi-age grouping, provision for group learning activities, and co-ordination of school learning with learning agencies and processes located outside schools. As far as content is concerned, Aalbaek-Nielson (1973) concluded that the fostering of lifelong learning would imply an orientation towards such themes as time, space, death, truth, change, and compassion. He did not, however, suggest that this would necessarily mean incorporation into the syllabus of courses on these precise themes, but rather that they could be used as the organizational principles for understanding existing disciplines. He gives, for instance, (pp. 212-213), a striking example of how to teach history from the points of view he has suggested.

In terms of the characteristics aimed at in pupils, the goal of schools stated in terms of the criteria just spelled out would be that of "making the unwilling willing" (Rehn, 1976, p. 408), or to use a term more commonly encountered in writings in the area, to help pupils develop to the point at which they became "autodidactic" (Gestrelius, 1977, p. 12), for as this latter author has pointed out, one of the major difficulties in developing learning among adults in Sweden has been that of getting people to want to learn. These kinds of goal for schooling imply that schools should be evaluated in terms of

their contribution to later adult learning (McClusky, 1974), an idea which is presently rare or unheard of. The kind of pupil properties which could be assessed include motivation for further learning, active involvement in decision making, possession of a critical attitude, capacity for self-evaluation, and ability to carry on self-directed learning (Rüegg, 1974, pp. 11-12).

7. Lifelong Education and the Teacher

If lifelong education implies a new role for schools, as well as a new relationship between schools and learning in non-school settings, it also implies many changes in the role of teachers, what teachers should do when they are teaching, what constitutes teaching, and who can be regarded as a teacher. Within the context of schools, for example, major changes in the teacher's main purpose have been described. These include the idea that teachers will become "facilitators of learning" rather than authoritative sources of knowledge (e.g. Knowles, 1975, p. 235). They are also seen as experts in diagnosing learning difficulties, who will function as members of a team including physicians, psychologists, social workers, and other specialists. Since schools will be co-ordinated closely to the everyday world, what happens within their walls will be affected by change going on outside them. As a result, teachers will have to adjust quickly to change, so that they themselves will need to be lifelong learners (Knox, 1974).

If teachers are to become lifelong learners themselves, they will need not only the personal prerequisites for lifelong learning, but also access to the facilities which would support such learning; i.e. teachers will need to engage in some kind of recurrent education or, as it is more commonly called in this context, in-service training. The time may be particularly ripe for expansion of in-service training. For example, the over-supply of teachers in many countries means that attention can now be switched from the provision of facilities for initial training to the provision of further training for those who are already active in the field (Kaplan, 1977). In some countries such training is well established, with highly developed methods and support services, as for example in the German Democratic Republic (Bär and Slomma, 1973). However, in other countries, such as the USA, development of in-service training is beset by the lack of a coherent rationale or conceptual framework. Lifelong education seems to have the poten-

tial to supply this (Massanari, 1977).

A question of even greater interest in the context of lifelong education, however, is that of just who is a teacher. Traditionally, education has been seen as requiring the services of experts who possess special knowledge and skills, and transmit these to pupils in the privacy of schools, where they are protected from the harsh realities of life outside the walls. However, the whole notion of systematic learning as something which goes on outside schools and beyond the conventional school ages, and of the need for schools to be integrated with this out-of-school learning, raises the point that much, perhaps most, of the teaching which people experience is not provided by professional teachers at all, but by "amateurs".

Some of these nonprofessional teachers will be part of the existing organization of non-school education comprising adult education, *Volkshochschulen*, special training programmes, and the like. Another group consists of people with high qualifications, but without formal teaching duties, such as librarians, specialists in museums and zoos, even doctors, dentists, pharmacists and lawyers. However, probably the largest group of nonprofessional teachers of all is the least recognized. This is the group of people who know how to do things which are important in life because they are practitioners, but who are not regarded as having special qualifications, who are mainly unaware of the fact that they are engaged in teaching, even when they are most heavily involved, and whose contribution is most easily overlooked, Such people are parents, peers, craftsmen and tradesmen, workmates, attendants in museums, zoos, art galleries and the like, policemen, travel guides, and many more. These are the people who provide the teaching during the process of everyday life - the "life educators" (UNESCO, 1976, p. 3). This is not meant to imply the disappearance of professional teachers: they will be needed, even in the context of lifelong education. However, what is needed is a broadening of understanding of the teaching process.

8. The Five Key Questions for Lifelong Education

The foundation has now been laid for consideration and reconsideration of what Pucheu (1974, p. 325) identified as the five key questions for lifelong education. At the time he was writing, he considered that these questions had not been answered, and that, until they were, lifelong education would

remain an "elastic concept", incapable of having any precise meaning, and most fitted to the role of a "new religion" (p. 324). These questions are as follows: Lifelong education for whom? By whom? Of what? For what? How? These are clearly fundamental questions which are of great importance, not merely for lifelong education, but for any educational practice, and they deserve to be taken seriously.

It is not the intention to claim here that answers to the questions now exist which are satisfactory in all respects. What Pucheu seems to have been calling for was an end to concentration only on global abstractions. If educational practices based on the ideas summarized by the term "lifelong education" are to be implemented, it is necessary to come to grips with the practical questions he posed. Thus, they provide an important set of guidelines for evaluating the extent to which progress has been made in recent thinking about lifelong education: indeed, to the extent that the questions remain unanswerable, it could be argued that lifelong education is truly merely a utopian idea meaning all things to all people.

Examination of the questions suggests that no single answer exists for each. For example it is impossible to talk about a single lifelong education content (education of what?). However, it is clear that lifelong education does have implications for educational content, and discussions of these implications have been carried out, although restricted to specific subject areas at specific levels. One example already given is Aalbaek-Nielson's descriptions of the teaching of history with a lifelong education orientation in school. Other writers have outlined the implications of lifelong education for universities (e.g. Heitger, 1976). Thus, although it is probably impossible to give a single global answer to such questions as "Lifelong education for whom?" or "Lifelong education for what?", some general guidelines exist. They have already been touched upon in earlier sections of this paper, but will be summarized here.

Lifelong education for whom? There has been a tendency to equate lifelong education with adult education. However, the two are not synonymous. Lifelong education is envisaged as encompassing the provision of learning opportunities to all elements of society at all ages. In this respect it would incorporate adult education, and might well use the strategy of recurrent education, but it would transcend both. In a similar way, it would be greatly concerned with education in schools, but would not merely be something for schoolchildren.

Lifelong education by whom? The idea of who is a teacher in the context of lifelong education is very broad. Its proponents do not visualize armies of professional teachers taking charge of all people for all their lives, but foresee the utilization of the knowledge and skills of "life educators". Some practical suggestions concerning how this could be done have been worked out in several reports and case studies prepared under the auspices of the UIE, but not described in detail here.

Lifelong education of what? The content of a lifelong education oriented curriculum has already been briefly discussed in a preceeding paragraph. It seems clear that there is no single content of lifelong education. However, consideration of what it would imply in the area of content for specific levels or aspects of a lifelong education oriented system does seem to be possible. This has been done very briefly in the present paper, with focus on the school level of the system.

Lifelong education for what? An important goal of lifelong education is fostering the capacity to learn throughout life. This is seen as largely a matter of fostering the emergence of willingness to learn, and guiding the development of appropriate skills in individual people. As a result, earlier stages of the lifelong education system would have a particular responsibility for helping to foster the growth of the personal prerequisites for lifelong learning, such as positive motivation, values, attitudes and self images favourable to such learning, and the skills necessary for it. This goal (lifelong learning) is usually extended by attaching to it certain values which, while not inherent in the idea of lifelong education, are almost universally assumed by writers in the area to be characteristic of it. These goals include individual self fulfilment, democratization of education, and improved quality of life.

How to achieve lifelong education? Lifelong education does not imply lifelong schooling. It envisages acknowledgement of all learning agencies, processes and persons in a community, both over time and also spatially. Thus, it proposes recognition of the importance of the various places of learning at any given point in an individual learner's lifetime, as well as understanding of the relationships among the successive phases and stages of education.

9. Questions, Issues and Problems

It has been argued in earlier sections that thinking in the area of lifelong education has advanced to the point that there is an ideology, a set of values, guidelines for change, and some indications of what these mean for educational practice. These ideas have implications for school organization and methods, and also for content, although much less is known here in this latter regard. However, many practical questions remain to be answered, and many issues are as yet unresolved.

Socio-political issues. The adoption of educational reforms of any kind in any society is not purely an educational question. For example, sweeping educational changes are often made on the basis of what are essentially political or doctrinaire grounds. Members of the public, such as parents and business leaders, will only tolerate changes of certain kinds and within certain degrees, after which they bring pressure to bear on politicians and educational leaders, or even express their dissatisfaction by refusing to send their children to certain schools, refusing to hire graduates of certain schools or school systems, or even by voting governments out of office. Thus, a major question in the practical implementation of lifelong education is that of identifying those elements and interests in society which favour it, and those which inhibit or oppose it. A related question is that of identifying what social conditions activate and support lifelong education, which block or inhibit it. Arising out of these two questions is a third: What would be the effects of lifelong education on the social-political structure of a society and on the relations of production? Are all such effects necessarily desirable?

At a more specific level, a number of what might be called "dangers" can be visualized. For example, would adoption of lifelong education be a first step towards de-schooling, with the danger of a resulting downgrading of schools, despite the importance assigned to them in discussions in earlier sections? Is there a danger that lifelong education could become an excuse for neglecting important educational advances and reforms, especially at the level of schools? Could it be used as a device for de-fusing educational dissent, taking the sting out of otherwise pungent criticism, or even "buying off" underprivileged segments of society, by appearing to make sweeping changes which really involved no changes at all? Associated with these questions is that of whether there is a danger that lifelong education will become a reformist catchcry, and will

be offered as the solution to all social and political problems. People could come to imagine that all human problems are simply a matter of acquiring more knowledge, with the result that going back to school could become a substitute for taking effective action.

Educational/paedagogic issues. Probably the most immediately apparent question in this area is how schools can help to develop the personal prerequisites for lifelong learning. This has been seen by some writers as a question of how to foster the capacity for self-directed learning. Associated with this broad question is that of what to do about people who are already beyond the normal school age, and who are unwilling or unable to engage in lifelong learning. Presumably some form of "remedial" treatment is required, or these people will become "lifelong dropouts", possibly condemned to social censure, lower social/vocational status, and so on. Finally, comes the danger that emphasis on the linking of school learning to real life activities will become excessive, with the result that pressure for learning which is immediately applicable and practical in nature will result in an anti-humanistic and anti-intellectual atmosphere, despite the humanitarian-humanistic values which have previously been identified in writings about lifelong education. The result could be an exacerbation of the problem of the *Fachidiot*, not a reduction.

Operational issues. Of all the more or less practical problems for the development of schools along the lines suggested by proponents of lifelong education, those connected with the question of how to do it are the clearest. These may be stated in relatively specific terms, for example by asking what are the factors in existing schools which make them most receptive to the adoption of innovations consistent with the ideas of lifelong education, what are the ones which make them least receptive? A similar question is that of how to implement changes derived from lifelong education in functioning schools without excessive disruptions and disputes.

The questions can, however be posed in more general terms, each requiring an extensive investigation of a large number of concrete, practical problems. What, for example, would a lifelong education oriented system "look like"? How would it be financed? How would its various elements be co-ordinated with each other? What kinds of administrative processes and structures would need to be developed? Would it be legally possible in the context of existing educational legislation, would it

require substantial new law, or would it even involve the violation of accepted legal canons such as, say, the idea of the equality of all before the law?

Future prospects. The questions, issues and problems involved in implementing lifelong education have only been touched upon here, and only the most general specifically identified. However, it does seem appropriate at this point in the development of thinking about lifelong education to advocate turning from the most abstract or theoretical issues to those of concrete significance. Past experience of principles for educational reform which have swept the educational world in recent years (such as creativity, open class-rooms, basic education, and the like) suggest that, in any case, no wholesale adoption of all aspects of lifelong education can realistically be expected. What can, however, be anticipated is a hammering out of the practical utility and feasibility of a number of measures given prominence by the advocates of lifelong education, and the persistence of some of these measures and practices, even if the "total package" does not survive.

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CHAPTER 2

PROSPECTS OF LIFELONG EDUCATION

P. Lengrand

1. Lifelong Education Is a Concept

The principal danger threatening lifelong education is to forget that it is a concept. The services and structures of lifelong education, the French law of September 1972 on lifelong education, are so many decisions and orders violating the true nature and the meaning of this notion. How can legislation in this domain be justified if lifelong education is considered to apply to the entire educational process, at family level, in theatres, libraries, museums, factories, hospitals, trade unions as well as at schools and training workshops? What structures can correspond with the diversity of times, situations and occasions? What is already clear is the significance and range of this concept, and the fact that the notion of an education that is lifelong and its theoretical and practical implications can, indeed must, inspire, direct and guide all educational actions, whether they concern individuals, groups or a whole society. For instance, if one accepts this perspective of a global enterprise which involves the different ages and different periods in life, which harmonizes study time with recreation time, which aims to make optimal use of existing buildings and equipment, then schools and colleges should no longer be built on traditional models but rather on the lines of the British village colleges or similar institutions of a polyvalent character and for multiple use. These are the functions and the efficiency of a concept that does not float in the clouds of Utopia, but is based on an analysis of real situations and serves as an inspiration for practice. At certain points in history, notions such as liberty, justice and the rights of man have played a similar role.

2. Terminological Difficulties

Another danger, allied to the first, is of a terminological nature. The term lifelong education is used haphazardly and loosely in a variety of situations and realities. It is applied to occupational training in industry or commerce, to education of adults in the wide sense of the word, to social promotion, etc. If these terms were equivalent, the introduction of the new designation would have done a disservice to education in general, since it would have added to the already existing confusion.

In French-speaking countries, to mention only one example, the terms "l'éducation (ou la culture) populaire" (popular education (or culture)), "promotion sociale" (social promotion), "l'éducation post-scolaire et complémentaire" (further and post-school education), "éducation des masses" (mass education), "formation" (training), "l'éducation recurrente" (recurrent education), etc. have succeeded one another in the last twenty years. Apart from some nuances and differences of application, all these involve the same problems and the same kinds of activity. But the terminological confusion leads to a confusion of ideas and, in some measure, hinders action. Thus in France the ministerial "popular education" services are attached to an administrative structure named "Jeunesse et Sports". To treat the education of adults as an annex and appendix to a youth serivce indicates a spirit which is out of tune with reality and gives rise to all sorts of difficulties.

There is, therefore, a need for particular vigilance in using a term which does not refer to any particular structure and which, moreover, is only justified when it designates the comprehensiveness and universality of the educational process seen under various aspects and in the diversity of its applications.

3. An Educational Revolution

Another, even more essential and substantial, difficulty lies in the nature of the concept. There can be no doubt that it is of a revolutionary character. Sooner or later, depending on the different individual and social contexts, the notion and concept of learning will replace the notion and practice of teaching in all sectors of life. The various monopolies - of programmes, institutions, methods, etc. by the teaching pro-

fessions - are bound to be superseded by universalized learning. This is inevitable because it offers the only solution for the deadends and wastages of traditional teaching, and because it is a logical consequence of modern civilization. But in education innovation makes incomparably greater demands on intelligence and imagination than it does in any other sector of human activity. In education, man is involved in his entirety: instinct, reason, senses, body, soul and mind. And all aspects of society are affected: the cultural heritage, the social and cultural structures and hierarchies, the interests of castes and clans, etc. It is an undertaking of extraordinary breadth and complexity. Its course and repercussions are impossible to foresee. In these conditions, it is understandable that the responsible people - administrators, politicians, advisers - after giving lip service to the wonderful perspectives of lifelong education and perhaps introducing a few reforms of detail, hasten to return to the safety of the established structures of traditional institutions and methods. Establishment of a new kind of education which responds to the true contemporary interests of individuals and social groups calls for a radical renovation of the anthropological, economic, sociological and psychological foundations of education, as well as for continuous use of imagination and invention. Such an undertaking cannot be realized in a day. A modification of customs, cultural identity, abilities and expectations generally takes more than one generation. In addition to the understandable hesitations of the authorities, more or less explicit resistance must be expected from those engaged in education and mass information in the various societies.

4. Resistance to Innovation

For a number of reasons, educational personnel are generally not in favour of innovation. They tend to regard themselves as guardians of tradition. They mistrust any initiative that would discredit the education they themselves have received, and which has made them what they are. They equally fear an evolution which would be prejudicial to their position, their status or their prestige. All this is quite natural and understandable, but it must not be forgotten that in many countries the majority of educational reforms attempted in the last few generations failed chiefly because they met with open hostility or passive resistance from the teaching profession.

But it is no less true that the present crisis involving

educational objectives, procedures and results has assumed such dimensions and such urgency, that it is beginning to shake the firmest convictions and dogmatisms. Already there are signs of disquiet and uncertainty penetrating into a traditionally impermeable and opaque milieu. The ultimate success of lifelong education principles will depend on whether a substantial proportion of educational practitioners can be won over to the new perspective and will be willing to contribute to the invention of new formulas.

5. Perspectives

The concept of lifelong education upsets the entire educational edifice. There is no longer a particular age for education; it extends over the whole of life. There is no longer a specific educational setting; instruction and training are to take place in all situations and circumstances. The methods diverge from the traditional paths and encompass all modalities of learning: seeing, listening, discussing, studying, communicating, obtaining information, etc.

The same applies to institutions, among which the school and the university are only particular forms.

Finally, the teaching function is no longer the preserve of a specialized category of people but should become the responsibility of every individual and every group, starting from parents, capable and in a position to contribute to the education and information of others.

6. Relativity of Knowledge

One of the strongest bastions of traditional teaching is transmission of knowledge. In this connection, a number of questions arise that directly concern lifelong education.

The first question is to what extent knowledge of any subject is lasting and changeless. Apart from some abstract truths not subject to variations of experience, such as mathematical data, the domain of knowledge expands and changes at such a pace that anyone who does not regularly adapt his conceptions to the reality of facts and the evolution of ideas, finds himself reduced to a totally or partially false vision of the area in which he is engaged. Regular recycling, as

frequently as possible, thus seems indispensable.

There are other questions. The traditional concept of knowledge is itself increasingly in doubt. Up to now knowledge has usually been considered to be something by itself. Obviously, in every sector of human experience a stock of unquestionable facts of universal value exists, such as the number of bones in every normal skull. But this is only one component of knowledge, the component contained in manuals, encyclopaedias, treatises and articles. It has a compulsory value. Nobody can ignore dates, records, statistical data. But such accumulation of facts and data constitutes knowledge only in a relative sense. In the full sense of the word, knowledge means the particular, original, living relationship of an individual with the field of his experiences. The contents of books and manuals, however learned and elaborate, are only a fragment of the great "Book of the Universe" which everyone must decipher for himself by means of his own capacities. The notion of a knowledge external to the perceiving individual is one of the illusions which must be abandoned in order to give free scope to intuition of reality. There is no other knowledge than the relationship the individual establishes with the object he wants to know. The entire history of the world, whatever its content, leads to consciousness. It is in and through the action of the knowing individual that this particular fragment of all possible experiences emerges from the realm of shadows and becomes a present, living element. This conception of knowledge has a number of implications of vital importance for lifelong education.

If knowledge does not exist by itself, and if it has no stability, then we must stop clinging to it as if it were a piece of solid rock. A relationship between the perceiving individual and the reality perceived, whatever its nature and origin, exists only when it is immediate, present and constantly renewed.

Since every perception is original and particular, there are as many kinds of knowledge as there are individuals. Thus the expression "access to knowledge" makes no sense. At best one could speak of access to the sources of a particular knowledge. Knowledge itself is an internal operation carried out by a mind which resolves a problem, finds an answer to a question, discards an illusion or adds something to its stock of knowledge. One cannot have "access" to oneself. But every individual can actualize his potential in his own way, according to his own rhythm, depending on the general biological and

sociological facts and the particular happenings at that moment in his life.

7. Misinterpretations

While not attaching overmuch importance to certain attempts to misinterpret entirely the meaning of lifelong education, they may be briefly mentioned here. Illich and his associates have attacked with the usual violence what they consider an intention to transform society into a school prison from birth to death. Had they taken the trouble to read the texts, they would have found that nothing is further from the minds and aims of the principal promoters of the new education than permanent schooling. Certainly, there are, and will be for a long time yet, people to whom education is synonymous with schooling. There will always be attempts to pervert and monopolize education, but that is no reason for sawing off the branch on which one is sitting. The beginning of all wisdom is to identify who are friends and who are enemies, who are allies and who adversaries. Obviously certain detractors of lifelong education have not yet got as far as that.

Nevertheless, there is a danger that lifelong education may be narrowed down to limited and partial ends, such as further vocational training or supplementary schooling. It is, therefore, necessary to be vigilant and to provide clarification and precise information each time this happens.

8. The Forces Involved

Let us now turn to the major question of who is going to carry out the reforms, where are the forces capable of overcoming the various kinds of resistance and of imposing a new vision, new practices. Naturally, since lifelong education addresses itself first and foremost to the individual at grips with his own problems, his own life, his numerous relationships, many of the decisions will have to be taken at his level. But in the case of decisions and orientations involving the community (and the individual within it), the problem is a different one. Except at certain historic moments, generally of short duration, not too much should be expected from the authorities. No authority, be it spiritual or temporal, political or familial, is interested in changing an order that supports it. And for the purpose of spreading a spirit of submission to authority,

of inuring people to be satisfied with a set stock of answers in the intellectual, moral and social domains - which is the ambition of every established authority - the existing educational and training machinery is perfect in its own way. To implant a new spirit of methodical doubt and exploitation of all resources of the personality, in short to effect the necessary changes, there must be concerted efforts by all participants. A beginning has already become apparent in recent years.

Considerations of justice, efficiency, yield, economic and social progress, physical and mental hygiene, analyses and reflections made by specialists of the various human sciences, as well as the good will of certain perceptive and visionary statesmen, will make a substantial and necessary contribution. But the fundamental changes will not be brought about unless sufficiently large and influential sections of the public become aware of the decline of institutions and methods, refuse to tolerate a perpetuation of the absurd and take action to obtain satisfaction of their demands. Only a prophet could foretell when and how, by which stages and through which agent, this pressure will become effective. One can only hope that it will not be too long delayed and will not come up against very formidable obstacles.

9. Present Situation

Whatever the dangers, threats, difficulties, misinterpretations, abusive applications of the concept of lifelong education, there can be no doubt that it has passed the initial stage and has already gained ground. It has become one of the most generally discussed topics in educational circles. Space is devoted to it in major newspapers. For ten years, it has been the subject of resounding recognition and recommendation. Thus, UNESCO has repeatedly stressed its importance. More explicitly and precisely, the International Commission on the Development of Education, working in 1971 and 1972 under the chairmanship of Edgar Faure, has made the following recommendation in the chapter on "Elements for contemporary strategies" of its report: "We propose lifelong education as the master concept for educational policies in the years to come for both developed and developing countries."

It could not be put more distinctly. In view of this very favourable situation, what needs to be done is clear. First of all, the delusion must be avoided that this success is

a definitive one. For, if the expected changes do not materialize within a reasonable time, if despite speeches and fine words the traditional systems are maintained and continue to function, then scepticism and disaffection will spread. First, the theoretical work must be done with all seriousness. The objectives, contents and modes of action suitable for the different social, economic and political contexts must be researched in depth, elucidated and defined. For instance, the perspectives of lifelong education in a country with a per capita income of 150 dollars or less are obviously different from those in a country where the average income is 3,000 dollars per annum and where 70 per cent of the population have received secondary education.

While waiting for spectacular decisions concerning the whole of society, everyone can, and should, see to it that in his own position, at his level of responsibility, the principles of lifelong education are applied, even if only in parts. The full significance of this education will not emerge until the entire educational system has been modified, until the school, for example, no longer provides ready-made knowledge or stereotyped education, but develops in every individual the capacity to learn, to train himself, to renew himself in accordance with his own rhythm and his own vocation during his entire life-span. But already lifelong education appears both as the correct interpretation of education conceived as an individual process, and as a guide for numerous reforms, each of which has its own rationale, which will prepare the way for definite changes.

CHAPTER 3

LIFELONG EDUCATION AT THE CROSSROADS

B. Suchodolski

1. Lifelong education, a notion which has triumphantly resounded throughout Europe and the entire world, has for several years been the subject of research and theoretical study which have had as their goal specification of what has been achieved so far and elucidation of the prospects for the future, as well as identification of obstacles and discussion of failures experienced. But it is precisely in this area that disagreements have been unusually pronounced. Some people, full of enthusiasm, draw attention to official action in the domain of lifelong education, stressing the laws passed by parliaments, the directives issued, the institutional forms of public education and the methods employed. Others, rather more negative, have criticized the strictly pragmatic nature of these actions, their dependence on constantly changing interests and on the forces at play in the labour market. They maintain that they are isolated from the real, though often unarticulated, life needs and aspirations of certain social groups and strata. Some of the protagonists, even those who are aware of the difficulties and failures encountered, believe in a future where the educative society will make it possible to overcome all obstacles by creating the conditions which will permit both full development of all individuals and their peaceful coexistence, and continuous general development of society. However, others are rather sceptical about these visions. They foresee for the rest of the 20th and the early 21st century a society not very different from the contemporary one, that is to say, a society concerned above all with material success, consumption, politics, the mass media and enjoyment of leisure, and not at all concerned about the idea of an education which is lifelong and comprehensive, dignified and noble, but demanding. And still others question the very value of this

ideal. They claim that it is being used as a justification for different forms of manipulation of people, for enticing them to adopt doubtful values, and for shaping individuals according to arbitrarily established criteria which have already become part of a dead tradition, or only a mask for the interests of dominant groups or, in some cases, of totalitarian states.

2. The divergence of these diagnoses and prognoses concerning lifelong education gives food for thought. It shows that, underlying the differences, there are fundamental issues which may not always be publicly stated but are always present in the controversy and add to its heat. In fact, it must be made perfectly clear that, if lifelong education is to encompass people's entire life, it must be closely linked with a social and metaphysical conception of life. All education, including the education of children and adolescents, has, of course, elements and directions which derive from a definite conception of life, but the importance of these elements is much greater in the education of adults. In the earlier stages educational activities bear so heavy a responsibility in the domain of bare skills and basic instruction - learning to read and write, beginning to understand how to make use of modern means of learning and expression, grasping the fundamental elements of knowledge - that responsibilities of other kinds receive little attention. Besides, the intellectual level and the limited life experience of children make it possible to provide this education in a simple and straightforward manner. The major, difficult problems of life will make their appearance later. By contrast, in lifelong education they are already present. And it is precisely these problems that cause all the disagreements in evaluating the forms and tasks of this kind of education. If it is true that our civilization stands at the crossroads - and it undoubtedly does - then lifelong education necessarily stands at the same crossroads. For the only one of its sectors that can retain its form, and with which everybody is more or less in agreement is further education and vocational training linked with progress in science and technology. We still do not know very well how to organize this, nor do we take full account of the fact that preparation for an occupation may have to be repeated several times in a working life. But - in principle - we do see clearly what the issues are in this age of rapid change in the economy, in an age which we have ourselves labelled the age of the scientific-technological revolution. But there are other aspects of lifelong education: the need to encourage participation in social and cultural life;

the need to foster the development of each individual's personality, to improve inter-personal relations, to win acceptance of the way of life we are trying to promote, the need to improve the quality of life, and perhaps even the happiness, of all individuals. And these are the very aspects that are most closely bound up with the whole set of problems of contemporary civilization, with the situation of human beings in this civilization, with the human condition and with man's need to understand the world and to have hope for the future. If we are developing the programme of lifelong education for everybody, if we proclaim our desire to serve mankind and call insistently for cooperation, it is because we are convinced that, in this chaotic world, we can change things for the better and help people through an education which is in harmony with their day-to-day lives. What else would give us the right to impose on people an education going on throughout life?

3. With this point of view in mind, let us look at certain problems of lifelong education. The first treatise devoted to the topic and containing an extensive programme of action was written by Comenius in Latin. It was entitled "Pampaedia" and formed part of his great conception. He worked on it right to the end of his life. This Latin manuscript was not rediscovered until 1935. In 1948 it was translated into Czech, in 1960 into German, in 1963 into English and in 1973 into Polish. Thus "Pampaedia" became a contemporary book - contemporary not only because of the date of publication, but also on account of its contents. For, although it was written two centuries ago, it is for all intents and purposes an up-to-date study of lifelong education. Deriving from theoretical considerations the necessity of an educational programme "leading to humanity", for everybody, Comenius described in detail the educational tasks for every period of life, comprising, as he defined it, schooling for newborns, schooling for the pre-school years, schooling for young children, schooling during adolescence, schooling for mature young people, schooling for adults, schooling for old age and schooling for death. However, what is of importance today is not this programme of organization but the goals. Comenius defined them in biblical language, telling the story of 70 elders on whom the divine spirit had descended and who became prophets. When two of them who had not gone out to the tabernacle as commanded also started prophesying, Joshua asked Moses to forbid them to do so, but Moses refused because he wished that "all the Lord's people were prophets". In recalling this story from the books of Moses, Comenius remarked with

bitterness that the fate of mankind would have been different if there had been more leaders like Moses and fewer like Joshua. "Comenius felt himself to be another Moses in this respect, fighting agains those who 'wished to govern in darkness' - a struggle seeking to make all people more human."

This is also the major task of lifelong education. If we remove the biblical expression "prophesying", we reveal the vital modern hope that the future will belong to educated people and not to dictatorships pretending to know best how and where to lead the people. This is the hope with which we are opposing those sad and bitter men who depict a future civilization in which the masses will be enslaved, manipulated and exploited by an elite group controlling knowledge and power, the hope which inspires the struggle against dictatorial regimes, anywhere in the world.

And this same hope that suffused the work of Comenius finds its present expression in a programme of lifelong education, education for everyone in all that is humane, education of all for humanity, education which - as Comenius put it - "touches upon all the domains comprised in human nature". How often in our age - as in the past at the time of the religious wars - has the faith been proclaimed that education for peace will win a lasting victory, how often have educational manifestos promised a reformed society through the development of new people freed from their complexes, their aggressive impulses, their resentments! And finally, in our epoch, the idea of an educative society with its promise of a "grand alliance" between education and social development has gained wide adherence among intellectuals. Lifelong education and the educative society should support each other.

But sceptics doubt the feasibility of this programme. There is no evidence that contemporary societies are evolving towards the ideal referred to as the "educative society". Although certain elementary components, such as a transformation of work, increased leisure time, greater prosperity and the movement towards democratization, do exist, they find expression primarily in the propagation of the model of life centring on consumption, expansion of the entertainment industry and development of mass culture. They do not greatly affect the domain of lifelong education. Its apostles and prophets wander alone on this land shaken by social conflicts and political tensions, a land of plenty and of famine, of heroic struggle for national liberation, social progress and elemen-

tary education, and of the satiation, lassitude, and degeneration which characterize the beginning of the post-industrial epoch; on this earth whose inhabitants have succeeded in reaching the moon and the stars but have not been able to organize a just and happy life on their own planet. Are we really justified in expecting that it is lifelong education that will triumph - or will it be the "ecospasm" of our civilization, as it has recently been called?

4. In the search for answers to these acute questions, let us for a moment go back to the wisdom of history. Nobody has known better than Socrates how to realize the ideal of a teacher and organizer of lifelong education. Strolling in the market place and the gardens of Athens, he called upon people to meditate on their lives, to analyze their own conduct and that of others, to seek enjoyment in thought. He fought, not for adherence to any particular opinion, but for permanent and critical movement of thought. Before the tribunal he admitted that he particularly sought out those who were regarded as sages in order to convince them that they knew nothing. He also stated that he was followed by "young people with much time to spare, the sons of the richest citizens"; although nobody forced them to do so, they loved listening to "how to ask people questions" and even tried to do so themselves. This is authentic lifelong education, free and inspiring, critical and enriching human nature.

Did it serve the Athenian democracy? Quite the contrary. The democracy of Athens summoned Socrates to appear before a tribunal. And the popular politicians Anytos and Lycon, as well as the popular poet Meletos, were his accusers. The policy and the culture of the Athenian democracy were against Socrates and his educational programme. Nor was his an isolated case. Many of the great educators of the world have suffered the same fate. This provokes bitter reflections on human nature and the character of social life. These reflections have led to the conviction that there are two fundamentally opposed types of education: education "at the top" and education "at the base". The first believes in the greatness and dignity of man, the second takes his smallness into consideration. There should be no need to recall Pascal and his views on human grandeur and misery, but attention may be drawn to the fact that this dualism has rarely, if ever, been recognized in the field of education.

Writers have been far wiser than educationists, perhaps because they have always had to do with adults. The disturbing conversation between Christ and the Grand Inquisitor in Dostojewski's "The Brothers Karamazov" may illustrate this. The author makes Christ appear in Spain at the height of the inquisition. The people crowd around the great teacher, but He walks on silently with the sweet smile of infinite pity on His face. "The fire of love burns in His heart, the light of His message radiates from His eyes to the people whose hearts are stirred and respond to His love." But the Grand Inquisitor orders his guards to imprison Him. And in a long conversation in the prison, before the captive is to be burnt at the stake, the Inquisitor juxtaposes the education organized by the church to that inspired by Christ. The latter is only for a small elite. It asks too much of ordinary people, weighs them down with the burden of liberty which is too heavy for them to carry, and calls for a spiritual life when all they want is bread. The Grand Inquisitor represents the authority which has liberated people from the burden of liberty and provides for their simple earthly needs. This authority has educated people for centuries, knowing that "there are only three powers on this earth which can captivate and win over to their cause the minds of these weak sinners for their own good. These forces are: miracles, mystery and authority". This educational programme differs radically from that based on the notion of liberty and love. But it is the one that is realized in the life of the "docile herd" called Humanity. The Grand Inquisitor speaks with pride of this success. He unfolds the image of a life highly reminiscent of the concept of holidays on full pay, in our civilization. "We will force them to work, but outside working hours we will arrange for them a life resembling children's playtime ... we will even permit them to sin. They are weak and powerless and will love us like children because we allow them to sin." Thus Dostojewski shows how the teaching of Christ is adapted to fit the potentials of average people. And He, having come down to the earth for the second time, must die, like Socrates who apparently corrupted people by the enormity of the demands he made upon them.

In his unfinished opera "Moses and Aaron", Arnold Schönberg has also dealt with the problem involved in the discussion of "education at the top" or "education at the base". In creating the music and the text of that opera, he contrasts Moses' strategy of winning people over to the great ideas without using any compulsion, even without miracles which would constitute an internal compulsion, with the strategy of Aaron who wanted to

exploit people's weaknesses and passions in order to secure their submission to the leaders' intentions. Rarely has the conflict between these two policies been presented with such suggestive force as it has in this work of Schönberg's, an authentic voice of our epoch.

What do these - perhaps too one sidedly philosophical, literary or artistic - references show? They show that lifelong education, which is to lead to the promised land of the educative society, must come down from its lofty flight to take its place in the reality of the existing society, and envisage goals that lie within the possibilities of that society. In this realistic lifelong education programme the emphasis will be on the wide spectrum of patterns in the field of further education and continued vocational training, on the popularization of certain scientific and technical achievements, on cultural instruction. In the implementation of this programme, strategies should be employed that will appeal to human needs and aspirations of different value. Thus, promise of success and gain should not be disdained, the snobism of rising strata should be taken into consideration, an alliance should be made with the entertainment industry, and the power of the mass media should be utilized, even at the price of lowering the level of information and inspiration. This kind of lifelong education does not open up far horizons, it does not promise substantial social change; it simply inserts itself into the present reality, exploits the chinks that can be found and enters into different kinds of activity of that society, both in the domain of work and of leisure, to add an educational dimension to these activities. In the consumer society with its mass culture it achieves some success and corrects some faults, but is always confined to explicitly educational actions. As such, it does not tackle the "big problems" of our epoch, and does not help people in their difficult inner conflicts. It evades the embarassing questions of how to live and why to live in a particular way. However, in its lucidity and minimalization it doubtless suits many people whose existence is limited to the jog-trot of working days and holidays, a closed self-sufficient life for those who do not want to get involved in the turmoil of the world. Such lifelong education can help people to extract more pleasure from their private and family life through exploitation of all that modern civilization has to offer in terms of creation of a good environment, improvement of simple and direct relations within a small circle, and enrichment of their own personality through contacts with science and art.

5. However, not everybody approves of such a concept of lifelong education catering exclusively for individuals, that is to say one that helps people in their individual lives. For centuries there have been two contradictory elements in lifelong education: love, engendering protection and assistance, and the striving for power to dominate the human reality and to force it into definite forms. The temptation to manipulate and manoeuvre people with the aid of education has always been very strong. The history of education furnishes many examples of how it was turned into an instrument for the domination of men by men.

Lifelong education has not been immune to this temptation. Domination of men in their childhood and youth may have achieved lasting successes, but it demanded too much time; domination of the minds and imagination of adults was perhaps more difficult to achieve, but it promised quicker results. Most often, the campaign was conducted on both fronts.

Many among us still remember the educational activities of the fascists involving children and youth as well as adults, both at their work and outside it in local social situations connected with big public events. The minds, hearts and attitudes of people were formed within hermetically closed horizons by means of diversified and persistent action for this specific type of lifelong education.

It should, however, be remembered that the notion of education as an authority over men has profound roots. Popper was not wrong when he interpreted Plato's philosophy as the philosophy of a "closed society". Plato's educational programme differed from that of Comenius in that it did not aim to help people towards full expansion of their humanity, but served to manipulate them as elements of a great edifice - the state.

The strategy of this domination was as follows: A selection must be made of the strongest, bravest and, if possible, physically most perfect people, and of those distinguished by their "sagacity and perspicacity" as well as by their "courage and their noble attitude". This elite, Plato wrote in "The Republic", "we will inscribe on a closed list". They will be given a better education than others will receive. And when they prove "persevering in their studies, in war and in everything the law dictates", and when they have completed their thirtieth year, a further selection will be made of the best among the best. And again these will be educated, particular

attention being given to those who learn to "leave their eyes aside". This education will last for fourteen years. "And when they have reached the age of fifty, those who have successfully passed these tests will be led to the very end of this path and will then be obliged to raise their souls to the summit." It is from that point to the end of their lives that they will "introduce order in the state and among individual people".

In "The Laws" Plato has defined this ideal of education still more clearly. He presented a society organized into a military system, a society where "nobody could ever do what he liked nor follow his own ideas, either in serious matters or in games". In this society "all eyes must look at the same time, all ears must hear at the same moment, all hands must perform the same actions at the same time ... everybody must praise and blame the same things, rejoice and be sad for identical motives". Briefly, this would be the ideal state.

Such is the power of education moulding people in continuity throughout their lives. This state of goodness and justice is beautifully described - programmes of lifelong education aiming to subjugate the spirit of man have usually been clothed in rhetorical pathos - but it destroys man.

6. It is, therefore, not surprising that there have been so many and violent protests against the concept of education as a power of men over men. To quote some characteristic passages: "Education is an enforced influence of one person over another, with the objective of shaping men to the model we consider good ... Education in the form of deliberate moulding of man to certain models does not achieve its end, it is illegal and inadmissable. No right to education exists. I do not recognize it, the whole young generation does not recognize it, never has and never will; they object always and everywhere to compulsory education." These words might have been written by one of the young contemporary opponents. But their author is Leo Tolstoy, who realized this very principle in his famous school at Isnaya-Poliana.

A century has passed since these words, contesting the educator's right to impose his own model of life on his pupils, were written. The movement of the new education has been inspired by this criticism and attempted to conceive education as a protection of the child's autonomous development, both in terms of expansion of his needs and aspirations and of inspira-

tion towards new notions. The education of adults in that epoch benefited from these postulates. It emphasized that its task was not to transmit ready-made knowledge or opinions, but to awaken and direct a thirst for knowledge, to stimulate the creative potential.

In our times, the fight against education as a power has intensified. It has become a varied and violent struggle. From Paolo Freire's books denouncing education by oppressors, to I. Illich's writings unmasking the school system as a system of violence, educational literature is full of this kind of critical remarks. From the American student movements protesting against education in the service of the establishment to the May revolt in France, when youth sought its own way towards an unknown future, a series of events have indicated the Great Alternative to our present civilization. Education should not serve to reinforce the existing order but to create a new, alternative order.

The cultural and educational practice trying to put into effect a defined concept of lifelong education then became a starting point for a discussion of principles. At the same time that Andrē Malraux created the "maisons de la culture" as lay churches of great art, worthy of being experienced by all, Chambert de Lauvre showed in his studies that every culture is a set of chosen values and a specific "power" that dominates the people. More radical writers compared the power of culture over men to police power and demanded: "Chase the cop out of your head!"

Thus the roots of the traditional concept of lifelong education were cut. Unmasked as a power aiming to dominate the spirit, it had to give way to entirely different notions of education, notions that emphasize the right to oppose established values and authorities, the right to revolt against the civilization of things and the consumer society, the right to spontaneous creation. Can there still be a place for lifelong education in this movement, frequently called "counter-culture"? Can a concept of lifelong education, not only the traditional one which recognizes lasting human values and recommends their transmission from generation to generation, but any possible concept, make sense in the perspective of a future that should be free from "asphyxiating culture", as J. Dubuffet put it? And just as Freud in his critique of culture equates education with liberation, so do these different conceptions of counter-culture reject education in favour of inspiration and creation.

7. The sharpness of the conflict between the programme of education as a power destroying man and the notion of counter-culture liquidating education altogether, has obscured the fact that this dispute involves the highly important set of problems concerning the human condition. They are the problems of what is personal and what is superpersonal in man. These two elements have always played a role in education, expressed in concern for the individual human being here and now, and in concern for his humanity understood as a lasting and general value. That is why education should support individual needs, tastes and creative tendencies as well as lead and direct the individual in accordance with human values. When these two objectives did not exceed certain limits, education did its duty; when they did exceed these limits, education ceased to exist or became oppressive.

If education maintains a certain moderation, it will avoid these two dangers, but will find itself confronted with serious difficulties. The first of these relates to the question of how to support the individual, the second to the substance of the key values. School education of children and youth has an easier task inasmuch as the teacher knows his pupils, whereas lifelong education encompasses vast social multitudes and addresses itself to unknown people. How can it individualize its activities in order to succeed? Furthermore, children and youth generally accept, at least in some measure, the school situation in which they are to be educated. Adults do not. They do not want to be pupils, nor do they desire that somebody educates them. How can education be organized while respecting this aversion? A huge, anonymous, hostile audience - that is the public which the organizers of lifelong education have to cope with. If they behave aggressively, if they use any sort of compulsion, they will lose all influence. Hence they must try to win over this public.

There could be very different strategies for achieving this. But their principal characteristic must always be to make this public active, to make it state what interests it, to make it an authentic subject of education. That is the most difficult strategy, but the only effective one.

R. Planchon, the excellent organizer of the "Théâtre Populaire Français", once said: "I do not believe in cultural needs. How to arouse them is the real problem." And that is what must be done in all domains of life. For that reason it is of the highest importance to reach the authentic social

forces guiding individuals and groups. The organizers of lifelong education will rarely be able to reach individuals directly or to contact them personally. But they can contact social groups, trade unions and associations. If they succeed in overcoming the inertia of these bodies and their tendency to put up an impressive appearance, if they discover the social trend of mass inclinations and aspirations, then they can base their action on this trend. Fundamentally, lifelong education is a process of social trends, of social development of forces and aspirations.

It is easier to formulate this observation and advice than to put it into practice. Pessimists will ask - perhaps not unreasonably: Are there still authentic social trends, authentically active social groups in industrial societies or is there only an "ant heap" of individuals, organized and administered for definite utilitarian ends? In developing countries, where social conditions may be more favourable to lifelong education, the situation is perhaps more promising.

The second difficulty concerns the key values. Since in lifelong education we must not simply arouse and inspire, but arouse and inspire towards something, the question is how to define the right direction. The immediate answer will generally be: it is the whole body of supreme values of our European culture. But this answer is only partly satisfactory. For decades, these values have been the subject of violent controversy. And even if the radical criticism put forward by the proponents of "Proletkult" is disregarded, enough problems remain under dispute, even such elementary ones as the notion of humanism and the notion of lasting moral values. Do the organizers of lifelong education have the right to draw final conclusions from such discussions and to determine on that basis the body of key values which, according to them, have successfully passed the test of modernity? Or should they rather wait until someone else in the society does so, and then conform to his verdict? But who would be capable of doing the job? Should a single set of recognized values govern the whole of society, or should not rather a pluralism be envisaged? If so, lifelong education would also have to be pluralistic. But, with a wide variety of value systems to choose from, would not the twofold concern - for values that are simply human and for common values - be lost? And in that case, would it not be necessary to provide, in addition to numerous lifelong education systems organized by social groups with different ideological orientations, a lifelong education that is not committed to any bloc,

with an ideological character similar to that of UNESCO, for example?

Matters become still more complicated for another reason. The values of European culture, irrespective of our approach, are not the only values in our epoch, in which the world is becoming the common property of mankind. To what extent should the values of other civilizations be integrated in European lifelong education, and to what extent should lifelong education in non-European countries include our values? The difficulty in finding an answer to this question lies not only in the richness of all these values, which is not easy to evaluate, but chiefly in the fact that the functions of values with which one lives are different from those of values one merely knows about. Even if a world programme of lifelong education were created - perhaps it is preferable not to wish that this will happen - the values it contained would have a different force in the various regions of the world. In some they would be accepted existentially, in others only for cognitive reasons, Consequently another question arises: Would it be necessary for this cognitive sphere to be transformed into an existential sphere, and how could this be done? For the essential goal is not that people know of one another, but that they know how to live together. And a solution whereby the scientific and technological values dominate in the same manner everywhere in the world is inadmissible.

8. Let us finally look again at those crossroads at which the theory and practice of lifelong education stand today. It is searching for its way through the conflicts between the hopeful vision of attaining the educative society and the realistic programme of what is feasible; through the contradictions between a programme of "education at the top" and one of education for ordinary people; between the temptation of domination by education and submission to the opponents of culture; through the difficulties of interpersonal influence and those of laying down key values.

The safest and most effective strategy would be to concentrate on vocational improvement and further education, on recurrent education geared to the necessities devolving from the progress of science and technology and the demands of production. However, within these horizons there is no room for the ambitions and goals that are characteristic of lifelong education. If we want to save it in its entirety, we can only do so

by means of a new conception of human life in which it would occupy an important place. It should also be recognized that the directive "Learning to Be" is not the only one that matters. The conviction that "It is worth living in order to learn" is just as important. A life of unceasing curiosity about the world is in a sense a life worthy of man, and a happy one.

But not altogether, For, an educative direction of life is in fact an egotistic, even an egoistic orientation. True, it is a sublimated egoism bringing certain advantages to society, but it encloses the individual within himself, isolating him from other people and from living for them. In the context of European culture, a life so organized follows the path of *knowledge* and not the path of *love*.

These are different paths. In his "Faust", Goethe tried to unite them. His success - or perhaps his failure - is a challenge for our age to seek that union. And lifelong education must be placed within this fuller vision of the life of man in the world and among other people.

CHAPTER 4

LIFELONG EDUCATION: SUGGESTIONS FOR AN EVALUATION OF EXPERIENCES

E. Gelpi

1. Introduction

This paper suggests a framework for evaluating experiences - not merely theories - relating to lifelong education. By "experiences" is meant the practical application of educational policies, i.e. educational legislation. Educational research, strategies and innovations also indicate trends in the sphere of lifelong education and they too should be made the subject of studies.

A historical analysis reveals that in various countries a specific aspect of educational practice was the starting point for activities in the field of lifelong education. Literacy, adult education, vocational training, community education, university extension, associations, etc. were often the first institutionalized forms of experimentation with and general application of practices termed lifelong education; at the non-institutional level in certain countries popular movements, cultural associations, groups of rank and file workers found in this concept a point of reference by which to define their educational activities and needs.

2. Educational Trends

Such educational practices developed and are still developing, so that lifelong education no longer coincides with pinpoint activities or a specific sector of education. It is seen to be a large-scale project involving struggle and recuperation, perhaps even a factor in social conflicts. The discussion goes

beyond disputes among educationists; political groupings, the press, employers and trade unions seem to be involved, and those responsible for educational policy are increasingly anxious to familiarize themselves with the nature of the demand for education, which exceeds supply.

Responses to the survey on lifelong education conducted within the Unesco National Commissions (1) (54 responses analysed as at May 2nd, 1978) confirm that there is widespread acceptance of lifelong education as a "new educational concept relating to the educational system as a whole - both to initial and to subsequent education" (39 out of 54 responses); it also shows that the concept of lifelong education is reflected in the educational legislation of 40 out of 54 countries, that lifelong education is visualized as an educational approach relevant to all countries - not merely the industrialized countries - (46 out of 54), and that it is a global approach which does not concern only the urban population (48 out of 54 responses). At the level of political and educational structures the concept of lifelong education has become accepted in recent years, even if this acceptance is sometimes of nonspecific nature. It is a fact that lifelong education is no longer regarded as an educational response limited to certain groups of people, certain countries, socio-vocational circles or age groups.

Planners in various ministries - not only the Ministry of Education - seem to be interested in a closer analysis of educational demand and the educational function of the different structures embraced by the concept of lifelong education. An important advance is the transition from an approach under which lifelong education was to be added to the educational practices of existing institutions.

3. Analysis of the Ideological Use of the Concept

Some recent literature tries to formulate precise statements on the use of the concept of lifelong education by analysing existing documents and practices. (3) These historical and ideological analyses are very useful, especially in countries which are passing from the experimental stage to that of the general implementation of new educational practices. The wider application of experiments, the development of educational structures and of new educational planning require an analysis of lifelong education taking into account the relation-

ships between education on the one hand and power, cultural identity and individual and/or collective advancement on the other. Specialists in lifelong education often find themselves at a loss when confronted with research of this kind - sorcerers frightened by the spirits and the dreams they have evoked which are becoming real. But this socio-historical analysis must be conducted exhaustively because there may be a number of ways of putting the concept of lifelong education into effect, and not all of them will be on the lines of self-teaching, of response to individual motivation or of collective advancement, etc. There is a field for research which has so far been explored solely in the lifelong education sector.

4. Educational Practice and Social Realities

So far attention has been given to experiments centred on educational and cultural structures and forms of communication, (lifelong education and schools, museums, universities, mass media, etc.). (4) An analysis of the results of educational efforts which have had a strong social effect in the production sector, in organizations and in specific localities has been avoided. Specific cultures and social conflict prove to be sources of education:

> "The skin of the Indian will teach you
> all the paths to take.
> A hand like copper will show you
> all the blood to be spilt.
> Hold out your hand to the Indian,
> hold it out, it will be to your advantage.
> You will find the way
> as I found it yesterday". (5)

Respect for native culture is becoming the preoccupation of wide-awake socio-anthropologists analysing educational practices: "Study programmes do not provide for the integration of really native elements. One has the impression that the function of education is to make children forget what their parents have taught them." (6)

New attention is being given to changes in learning content permitting individuals to acquire knowledge which will enable them to transform the realities of life around them. Individual subject areas are to be seen in terms of a wider learning: "To us, aesthetic and artistic education means the

efficient working of an integrated group of curriculum subjects which can play its part in programmes directed towards children's intellectual and emotional development and the formation of their material concept of the world by opening up the perspectives of a demand for knowledge and the possibility of change to cover the whole of nature and social culture on the lines of encouragement of creative and generative abilities." (7)

But these lines of research are still exceptions: research workers and theorists have not always seen lifelong education in the context of the antitheses between *town and country*, social classes, men and women, privileged and underprivileged countries. An evaluation of the effect of social factors on the process of education also permits an analysis of the educative and cultural contribution of collectivities to the transformation of educational systems and their failures. Experiments and activities of this kind are outside the scope of traditional literature on education for several reasons:

(a) they are difficult to define and analyze;
(b) they bring about new situations which cannot always be kept under control, and for this reason they do not find favour with senior research workers in the field of educational science or in ministerial circles;
(c) those concerned are not very eager to become "auxiliaries" of the teaching staff, and refuse to be taken in by a world of pedagogues in which they cannot find their bearings.

5. Key Points of Admission: Reforms

The third area of discussion is that of key points of admission to the educational system, educational reforms and negotiations on working conditions and training within industry; integration and/or abolition of the various branches of secondary education, use of non-professional teachers, paid educational leave, educational programmes making allowance for popular culture and everyday experience, multiple use of educational buildings and equipment, user participation in decisions referring to planning and educational policies, collective and not merely individual advancement, etc. These key points of admission should be analyzed in the texts of reform projects and also with regard to their application in collective agreements: here is an important field for research, and it is especially necessary to determine the effect and the significance

of these points of admission into the various systems of education and into the sphere of production.

There have already been some initial operational responses to the sociological analysis of the injustices in the school system and society: positive discrimination, abolition of premature selection (through increased evaluation, establishment of "cycles" of education without increasing the number of school years), "non-egalitarian" schools (individualized teaching, compensatory education for different pupils, differentiated teaching procedures), six months' educational leave every ten years. (8) One form of inequality caused by education is the generation gap. "It often happens that the younger generation speeds up its education and assumes a superior attitude towards the elder generation. One answer to this phenomenon is to synchronize the educational system of young people with that of their parents. This is the kind of challenge adult education is faced with." (9)

Positive discrimination was the aim of the "granjas valle de Guadalupe" project: "To give children a chance to learn although they could not get into a state school - either because there was no room, because they were too old or because of an irregular family situation, (unmarried parents, absence of official documents). (10) At the level of key points of educational reform Guinea Bissau, whose educational reforms aim to give the same opportunities to all, works on the following lines:

"- Elimination of the disparities between town and country and development of regional abilities.
- Participation of the whole population in all forms of educational activities.
- Fair distribution of educational provision." (11)

The fundamental principles of educational reform in Yugoslavia (especially those relating to adult education) overthrow the idea of an educational reform based on school reform alone. It is aimed

"(a) to permit the working population to understand as completely as possible both the theoretical concept and the political practices involved in the development of adult education in an organized manner, independently of school employees or otherwise, and to follow and assess the results.
(b) To establish methods of organization in business

enterprises and local communities and to devise systematic research methods enabling a close and continuous study of the educational needs of the working population and citizens in general, for example the development of medium and long term projects and of yearly action programmes aimed at satisfying individual and collective needs in this field.

(c) With regard to schools it is essential that those engaged in teaching create the conditions necessary for the establishment of new self-management relationships on the lines of a single system of associated work; this means that they must opt, professionally and otherwise, for a free exchange of work (and that this is to be achieved directly or via the system of self-managed communities)." (12)

Rather than setting up models it would be interesting to assess - within one educational structure or, more ambitiously, within one educational and social system - the dynamism of the various persons and institutions involved with regard to the encouragement of initiatives, restraints, delays etc. and their interrelationships. In fact what is lacking in many countries today is not so much experimental work, reform projects and educational planning, as the means of ensuring their general application, due to the absence of coherent organization and administration. Often the administrative framework is not equal to the new objectives and methods envisaged by educational reforms (including units of production, integration of initial and continued education, use of non-professional teachers, participation, decentralization, lifelong education, etc.); it is in relation to these new objectives and methods that the efficiency of educational systems should be assessed.

The activities of UNESCO (research, operational projects, meetings, etc.) might be one indication of the trends relating to the implementation of the concept of lifelong education. The following trends should be mentioned: interest in practical testing of the concept, the acceptance of lifelong education in definitions of educational policies, the discarding of the equation "lifelong education = industrialized countries", the use of the term "lifelong education" to describe a concept comprising formal, nonformal and informal education, analysis of the implications of the concept for the methods and contents of education, etc. (13)

Since the publication of this document the cultural and educative contribution of individuals and groups other than members of the teaching profession has been the subject of two conferences held in 1976 ("*The contribution of non-teachers to educational activities*", Paris: UNESCO, September 1976, and "*Contents and methods of education intended to meet the requirements of collective bodies in the light of lifelong education*", Caracas: UNESCO, November 1977). These conferences confirmed the truth of the hypothesis that there is a fund of cultural and educational experience which literature on education often fails to take into account.

Practical application of the concept of lifelong education seems to make it possible to overcome the dichotomy between "cheap-and-nasty" nonformal education and selective institutionalized education. In this connection future research into the following subjects might be useful:

(a) *Education and power*

Sociopolitical analyses in the field of education have so far been limited to schools, examining especially the relationship between schools and social classes, discrimination, and urban and rural environments; they have not done much to explore the influence of education on power structures (in the spheres of production, administration and life in society) or, more important, the resistance of these structures to a form of education which might overthrow them. The "subversive" nature of lifelong education not based on adaptation and drill is the cause of obstacles which prevent its practical application as well as of the interest it rouses among those who wish to transform their society.

(b) *Cultural education, identity and development*

Cultural anthropologists and sociologists have examined traditional nonformal education, but very little research has been carried out into the educational effects of contemporary education. Moreover, the lack of penetration of formal education in the industrialized countries goes hand in hand with outdated cultural content; the attractiveness of and at the same time the sense of alienation roused by formal education - in non-industrialized countries where there are too few sources of information - go hand in hand in such countries with a significant education based on information, which, however, violates the

cultural identity of the individual. It is time to progress from a consideration of school subjects to reflections on the cultural content of education in order to work out a strategy allowing contemporary culture to find its place in the educational routine of schools and universities.

(c) *Education and individual and/or collective advancement*

Lifelong education is often presented as an answer to social discrimination and selection in the field of education, but practices relating to lifelong education may in fact contribute to the reinforcement of discrimination and selection. The key is a choice of either purely individual *or* individual and collective advancement in connection with these practices and therefore their cultural content. A close connection and interdependence between the technical and the social division of labour stimulates individual advancement, whereas suppression of the social division of labour stimulates collective advancement.

An evaluation of the implementation of the concept of lifelong education must therefore be related to other studies. Literature on education has little to offer in the way of evaluation of this kind, as the decision makers in educational establishments and educational research very often do all they can to avoid assessing the contribution made by institutions whose main function is not that of education, and also avoid the problem of the generation of knowledge outside the institutional framework or within the institutional framework but by its users. The most promising opening for educational research in the social sphere only goes as far as an analysis of needs or of clientèle, but there appears to be a lack of interest in the cultural and educational contribution made by social and cultural institutions and groups.

How can progress in research and educational policy and practice be speeded up? A purely educational standpoint could restrict prospective research and the expansion of information. It would be better to define the key points with regard to experimentation and research and to consult various sources in each country, using such an analysis as a guide. Three main structural categories may help us with initial considerations; they are industry; educational, social and cultural institutions; life in the community and in organizations. These ca-

tegories make it possible for research into lifelong education to profit from work not formally relevant to lifelong education which is nonetheless obviously useful. It is in relation to these three categories that interdisciplinary work is effective, because then it goes beyond the stage of a formal exercise to reveal complex realities.

6. System of Production and System of Education

With regard to the relationship between the educational system and the sphere of production, education has so far been identified both with school and vocational training; however, rapid advances are leading beyond these two educational structures alone. The educational system is not restricted to school; it also involves further training, alternation between work and education, the integration of various channels of education, etc. It is in this wider framework that research should be carried out. The questions to be examined are: education as an instrument of collective as well as individual advancement; abolition of the inequality of urban and rural schools; suppression of the hierarchy within the system of "manual" and "intellectual" disciplines; integration of initial and subsequent training.

An analysis of the production sector would seem to be central to a discussion of lifelong education. Dualistic labour-market theories and radical theories of production and the segmentation of the labour market are especially helpful with regard to a better understanding of the process of education as it really is, beyond the myths of the learning society and the response to individual demand for education in a supposedly positive correlation between vocational training and employment. The dimension of the different sectors of the labour market (modern sector, traditional sector) and the relations between social classes are of more relevance to the use of individuals in the production process (14) than the level of initial and subsequent education. Research in the sphere of sociology of education is increasingly becoming research into the sociology not only of education, but of work and of social classes (15).

Changes in the nature of work reveal themselves to be the key to the transformation of education. Another - apparently contradictory - line of research is concerned with the extent to which the raising of the level of the initial training of workers influences changes in work and the relations between

social classes. Changes, not only in the material conditions, of work but more particularly in work organization, may have a positive or negative effect on training; the contribution of training towards overcoming a form of work organization which emphasizes technical and social divisions lies in preparing workers as fully as possible for management tasks and not merely for carrying out instructions. Such training is also becoming one of the tools working for self-management projects, for the responsibilities of the workers' movement in the government and for the building up of a socialist society.

With regard to education and industry it would be interesting to analyse experiments such as the following: workshops in schools; courses of instruction in companies; alternation between work and education; recognition by the educational system of knowledge acquired through work experience; use of non-professional teachers from industry.

"Schools and colleges should manage industries ..." "Workers, peasants and their children should enjoy priority in education ..." "If you want to teach the people you must first learn from them." (16) These statements reflect an approach which gives pride of place to social and productive experience in education, and which grants workers educational priorities.

7. Local Communities and Associations

At regional level there is the educational activity of local communities, associations and social groups. It would therefore be interesting to study educational experiments carried out in urban, peri-urban and rural environments, and to analyse the direct and indirect contribution of local communities and associations run by social groups to educational activities. It is in this context that there is a good opportunity for educational demand to make itself heard and for educational structures to adapt themselves to this demand and provide a response. Moreover, in this perspective a scientific analysis of the autonomy of associations and local communities or their dependence on social groups with regard to the central structure of economic and political power is necessary, and makes it possible to steer clear of the myth of the complete independence of associations and local communities. It is at the local level that the part played by social and political forces becomes obvious, and one should not forget that this sector reflects production methods and ways.

If these categories are accepted and attention returned to centres of research, to information and documentation, a number of structures have to be taken into account beside those within universities or specialized fields of education. Outside the sphere of educational science there is a vast amount of literature to be explored relating to the production sector, to decision-making in educational matters (plans of the ministries of education, industry, employment, agriculture, etc.) and to community life at the local level as it reveals itself in institutions and associations.

In the choice of a bibliography relating to a field of research which could well be endless, emphasis might be placed on documents from the sphere of educational policy and practices, based on a conceptual framework reflecting the problems facing educational activities in progress at the time. Theoretical considerations would then be linked with the problems indicated by experience and experiments in the widest sense; such a definition would also include the development of educational plans.

In this way the conceptual enterprise of those engaged in education could be safeguarded - not merely the enterprise of professional educationists but of all those concerned with ideas and discussions on educational matters.

The false duality of theory and practice could thus be avoided, since the theoretical approach would be closely linked to educational practice. Among the main subjects for consideration one might envisage the following:

(a) function of educational systems, function of professionals (administrators, teachers), response to collective demand for education, changes in the content of education (from the teaching of subjects to teaching by objectives), relationship between systems of production and systems of education;

(b) education and forces within society, especially with regard to the taking over of educational activities by community institutions and collective bodies;

(c) the educational contribution of institutions whose function is not primarily education.

Development of educational research with respect to objectives and practices and not according to subjects might correspond more closely to lifelong education, whose recognized theo-

retical goals are: individual and collective development in the intellectual, social, aesthetic, physical and productive spheres; mobility within the educational system; and - most important - respect and appreciation for the cultural contribution made by every individual and every society.

One day it will be possible to evaluate lifelong education's contribution to the political economy. In contemporary society people want to have a life of their own, to be knowledgable, and to participate in decision making; all obstacles (and the withholding of education is one of them, among others) involve a slowing down in the social and cultural development of a society, and hence also a retardation in its economic and political development.

The debate about lifelong education often fails to examine educational and cultural life, and restricts itself to a debate among educational theorists. The point of reference for evaluating education is the reality in which people are struggling to build an education relevant to their development, their aspirations, their will to live. It is positive and negative experiences in this struggle which form the foundation of lifelong education, and not statements about the merits or shortcomings of conventional education. The dialectic is not between theory and practice, but between abstract theory or the theoretical basis of practice, on the one hand, and on the other, theory based on the experiences of people who are seeking to learn and to devise new forms of practice, both educational and cultural, at work, in administrative structures, in social life, in their emotional lives, in their creative expression, in their recreation.

NOTES

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3. We quote, amongst others:
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14. Carnoy, M. *Education and employment: a critical appraisal.* Paris: UNESCO/IIEP, 1977.
15. Kloskowska, A. and Martinotti, G. (eds.). *Education in a changing society.* London: Sage, 1977.
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CHAPTER 5

THE CONCEPT OF CONTINUOUS EDUCATION

K. Richmond

1. Foreword

In discussing lifelong education the verbal label is not important: on the other hand, it is not unimportant. So far as English usage is concerned, this paper argues that the most appropriate and comprehensive term for the concept with which we are dealing is "Continuous Education". It is argued further that any acceptance of the concept implies the rejection of commonly held ideas about what constitutes "education", "learning" and "knowledge", ideas derived from a schooled society.

A third argument is that the concept of continuous education is at once a philosophy and a theory, both of which find their expression in on-going practices in contemporary society. The fact that these assume informal and inchoate forms should not prevent us from recognising that the really significant growth-points in the field of continuous education are taking place *outside* the statutory system. Possibly the most useful task we can set ourselves, therefore, is to draw up a checklist of such practical developments. As things are, the charge that proponents of lifelong education are too fond of engaging in airy speculation is not easily rebutted and there are signs that a certain loss of credibility has already been incurred on this account. Whatever happens, we must avoid giving the impression that continuous education is only to be made feasible by the provision of more courses, more instruction and more services of the kind on which we have been dependent hitherto.

2. The Crisis of Schooling

You never heard of *Merulius lachrymans*? Unless you happen to be a mycologist, a house agent or a carpenter it is unlikely that you will be acquainted with the species. Unseen, insidiously, it spreads its microscopic spores through woodwork and plaster, feeding on moisture as it grows until one day the floorboards collapse or a staircase caves in and all at once the unfortunate householder finds to his cost that he is faced with a massive repair bill. Too late, he finds that he is the victim of dry rot and that *Merulius lachrymans* is well and truly named.

To begin by suggesting that the education system is currently in a near-ruinous state and to diagnose it as a case of advanced dry rot akin to that which occurs in old buildings is bound to seem less than convincing. Outwardly at least the structure of the education system in most European countries has every appearance of being sound and in good working order. At the same time we know that appearances can be deceptive, and there are good reasons for thinking that something is, indeed, rotten in the present state of affairs.

In any case, it is as well to begin by acknowledging that education is no longer "in". Such an acknowledgment has to be made quite independently of the depressed state of the economy and the low morals, social unrest and unemployment which accompany it. In the USA, Sweden and West Germany - countries enjoying an affluence which the British and Italians can only envy - leading thinkers share this same sense of disenchantment with the established system of education. Throughout the western world, indeed, the mood of buoyant optimism which characterised the 1950's and 1960's has given way to one of profound scepticism, not to say sour disillusion. It is unnecessary to appeal to the literature of educational dissent typified by such authors as Ivan Illich, Paul Goodman and John Holt to convince oneself that there is something seriously wrong with institutional schooling in its present form, seeing that the best available research evidence points to conclusions scarcely less radical and disconcerting than theirs.

The investigations of Coleman and Jencks into equality of opportunity (or rather the lack of it) in the USA and the surveys carried out by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement in twenty different countries have consistently shown that social background and home condi-

tions account for the major part of differences in scholastic attainment - and that schooling, by comparison, exercises a relatively minor influence. What it amounts to is that we have been expecting far too much of the schools: increasingly, they have been saddled with functions and responsibilities which were formerly discharged by other social agencies - the family, church, neighbourhood, community and work-place. Their failure to cope with the immense burden placed upon them though not their fault, now leaves them open to criticism and recrimination.

It was with this in mind that the UNESCO report *Learning to be* argued that any meaningful reform of the established system of education must involve "the indispensable remoulding of all its elements - theory and practice, structure and methods, management and organisation". Clearly, this is a tall order, many would say a utopian day-dream and as things are it has to be conceded that no country is prepared or willing to commit itself to anything like so revolutionary a course.

The trouble is that in our over-schooled society education has come to serve as a secular substitute for religion and that the faith which it once inspired, and still inspires in the uninitiated, has now been seriously undermined. Education, in the restricted sense of formal schooling, (in effect, the *only* sense in which the term is generally understood), has failed to live up to its promises, or so it seems. In the first place, it has disappointed the hopes of those who saw it as the means of achieving equality of opportunity, an ideal which recedes before every advance towards it like the quest for the end of a rainbow. In the second, it has not produced the economic returns expected from it: so-called policies of "investment in human capital" are now highly suspect, to say the least. True, as a guarantee of improved social status and life earnings for the individual student the time spent in formal schooling still pays dividends, but as degrees and diplomas become progressively devalued even this guarantee is certain to be jeopardised. Already, the problem of graduate unemployment poses its own threat to law and order. Again, while it may be agreed that the provision of mass schooling can be credited with raising standards of living it is by no means evident that there has been any comparable improvement in the quality of life. While it would be defeatist to conclude that when all is said and done "more" *has* meant "worse", the evidence of discontent and apathy among the ranks of teenagers who are compelled to endure an extended school-life which seems to many of them

no better than a prison sentence highlights the fallacy of supposing that "education" is something that everyone wants. Anyone who doubts this should observe the riotous scenes on the terraces when the young monsters who support their local football club run berserk. Make no mistake about it, these are the products of a school system which stands indicted on the charge of cultivating anti-social attitudes and, which is worse, a positive hatred of learning in any shape or form.

It may be thought that this is putting it too strongly. Is it not premature to infer that we are witnessing the demise of an outmoded system and is it not wholly irresponsible to assert that the system is thoroughly discredited? It is a fair question and the temptation is to answer it in the affirmative. Despite the shrill prophecies of the deschoolers the fact is that the mega-machine shows no signs of grinding to a halt: on the contrary, the tight control over it by politicians, administrators, and teachers and bureaucrats dedicated to the task of system maintenance not only ensures that it is kept in smooth running order but also that it continues to expand its sphere of influence over the lives of the masses. Like a giant industrial plant engaged in the people-processing business, the education system is a state monopoly, too big to be easily dismantled yet at the same time in need of re-tooling and in even greater need of scrapping some of its old priorities and diversifying its products.

So long as institutional schooling was all-important people were entirely dependent upon the services provided for them. In a genuinely educative society this would not be the case: apart from the need for instruction in the basic skills of literacy and numeracy people would be capable of educating themselves to a great extent.

3. The Educative Society

As far back as 1931 Sir Fred Clarke outlined the concept of an educative society in words which bear requoting today. "In the world that is coming", he wrote, "education, as distinct from schooling, will be a duly supervised function of the social life as a whole, in all its parts. When each institution - industry and church and family and voluntary society - has its proper place, we shall see better than we do now the true purpose of the school ..."

It is a sign of immaturity and a defect of thinking when attempts are made to adapt the school to every form of educational need. The more mature and developed society that is coming will recognise more fully than we do now how thoroughly *socialistic* the project of public education is. Steadily but surely all forms of social activity will be adjusted to the needs of the educational service. Housing, public health, social insurance, radio and television, town-planning, industrial regulation - all these will be viewed more and more in their educational aspect. We shall ask when we take measure in regard to them: "What value can this have for the end of citizen making? *And we shall be quite ready to take a pupil out of school if society can find better provision for his real education.*" (1)

But for the fact that too many people's zest for learning is impaired in early youth, brain-damaged (so to speak) by the experience of schooling, it might be thought that the modern welfare state is well on the way to becoming an educative society. The existing system, unfortunately, *is* outmoded in the sense that our educational institutions are still based on nineteenth century models, i.e. as filling stations to which the young are expected to come in order to get their supply of knowledge and skills to serve them for the rest of their lives. In a word, the entire emphasis has been on initial education.

In the days when knowledge was in relatively short supply, classroom instruction was, and to some extent still is, a convenient and efficient delivery system for inculcating the basic skills, but with the "knowledge explosion" to contend with and the rapid obsolescence of both knowledge and skills it has proven to be increasingly difficult, not to say actually impossible to pack even the bare essentials of general education into nine, ten or eleven years of school attendance. Because time was so short and because teachers and pupils alike were constantly under pressure on the understanding that it was a case of now or never, - no second chance for those who missed out or dropped out - initial education assumed an exaggerated importance. Learning itself came to be associated more or less exclusively with one kind of cognitive skill involving memorisation and recapitulation of information and data - scholastic learning. This kind of learning was invariably acquired *in statu pupillari* with the pupil or student in a submissive role and hence was regarded as the result of formal instruction. In the process the impression was created that no significant learning could take place in the absence of a teacher, as was the

equally false idea that the job of teaching was the monopoly of a professional class of men and women who had been specially trained for it. Strange, this, seeing that everyone knows that there are whole realms of learning not dealt with in the school curriculum, and that in society at large all kinds of people - parents, clergy, journalists, media men, artists, musicians to name but a few in an endless list - are constantly engaged, albeit informally, in teaching. Strange, possibly, but the myth persists.

"The whole administrative hierarchy of education, as it grew up, followed the model of industrial bureaucracy," says Alvin Toffler. "The very organisation of knowledge into permanent disciplines was grounded on industrial assumptions. Children marched from place to place and sat in assigned stations. Bells rang to announce the change of time. The inner life of the school thus became an anticipatory mirror, a perfect introduction to industrial society. The most criticised features of education today - the regimentation, lack of individualisation, the rigid system of seating, grouping, grading and marking, the authoritorian role of the teacher - are precisely those that made mass public education so effective an instrument of adaptation for its place and time." (2)

No matter how reluctant the authorities are to face up to the fact that the kind of initial education which proved effective enough in the past must today be considered inappropriate and largely misapplied, they can hardly fail to be daunted by its prohibitive costs. Resources being limited we simply cannot afford to entertain the illusion that formal schooling is all-important and that, of necessity, it must be completed in the early years. From now on learning throughout the period of adulthood is going to be a necessity rather than, as hitherto, a luxury indulged in at their leisure by a dilettant minority. Already, doctors, teachers and other professional workers in the U.S.A. are required to undertake further training (recurrent education) every five or six years - every three years for physicians in some states, or face the prospect of being declared redundant, and as time goes on this is certain to become common practice in most occupations. As yet, legislation designed to meet the needs of workers for periodical study-leave has been introduced in France, Sweden and other European countries. Italy's "150 hours" programme represents a modest move in the same direction, a forecast of the shape of things to come.

But if, as we are assured is going to happen in the future,

it is going to be necessary to switch jobs twice or thrice in the course of man's working career, to adapt himself to constantly changing circumstances and requirements, to acquire new skills, learning afresh as he goes and unlearning old habits and ways of thinking, how absolutely vital it is going to be to revise our ideas about the aims, content and methods of basic schooling. Easy to talk about "education in the future tense", trite but true to say that children should be taught to learn how to learn for themselves, but not very helpful seeing that in practice no one really knows how it can be done, least of all teachers trained in the conventional manner.

"At this point," argues Henri Janne, "a closer examination of the educational implications of the frequent and often profound technological changes characteristics of industrial societies seems necessary. Jobs, whether skilled or unskilled, are already requiring re-adaptation or will be totally changed in their knowledge and skill components, and this trend will accelerate. Old trades and specialities are disappearing while new specialised jobs have to be filled. This means that training must become a fundamental factor of work organisation and study a recurrent activity of a large number of workers. Therefore, school education cannot continue to supply youth with clearly defined knowledge, very specialised competences or *skills related to definite types of work*. The "encyclopedic" character of traditional schooling beyond the level of general elementary education ... must be replaced by wide and versatile but in-depth education in the mastery of certain types of "logic" and languages constituting a sufficiently homogeneous epistemological approach to a given field: mathematics, a sector of technology and its scientific bases, communication, languages, history and culture, etc. That kind of education should aim not so much at acquisition of knowledge and information as rather at intellectual ability and practice in solving new problems in a given sector." (3)

No doubt this is sage advice for those seeking to define the essentials of a common core curriculum for the upper secondary school, but somewhat vague. Vague, too, the recommendations of the Council of Europe: "The schooling of youth will be less and less a matter of acquiring knowledge (soon outdated) and information (provided more comprehensively elsewhere) but will be more and more devoted to the acquisition of methods of thought, adaptive attitudes, critical reactions and disciplines which teach how to learn. It should also foster the expectation of education to come, convey familiarity with

the means of recourse to it and enable pupils and students to find methods of learning which suit them best. It will be impossible to teach the requisite flexibility of reaction except through activities entailing participation and responsibility. The schooling period will become more active and involve personal responsibility and leisure time for the absorption of culture. (The traditional status of young people at school prolongs their infantile state.)" (4)

The best hope, surely, lies in the resourcefulness of the children themselves: in general they are a good deal more adaptable than their elders and mentors. In an information-rich society, a society in which computers, data banks, pocket calculators, radio, TV, video-tape, recordings and a host of other aids to problem-solving are available, the young are quite capable of learning for and by themselves given the facilities and a modicum of priming. This is not to say that formal instruction is no longer necessary, only that it is destined to play a less important part in the learning process as the years go by. The traditional nineteenth century view, still prevalent in most schools, was typified by Durkheim's belief that, "Education is the influence exercised by adult generations on those who are not yet ready for social life. Its object is to arouse and develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him by both the political society as a whole and the special milieu for which he is specifically destined ... In a word, education is the methodical socialisation of the young generation", - and again, "The teacher must say: *I wish*; he must indicate that refusal to obey is not even conceivable, that the act must be accomplished, that the thing must be seen as he shows it, that it cannot be otherwise. If he weakens, one sees the subject hesitate, resist, sometimes even refuse to obey. If the teacher so much as enters into discussion, that is the end of his power ... The object of education is *to superimpose on the individual and asocial being that we are at birth an entirely new being.* It must bring us to overcome our initial nature." (5)

There could hardly be a more explicit or a more authoritarian declaration of faith in the logic of domination than this. As a theory of education it rests on two false and mischievous assumptions. The first is that the educational process is confined to the early years of the learner's life. The second is that education is essentially a process in which adults do things to children and forcibly impose their wills

upon them. Durkheim's theory, embodied in Herbartian pedagogy, literally does violence to the human person. It is reductivist, deterministic, mechanical, manipulative - and it no longer works. It has always been rejected by child-centred educationists from Rousseau and Pestalozzi down to Montessori and John Dewey and today has been largely replaced by a developmental approach which allows the learner greater freedom and greater scope for self-activity. Although the old insistence on "people-processing", (i.e. doing things to the learner willynilly) still finds favour with the behaviourists, (notably in B.F. Skinner's operant conditioning techniques), most educational psychologists are now agreed that a developmental approach is essential. The new theory and practice finds its expression in Bruner's statement:

> "Let me urge," he says, "that the process of education (whether in established schools or by other means) be conceived not just as a preparation for life but as a form of enablement selectively available throughout the life cycle. I conceive of this process as starting before the child enters school, but it is mostly the transition from the preparatory period into one's working life that concerns me here, whether one is a school-leaver or a graduate of a college, a polytechnic or a university. There should be means avaible for "returning" or "continuing" or "converting" or "refreshing" or whatever. But, just as important, there must be some means of planning before departing, even if only at the level of plausible hypothesis, concerning the later uses of education in one's life." (6)

Perhaps now it will be evident, if it is not already evident to the reader, that the concept of lifelong learning necessitates fundamental changes in basic education. Children are born curious and need to be preserved in this blessed state at all costs. If there is one overriding objective in formal schooling it is precisely this: that at the very least pupils should leave school with a genuine liking for learning, eager and able to pursue it in its myriad forms in the wider world. To repeat, this is the one objective which formal schooling far too often fails to achieve.

4. Continuous Education

To ask a person, "When did you stop learning?", is as

ridiculous as to ask him when he stopped breathing. To most educationists, though not to anthropologists, the notion that learning is as natural as breathing seems almost quixotic. Only latterly have they been forced to recognise what anthropologists have always known, i.e. that education and learning are far from being coterminous with schooling, and that every individual learns from other individuals and from his environments as he progresses through his own life cycle regardless of whether schools exist or not. In life as it is lived the amount of school-based learning (most of which is soon forgotten?) is insignificant compared with that which he acquires from other sources. The dimensions of learning transcend those encompassed within the realm of academic scholarship. Babes in arms learn from their mothers, lovers learn from each other, children from their parents (and vice versa), youths learn from their peer group, from the neighbourhood, from the disco, nowadays above all from the mass media. For the adult, the locus of learning varies from hour to hour and from place to place, now at the breakfast table, now at the work bench, now at a meeting of shop stewards, now at the bistro, now listening to the radio news, now digging the garden, now composing a family quarrel, now browsing over some travel brochures with thoughts of the summer vacation in mind.

All of which sounds dangerously like the easy going aphorism which assures us that, "We live and learn". The point is that modern man is in the unprecedented situation of having at his disposal a whole range of resources for learning which will not only assist him in problem-solving but help him to lead a fuller life *if only he knows how to use them*. An information-rich society is not necessarily an educative or a learning society unless its members can make systematic, selective and critical use of the resources available to them. We know what happens otherwise: "Information inundates the minds instead of provoking their structuralisation; the results being mosaic culture and worldwide cultural tribalism." (7)

As 1984 draws nearer, then, it is no accident that eminent forward-thinkers nowadays are losing interest in the narrow sector occupied by the learner's schooldays and focussing their attention on the problems and prospects arising in the field of lifelong learning. Plans for so-called "permanent education" have been formulated by the Council of Europe, UNESCO, OECD and other international bodies, but these are highly theoretical and it is by no means clear how they are to be implemented. Moreover, much of the literature in this emergent

field tends to be so highflown and turgid as invite the criticism that it is guilty of wishful thinking. Rhetoric is no substitute for rational argument. Worst of all, even if we settle for calling it continuous education (which is not to be confused with "continuing education", "recurrent education", "further education" or "adult education" which merely represent some of its phases), we are unsure what it means in practice. It should be emphasised, too, that when an Italian speaks of "l'educazione permanente", a Frenchman of "l'éducation permanente" and an Englishman of "lifelong learning" they are not necessarily talking about the same thing. In English usage, certainly, this term "permanent education" tends to arouse suspicion: it sounds awkward and pretentious, besides being too obviously a translation from the French.

Let it be said right away that the whole idea of continuous education is unlikely to command or to deserve popular support so long as it tends to be associated with the notion of lifelong schooling - more compulsory nursery classes for 2-3 year olds, more in-service training for workers, more courses for geriatrics - in short, a horrendous future for all of us.

What, then, is implied by the concept of continuous education? Bertrand Schwartz, one of the founding fathers of "l'éducation permanente" and director of the Plan Europe 2000 project, explains it as follows:

> "Permanent education is not so much a new set of aims for education as an overall design (and in this sense fairly recent) for strategies to be implemented in achieving these aims. We define it here as a process of integrating all phases of education in a true space-time continuum by implementing a range of means (institutional, material, human) which make this integration possible. Although a recent idea, it may also be regarded as transient, because one can imagine that by the year 2000, or even before, the idea that education is permanent will have become such normal practice that it will be referred to simply as education, it being understood that education means permanent education. In the context of permanent education, the term implies the clear statement of the faults and malfunctions of present systems and their causes, with the purpose of convincing and mobilising opinion so that things can be changed. It is a political tool which will allow us to choose today what we wish our future to be tomorrow." (8)

Less futurological was Paul Lengrand's answer when I put it to him that those of us who championed the cause of lifelong education were duty-bound to explain our reasons for doing so in language that was readily intelligible to the layman. Lengrand, needless to say, is one of the leading pioneers in this field, well known as the author of the UNESCO document "An Introduction to Lifelong Education" which has been influential in propagating its rationale. His reply was concise and lucid:

> "By lifelong education we mean quite simply that education is not restricted to schooling. On the contrary, its influence extends over all sectors of the learner's existence, private as well as public - his family and professional relationship, his politics, his social activities, his leisure pursuits and so on: It makes its appeal to all kinds of agencies: school, college and university but equally the family, the community and the world of work, books, press, theatre and the media for mass communication. What it amounts to is that the educational enterprise is a global and continuous process which takes place from the moment of birth to the death of the individual: a process which implies in a circular relationship the education of children, adolescents and adults at different ages and stages of development. If education is to become permanent and all-embracing it follows that its contents, its methods and the training of the specialised personnel in the various sectors of the educational enterprise must be very radically changed." (9)

Michael Huberman, Piaget's successor as Co-Director of the Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences at the University of Geneva and author of the 1975 UNESCO report *Understanding Change in Education* was even more forthright in expressing his views on the subject.

> "I think that the whole issue is very badly defined. It has become the province of philosophers and politicians who have confused it beyond recognition. Let me put it this way: "permanent education" means very simply solving the problems one faces in one's life. Whenever I arrange a trip, when I try to get a new job, or when I try to stop someone blocking the view from my front window with a skyscraper, I am engaged in "permanent education". For some of these problems I need to use resources other than myself. I may need

> other people or books, or I may need instruments. I may even need an institution (e.g. to follow a course of study) although this is rare. The key question is: do I have access to the people, information and instruments which I need in order to solve my problems? Getting more of *that* is what the extension of "permanent education" is all about. It is NOT about adding on more courses and institutions for adults." (10)

According to this view, which stresses point 4 in the UIE definition (i.e. a process "conducted, maintained and controlled by individuals themselves") while recognising the need for a support system (point 6 in that definition), education is to be thought of as an activity which is as natural and necessary as breathing. Philosophically, it might be designated as an existentialist or phenomenological view but in this connection it seems advisable to refrain from any such pretentious labelling. For the sake of intellectual honesty each of us needs to state his case in the simplest possible language.

In "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme", it will be recalled, Monsieur Jourdain was surprised and delighted to discover that he had been talking prose all his life. In the same way, it seems that professional educationists are slow in coming round to the realisation that continuous education is a present reality, not a figment of the planners' imagination. In Italy, for example, the common tendency is to point to the 150 Ore programme, the Centri Sociali per Educazione Permanente CRACIS, etc., when in fact the most significant developments are those taking place in the proliferation of local radio and TV stations, in women's Lib (Unione Donne Italiane) and in the general drive for participation in decision-making at every level in the industrial, social and political field. If we care to look around us we can find continuous education in action wherever we go. Spontaneous, unsponsored, unsupervised, it tends to go unnoticed, dispersed as it is throughout the length and breadth of contemporary society. We can see its outward and visible signs in some of the new emergent institutions - in the U.K. most obviously in the Open University (which has yet to fulfil its main objective of catering for the cultural needs of the community at large, but which has a large and increasing eavesdropping audience), in Countesthorpe College as well as in the growing number of multi-purpose secondary schools serving youth groups and adults when not occupied by daytime pupils, in Teachers' Centres, Resource Centres and Community Centres, in

voluntary nursery play-groups - and no less importantly in innumerable drama, music and art clubs, trade union associations, sports clubs and so on. At one end of the institutional spectrum we have establishments scarcely less formal and bureaucratic than those controlled by the statutory system; at the other, those which are as convivial and informal as a Rotary Club or a ladies' coffee morning.

It is to the latter that we must direct our attention if we are to gain the necessary insights. We talk glibly enough about the effects of mass schooling in raising levels of expectation and aspiration but too often fail to notice the inward urge impelling ordinary folk to seek self-knowledge and a fuller life. "Plus est en vous" may well be their motto, the conviction that each and every individual has the latent power for continuous personal growth. To date, unfortunately, the effects of mass schooling have been to condition people in the belief that they can never become anything better than they are - and that there is no point in their trying. By definition, "education" as presented by the established system, is a game in which the rules decree that there must always be few winners and many losers. From an early age pupils are classified as first, second and third class future citizens. Not surprisingly, many write themselves off as failures even before reaching the age of adolescence and thereafter lose both the taste for learning and the desire to improve themselves. The consequences are only too apparent in the mindless behaviour of large sections of contemporary society, not least among the ranks of the younger generation. This blight caused by formal schooling could well prove to be fatal to the cause of continuous education and calls for urgent remedial treatment. To repeat, any such treatment will not be forthcoming unless and until there is general assent to a drastic revision of prevailing ideas about "learning", "knowledge", "skill" and "education" itself.

In the meantime it has to be confessed that continuous education assumes some uncanny forms - weird cults, quasi-religious sects, ideological protest movements of various kinds. Lotta Continua, one imagines, will offend most Italian pedagogisti who insist on clinging to the conventional concept of education; and the psychedelic light show is unlikely to receive credit from English examiners. Many of these manifestations are, of course, ephemeral, superficial and escapist, others are anarchical - and some are so depraved as to be unmentionable. This is not really surprising seeing that the

problem of finding a pattern that "makes sense" out of a technological mosaic culture is difficult enough even for those who are well educated. *Pace* Huberman, therefore, the key question is not, "Do I have access to the people, information and instruments which I need in order to solve my problems?" but rather, "Do I have the *competence* and the *will* which will enable me to make the best use of the people, information and instruments to which I have access?"

Only when all, and not a favoured few, can answer in the affirmative will the theory of continuous education become universal practice and the *disjecta membra* which we see around us be assembled and coordinated in a genuinely educative society.

NOTES

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3. Janne, H. "Theoretical foundations of lifelong education: a sociological perspective". In Dave, R.H. (ed.) *Foundations of lifelong education.* Oxford: Pergamon Press for Unesco Instute for Education, 1976. pp. 152-153.
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5. Durkheim, E. *Education and sociology.* New York: Free Press, 1974.
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8. Schwartz, B. quoted in Fragnière, Gabriel (ed.). *Education without frontiers. A study of the future of education from the European Cultural Foundation's 'Plan Europe 2000'.* London: Duckworth, 1976, pp. 54-55.
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CHAPTER 6

DEVELOPING LIFELONG EDUCATION: POST-SCHOOL PERSPECTIVES

A. K. Stock

This brief paper concentrates, for the most part, on certain post-school educational developments, that is to say provision outside the traditional end-on sequence of primary, secondary and tertiary institutions for child and youth education. Partly this emphasis is a reflection of the writer's daily working concerns in the United Kingdom and elsewhere; partly it is a reaction to the neglect, damning-with-faint-praise or outright dismissal of this diverse but increasingly powerful sector of provision, which denigration has so often appeared in the literature of lifelong education. It may be worthwhile to examine some of the generalisations of this kind in the relevant literature and test their validity in the context of actual developments.

Long (1974) and some others have stated that concepts such as "lifelong education", "adult education", "recurrent education", and "career education" are virtually synonymous. Colleagues in the field would more probably see "adult education" and "career education" as educational sectors which frequently overlap and which are both subject to rapid conceptual evolution and operational change; but which, in their changed forms should make major contribution towards the informing goal of life-long education. "Recurrent education" they would see as a promising strategy for planning and supporting lifelong educational opportunities: a strategy having close connection to important instrumental factors such as "paid educational leave", "academic credit transfer and accumulation" and "adult advice, guidance and counselling services". The common interpretation of "recurrent education" as being solely a strategy for professional and industrial re-training, as in the "cyclical education" of Czecho-Slovakia, would be regarded as promising but

inadequate, partly because of the apparent lack of stress upon whole-person, whole-life development which would be perceived as part of the larger "lifelong education" concept.

Wider interpretations of Recurrent Education stress the necessity for constant interaction between formal and non-formal structured educational experiences, and 'life' - with the work-situation aspects of life particularly stressed - but with family, community and cultural aspects not neglected. There is also a constant emphasis - as in Kallen and Bengtsson (1974) - upon the inadequacy of the 'front-end' model - i.e. of traditional systems where a lifetime's educational input is crammed into childhood and youth. Recurrent education would thus systematically provide for an alternation between cultural or professional career re-education and its application in the unfolding experience of a lifetime.

Writers such as Hiemstra (1974) and Wlodarski (1976) have referred to the frill/luxury stigma so frequently attached to adult education; this denigration is, in political (and therefore planning) terms, a valid one. In effect it means that some powerful people inaccurately perceive adult education services as providing recreational activities for a well-to-do middle class elite. This view is partly based on interpretations of a number of national surveys which have tended to show that people who have earlier climbed to the upper end of the school/college/university ladder are more likely to seek out forms of continuing (though often very different) adult education in later life. This same crude causative relationship could be dreived from the U.K. Survey "Adequacy of Provision for Adult Education" (NIAE, 1970) and the figures therein have been used by various writers to reinforce similar findings in Trenaman (1967) and Johnstone and Rivera (1963). However a more careful examination of the U.K. Survey, whilst revealing a skewed distribution of the student population as compared to the national population at large, nevertheless shows that the major (in absolute numbers) socio-economic group in the student sample was "skilled manual working class", i.e. men and women of the skilled 'blue-collar group'.

Moreover that same survey dispelled another of the prevalent myths about adult education: that it only engages the interest and involvement of a tiny minority of the population. The following tabulation offers an interesting alternative perspective on this matter of the alleged "restricted clientele" (cf. Bengtsson, 1975).

Involvement in Adult Education at some time in Adult Life

(N=3549; Randomised 7 area quota sample of whole adult population)

Any kind	Work related	Personal and Social
42%	20% [X]	24% [X]

[X]Note: between 3 and 4% had experienced both types.

The above findings, borne out by local surveys, emphasise that whilst approximately 4% of the adult population engage in each of the above categories of education (i.e. 8% in total) *in any one year*, the service is used intermittently (recurrently?) by a much larger proportion of the population than is commonly supposed. However, it is readily accepted at least in the U.K. that the remaining 58% of the adult population may well contain the groups and individuals most 'in need' of continuing education.

This latter concept of 'need' has been an important one in recent developments. As a basis for planning services and curricula it received considerable impetus from the publishing of (a) the Report of the Tokyo UNESCO World Conference on Adult Education (UNESCO 1972) and (b) the U.K. Report of the Committee of Enquiry appointed by the Secretary of State under the Chairmanship of Sir Lionel Russell, commonly called the Russell Report ("Adult Education: a plan for development" - HMSO 1973).

The final "four point statement of emphasis" which concluded the official Report of the Tokyo Conference, and which was adopted unanimously, was as follows:

1. Learning is life-long; the education of adults and of children and youth are inseparable. But to be an effective agent of change, education must engage the active commitment and participation of adults, It should seek to improve living conditions and the general quality of life. Apathy, poverty, disease and hunger are major human evils facing the world today. They can be eradicated only by making people aware of what causes them and how to conquer them.

Social improvement and adult education are thus complementary.

2. The widening gap between nations, groups and individuals constitutes the greatest moral challenge of our time. To close the gap is more than a question of social justice. In an era of ever-growing interdependence between countries and of increasing human wants, it is an economic imperative and precondition of world peace.

3. This inequality is due also to the unequal distribution of knowledge. But it cannot be solved simply by enlarging existing educational facilities. Experience shows that the provision of more education in most communities tends to favour most the already well-educated; the educationally under-privileged have yet to claim their rights. Adult education is no exception to the rule, for those adults who most need education have been largely neglected - they are the forgotten people.

4. Thus the major task of adult education during the Second Development Decade of the United Nations is to seek out and serve these forgotten people.

This important statement of principle - in effect a demand for positive discrimination in favour of "the forgotten people" - has exerted an important influence upon policies of post-school educational provision. Carried into a national context, the Russell Report produced a remarkably similar analysis which coloured its broad curricular specifications for short and middle term development, viz.:

Unmet Needs

26. Evidence of current demand for adult education presents a heartening picture; but it is not the whole picture. The pressures of our society, which create or exacerbate the needs from which these demands emerge, set up a Darwinian situation in which the educationally fittest survive. But they are a minority. Almost three-quarters of the adult population left school at the minimum leaving age; three-fifths of today's adults received their schooling before the leaving age was raised to fifteen; better opportunities for technical education and the broadening of entry into further and higher education

came too late to benefit them; and the fresh approaches to education that are transforming many schools, notably primary schools, with whole new dimensions of educational experience, are unknown and inaccessible to all but today's children. Government statements over the years have testified to serious deficiencies of accommodation and staffing in a number of the nation's primary and secondary schools, particularly those in substandard dwelling areas. Research has demonstrated the advantages in rate of educational development that lie with children from the "better" school, to say nothing of the "better" home, and has shown that a substantial number of persons, because of their biological make-up, attain much later than others to the ability - often then of a higher order - for academic or creative work, social work or leadership. It cannot be in the interests of justice or the efficient use of human resources that numbers of our fellow citizens now find themselves too late at the gates of wider opportunity, and with no further recourse. Educationally we are still Two Nations, and among the educational "have-nots" the needs are vast.

27. But these are not simply the needs of the individual. They are needs of society too. It is central to our argument for a comprehensive service of adult education that deficiencies of educational opportunity must be remedied so that every individual has the educational resources, not only to fulfil himself as a person, but to play his full part in society. This is an essential basis for a just and democratic society, as well as for ensuring a reasonable quality of life for everyone.

The recent programmes of Adult Basic Education, Funtional Literacy, Numeracy, Education for Migrants, Training Opportunities Schemes, and Trades Union Education may be dismissed as "remedial" leading to a stigmatization of adult education, but they are important and concrete manifestations of the humane principles of lifelong education as presented by UNESCO itself. The stigmata may not necessarily be the signs of eternal damnation!

The effectiveness (and evidence of need) of these special 'remedial' programmes occasionally produces peculiar reactions on the part of leading figures in government and administration. For example, in 1975 Miss Margaret Jackson, the British Under-Secretary of State for Education, when addressing an increasingly sceptical audience at the NIAE Annual Conference, stated that if only we could get the schools right most of the adult education's present work would cease to be necessary. One perhaps need not quote the extensive evidence to the contrary - particularly from research associated with adult basic education - to demonstrate the illusory nature of this comment.

There is, perhaps, a more serious criticism which may well emanate from the 'maximalist' interpreters of life-long education: that the special remedial programmes are mere palliatives for grave social and educational ills; and that they are thus postponing the real and inevitable requirement for radical social change. The proponents of this view seem to me to suffer from as much emotional distortion as the charitable lady-bountifuls and earnest do-gooders whom the maximalists often lampoon. It is a frequent experience of those working in adult basic education that the process of educational reawakening stimulates a powerful sense of social injustice and need for action. Indeed, as Nyerere (1976) has pointed out, many politicians are better aware of this tendency than educators, and often act accordingly to suppress or debilitate such education.

The actuality of "continuing education for adults" [x] is emerging as:

I. *Basic Education*: special programmes mainly, but not exclusively for the minimally educated, for 'coping' with the educational demands of work, family life, cosumerism, government and administration, ageing, etc. As the U.S. "Adult Performance Level" (University of Texas 1975) research demonstrated, such basic educational needs are not only confined to the lowest socio-economic groups.

II. *Social Priority Programmes*: professional, industrial, political, health, energy, unemployment and new employment.

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[x] A phrase increasingly used in British and American planning and administrative contexts.

III. *General Continuing Education*: later-life continuation of 'academic' progress, special 'adult concern' programmes, 'role education'.

IV. *Cultural*: life-enhancing learning in arts, sciences, crafts, humanities, music, drama, language.

The development of the British *adult literacy programmes* (launched in 1975) indicates connections with all these dimensions of continuing education for adults. The multi-media campaign with strong local provision of personal educational services was launched by central government as a 'social priority programme', its content is clearly 'basic education', the recruitment and training of 50,000 volunteer tutors has required a substantial exercise in 'role education' and general re-education, and the links to continuing general and cultural education for the newly attracted students (approximately 150,000 in three years) are presently being forged.

Of course all these post-school developments have significance for conventional schools. Indeed, this latter aspect was one of the major points of concern of the recently concluded research on the first three years of the U.K. Adult Literacy Programme (to be published in June of this year as 'Adult Literacy: a Study of its Impact' - NIAE, 1978). As might be expected, a large proportion - probably a majority of adult literacy students - have personal histories of disadvantage - illness, frequent changes of school, parental disinterest, subcultural disincentives (very rarely low intelligence) - which have militated against their normal acquisition of a threshold level of competence in reading or writing or spelling. But there were some (in the words of David Stringer, one of the field researchers):

> "... for whom one can find no immediately apparent reason for their not having acquired sufficient literacy skills, ... people who in the past have been unable to handle what they see as the impersonality, even indifference of school. It almost seems as if, more than most, they require a form of teaching which places upon them direct personal challenges ... where their achievement is seen to be of value to another person who cares. It is perhaps not too much to say that they are person-centred rather than subject matter-centred.
> ... One of the features that students value

most in their present tuition is that it is felt to be highly responsive to their needs as individual persons. And the view that literacy tuition is not simply a technical matter, but is a matter of responding to individuals, colours all of the work that is carried out in the literacy schemes."

If this view - based on interviews with hundreds of students and careful participant observation of the schemes in action - is true, it raises some interesting points.

Clearly there are distinct restrictions on the pedagogic possibilities of any "mass or group" institution - mass media, large scale secondary schools with typical staffing ratios; or any other strategy which tries to avoid the *intensive deployment of skilled professional labour.*

Time and time again, our researches and enquiries of adult students identify features of relationship, personality, expectation as being the major factors in adults' perceptions - success or failure, fondness or hatred, support or indifference - of schools. These are factors of staffing, organisational climate and structure rather than curriculum; and they are not easy to solve, although at the heart of the matter.

In conclusion it might be fitting (if unusual on these occasions) to record the actual words of two students who not only volunteered to enter upon a basic education course, but readily participated in the evaluative research.

Student I (referring to her recollections of school)

"These modern schools with glass and things, I don't like them. I think the old schools were better. And the only reason I got on in the Junior School was the room had a nature and art table. It all felt nice. Human. But in the big schools it was all Sit down. You do this. You do that. You don't do this. You get out! - and all that bit. And it just doesn't work.

Student II (referring to the difference between his present tuition and the remedial tuition he received in school)

"The people here are relaxed. Sometimes we get a bit tense, but that's only human nature. But the people here don't look down on you. They look on you as

though you're a person. I'm a human being like other people - at a special class - and the more relaxed I am the more confident I get."

In short the evidence would suggest the need for continuing basic education as well as continuing professional, social and general education as key sectors of lifelong education. And if that produces stigmatization, adult education will just have to bear the shame!

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CHAPTER 7

LIFELONG EDUCATION AND ADULT EDUCATION: REFLECTIONS ON FOUR CURRENT PROBLEM AREAS

A. Pflüger

Many aspects of the concept of "lifelong education", as it is defined in the work of the UIE, are already well known in the field of adult education. Nevertheless, its implementation raises new problems for adult education which concern not only its content and teaching and learning processes, but also its organization and socio-political basis. In the present paper some comments will be made which arise out of theoretical discussions and practical experiences in the Federal Republic of Germany.

As is always the case, the comments made here reflect a specific national setting, a specific historical sequence of development, and the present state of affairs. For this reason, there are limits to the extent to which experiences in one setting may simply be generalized to others. The optimistic view that we should, nevertheless, engage in discussion - in the hope of learning from each other - is based on the following considerations:

- there are many common elements in recent developments in many countries, so that they may be thought of as referring to a large number of general problems which have simply taken on a particular local colouring;
- the international cooperation which has now become necessary for survival assumes the existence of a minimum number of common structures, including those in the field of education;
- the hidden possibilities in every society are always more numerous than actual practice suggests.

1. New Tasks and Functions in Society for Adult Education

When seen as embedded in a system of lifelong learning, adult education is confronted more strongly than has been the case in the past, with situations which had previously been overwhelmingly the concern of initial education: certain tasks are imposed or certain achievements demanded which have immediate application to problems in society. As a result, adult education is undergoing a change from purely cultural goals towards more socio-political functions, a state of affairs which has not yet been resolved.

Some examples

Every aspect of the process of democratization including socio-political considerations, cultural-political and politico-economic, requires a contribution from adult education. The structures and functions of public facilities are so complex and change so rapidly that adults can often only find out about them and make use of them with the help of organized learning, and can only influence them through group action. The emergence of the present economic crisis in many countries has made it necessary that adults not only continually renew their job skills or acquire new ones, but also that they acquire socially and vocationally relevant key qualifications such as willingness to accept responsibility, technical and social awareness, or insight into the vocational-professional relationship.

Often, new functions and new tasks are even imposed upon adult education, functions and tasks which, for example, stem from current economic and political developments, although the conditions and causes of these developments, to the solution of which lifelong education is supposed to contribute, may not be apparent. In this new situation, adult education is forced, more than has been the case in the past, to take on an active role in socio-political change. This is a precondition for a society in which adult education is capable of articulating its goals, and in which these goals are capable of being modified through a democratic process of change. This requires of adult education, that it should

- operate on behalf of all social groups, and not just a few,
- make its system of power relations and organizational forms transparent, and
- seek to contribute to the dismantling of those social

privileges, forms of control, and hierarchical and bureaucratic systems which have lost their societal legitimizaton in the light of demand for equality of rights and reduction of socio-cultural inequities.

In this connection, not only the freedom, but also the responsibility of adult education and adult educators must be emphasized, despite the fact that it is not possible at present to give definitions of these two elements which are unequivocal and equally valid for all societies. Freedom must be looked at in terms of the relative independence of adult education from fluctuating political policy and the possibility of accommodating varying personal reasons for participating in it. Freedom is reinforced by recognizing that education, like all activities reflecting social pressures, is shaped by vested interests, and that the manifestation of these interests in the life of the state is legally and legitimately expressed through social groups.

Responsibility exists to the extent that,

- there must also be concern about the economically determined limits of emancipation and participation of both cultural and political groups, and with this, concern about the contribution of adult education to the abolition of these limits;
- in addition to the obligation to behave in a socially innovative way, the differing needs of teachers and students in adult education must be taken seriously. Here, the range extends from university instructors in "Liberal Studies", who see themselves as missionaries of an established culture and are to a certain extent committed to it, through instructors teaching job skills, who have, to a certain degree, to encourage conformity to society as it is presently organized, to groups of participants who expect of adult education that it will provide them with the necessary qualifications to make them capable of realizing goals specifically related to changing society;
- the boundaries and common ground between adult education and political action must be clearly delineated. Adult education has a democratic role in the whole process of democratization. It cannot, on its own, solve all the problems faced by adults in this process.

> The political and ideological implications of being involved in education can be as little denied as can the educational value of political activity, yet adult education which is supported by public funds cannot as a rule be directly political in nature. For this purpose, it must have a footing in other organizations, or depend on the self organization of the people concerned.

2. The "Unit-Credit" System as a Means of Cooperation between Schools and Adult Education

The concept of lifelong learning requires the integration of previously separated subject matter and fields of study, and with this, the organizational coordination of the different levels and sectors of the whole educational system. Such linking and coordination is only possible when comparable structures are involved.

The system of "*Volkshochschule* certificates" developed in the Federal Republic of Germany in collaboration with neighbouring countries, a system which can be seen as a first step in the direction of a modular system of continuing education, offers a starting point for the implementation of such structures.

In the higher levels of the school system, the modular system has led to a gradual elimination of class groupings based on age. In their place is emerging a system of learning and study units whose goals and purposes are clearly defined. Individual learners can choose their own study profile from the various units available; assuming that school has equipped them with the capacity for partial self direction of their own learning and further learning. The process increases the chances that the selection mechanisms of the school will gradually be eliminated, and replaced by the principle of individual progression.

This principle is seen in adult education, where it is possible for adults to acquire successive, additional, clearly defined and internationally comparable qualifications which are of the same standard as those obtained in the school system. The "Unit-Credit" system thus provides the organizational framework for learning distributed over the adult years, and hence for recurrent education.

The individual learning units are defined by the pre-re-

quisites and the specified behavioural outcomes. The most important elements and the definitive characteristics of individual VHS-units are, therefore, their catalogues of learning objectives. These lay down what those who want to obtain a formal qualification must be able to do. As they are available to everyone, the information they contain is not restricted to students and teachers. A potential employer to whom a certificate of studies is presented can find out exactly what qualifications the holder of the certificate possesses. The catalogues of learning objectives are systematically worked out and tailored to fit the particular needs of adults in the most important fields of application. A special role is played in this process by analyses of personal and vocational needs and co-operation with appropriate experts.

On the basis of the learning objectives catalogues, simultaneously and under the same conditions of administration in both local and foreign venues, objective examinations are held which confirm for individual participants that they have achieved the learning objectives of the courses.

The system itself is flexible so that it is capable of reacting to changed needs through revision of learning objectives catalogues and through development of new modular units. Local and regional special needs can be taken into account, both through additional combinations of units and also through selection of specific routes to completion of the *Volkshochschul*-course of studies. Apart from this variability in selection of programmes through which the learning goals of the VHS-courses can be achieved, the educational planning of the local *Volkshochschulen* is supported by an individualized system of counselling and sequencing of objectives, as well as by provision of specially-prepared learning aids for each course.

As far as their utility is concerned, courses which prepare for the "*Volkshochschul*-certificates" are oriented towards job advancement, job change or the widening of job opportunities, as well as applicability to recreation and leisure or to the general self actualization or fulfilment of each individual's personal development.

At the present time examinations can be taken in the following disciplines:

German as a foreign language	Chemistry
English I	Electro-techniques

English II	Electronics
French	Mathematics A
Italian	Mathematics B
Russian	Statistics A (descriptive statistics)
Spanish	Statistics B (inductive statistics)
	Information

A substantial number of these units are organized sequentially, in a structural relationship to one another. The task at any given moment in time is to build up an appropriate sequence of different units, and to complement it with pre-requisites, corequisites and subsequent supplementary units.

The operationalization of learning objectives through examinations has as a consequence the fact that, until now, only those subjects have been studied which have learning objectives that are capable of being stated objectively, that is to say subjects which would not be distorted by being operationalized. This relationship has given rise to the criticism that the system will result in turning adult education into mere schooling, and will subvert the emancipatory role which has been assigned to it.

This criticism must be taken seriously, and calls for corrective action in other aspects of the process. An example of such actions will be given in the fourth part of this document. Modular courses must always be merely one of the offers available among other forms of adult education. Despite this, the emancipatory effect of the modular system must not be overlooked, as a result of the fact that it has led, in the few years since 1970, to significantly more objective and transparent learning by and with adults and, in this way, has opened up such learning processes to discussion by participants, for the very first time.

3. Openness and Continuity in Adult Education as Necessary Pre-requisites for a System of Lifelong Learning

The required integration of educational stages makes it important to recognize adult education as a segment of the total educational system which has equal value and the same rights as other segments, and to afford it public status comparable to that of the school system. In this connection, *Volkshochschulen* in the Federal Republic of Germany are, at present, established as public further education centres under the supervision of local authorities.

Only through a public system of further education with appropriately equipped facilities (that means, among other things, with a larger number of specialized full time adult educators) can

- a comprehensive range of further education facilities be guaranteed which is open to all participants, subjects and methods;
- the basis be laid down for a system which would be available to everybody living within a reasonable distance

and in this way, the necessary continuity of course offerings would also be assured.

With reference to the legitimate political function of societal groups which has previously been mentioned, the establishment of a public further education sector must take cognizance of the influence of these groups on the development of further education, above all the influence of trade unions, whether exercised through encouraging their participation in the programmes of public institutions or by public support of the unions' own education programmes.

Generally, adult education is protected from domination by the special interests of those who run it, by the fact that it is publicly supported and is carried out under the supervision of the policy committees of local authorities. Openness means here both consideration of work itself and also public discussion of politico-educational decisions. This means that, in individual institutions of further education, decisions can only be taken with the participation and agreement of the people concerned in matters such as the setting of limits and priorities at the various levels. In certain sectors, this participation can, and indeed should, more and more take on the nature of self administration.

At the level of the participants, lifelong education must, in the long term it is true, lead to development of the capacity for "self production of learning"; in the short term, however, it is important not to eliminate the influence of adult educators, but to strive for the maximum level of participation and self determination among the learners. Adults learn best when they are responsible for their learning but, when at the same time, a certain guidance and feedback comes from outside.

At a second level, it is necessary to develop stronger

participation, or at least to take account of the interests and experiences of the participants, in developing educational materials and in making decisions.

Finally, at the level of the institutions, increased direct responsibility on the part of the clients leads to more flexibility in the established resources which can be utilized in differing ways - without abandoning standards imposed by their responsibility to the taxpayer.

4. Taking Account of Individual and Societal Needs by Integrating Vocational and Political Education

The basic questions about the roles of education and further education in society have remained unchanged since the nineteenth century, namely:

- whether their responsibility is above all, to preserve the stability of the prevailing political, social and economic system, including its tendency to create socially disadvantaged groups, or
- whether they have a primary responsibility to foster democratization in all aspects of life, and to seek participation on an equal footing for all social groups in the major societal discussions and decision processes.

In this respect, the old concept of emancipation still seems to be useful today. For emancipation is concerned with the majority of people who, in a democratic society, always experience the tension between individual freedom and acceptance of the norms of the social groups to which they belong. Certainly, democracy includes the requirement that this acceptance is not merely a matter of blind conformity to externally imposed conditions, but also involves the active participation of the largest possible portion of the general populace, and includes the duty to illuminate, to what extent allegedly neutral demands reflect vested interests of social, political or economic nature.

The consequences of this for the day-to-day practice of adult education can be illustrated by considering an example involving the efforts of the *Volkshochschulen* to integrate vocational and political education.

These efforts are based on the politico-educational view

that vocational and political socialization of adults should be as open as possible, and that education in adult education institutions should always be oriented towards politically active adults - without making this an absolute rule and without eliminating the possibility that some people may wish to avoid this requirement, despite explanations of its purpose.

In the drafting of programmes of study and instructional materials, or in concrete instructional preparation for vocational upgrading, this tendency is reversed by investigating or trying to describe through hypotheses, what are the living and working conditions in which things that have been learned can be applied at work. In this kind of analysis, complex vocational-political questions are encountered, which must be taken into account in the learning process.

In addition, it should be noted that the concept of politics referred to here should not be confused with party politics or with knowledge about political institutions, but is inseparably linked with concepts such as interest and power. An issue, a decision, etc., is thus said to be political when particular societal interests are vested in it, or when it has power stabilizing functions. The task of political education is to make such relationships clear and to stimulate discussion of them, instead of pushing them aside. Political elements in the place of work and on the job are not seen solely in organizational structures, work conditions and personal relationships. Social and political factors are also involved in the work methods and in the organization of labour, for, to the extent that they are set up by human beings, decisions involving human vested interests are built into them.

When, to give an example, particular technological measures which

- reduce accidents,
- reduce environmental hazards such as dust, heat or noise, or
- make possible more communication among fellow workers

are only adopted to the degree that is required by law or that holds out promise of economic gains resulting from higher productivity, then it is apparent that here, in these purportedly neutral technical aspects of work, special interests have had an influence. The deciding point is that, in order to be able to understand these complex situations properly, ever more

complex vocational-political qualifications are needed, which can, it is true, be spelled out in the form of vocational and political learning objectives, but which require a similarly complex, integrated procedure in the instruction of adults. A further basic relationship arises from the fact that vocational education and further education processes themselves already always contain political content in the sense described above, and thus social norms and values, ideologies and vocational-political conditioning, although mostly in a hidden form.

To give an example here too, upgrading training for secreterial work can be cited as an unfortunate example in which - at least in the Federal Republic of Germany even today - it is taken as an obvious assumption that men give dictation and work at managerial levels, while women have to carry out the mechanical tasks.

Different forms of the didactic integration of vocational and political education have developed out ot such considerations. It is now regarded as ideal, if it can be managed, to eliminate completely from the practice of further education the division of studies into separate disciplines, in favour of integrated vocational-political instructional units, which treat the conventional content both from the point of view of the different specialized disciplines and also from labour and socio-political standpoints. The different forms of cross disciplinary and discovery learning also apply here.

This idealized presentation does not always occur in practice, for a variety of reasons. Such reasons are, among others:

- Unsuitability of specialized material for extensive integration. Included here is the acquisition of manual skills such as those of typewriting which can only be applied to that particular task.
- Lack in a number of specialized areas (including the socio-cultural and political domains) of enough adequately qualified personnel.
- Lack of the financial resources to implement cross disciplinary instruction in the form of team teaching.
- Resistance on the part of the students who are oriented towards the traditional disciplines, and can only be convinced during the course of a class that vocational upgrading of the kind described

> here does not have to take place at the cost of the specialized qualifications which can be turned to advantage in the market place, but that it makes these more interesting.

These and other reasons have led to the result that the concept of integration from the very beginning has not been pursued in the rigid sense of integrated instruction, but that it has also made use of different, socalled "additive" forms. If there is any other way through which integration can be ensured, it is through the behaviour of the instructors, through the employment of additional tutors, or through the use of occasional integrated learning activities in the form of weekend schools or employees' excursions which have been prepared as part of the work in individual disciplines.

There is no space here to discuss these practical measures in more detail. In closing, therefore, an aspect of emancipatory adult education will be mentioned which is usually discussed in connection with the integration of vocational and political education.

Emancipatory tendencies in adult education are often exclusively directed towards the individual. As long as this remains the case, experience suggests that only those participants will be reached who, on the one hand have already taken the first steps towards this emancipation, and on the other, who find themselves in a vocational and social setting where they can "afford" such emancipation. To the extent that social groups have systematically been prevented from exercising self determination, while at the same time the externally imposed control has conformed to the existing power structure, individualistic attempts to promote participation in education have no prospects of success. In this case, adult education has a duty to share the interests of the people involved in the educational process, and not just to articulate the interests of social pressure groups. Emancipation is not an individual affair, but only definable and practicable as a solidarity struggle for freedom from dependence on society. Adult education, as it has been described here, cannot bring this about on its own, but it can make a contribution.

CHAPTER 8

LIFELONG EDUCATION: SOME THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

A. J. Cropley

From March 20th to 23rd 1978 authors of several of the chapters in the present book met in Hamburg. (1) The purpose of the meeting was to make a further contribution to taking stock of what has been achieved in the area of lifelong education, in addition to that already made by the written papers which comprise the earlier chapters of this monograph. This issue was to be discussed from two points of view: lifelong education and educational theorizing, and lifelong education and educational practice. The chapter which follows is based on the discussions during the meeting. It is not a verbatim report, however, nor a set of minutes, nor even a "proceedings", but focuses on those aspects of the meeting which related to the two points of view just delineated. Because of this focus, it is highly selective. It also goes beyond the discussions during the meeting by drawing upon the existing body of ideas and writings in the area of lifelong education, so that to some extent it links the present project with the broader corpus of work in the area.

1. Lifelong Education and Educational Theory

One approach to lifelong education is to think of it as a theory of education. Among the elements of any theory of human behaviour are versions of the "facts" of human nature and of

(1) Carelli, Cropley, Gelpi, Lengrand, Pflüger, Suchodolski. More details can be found in the list of contributors on pp. 6-7.

society, and these often lead to normative statements about education. When considered as a theory, then, lifelong education would be expected to reflect a more or less consistent model of what people are really like or what they have the potential to become, how learning occurs, when, where and why it occurs, what society is like and what it should be like, and so on. It would then lead, quite naturally, to a criticism of the existing educational arrangements, and to suggestions for improving them.

On the other hand, observation of the growth of interest in lifelong education suggests that the process did not necessarily start with theorizing about the nature of man and society and lead to subsequent working out of the implications of the theory for practice. If anything, the intense interest of the last 10 or so years has been an after-the-fact rationalization of existing educational trends, such as an increasingly close relationship between school and real life, especially work, greatly expanded facilities and demand for the education of adults in many countries, growing provision for the upgrading or the retraining of workers, increasing democratization of education, attempts to develop forms of education more suited to the needs of disadvantaged groups, attempts to make education reflect current humanitarian or ecological concern in contemporary society, and similar factors. Such a rationalization of trends already in existence makes it possible to perceive relationships between innovations previously regarded as discrete, so that their strengths and weaknesses can be more clearly discerned and suggestions made for improvements. It also provides a rationale for discussing, justifying and designing further changes. Theoretical unification of existing practices is thus an important step towards the development of criteria for the design and evaluation of educational change.

A major difference between the two approaches to lifelong-education-as-theory lies in the priorities they give to different kinds of educational questions such as the need for change, the kind of society which should be developed, the relationship of people to society, and similar issues. In particular, the more "pure" theoretical approach (treating lifelong education as reflecting a view about what people and society are like, on the basis of which implications for practice can be inferred) gives more emphasis to values and goals, and looks to the theoretical analysis of education for answers, whereas the other approach (regarding lifelong education as primarily an after-the-fact rationalization) places more emphasis on the forces in

society which have permitted the emergence of certain kinds of change in both theory and practice, or the identification of the underlying theoretical concordance between existing practices, and looks to the analysis of practice as the main source of answers. However, this difference is only one of emphasis.

Both approaches are valuable. Furthermore, both are to be seen in the literature on lifelong education, both probably had a role in the development of interest in the area, and both have a contribution to make to the further development of the theory and practice of lifelong education. However, from the point of view of discussion of the theoretical basis of lifelong education, the first approach is probably the more provocative. Consequently, in the next few pages lifelong education will deliberately be treated as though it were a theory (or even, as will shortly become apparent, a philosophy), with conscious awareness that this may not be strictly correct. This stance will be adopted because it permits a more fruitful discussion of the contribution of lifelong education to theorizing about education.

2. Lifelong Education and Philosophy

A philosophy of education goes beyond a theory. It requires not only assumptions about human nature and the role of society, but also ethics which help thinkers to indicate the values according to which they judge "good" and "bad". A philosophy of education would therefore be concerned with questions such as "What is man?", "What is good?", "What is mankind's potential for becoming good?", "How can education contribute to the process of becoming good?", and similar questions. Consideration of lifelong education as though it were a philosophy of education thus opens the discussion to the question of its ultimate goals. What is it really for? In order to consider it in this way, it is not necessary to dwell at length on the question of whether lifelong education really *is* a philosophy of education. For the present purposes, looking at the ideas and practices encompassed by the label "lifelong education" in terms of some of the things which could be expected from a true philosophy of education is a useful approach, regardless of whether or not they actually comprise a philosophy. (This attitude is not adopted out of lack of respect for philosophy, but because it avoids an extended discussion which lies beyond the limitations of the present chapter.)

The literature on lifelong education, particularly when it is approached in terms of educational ideas rather than as a set of practices, makes it clear that the majority of writers in the area have indeed accepted, implicitly if not always explicitly, certain beliefs about the nature of man, good, society and education. In this respect, there is an identifiable "philosophy" of lifelong education, if agreement among thinkers concerning goals and values can be said to involve a philosophy. This "philosophy" is loosely humanitarian and humanistic in nature: in theory at least, writers on lifelong education would therefore not accept that any and all practices having the effect of extending education throughout life reflected the "philosophy" of lifelong education. According to this "philosophy", education should:

1. involve learners as actors in their own learning rather than as passive recipients
2. foster the capacity to play the role just mentioned
3. lead to democratization of society
4. improve the quality of life of all men and women.

It is important to remember that there is a marked discrepancy between theory and practice, in this regard. Although it is in principle possible at the level of theoretical discussions to state, as has just been done, that there is at least an implicit "philosophy" of lifelong education, it is important to note that the idea of lifelong education is accepted in societies with vastly different, even mutually contradictory, socio-political "philosophies", while practices said to exemplify lifelong education and cited with approval by writers in the area not infrequently take place in societies in which the social and political conditions are far removed from the humanistic/humanitarian stance which has previously been mentioned.

Indeed, if lifelong education were considered purely in terms of its most obvious single implication for practice (education as something which is lifelong in nature), it is clear that forms could be found which were consistent with many different philosophies. This is true whether "philosophy" is understood to involve the abstract, scholarly activities of the professor of philosophy, or the practical "philosophy" behind political decisions, which consists more of working rules for dealing with people, organizing various aspects of society and so on. Thus, in a certain sense, lifelong education practices

are not necessarily directly dictated by either theory or philosophy. Practices said to involve lifelong education have developed in settings reflecting many different philosophies, either in the scholarly sense or in the socio-political sense. This is, of course, a problem for all theories for the reform of education.

Consideration of lifelong education from a philosophical perspective has raised the question of its ultimate goals. In fact, education is typically regarded as having two broad kinds of goal - on the one hand transmitting the knowledge a society has acquired in the past and thus tending to preserve the status quo, and on the other acting as a catalyst for change. This means that it is typically confronted with a dichotomy of goals. In terms helpful for the present discussion, this involves learning to get along in society as it exists (i.e., holding a job, having a family life, participating in social life and recreation, "getting ahead"), versus learning to transcend what exists (i.e., seeking the novel, striving to rebuild society, overcoming the potential alienations of contemporary life, etc.). This dichotomy is not unique to lifelong education, just as the general educational problem of conserving versus renewing is not unique, but it takes on particular significance in the context of lifelong education.

It is clear that both of the broad functions of education which have just been described are important: it is important both to be able to function in a society and also to seek to change and improve both oneself and society. However, proponents of lifelong education argue that traditional education can be characterized, generally speaking, as concentrating to an excessive degree on conforming rather than transcending. The result of this excessive one-sidedness can be conformity, dogmatism, authoritarianism and élitism in the educational system itself, and dependency, intolerance, anxiety, alienation and domination by materialistic values in the people experiencing the process of education. Coping with what exists cannot be rejected out of hand, and in principle excessive emphasis on transcending at the expense of coping would be equally undesirable. Nonetheless, a dramatic shift in emphasis is said to be called for.

Like many other approaches to education, lifelong education thus shares the view that autonomy is better than conformity, open-mindedness better than dogmatism, democracy better than élitism, sharing better than authoritarianism, and so on. These can be seen as its basic values. In the most general

terms, its corresponding goal is that of actualizing the values just described. This has been seen as involving development of people who are emotionally robust, autonomous, and "inwardly youthful", in the sense that they seek the novel rather than the familiar. In terms of the learning goals, what is needed is for education to aim consciously at enhancing "educability" by promoting self direction in learning, learning to learn, self evaluation, and similar capacities.

Once again, these values and goals are not unique to lifelong education, although they may be given special significance in its context. It is also true that a form of education which lasted a lifetime but did not share these values could be envisaged. However, the kind of values stated here are essential for a lifelong education which does not have the potential to become a process of subjugation or manipulation, and which truly reflects both the spirit of the emerging practices which have been unified under the label "lifelong education", and also the ideas of man, society and good which have been identified as implicit if not explicit in writings about lifelong education.

In its broadest terms, the goal of lifelong education can be seen as that of developing a "new man", eager to learn throughout life, capable of doing so, able to set priorities and judge results, democratic, concerned about fostering the quality of life and so on. Of course, it should be borne in mind that education alone, particularly education in the narrow sense of schooling, is not capable of creating the "new man". On the contrary, it is only one of the many factors which operate in a society, and functions as only one of a complex of influences and forces. Indeed, the limits of what can be achieved through school-oriented changes have proved to be much more restricted than was originally thought to be the case. Nonetheless lifelong education, as a comprehensive network of educational influences, is seen as capable of making a substantial contribution.

3. Lifelong Education and Educational Practice

Lifelong education is frequently criticized on the grounds that it contains nothing new, its main ideas are stated in excessively general terms, it is so comprehensive that it embraces all conceivable educational ideas and practices, and that it is utopian. As a result, it is said to have no impli-

cations for educational practice, except perhaps to justify almost any innovation by claiming that it reflects the principles of lifelong education. However, such criticism is itself too sweeping and superficial. For example, it is possible to distinguish between two broad positions, in relating lifelong education to educational practice - the maximalist approach on the one hand, the minimalist approach on the other. The latter approach (minimalist) equates lifelong education with inservice training, recurrent education, and the whole domain of adult education in general. The major practical questions for lifelong education in the minimalist context are those of how adults learn, how to co-ordinate further education with work, what adults need to learn, how to certify and accredit such learning and similar issues.

The maximalist position, by contrast, sees lifelong education as involving a fundamental transformation of society, so that the whole society becomes a learning resource for each individual, and is aware of its educational responsibility. According to this position, schools are as much a part of lifelong education as are agencies of adult education, but both are only co-equals with factories, trade unions, or churches. Friends, workmates, employers, priests and parents are acknowledged as teachers, mass media and cultural agencies as modalities of education.

Associated with the polarity just described between the maximalist and minimalist models, although not identical with it, is the contrast between the "instrumental" and "non-instrumental" views of lifelong education. The instrumental view, which is most compatible with the minimalist position, sees lifelong education as essentially a way of achieving certain concrete and practical goals such as increased vocational skills, greater work efficiency, higher standard of living, increased enjoyment of leisure, and the like. The non-instrumental view, on the other hand, stresses the importance of lifelong education for the development of education for education's sake, not as a tool or a means to an end, but an end in itself, with the emphasis mainly on spiritual rather than material benefits. Of course, the two views are not incompatible. It is not necessary that an education which served to make people wiser, more tolerant, more appreciative of beauty, better able to understand themselves, less alienated from their environments and each other, and the like (non-instrumental goals) would leave them unable to earn a living or produce better, or to achieve other instrumental goals.

One way to bring out the practical usefulness of the conceptualization of lifelong education is to treat it as providing guidelines for designing, implementing and evaluating educational change. Such an approach directs attention to education conceived of in terms of structures and content so that, looked at in this way, lifelong education can be most readily seen to contain implications for such issues as when, where and what people learn. These kinds of issue are by no means inconsequential, and will not be ignored. However, this approach seems to some observers to miss many of the most worthwhile questions involved in establishing a link between lifelong education as theory and lifelong education as practice. It lends itself most readily to discussions based on the instrumental approach and the minimalist model, although by no means confined to them.

By contrast, lifelong education can also be thought of as providing direction to an overall and comprehensive process of education. This approach focuses attention more clearly on the educational process - for example what learners should do during the process of education, what internal states or processes should be fostered or encouraged, how the stages and phases of education could be given a unity or logical relationship of a supportive kind, and so on. These kinds of implication will also be discussed in the present section. It is apparent that neither approach can be regarded as the only "right" one. Both have the potential to stimulate valuable discussion of the implications of lifelong education for educational practice, and both can be employed. Indeed, to some extent the distinction is artificial as, in practice, both are normally applied at the same time, although the degree of emphasis on the various kinds of practical issue may differ markedly.

Educational practice in differing countries occurs in many different contexts, which depend upon factors such as a country's geography and history, technological development, socio-political and economic system, and many more. Thus, no highly-detailed single set of prescriptions for educational practice can be given which can be applied in all countries, or even in a single country at differing times in its historical development. Precise details, for example in terms of things done by practising teachers in actual classrooms, will depend upon the complex of factors previously mentioned. What is needed is what could be called an "anthropological" approach. This becomes particularly apparent when it is borne in mind that one of the major ideas for educational practice within the context of lifelong education is that many activities in a so-

ciety which would not conventionally be regarded as specifically educational make a substantial contribution to each person's education.

Despite the limitations just discussed, it is possible to talk about the implications of lifelong education for educational practice, both for the purpose of reflecting upon existing practice, and also for suggesting changes. Without trying to develop a universal blueprint, it is possible to identify a number of operational principles which could be said to reflect the practical implications of lifelong education. These include absence of the identification of education with any fixed ages, emphasis on life as the basis for learning, recognition of new functions for teachers which centre on their role as animators, adoption of teaching methods emphasizing autodidactics, reduction of the isolation of educational institutions from each other and from life, reduced one-sidedness in emphasis on cognitive development, and use of formative rather than summative evaluation, to give a compressed overview.

Some attempts have also been made to specify what lifelong education implies for content. For example, one writer has identified communication, art and aesthetics, development of a scientific attitude, understanding of time and space, understanding of one's own body, and insight into the role and significance of work as key content areas for schools in the context of lifelong education. Another has suggested time, space, death, truth, change and feeling for one's fellow man. As can be seen, these suggestions are of a very general nature. However, they are not so general as to be meaningless, while they imply a noticeably different structure or approach to knowledge from, for example, a traditional curriculum divided into units such as history, geography, languages, and so forth.

The precise form taken by educational practice in the perspective of lifelong education will, as has been pointed out already, differ from society to society, according to a large number of local conditions and traditions. Thus, it could be said that the practice of lifelong education would be moderated according to the society attempting to implement it. The nature of this interaction therefore becomes a matter of great importance in attempting to be more precise in discussing the implications of lifelong education for educational practice.

4. Lifelong Education and Society

It is not necessary to think of lifelong education as something which either exists, or would come into existence, as a whole or else not at all. Developments in educational practice in the area of lifelong education need not occur on an all-or-none basis: on the contrary, it is much more realistic to think in terms of a movement in the direction of lifelong education through the adoption of some elements of the total set of ideas represented by lifelong education - a kind of infiltration of educational practice by lifelong education.

It is apparent that different societies might achieve greater penetration by the ideas of lifelong education, with consequent differences in the extent of the "infiltration" just mentioned. It is also possible that different elements of the set of ideas might be adopted in practice in different societies, that some practices might flourish in one country but not in another. In fact, case studies indicate that precisely this kind of thing has occurred. In the light of this, it is apparent that societies will differ, not qualitatively in the sense that there would be lifelong education societies and non-lifelong education societies, but quantitatively in the sense that education in some societies would show more of the characteristics of lifelong education, in others fewer.

This quantitative approach is a useful one for considering the relationship among lifelong education, educational practice, and society. For example, it raises the question of which features of any particular society are most favourable to the extension or modification of educational practice along the lines suggested by lifelong education, which least favourable, which modifications to practice are most widely applicable, whether there are any which are capable of being implemented in all societies, whether or not there are any absolutely essential societal pre-conditions for the implementation of lifelong education and what they are, which elements of lifelong education oriented practice are most strongly supported by what aspects of society, and many more. All of these are questions of great importance in discussing the practical implications of lifelong education, and need to be emphasized in case studies, experimental attempts to introduce lifelong education oriented innovations, and the like.

Consideration of the role of society in the implementation of lifelong education requires recognition of the fact

that the effects of society are of several different kinds. For example, the existing organization of education, family life and labour would affect the availability of opportunities for lifelong learning. This is not merely a matter of the provision of facilities or programmes (indeed these may be of relatively minor importance), but also of legal or traditional barriers such as work practices which offer no incentives for further learning, labour-management agreements which discourage lifelong learning, the role, rights and monopoly power (or otherwise) of professional teachers, and of analogous facilitating factors. Similarly, societal traditions will foster to a greater or lesser degree the emergence within people of internal states conducive to participation in lifelong education, such as appropriate attitudes, values, self image and motives. As a result, aspects of society which seem at first to be unrelated to education may be of great importance to the adoption of practices within the framework of lifelong education. These include questions of leisure, the distribution of power, the influence and role of the mass media, or the degree of domination of people by materialism, to give a few examples.

This means that an analysis of lifelong education, educational practice, and society is, in this sense, not only a quantitative study in the way which was described earlier, but also a qualitative analysis of the kinds of influences, values, social structures, etc. at work in the society, so that the question of the appropriateness of what may be called the "social climate for learning" arises. Indeed, it is possible that, far from being something which can be imposed on a society in the hope of changing it, educational practice along the lines of lifelong education (with the "philosophy" described earlier) may be something which is more likely to *arise out of* a certain kind of society, being at least as much a *result* as a *cause*. In fact, there are some grounds for believing that lifelong education oriented practice is both a cause and an effect of societal change: as practice is modified along the lines suggested by lifelong education, societal conditions tend to emerge which are more favourable to the implementation of lifelong education practices, this both calls for and facilitates further advances which themselves become both facilitators of and contributors to the demand for more change, and so on. This has been referred to as the "avalanche effect".

5. Lifelong Education and Educational Systems

Discussion of the implications of lifelong education for educational practice clearly means that the relationship of lifelong education and systems of education has to be clarified. It may even seem that there is something paradoxical in linking lifelong education and the idea of an educational system, in view of the emphasis placed in discussions of lifelong education on unsystematized educative experiences. This difficulty is partly alleviated by distinguishing between three kinds of "systems" of education. The first is the formal system which includes schools, universities, and similar systematic and formal institutions. The second comprises experiences which are planned and deliberately "educational", but which lie outside schools and related institutions. Such experiences include training programmes in factories or armed forces, evening classes, and even programmes arranged by zoos, museums, planetaria, and the like. Finally, comes the "system" of unplanned experiences through which people learn many useful things, although without necessarily seeking to learn, planning the learning experiences, or even necessarily being aware that they are engaged in learning. Pursuing a hobby, engaging in a recreation, reading a newspaper, watching TV, even talking with friends or carrying out one's daily work are all elements of this latter kind of educational "system".

If a deliberate attempt is to be made to implement educational practices along the lines suggested by lifelong education, an issue of considerable interest is that of the relationship among the first kind of educational system (the formal system of schools and the like), the second system (planned learning experiences outside schools) and the third kind (the total network of interlocking experiences of which life consists). The first point which needs to be made is that there is a danger of conceptualizing lifelong education as implying formalizing the third system - this would be a case, to invert Ivan Illich, of *en*schooling society. Lifelong education should not be regarded as an excuse for transferring the values, structures, methods and forms of school to all educative experiences. If it is, lifelong education becomes a device for subjugating people, and violates the "philosophical" principles spelled out earlier.

However, it is appropriate to ask how the existing formal system can be modified in order not only to facilitate learning in schools and school-like institutions, but also to facilitate

learning in the other two systems. The question may also be asked of how educational practices in schools can be adapted to make them more open to influences from the other two systems. Thus, experiences within each of the three systems can be seen as both supporting and also being supported by learning in the other two, in a reciprocal manner. In fact, openness of schooling to interaction with the other educational systems is one of the major practical implications of lifelong education: the most important practical applications of lifelong education may well lie in this area. This is because the formal school system already exists in a highly developed form in nearly all countries (even where schooling is only available to a small proportion of the populace), schools are widely accepted by the public, governments (and electors) generally regard expenditure on them as money well spent, and there is already a huge economic and social subsystem in most societies based on schools. The participants in this system (teachers, administrators, school suppliers, non-professional staff, the construction industry, etc.) would hardly be likely to permit it to be dismantled without a furious struggle.

One approach to this question of the relationship between schools and the other educational "systems" which have been identified here has been to advocate "horizontal integration" between them. Indeed, such integration, to yield "lifewide" as well as "lifelong" education, may be one of the two most obvious practical manifestations of lifelong education. (The other would be provision of articulated educational facilities of various kinds in such a way that they were available to everybody at all ages - "vertical integration" as it is often called.) However, in principle horizontal integration is not absolutely and invariably necessary for the implementation of lifelong education. In some circumstances, it might even be bad. For example, the danger of enschooling society has already been mentioned. Nonetheless, it is difficult to see how the lifelong education guideline of recognizing in principle the importance and legitimacy of learning outside schools could be turned into educational practice without at the very least a high degree of openness of the three systems previously delineated to a flow of mutually reciprocated influences.

A final point on this topic needs to be made at this juncture. It is important to remember that the mere adoption of certain practices along the lines suggested by lifelong education would not mean that a system was necessarily, in its entirety, supportive of lifelong education. Indeed, the super-

ficial adoption of a few characteristics such as relatively unimportant structural changes would be one way for a system to display its "dynamic conservatism", appearing to modify its practices without really making any significant changes at all.

6. Lifelong Education and Existing Educational Practice

As has already been stated, it is unrealistic to expect lifelong education to transform the educational practice of a society single-handed. However, its acceptance as a principle for understanding the process of education in the broadest sense could certainly contribute to encouraging conditions in which education was accepted throughout life, and in which existing practices were more open to other learning influences. Nonetheless, the argument has already been advanced that education as it is conventionally understood will not disappear over night. At a practical level, the question is thus that of how to transform what already exists, in order to make experiences favourable to lifelong education easier for people.

A number of examples of this transformation exist. Some which have been studied include the Forsöksgymnaset in Norway where, for example, decision making is shared between teachers and pupils; the Hibernia School in Western Germany, where classroom experiences cover all domains, not merely the theoretical and cognitive; the Singapore Institute of Education, Gandhi Shikshan Bhavan and H. J. College in India, or Torrens College of Advanced Education in Australia, where teacher training has been modified along lines suggested by lifelong education, or the attempts to transform adult education by making its goals "transparent" in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The appearance of transformed versions of existing structures in the form of experimental schools and the like is an important step. However, there is a danger that establishing an isolated "experiment" will become an easy way out for those who oppose change, for example by assembling all the troublesome elements in one place, where they can "let off steam" without significantly affecting the mainstream. In this way, isolated innovations could actually serve to subvert the goals of lifelong education.

This means that it is particularly important that proponents of lifelong education develop their analysis of the subject to the point where they are able to state their goals

and the grounds on which they are based in ways which can be understood and accepted by society at large and by administrators, planners, policy makers and the like. For this reason, discussion of the theoretical basis of lifelong education is more than simply something for theorists to discuss in the comfort of the ivory tower. Among other things, it is important that "learning to be' does not seem to be the sole goal of life long education, for example replacing learning to function. The goals of lifelong education are not merely spiritual in nature. At the other extreme, emphasizing the link between knowledge and everyday life runs the risk of seeming to argue that knowledge has no purpose unless it is immediately applicable to real-life problems lying within the day-to-day experience of the learner The risk here is that abstract reflection may be excessively denigrated.

Existing educational structures already include many elements of change and innovation, often adopted without explicit reference to lifelong education. Many of these would undoubtedly be considered to be the sources of the concept at the operational level by proponents of lifelong education, so that it may function not only to suggest changes, but sometimes to legitimize, improve and strengthen existing practices This process of improvement might also spread to educative phenomena outside the existing formal structures. In Third World countries, lifelong education could contribute to educational development by suggesting ways of using existing services, rather than by requiring increased expenditures, so that its effect would be qualitative not quantitative. All in all, it seems reasonable to expect that existing educational resources will largely continue to exist, even in the light of lifelong education, although with varying kinds of changes in goals, values, practices and contents.

7. Prospects and Guidelines

In making recommendations for future work in the area of lifelong education, it is necessary to bear in mind that it is an orientation, concept or principle, not a tangible "thing" Nonetheless, it has a kind of existence in terms of practice inspired by it or thought to exemplify it. Consequently, the major research approach now needed is the identification, description and analysis of *educational practices* of this kind. The aim would be to ascertain how to make such experiences more common, and how to transform existing education for this purpo

This does not mean that there is no place for theorizing. Development of theory has been crucial in identifying what aspects of practice should be focused on, while the study of practice has the capacity to refine theory further, with subsequent guidance for further improvement of practice, and so on in a cyclical process of development.

Such study of practice should be substantially concerned with the formal educational system, although not exclusively, because this system and its related structures already exist, are accepted in principle by politicians and members of the public, and for the other reasons already discussed in earlier sections. However, it should be borne in mind that applying the ideas of lifelong education will not benefit only the formal system, but will hopefully lead to improvement of other aspects of the total spectrum of educative influences. This broader effect would be facilitated not only by the anthropological approach previously mentioned, but also by adopting a historical and geographical approach. For example, it would be informative to study the development over a number of years of educational practice, either within a given society or across societies, with special emphasis on lifelong education. Similarly, study of practices in less technologically developed countries would be highly rewarding.

One approach to this kind of practical research would be to carry out a review of the extent to which lifelong education has been put into effect in various forms in different countries. To some extent such a review could include a survey of relevant laws, actions by various social groups and agencies, and the like. However, it should go far beyond simply preparation of a catalogue of this kind. For example, an analysis is needed of the factors in a society which facilitate or inhibit appropriate changes in educational practice. This could include study of the relationship of lifelong education to social change and to movements, such as "counter culture" groups, which challenge the validity of conventional educational practice.

The whole question of the connection between lifelong education and societal change is of great interest. Dissemination of findings is a crucial step in the research process; otherwise there is a danger that many worthwhile innovations will become dead ends. In theory, at least, it is also very important to consider the background of values against which innovations occur. Adoption by a society of a few superficial practices consistent with lifelong education could involve only

"pseudo" lifelong education, although in practice it may be very difficult for different observers to agree on just what societies are displaying genuine lifelong education and which the pseudo kind.

Typically, writers in the area of lifelong education have dwelled excessively on its intangible, "spiritual" benefits, adopting a maximalist, non-instrumental position, or else have tended to equate it with adult education, adopting a minimalist, instrumental position. Both these cases present problems for practical educators, planners, policy makers, and the like. For example, they seem to suggest that lifelong education is a luxury or "frill", or else to denigrate the importance of schools, or merely to advocate greater emphasis on the education of adults. For a poorer nation, for example, in which poverty, disease and hunger are major national problems, the switching of educational emphasis to spiritual goals may seem absurd, while the suggestion that more provision should be made for adults when less than half the nation's school age children go to school may seem equally ridiculous. As a result, it is important that more attention should be paid to questions such as the economic benefits of lifelong education, or its capacity to suggest ways of increasing the availability of education to all, in countries with smaller budgets. Research in this area seems to be scarce, and appropriate theoretical and empirical studies are needed.

Educational innovation seems to be marked by the emergence of a "new" idea and a subsequent flood of attention. At first the innovation is hailed as the answer to all educational problems, and a phase of enthusiasm and exaggerated claims ensues. Subsequently, a wave of harsh criticism rises, and the "second thoughts" phase develops. During this phase the real worth of the new principle begins to be seen, and some of the most important practical questions begin to emerge. What happens to the new idea then depends on how these questions are answered. Lifelong education seems to have entered this stage of its development; the time for a certain degree of hard headedness has arrived. Hopefully the present document will make a contribution to this process.